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The History of the Gerund in English and Its Structural Precursors from a Typological Viewpoint

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Thesis

The following thesis attempts attempts to map the structural precursors of the gerund in the framework of language typology. Its main goal is to verify the assumption that the appearance and increasing use and functional load of the gerund is connected to the development of English as a language type.

1.2. Method

The analysis was based on linguistic material derived from four of the historical translations of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* (those by Alfred the Great, Geoffrey Chaucer, Elizabeth II, and Joel C. Relihan) and four of the historical translations of the *Bible* (*The Old English Version of The Heptateuch* and *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, *Wyclif's Bible*, *King James Bible* and the *New International Version*).

All of the data collection was based on the Modern English translations. The first step was finding all the gerunds, then basing the analysis on linguistic material derived from the four historical translations of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and the four historical translations of the *Bible* previously mentioned. Older translations were then searched for a structural precursor of each occurrence of the gerund; that is, for the structure supplementing the Modern English gerund and/or fulfilling its function. In our corpus, the ultimate number of examples from Boethius is very limited due to the nature of King Alfred's translation method:

> *ÆLFRED KUNING wæs wealhstod ðisse bec, and hie of boclædene on englisc wende, swa hio nu is gedon. Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa he hit þa sweotolost and andgitfullicast gereccan mihte for þam mistlicu and manigfealdum weoruldbisgum þe hine oft ægðer ge on mode ge on lichoman bisgodan.*[1]

As Olga Fischer had stated: "From Alfred himself we know that it was not always his aim to translate literally. What was important to him was that his readers should have no difficulty in

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[1] King Alfred was the interpreter of this book and translated it from the book-language [Latin] into English as it is done today. Sometimes he would put word for word, sometimes sense for sense, in order to set it forth as clearly and sensibly as possible despite the various and manifold worldly cares that often occupied him both in the mind and the body.

understanding the text" (Fischer, 1979, 625)). The structural precursors of the ModE gerund can only be located in places where the meaning of the older translation corresponds fairly closely to that of the modern one. Such accuracy is rare in Alfred's works.

For this reason, the original idea to build the corpus based entirely on data taken from the translations of Boethius had to be abandoned and examples from the *Bible* were used instead. In its final form the corpus is composed of 80% of Biblical material.

The New International Version [NIV] and *King James Version* [KJV] were translated from Hebrew and Greek respectively. In contrast, the *Wycliffe Bible* and the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Pentateuch and the Gospels are based on the Latin *Vulgate*. When dealing with some of the examples from the corpus, the source of translation had to be taken into account. Generally, however, the analysis relied on a structural comparison of individual historical stages without taking into consideration the idiosyncrasies of the respective translations. Although these idiosyncrasies may slightly distort the synchronic picture of each language stage, they should not significantly obscure the typological changes that have occurred in English throughout its history.

Using the Old English translations presents a slight drawback since they "tend to be conceptually based; that is, they are not necessarily precise renderings of Latin words into Old English words" (Williams, 2000). This results in minor shifts in meaning and/or structure in about 20% of the OE examples in our corpus.

For the purposes of this thesis, I decided to divide the examples in our corpus into two categories. The first category comprises examples in which the gerund functions as a condenser, that is, in which it expresses the action or process of the so-called *'second verb'*[2]. The way in which this second (subordinate) verb is connected to the first (superordinate) verb is one of the problems a language has to solve and its solution is one of the characteristics of a language type. In the sentence: Gen 43:6 "*why did you bring this trouble on me by telling the man you had another brother*" this problem is solved by a condenser, namely a gerund. The Old English translation of the same sentence has a different solution, namely a subordinate clause: "*earmlice didon ge wið me, þa ge him sædon þæt ge a ma gebroþra hæfdon*"[3]. This difference in solving the problem of the second verb, if frequent enough, should demonstrate the typological difference between the respective diachronic stages of the language.

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[2] i.e. the subordinate verb in a hypotactical relationship. For a more detailed explanation see the chapter on Prague School Typology.
3 Miserably you did to me, when you told him, that you had one more brother.

1.2.1. ModE gerund functioning as a condenser

	ModE	OE
Luke 4:35	Then the demon threw the man down before them all and came out *without injuring* him.	and þa he ut adraf hine on heora midlene: he him fram gewat; and him naht *ne derude*;[4]

The Old English precursors of the gerund were then classified in the following way:

ModE	prep+G		*condensation*
OE	1. clause	a) subordinate	*zero condensation*
		b) coordinate	
	2. VNF	a) INF	*condensation*
		b) PART	
	3. N	a) noun of action	
		b) noun in *-ung*	
		c) noun	

The classification was created with regard to the Prague School Typology, focusing not on the gerund itself, but on the structure of the whole sentence. The structure of all the ModE sentences in the first category is: "VF + [prep + G]"[5]. That is, a superordinate and a subordinate (or second) verb. The action of the second verb takes the form of a gerund.

In the OE translation, the action of the second verb is expressed by a clause (subordinate or coordinate), by a non-finite verb form (infinitive or participle), or by a noun (noun of action (*weorc*)[6], noun in *-ung* (*ofrung*), or a noun without any verb properties (*dom*)). In the example given above (Luke 4:35), the action of the second verb is expressed by a coordinate clause.

There are several cases in the OE translation where the relationship between the main verb and the subordinate verb is inverted: The OE counterpart of the ModE gerund is a finite verb in the superordinate clause and the OE counterpart of the ModE finite verb is a subordinate verb or a participle:

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[4] And when he had cast him in their midst, he went away from him and did not harm him.
[5] i.e. finite verb + [preposition + gerund]
[6] This concept has been discussed in the chapter dealing with the gerund functioning as a condenser in ModE. Basically, the term „noun of action" denotes a noun of a verbal meaning in our classification.

	ModE	OE
Exod 21:30	he may redeem his life *by paying* whatever is demanded	Gif he betan mote, *sylle* wið his life swa hwæt swa man him scrife[7]

From a typological point of view, we are interested in the structure of the OE sentence, not the exact semantic counterpart of the ModE gerund. What matters most is not whether the word carrying the lexical meaning of the ModE gerund is the main verb, but whether its relationship to the other verb in the sentence is that of subordination or coordination. Examples like this have therefore been classified as subordination although the semantic meaning of the ModE gerund is expressed by a superordinate verb.

The same approach was applied in cases where the structure of the OE sentence was a "superordinate verb – participle", and the meaning of the ModE gerund was paralleled by superordinate verb.

	ModE	OE
Luke 18:5	so that she won't eventually wear me out with *her coming*!	þe læs heo æt neahstan *cume* me *behropende*;[8]

Once again the structure matters, not the form of the word rendering the meaning carried by the gerund in the ModE version. Thus, this solution was classified as a participle [PART], although the meaning of *coming* is expressed by the main verb in the OE sentence.

As was mentioned above, in some cases, the meaning and/or structure of the OE sentence is shifted in comparison to the ModE one:

	ModE	OE
Luke 16:8	For the people of this world are more shrewd *in dealing* with their own kind than are the people of the light.	forþam þe ðisse worulde bearn. synt gleawran þises leohtes bearnum *on* þisse cneoresse;[9]
John 8:48	Aren't we right *in saying* that you are a Samaritan and demon-possessed?	Hwi *ne cweþe* we wel þæt ðu eart samaritanisc and eart wod.[10]

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[7] If he must amend, he will pay with his life whatever is prescribed.
[8] Lest she comes at last plaguing me.
[9] For the children of this world are wiser than the children of this light in this race.

In such cases as these, we have two verb actions in Modern English and only one in Old English. Thus, the problem of the second verb – solved in ModE by a gerund – does not arise at all since there is *no* second verb. There is a semantic difference between the respective translations reflected in the sentence structure. Such examples are then classified as a semantic/structural "shift" and treated separately in the analysis.

1.2.2. ModE gerund in a construction expressing aspect

	ModE	OE
Exod 34:33	When Moses *finished speaking* to them, he put a veil over his face.	þonne he wið hig *gesprecen hæfde*, he heng hrægl beforan his neb.[11]

In this category, the Old English precursors of the gerund were classified as follows:

ModE [VF+G]	VF	G
OE	1. VF	a) PART
		b) INF
		c) N
	2. ADV	VF
	3. CONJ	
	4. PREF	
	5. VF	
	6. sem (semantics of the VF or the context)	

The ModE examples have the structure [VF + G][12]. The finite verb expresses the aspectual meaning of the phrase whereas the gerund denotes the verbal action itself. The aspect is thus expressed by a verbal phrase[13].

In the Old English translation, we find several possibilities of expressing the aspectual meaning of a given sentence. The first group of solutions[14] is similar to the Modern English

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[10] Whether we do not say [it] right that you are Samaritan and demon-possessed.
[11] When he had spoken to them, he hung a veil before his face.
[12] i.e. finite verb + gerund
[13] i.e. a finite verb of aspectual meaning and a nominal phrase (a gerund) expressing the verbal action of the whole predicate

solution by a verbal phrase[15], that is, by combining a finite verb of aspectual meaning and a nominal element (participle, infinitive or noun). The second group of solutions is where the verb itself is neutral regarding aspect and the aspectual meaning is expressed either by an adverb, a temporal conjunction or a prefix. In the third group of solutions, the aspectual meaning is expressed solely by the semantics of the finite verb or by its context.

A specific problem is presented in cases where the aspectual meaning is not expressed in the OE translations at all. These are not included in the classification and have been dealt with separately.

This thesis is then focused on the regular and typical solutions which are significant from the point of view of Prague School Typology. As previously pointed out, from a typological point of view, the two major categories of examples represent two *problems* (a term used by V. Skalička):

1. *The problem of the second verb* (represented by the 1st category – ModE gerund as a condenser)
2. *The problem of expressing aspect* (represented by the 2nd category – ModE gerund in combination expressing aspect)[16]

For the sake of clarity, the analysis was focused on a comparison between Modern and Old English. The solutions found in the Middle and Early Modern English translations have not been dealt with in depth in the analysis. Only quantitative conclusions in terms of relative numbers of occurrence of the individual solutions in the respective translations have been made in the concluding chapter of this thesis. The comparison of the numbers of occurrence of the individual solutions in the respective stages of development should demonstrate the increasing functional load of the gerund at the expense of the older inflectional structures such as the subordinate clause.

1.3. Summary

The method has essentially been based on a comparison between Modern and Old English. Structural precursors of the ModE gerund were traced and classified with regard to Prague School

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[14] Prague School Typology perceives languages as different solutions of identical needs or problems. The term "solution" here means a solution to one of these problems.

[15] Although we cannot, strictly speaking , speak as yet about a "verbal phrase" at this stage of the development of the language since the first verb cannot be considered grammaticalized as yet.

[16] The typological problems have been treated in more detail in the chapter on language typology.

Typology. This comparison of the OE solutions of the two discussed problems[17] with the ModE solution by gerund should demonstrate the typological differences between the respective historical stages of the language. Furthermore, the relative frequency of occurrence of the gerund in the ME and EModE translations should demonstrate the increasing functional load of the gerund and the weakening of importance of some of the other solutions such as the subordinate clause.

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[17] i.e. of the problem of the second verb and of the problem of expressing aspect

2. PRAGUE SCHOOL TYPOLOGY

2.1. General introduction

This chapter deals with the typology of languages as developed in the Praguian School by Vladimír Skalička, Petr Sgall and others. Skalička's typology is based on the principles of function and structure fundamental to the Praguian perspective on language. Language, in this view, is a system of signs determined primarily by its communicative and expressive function. The fact that language is a hierarchically organized structure means that the elements it is composed of are characterized primarily by their position in this structure. That is, their value is determined by their relations to the other elements and to the structure as a whole. (Popela 2006, 7) The functional perspective in language typology results in an effort to examine how individual languages fulfill their communicative function and by what means. Individual languages differ from one another in the conventional means they use to convey meaning.

Language type, in Skalička's conception, is an ideal extreme (a construct) composed of mutually favorable features, not found in any natural language. Though this way of thinking originated from Jakobson's concept of the universal characteristics of phonological subsystems which are based on implications, or logical necessity, the mutually favorable features, that are without the limited field of phonology, are related rather on the basis of probability. (Sgall, 1993, 271) Jaroslav Popela later characterizes this probability based on two types of connection:

> a) *Isomorphism,* where the connection is direct; the type of solution is repeated (e.g. If there are many declension paradigms in a language, there will also be many conjugation paradigms) – this type of connection adds to the systematic nature of the language.

> b) *Compensation*, where the connection is inverse; when a given function is not carried out by one characteristic, it is carried out by another (e.g. If the language does not have inflectional endings to express cases, this function will be carried out by word order) - this type of connection adds to the economy of the language. (Popela, 1985, 48)

The so-called "clusters" of mutually favorable characteristics are then the ideal, abstracted language types. The individual types differ from one another only in some features; others they share. Every language is a combination of several of these ideal types and they are shared differently in different languages. Languages which can not be assigned one type or other as the

prevailing one are however no less systematic than the ones that can. (Popela, 2006, 10) The types described by Skalička (1935; 1941; 1966) are briefly characterized by Sgall as follows:

1. *Agglutination*

a) a series of affixes expressing various grammatical meanings (such as number, case, possessiveness etc.) is connected to the word base

b) in combination with various affixes the word base can represent various parts of speech

c) in a consistent realization of this type as an extreme, all parts of speech could be derived from one word base

d) the affixes are independent semantically (there is not much synonymy or homonymy) and phonetically (they usually correspond to a syllable)

e) since the affixes have many functions in word-formation and derivation, there is no space left for such redundant functions as grammatical agreement; relationships between individual parts of speech are expressed by word order which is grammaticalized)

f) the dependent verb has the form of a derived verbal noun

2. *Inflection*

a) every occurrence of a lexical word has one inflectional ending

b) the endings express different grammatical values, allow for the classification of words into word classes (parts of speech) and paradigms

c) the endings serve not only for derivation (expressing grammatical categories) but also for word-formation

d) if there are agglutinative derivational suffixes in the given language, they are clearly distinguished from the endings

e) the rule of one ending per word is connected with the accumulation of grammatical meanings in an ending

f) since each lexical word has an ending, grammatical concord is also present which allows for the so called free word order (which is thus not   grammaticalized but serves to mark functional sentence perspective)

g) clear distinctions between parts of speech are connected to the fact that the *second verb* is typically finite and a part of a subordinate clause

3. *Analysis (isolation)*

a) apart from lexical words, there are many grammatical words (which express grammatical values)

b) parts of speech are not distinguished

c) the vocabulary contains a large number of so called "unmotivated" words (words inseparable into meaningful units)

d) the large number of grammatical words does not allow for the so called "free word order"

e) even the position of the second verb is expressed by a grammatical word, a conjunction; thus, subordinate clauses are common

4. *Polysynthetis*

a) some lexical words also assume the role of grammatical words; there are no other grammatical words or morphemes

b) parts of speech are not clearly distinguished

c) the most common word-formation pattern is compounding

d) the second verb is usually a part of a compound

5. *Introflection*

a) the word base can be interrupted and certain phonemes in its centre then bear grammatical functions

b) introflection is also used for derivation (Sgall, 1993, 272)

All of these features can be derived from one basic feature favorable to the other features of a given type. This feature is connected to the way the given type expresses its grammatical meanings. Whereas all the lexical units (word bases) are expressed by a series of phonemes, the grammatical units can be expressed in several ways. There are the following possibilities: (a) by morphs, similarly to lexical units. (b) only by alternations of the lexical morphs, or (c) only by the sequence of the lexical morphs. These possibilities can be further divided. Thus (a) can have the form of (aa) grammatical morphs in the form of grammatical words which are thus in form similar to lexical units, or (ab) grammatical morphs connected to the lexical words, that is, affixes. Also (b) can be further divided since the alternations expressing grammatical meanings can be (ba) at the end of the lexical stems, or (bb) within the lexical morphs. (Sgall, 1993 274)

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From this morphological feature, other features favorable to it can be derived. These concern not only morphology, but also syntax and lexicon. It seems suitable to demonstrate this line of thinking through the two types this thesis focuses on; that is, isolation and inflection:

(aa) Isolation: Due to the fact that grammatical functions are expressed by grammatical words implies that there will probably be numerous prepositions, conjunctions (thus also subordinate clauses) and auxiliary verbs; also that there will be determiners; since endings are missing and the grammatical words can hardly supply for grammatical concord, the word order clearly has to be '*grammaticalized*'. The large amount of one-syllable words results in the need of a large repertory of vowels. (Sgall, 1993, 274) The fact that there are no endings also implies that parts of speech are not distinguished clearly and words gain their word class identity only when positioned in a sentence. This lack of word class distinction is favorable to grammatical forms bearing grammatical categories of more word classes than one (such as the gerund). The presence of such word forms is then favorable to condensation; that is, to positioning the second verb in a nonfinite clause.

(ba) Inflection: The alternation at the end of the stem, under the rule that each word form has only one ending, results in an accumulation of functions in the endings; there can never be enough endings for all the combinations of functions to be expressed without a high degree of homonymy. Since we are dealing here with alternations of stems with different endings, there are likely to be many paradigms in the grammar and therefore a high degree of grammatical synonymy. Even adjectives, for instance, have endings. This fact allows for grammatical concord, which then allows for a free word order. A language with a free order is naturally sensitive to functional sentence perspective (FSP). Definiteness then does not play such an important role since the opposition of the so-called given and new information is already clearly expressed by the FSP structure). One ending per each word means that also the function of the second verb is expressed by an ending (by an infinitive without a preposition or a participle).[18] (Sgall, 1993, 274)

Since language is a system, each individual change results in shifting the whole structure one way or the other (Popela, 2006, 10) Typological evolution is made possible by the fact that any natural language is a combination of various language types. Without combination, typological evolution

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[18] On the other hand, infinitives and participles (including gerund) are forms which stand on the borderline of word-classes. Such intermediate forms are not typical for the inflectional type where word-classes are clearly distinguished. This conclusion, then, seems to be rather controversial. The problem of the second verb will be discussed in more depth further in this chapter.

would be impossible. (Sgall, 1993, 273) The structure of a language is not typologically stable. It evolves and changes. (Popela, 2006, 10) This change is determined by the inherent structure of the given language, as well as by the properties of languages in contact with it and its external history. (Sgall,1967, 506)

These factors need to be taken into account when inquiring why the Indo-European languages have developed in different ways since their split. Prague School views Gabelentz spiral as the main tendency of the typological development of languages. (Sgall, 1993, 275). However, if there were no exceptions, all the Indo-European languages should have developed in a similar manner from the typological point of view, which is obviously not the case. The Indo-European languages enter written history as highly inflecting languages. (Sgall, 1967, 506). Most of the Western European languages shifted to the isolating type while the Slavonic languages, for instance, remained mostly inflectional. (Sgall, 1967, 507) All of the factors of typological change mentioned above have to be taken into account to explain this development. The inherent structure factor which probably contributed to their typological diversion, is described by Sgall in the following manner:

> Those languages that retained important agglutinative properties in the first epoch (as for instance the Slavonic languages with their systems of word-formation by suffixes and with some similar phenomena in the conjugation) are likely to extend such features in the later period. On the other hand, the prevailing inflection of the old Germanic languages has many characteristics of the isolating type (cf. the character of endings in both language groups), and so it is not surprising that later on they developed in the direction of this type. (Sgall, 1967, 508)

The external factors have to do with the rise and growth of the state and the merging of dialects, which result in the reduction of inflectional properties. Sgall speaks about the tendency for regularity of the morphemic system when there are two competing patterns and with the spread of a sound change which then further increases this regularity. Another external factor would be the rapid changes in the way of life and inter-lingual contacts bringing with them a massive amount of new words, which again contribute to the reduction of inflectional properties. This results in the strengthening of the productive patterns. (Sgall, 1967, 507-508) Such reduction of the inflectional properties can be seen in all the Indo European languages, but some, such as English, have taken a very rapid course in this direction. Sgall summarizes the exceptional combination of the contributing factors in the following way:

But such a far-reaching change of the typological character as that, which occurred in the development of English, is possible only under an unusual coincidence of favorable circumstances; among these were the rapid changes in economical and cultural conditions, the intensive contact of dialects and closely related languages and the strong influence of other languages. This influence did not primarily consist in a transfer of typological properties from one language to another, but in the intensive bilingualism of several epochs, levelling down the inflectional variety in morphemic structure. (Sgall,1967, 508)

2.2. Development of the English verb with regard to condensers

Old English can without a doubt be considered to have been a highly inflectional language. Inflectional endings, agglutinative suffixes and introflection were used to distinguish two tenses (present and past), three moods (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), two numbers, the infinitive, and the present and past participle. Although, with regard to the conjugation system of the verb, Old English still was a prevailingly inflectional language, it already had features which suggested its heading for isolation as the prevailing typological type. The language had apparently surpassed the peak of inflection and was developing towards isolation. To begin with, person was in many cases (except singular indicative of the present tense and the preterit) expressed by personal pronouns, and not inflectional endings. (Sgall, 1958, 87) Another isolating feature was the existence of periphrastic verbal forms in Old English:

It is well know that the analytic perfect and pluperfect forms as well as the passive constructions, which supplanted the original synthetic forms were fully developed[19] as early as the oldest written monuments of Anglo-Saxon. As far back as this early period of the English language may be traced the periphrastic future and subjunctives, as well as the construction of *bēon + present participle* (e.g. *feohtende wæron*) and that of *willan + infinitive*, expressing verbal aspects. (Trnka, 1982, 291)

Also modality begins to be expressed periphrastically. Apart from the old inflectional subjunctive as in "*þeah he unþwogenum handum ete*"[20] (Mat. 15:20), the subjunctive mood is

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[19] This does not mean that the synthetic (or expanded) forms were used systematically at this stage. Rather a formal presence and the relative frequency of their occurrence is meant.
[20] though he ate with unwashed hands

often expressed by a combination of a *finite verb* (usually one of the to-be modal verbs) with an *infinitive* as in "*ac ne mæg ða fullice begitan on ðisse weorulde*"[21](Alfred, 77).

These typological characteristics of Old English can be considered fairly stable during the period between the 8th and 10th centuries. Further development brought numerous changes, which were the result of phonetic changes taking place in the period of transition from Old to Middle English. Among these we include the disappearance of the final *-n*, the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables resulting in the mixed vowel ə. Also this vowel was bound to disappear. These phonetic changes brought about the merger of various endings, which did away with the old synonymy and resulted in the disappearance of the distinctions between weak verb classes. In Middle English, their endings were already the same. (Sgall, 1958, 87)

The periphrastic verbal forms then further develop in Middle and Early Modern English. The future tense with the auxiliaries *shall* and *will* is gradually established as the prevailing form. The present perfect (*I have been*) acquires its modern temporal meaning. The preterit-present verbs become modal verbs and the periphrastic conditional using *should* and *would* comes into use. Also the agglutinative way of word-formation and derivation by means of affixes is on the wane being supplanted by other ways. Verbs with prefixes are replaced by verbs with postpositions or by new "unmotivated" verbs, which are usually borrowed.

The rapid typological changes in the development from Old to Modern English are due to multiple factors. The inherent structure factor has already been addressed above. Also the phonetic changes have been mentioned. These, however, are only part of the development of the language. The historical circumstances have to be included in any attempt to explain the way English has developed. The speed and extensiveness of the development towards isolation in English was supported by the close contact and the resulting intermingling with Old Norse and further on by a great influx of French words. (Sgall, 1958, 96)

In Modern English, as a prevailingly isolating language, grammatical categories and relationships are expressed by grammatical words. The identity of individual lexical units is, as a result, determined largely by their position in the sentence. The position then defines what part of speech every particular occurrence of a lexical unit belongs to and in what relation it is to the other sentence elements. The order and mutual closeness of sentence elements is crucial here. In other words, "the position of the word in the sentence context is '*grammaticalized*' to a much higher

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[21] but in this world, he may not fully grasp

degree in analytical[22] than in synthetic[23] languages." (Vachek, 1961, 31) As a result, there must be a higher level of mutual dependency of the sentence elements on one another in the isolating (analytical) type then in the inflectional (synthetic) one. The morphological characteristic of the isolating type (the grammatical words) thus also affects the syntax of the language. Compared to the inflectional type, the isolating sentence is much more compact. (Vachek, 1961, 31)

The way of expressing grammatical categories and relations by grammatical words is also favourable to the use of periphrastic forms where the semantic and the grammatical constituent of a sentence element are expressed by separate words. Modern English verbs are thus very often have the form of periphrastic constructions. In these, the grammatical characteristics are most often carried by a semantically weakened element whereas the semantic weight falls on the second, usually nominal, part of the predication. V. Mathesius (in Vachek, 1961, 35) calls these periphrastic predicates *verbal phrases*. The dynamism of the finite verb is reduced in the isolating type in comparison with the inflectional one. The finite verb in many instances serves only as a semantically general marker of the grammatical categories. In other words, English as an isolating language has a "tendency to word its predications nominally rather than verbally". (Vachek, 1961, 32)

The English finite verb often does not express the category of aspect. "One should realize here that by the dynamism of the finite verb form is meant the ability of the finite verb form to express the predicated action or process in its totality. This totality is not limited to the setting in time of that action or process; it also includes the quantitative feature, i.e. the so-called phenomena of verbal aspect (implying, among other things, whether the concerned action or process takes place once or repeatedly, further its perfective or imperfective character, etc.)." (Vachek, 1961, 39)

The lack of word-class distinction is favourable to the use of the so-called non-finite verb forms (infinitive, participle, gerund), which fail to express some of the verbal categories, or even express some categories of the noun. The indeterminacy of lexical units as to their word-class identity in the lexicon seems to be favourable to such non-finite or even intermediate forms. The temporal system of the non-finite verb forms is only relational, i.e. the individual forms express only temporal relations – the action expressed by the second (non-finite) verb either precedes or follows the action of the main (finite) verb, or it happens simultaneously. (Dušková, 1994, 266) The frequent use of such forms seems to go hand in hand with the already described reduced

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[22] i.e. *isolating*: „In those languages in which [analytical] tendency prevails, the modifications of the basic meaning of words, or the relations of words in combinations, are denoted by "auxiliary" words or by means of word-order." (Trnka, 1982, 287)

[23] i.e. *inflectional*, *introflectional* and *agglutinative*: „Those languages in which the synthetical tendency is more highly developed than the analytical, express the same functions and modifications by meaning of affixes and changes in the root syllables." (Trnka, 1982, 287)

dynamism of the verb. The verb is weakened semantically, or grammatically, or both. The verb in the *verbal phrase* described above is deprived of its semantic weight. The non-finite verb form is, in a similar manner, deprived of some of its grammatical weight.

With regard to their syntactic function, Mathesius called the non-finite verb forms "complex condensation phenomena". By this term he meant "the introduction into the sentence of a nominal element or phrase enabling that sentence to do without a subordinate clause the use of which would otherwise be indispensable" (Vachek, 1961, 32). If we look into Skalička's typology as described in Popela, we see that the non-finite verb forms, or, syntactically, condensers are one of the characteristic ways of solving the problem of the second verb. In the isolating type, differentiations[24] [esp. morpheme: word, simple sentence: complex sentence] are poorly developed in general; this type uses infinitives, participles and gerunds. (Popela, 2006, 25)

In accordance with the above listed arguments, the prevailingly inflectional Old English had, and also used, considerably fewer condensers than the isolating Modern English. "No less than six condensers known from ModE were non-existent in the old period. There was no gerund (present or past, active or passive), no past infinitive, and no pre-present participle (equivalent to ModE *having seen*). [...] Clearly, the limited number of condensers in OE seems to endorse the view of the predominantly verbal tenor of the OE sentence." (Vachek, 1961, 37) The finite verb had much more dynamism in OE. The problem of the second verb was most often solved by a subordinate clause (which is the most favourable solution to the highly developed differentiations of morpheme and word, simple sentence : complex sentence).

The appearance and increasing use of the gerund (as a means of complex condensation) is thus connected to the typological transformation of English in which the subordinate clauses (typical for inflection) gradually give way to nominalization. The lack of word-class distinctions is favourable to the gerund because the gerund is a noun which has gradually acquired verbal characteristics, and therefore it cannot be assigned to any word-class. The increasing use of periphrastic verbal phrases results in reducing the dynamism of the finite verb, which is then more inclined to give way to the non-finite forms. From the syntactic point of view, the rise and increasing functional load of the gerund is closely connected to the shift of the "semantic centre of gravity" from the finite verb on to the nominal element which resulted in the verb's frequently ceasing to be "the unmatched instrument of predication". (Vachek, 1961, 35) The gerund, a nominalization itself, then overtakes many functions of the finite verb. It is one of the solutions of the problem of the second verb as well as a means of expressing some aspectual meanings.

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[24] „The opposition of two grammatical units which do not form a pair (x correlation as the opposition of two grammatical units which do form a pair by means of one seme)." (Popela, 2006, 7)

The problem of the second verb of Skalička's typology is defined in Popela in the following way:

> Avšak typy s vyvinutou diferenciací sémantém: formém byly s to vytvořit komplikovanější poměry ve složené větě; vznikla podřadnost (hypotaxe), tedy složená věta, v níž bývá často jenom jedno hlavní sloveso, kdežto ostatní slovesa jsou mu podřaděna. A právě jenom v takovém zúženém případě se zpravidla mluví o problému druhého slovesa. *Jednotlivé typy řeší tento problém vedlejšími větami, infinitivy a participii* (k nimž počítám i přechodníky a tzv. gerundia)... (Popela, 2006, 24)[25]

The data in our corpus show significant differences in solving the problem of the second verb between Old and Modern English. These differences should demonstrate the typological characteristics of the respective stages of the development of the language.

The second problem is the difficulty of expressing aspect. The data in our corpus is too limited to enable to draw some general conclusions with regard to the typological change of English. The analysis was therefore done on the basis of individual examples and the conclusions drawn from them are only tentative. More data would be needed to arrive at some general typological conclusions.

This typological problem has not been treated consistently and thoroughly in literature. Only comments of a general nature have been made so far:

> Stojíme zatím bezradni před otázkou, proč ve slovanských jazycích je vid sloves lépe vyvinut než časy, zatímco třeba v germánských jazycích je systém časů vyvinut bohatěji, kdežto vid tu není vyvinut skoro vůbec.[26] (Popela, 2006, 35)

In general, we can proceed from the basic characteristics of individual types. A comment on their self-sufficiency might be helpful in dealing with the complicated problem of expressing aspect in a language since it might show the possibilities the respective stages of the development of English had in dealing with this problem:

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25 However, the [language] types where the differentiation semanteme : formeme is developed [inflection, introflection, agglutination, isolation] were capable of creating more complicated relationships in the compound sentence; subordination (hypotaxis) arose, that is a compound sentence in which there is often only one main verb while all the other verbs are subordinated to it. And precisely in this restricted case we speak of the problem of the second verb. Individual types solve this problem by subordinate sentences, infinitives and participles (which include also the so called gerunds).

[26] As yet we are unable to answer the question why do Slavic languages have a better developed aspect then tenses whereas in Germanic languages, the tense system is rich, and the system of aspect is hardly developed at all.

Aglutinační typ bývá vyvinut ze všech typů nejdokonaleji, tj. nejdůsledněji, do velmi vysokého stupně (díky svým základním vlastnostem – jednofunkčnosti morfémů a dobře vyvinutým diferenciacím morfém : slovo, slovo : věta – má totiž skoro neomezenou možnost kumulovat formémy [morfémy pomocné, nositelé gramatického významu] na vyjádření nejrozmanitějších funkcí) [...] Izolační typ se doplňuje nejčastěji aglutinací. [...] Flexivní typ si vypůjčuje gramatické prostředky hlavně od dvou typů, od aglutinačního a od izolačního.[27] (Popela, 2006, 37)

The analysis of the corpus will show some of the ways of expressing aspect in Old English. Although quantitative conclusions cannot be drawn from this limited number of examples, some structural observations should be possible.

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[27] Of all the types, the agglutinative type is usually developed most consistently, to the highest degree (thanks to its basic features – single-functional morphemes and the well developed differentiations morpheme : word, word : clause – it has a nearly unlimited possibility to accumulate formemes [auxiliary morphemes carrying a grammatical meaning] capable of expressing all imaginable functions) [...] The isolating type is most often aided by agglutination. [...] The inflectional type usually borrows grammatical means from two types: agglutination and isolation.

3. THE GERUND

3.1. History

Studies on the history of the gerund[28] usually concentrate on the Middle English period. It was at this time that the gerund, as we know it today, had started to emerge. There also seems to be a general consensus among scholars that during this period it had gradually acquired all its main characteristics. We cannot speak about the gerund in Old English, though its morphological origins were already present in the language:

> Verbal nouns in *–ung* or *–ing*, rare in early OE, have been common since the Alfredian period (*leornung, ceapung, ceaping*, etc.) The *–ung* variant, which prevails in OE, disappears in early ME. At the beginning of the 13th century it survives only in some parts of the ancient West Saxon area. The *–ing* form is common in ME and Mod.E. (Mustanoja, 1960, 566)

In his detailed study *The Syntactic Development of the Gerund in Middle English*, Matsuji Tajima lists the syntactic characteristics of the OE verbal noun in *-ung* which was then:

> [...] simply an abstract noun of action derived from a verb and was treated exclusively as a noun, syntactically as well as inflectionally. That is, it possessed all the syntactic features of a noun, functioning as the subject, predicative, or object of a finite verb and the object of a preposition, and, while serving these functions, forming a plural, taking various adnominal adjuncts, or entering freely into compounds. (Tajima, 1985, 1)

While retaining all its nominal functions, the verbal noun in *-ung* or *-ing* gradually acquired most of the properties and syntactic characteristics of a verb during the ME period. The ModE gerund, then, differs from the verbal noun in *–ing* in that it can exhibit the following verbal characteristics:

> 1. It can govern an "accusative" or direct object (e.g. He practises *writing leading articles* – q. *OED*);
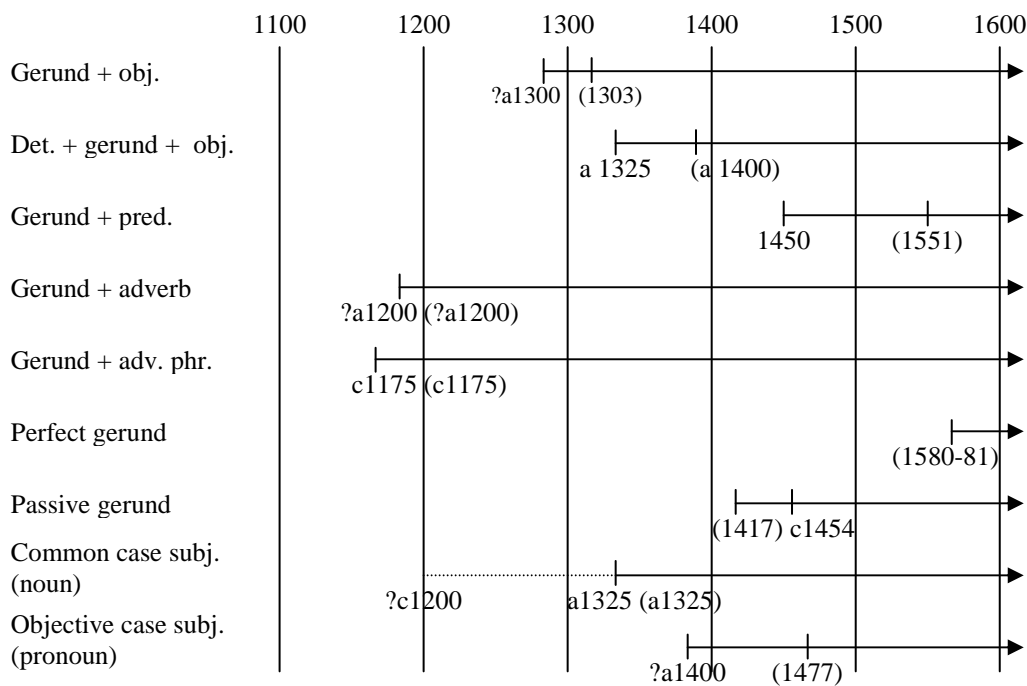
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[28] Mustanoja notes that "more recent authorities on English grammar tend to avoid the term 'gerund' as inadequate in several respects. The terms now preferred ('*ing*-form' and the like), being more neutral, are doubtless superior from the Mod. E. point of view". (Mustanoja, 1960, 567)

2. It can govern a predicative or complement (e.g. *your being so sick* forbids me to discuss the matter with you now –q. Curme; *OED* has no reference);

3. It can be modified by an adverbial adjunct (instead of an adjective) (e.g. He has hopes of *coming back speedily*; the habit of *speaking loosely* –q. *OED*);

4. It can show tense and voice by means of compound forms (e.g. of *having done* it; the necessity of loving and *being loved* –q. *OED*);

5. It can take a subject in the common case (instead of the genitive) (e.g. I insist upon *Miss Sharp appearing* –q. *OED*). (Tajima, 1985, 1-2)

The origins of the gerund are still a matter of dispute. In 1960, Mustanoja summarizes the conclusions made by scholars so far:

> The origin of the gerund is one of the much-debated problems of English syntax, and the foregoing survey is only an extremely condensed account of the most important opinions expressed on it. To sum up, the first sporadic signs of the gerundial function of the noun in *–ing* appear in late OE. They are slavish imitations of Latin gerunds, but they do suggest that the noun in *–ing* is at least capable of acquiring verbal properties. The rise of the gerund seems to take place essentially within the ME period. The influence of the OF *gérondif* seems to play a significant part in the development of the English gerund. It is difficult to say how far Celtic influence has a part in this development, but the possibility may be worth closer investigation. One significant contributory factor is obviously the analogy of the English present participle, and the gerund no doubt receives several of its functions form the infinitive. The influence of the participle and the infinitive is evidently facilitated by the remarkable confusion between forms ending in *-n*, *-nd*, and *-ng* in ME. (Mustanoja, 1960, 572)

Mustanoja's account shows that the development of the gerund was " a very complicated process involving various factors and contributions" (Tajima, 2000, 3) Tajima's study of 183 texts from all periods and all dialects of ME determined with much more precision the time period and order of appearance of the individual verbal characteristics of the gerund:

	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600

Gerund + obj.   ?a1300 (1303)

Det. + gerund + obj.   a 1325 (a 1400)

Gerund + pred.   1450 (1551)

Gerund + adverb   ?a1200 (?a1200)

Gerund + adv. phr.   c1175 (c1175)

Perfect gerund   (1580-81)

Passive gerund   (1417) c1454

Common case subj. (noun)   ?c1200   a1325 (a1325)

Objective case subj. (pronoun)   ?a1400 (1477)

(Tajima, 2000, 136)

The order of acquisition of the individual verbal characteristics as determined by Tajima in 2000 is thus as follows:

1. acquisition of an adverbial adjunct
2. governing a direct object
3. acquisition of a noun-subject in the common case
4. assumption of compound tense and voice form
5. governing a predicative (Tajima, 2000, 135)

These dates, however, are the dates of appearance of the respective characteristics. It then took about another hundred years for each newly emerged characteristic of the gerund to become a part of the language system. (Tajima, 2000, 135) Tajima contradicts some earlier opinions placing the establishment of the gerund with syntactic verbal force into the first half of the ME period (1300 or 1400):

> Instead, the evidence presented in this study strongly suggests that it was not until the first half of the 15th century that the gerund appreciably developed certain verbal properties, particularly those of governing a direct (or accusative) object and of being modified by an adverbial adjunct. The other features: governing a predicative, indicating voice by means

of compound forms, and taking a common (or accusative) case subject or an objective case subject, are still far from fully developed, being only sporadically instanced down to the close of the ME period. In addition, a final verbal characteristic, namely, the creation of time-distinctions by means of compound forms remains totally undeveloped until early ModE. (Tajima, 2000, 137)

Tajima nevertheless concludes that the ME period was "instrumental in the formative stage of the syntactic development of the gerund as we know it today; a noun whose role has been broadened by its acquisition of verbal characteristics." (Tajima, 2000, 137).

3.2. Gerund and verbal noun in -ing

Morphologically, the verbal noun in -*ing* and the gerund are indistinguishable. The verbal characteristics of the gerund are reflected only on the level of syntax and meaning. The syntactic verbal characteristics differentiating the gerund from the verbal noun are described above (Tajima, 2000, 1-2).

The semantic difference between the verbal noun and the gerund is exemplified by Libuše Dušková in the sentence *His drawing fascinated me*. The *ing*-form can represent three meanings:

(a) *the result* of a verbal action (the resulting picture). Here, the *ing*-form is a verbal noun[29] which can exhibit all syntactic features of a noun: forming the plural; the possibility of being modified by an adjective, determined by an article and complemented by a prepositional object with *of*; e.g. *His drawings fascinate me. Old drawings of towns fascinate me. He made a rough drawing of the flat.*

(b) *the act* of a verbal action (the process of drawing or the way he was drawing). Also in this case, the form would assume the syntactic position of a noun. Although it can not form the plural, it can be determined by an article (*the drawing of the picture*) and it cannot show tense and voice: **his having drawn of the picture*, **its rapid being drawn*.

(c) *the fact* of a verbal action (the fact that he was drawing). In this case, the *ing*-form usually exhibits the verbal characteristics of a gerund: it can show tense and voice, and it

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[29] Dušková uses the term "deverbativní substantivum", that is, "deverbal noun".

can be modified by and adverbial adjunct; e.g. *Her having drawn the picture rapidly left its marks on it. Its having been drawn rapidly does not detract from its value.* (Dušková, 1994, 569-570)

This analysis shows that the individual lexical meanings of the *ing*-form can become unambiguous only in a certain syntactic environment. Unless the form exhibits some of the syntactical characteristics of a verb or a noun, it is indeterminate. Thus, the *ing*-form in the sentence *His drawing fascinated me* can be classified neither as a verbal noun, nor as a gerund. Our corpus includes several such examples where the form is indeterminate. Such examples, as the following, were therefore classified as "gerund/noun" [G/N]:

	ModE	EmodE	ME	OE
Luke 4:21	Today the scripture is fulfilled *in your hearing.*	This day is this scripture fulfilled in *your ears.*	For in this dai this scripture is fulfillid in *youre eeris.*	Soþlice todæg þis gewrit is on *eowrum earum* gefylled;

3.3. Gerund and present participle

A similar problem arises with the distinction of the gerund from the present participle. Again, these forms are morphologically identical and are distinguished on the basis of their syntactic behaviour. The gerund assumes the syntactical functions of a noun while the participle assumes the syntactical functions of an adjective (Dušková, 1994, 268):

> Stejně jako substantivum gerundium plní ve větně funkci podmětu, předmětu, jmenné části přísudku, přívlastku a adverbiálního určení, stojí po předložkách s lexikálním významem, ale i po předložkách vyjadřujících pádové vztahy.[30] (Dušková, 1994, 268)

In these syntactic functions, the *ing*-form is always a gerund. There are, however, some syntactic functions in which both participle and gerund can occur. This concerns the position of the attribute and the position of the adverbial adjunct:

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[30] The gerund, just as the noun, functions in a sentence as the subject, object, subject complement, and adverbial adjunct; it can stand after prepositions with lexical meaning as well as after prepositions expressing case relations.

Pokud se gerundium a participium vyskytují v téže syntaktické funkci, většinou bývají formálně odlišeny. Tak atributivní *ing*-ový tvar mívá podle své gerundiální nebo participiální povahy různou intonační a přízvukovou strukturu. [...] Adverbiální ing-ový tvar bývá indikován jako gerundium přítomností předložky [...], participium přítomností spojky. Není li syntagmatický kontext gerundia a participia odlišen a připouští-li větná pozice oba tvary, rozdíl mezi nimi se stírá.[31] (Dušková, 1994, 268-269)

Another position where the syntactic functions of the two forms overlap is the position of subject complement. The differentiation here is based on the valency of the verb. When the verb is copular, the subject complement is a participle. When the verb is transitive, the subject complement is a gerund. When the *ing*-form stands with a verb with multiple valency (such as *keep*)[32], the decision becomes rather difficult. This problem creates a kind of a "vicious circle": in determining the valency of the verb, we need to know the identity of the subject complement. The identity of the subject complement is, however, dependent on identifying the valency of the verb. Although, "the semantics of the verbal phrase as a whole can shift the interpretation in one direction or the other" (Dušková, „Re-gerundium"), the interpretation still remains tentative. For this reason, the *ing*-forms in the position of subject complement after the verb *keep* are classified in our corpus as "gerund/participle" [G/PART].

The method of this thesis is focused on identifying the structural precursors of the ModE gerund. Its findings are therefore unfit for generally valid quantitative conclusions regarding the rise of the gerund. Still, a relative comparison can be derived from the data. Within our corpus, the relative frequency of the gerund is certainly rising towards ModE. The situation in the first group of examples, where the gerund functions as a condenser, is depicted in Chart to Table I.[33]

The second group, where the gerund occurs in constructions expressing aspect, is too small to allow us to draw any quantitative conclusions. The gerund in this function appears in the corpus only in EModE.

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[31] Where the gerund and participle occur in the same syntactic function, they are usually distinguished by formal means. Thus, in the function of an attribute, the gerundial *ing*-form has a different structure of intonation or stress than the participle. [...] The adverbial *ing*-form is usually marked as a gerund by the presence of a preposition. [...], participle by the presence of a conjunction. Where the syntagmatic context of the gerund and the participle is not distinguished, the sentence position allows both forms and the difference between them disappears.
[32] The valency of the verb *keep* is described in more detail in the chapter dealing with the gerund in combinations expressing aspect.
[33] The Table and Chart I are included in the appendix.

4. GERUND IN THE FUNCTION OF A CONDENSER IN ModE [PREP+G]

In our ModE corpus, the gerund is mostly used as a condenser. The meaning of the action or process of the second verb is, thus, expressed by a non-finite element, which rests on the borderline between two word classes, noun and verb. This solution is, then, favourable to the general character of the isolating type which, in its extreme, does not distinguish between word classes:

> V izolačním typu jsou diferenciace vůbec slabě vyvinuty; tento typ využívá infinitivů a participií (příčestí, přechodníky a gerundia [...] jsou v izolačním typu přirozeně navzájem špatně diferencovány).[34] (Popela, 2006, 25)

The inflectional type, on the other hand, the problem of the second verb is more often solved by a subordinate clause:

> Flexivní typ je typ nejlépe vyvinutých diferenciací a lze očekávat, že bude příznivý i nejvyšší vertikální diferenciaci věta jednoduchá : věta složená. Proto také vyvinul vedlejší věty, tedy jasnou diferenciaci věta jednoduchá : věta složená. Diferenciace vedlejších vět mezi sebou dosahuje flexivní typ spojkami [...] a slovesnými způsoby [...]. Spojky jsou sice izolační pomocné elementy, ale přesto jim dává flexivní typ přednost před infinitivy a participii [...]. Argument proti infinitivům a participiím: jimi se oslabují dvě diferenciace – horizontální diferenciace nomen : verbum (poněvadž infinitivy a participia jsou jmenné formy sloves) a vertikální diferenciace věta jednoduchá : věta složená, a tím i základní vlastnost flexivního typu – dobře vyvinuté diferenciace.[35] (Popela, 2006, 24)

The OE structural predecessors of the gerund as the solution of the typological problem of the second verb can be classified into several categories. The basic distinction is the distinction

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[34] In the isolating type, differentiations are poorly developed in general; this type uses infinitives and participles (participles, and gerunds [...] are, in the isolating type, naturally also poorly differentiated from one another).

[35] The inflectional type is the type with most fully developed differentiations. Thus, it will be probably also favourable to the highest vertical differentiation simple sentence : complex sentence. For this reason, it also developed subordinate clauses, that is, a clear differentiation simple sentence : complex sentence. The subordinate clauses are then differentiated from one another by means of conjunctions [...] and mood. Although conjunctions are isolating auxiliary elements, the inflectional type favours them over infinitives and participles [...]. The argument against infinitives and participles: these forms weaken two differentiations – the horizontal differentiation noun : verb (since infinitives and participles are nominal forms of verbs), and the vertical differentiation simple sentence : complex sentence, and thereby also the basic characteristic of the inflectional type – well developed differentiations.

between a condenser (typical for isolation) and a clause (typical for inflection). The relative proportion between the solution by a clause and the solution by a condenser is expected to have changed from OE to ModE, thus illustrating the typological change that has taken place during the development of the language.

ModE	PREP+G		*condensation*
OE	1. clause	a) subordinate	*zero condensation*
		b) coordinate	
	2. VNF	a) INF	*condensation*
		b) PART	
	3. N	a) noun of action	
		b) noun in *-ung*	
		c) noun	

4.1. Clause

4.1.1. Subordinate clause [PREP + G = CONJ + VF]

Subordinate clause, that is, a finite verb linked to the main verb by a subordinating conjunction, is by far the most frequent solution in our OE corpus. The typical conjunction is *þæt* (16); also frequent is *þa* (9), followed by *forþam (þe)* (3); others which occur only once, include *buton*, *swylce*, *hwile*, *þylæs*, etc.

The ModE gerund functions as a condenser in 152 examples in our corpus. In nearly 50% of the examples we find the solution by a clause in OE. The subordinate-clause solution is found in about 30% of the examples[36]. The finite-verb solution then seems to be typical for Old English. This means that the language is still predominantly verbal, and thereby also inflectional. The following example illustrates the nominal character of the ModE sentence in opposition to the verbal character of the OE sentence:

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[36] For the exact numbers, see Appendix I.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
John 9:32	Nobody has ever heard *of opening* the eyes of a man born blind.	Since the world began was it not heard that any man *opened* the eyes of one that was born blind.	Fro the world it is not herd, that ony man *openyde* the iyen of a blynd borun man;	Ne gehyrde we næfre on worulde *þæt* ænig *ontynde* þæs eagan þe wære blind geboren.[37]

4.1.2. Coordinate clause [PREP + G = CONJ + VF]

The solution of the problem of the second verb by main clause differs from the one mentioned above only in the type of relationship to the first verb in the sentence. In the vast majority, we have the conjunction *and*. Only once, there is the conjunction *ac* in our corpus. Sometimes, there is no conjunction at all.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Luke 11:16	Others tested him *by asking* for a sign from heaven.	And others, tempting him, *sought* of him a sign from heaven.	And othir temptinge *axiden* of hym a tokene fro heuene.	And sume his fandodon and *gyrndon* of heofone tacnys of him;[38]

The clause-type solution serves as a good example of what Mathesius calls the complex-condensation phenomena. In the isolating Modern English, the whole sentence is concentrated around one verbal nexus. The "sentence dispenses with a subordinate clause" which "undoubtedly results in closer cohesion of its elements" (Vachek, 1961, 32). The internal structure is therefore of a "more complex character" in this case (Vachek, 1961, 33). The Modern English sentence, where the second verb assumes the syntactic role of an adverbial modifier, is then far more complex than the Old English one where we have two simple verbal nexus. In Old English, we may therefore observe "the tendency to dissociate the reality to be expressed into a series of actions or processes, which may be mutually either co-ordinated or subordinated. In Modern English, "on the other hand, a contrary tendency is at work, viz. one that envisages the same reality as a single, basic action or process, absorbing all other potential actions or processes as its elements or concomitant circumstances" (Vachek, 1961, 34)

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[37] Never have we heard in the world, that any (one) opened the eyes that were born blind.
[38] And some tempted him and asked a heavenly sign from him.

This has to do with the reduced dynamism of the ModE isolating verb with its growing tendency to lose its semantic load and become a mere means of expressing grammatical categories. As Vachek has pointed out, "the basic tenor of the [Modern] English sentence is undoubtedly nominal" (Vachek, 1961, 35). In such a system, the gerund as a verbo-nominal form is a suitable means for solving the problem of the second verb.

4.2. Non-finite verb forms [PREP + G = VNF]

The solution by non-finite verb forms (infinitive, participle) is much less frequent in our corpus then the finite clause solution. Our examples show that the basic tenor of the Old English sentence is predominantly verbal, which corresponds to its largely inflectional character.

4.2.1. Infinitive

Out of the 18 total OE infinitive solutions in our corpus, 12 occur in the Alfredian translation of Boethius. In the OE Bible, there are only 6 infinitive solutions.

4.2.1.1. Uninflected (or simple, plain) infinitive [AUX + -an]

There are 10 uninflected infinitive solutions in our corpus. Syntactically, they are a part of the predicate, and in combination with an auxiliary they express modality. This syntactic function corresponds to the fact that the uninflected infinitive is unmarked for case. In the still predominantly inflectional OE, it is therefore likely that it would hold a position marked for case, such as the position of the object.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Exod 2:14	Are you thinking *of killing* me as you killed the Egyptian?	intendest thou *to kill* me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?	Whether thou *wolt sle* me, as thou killidist yisterdai the Egipcian?	Wilt ðu *oflslean* me, swa þu gyrsandæg þone Egyptiscean ofsloge?[39]

There is one uninflected infinitive with the preposition "to": Luke 4:21 *Ða ongan he him to cweðan*. Due to its syntactic function as the object of the verb *onginnan*, it falls within the category of the inflected infinitive.

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[39] Do you want to kill me, as you killed the Egyptian yesterday.

4.2.1.2. Inflected infinitive [V/N + to -enne]

The inflected infinitive in our corpus serves either as the object of the verb or as the complement subject. Again, in an inflectional language such case-marked positions are natural for this case-marked form.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Gen 27:42	Your brother Esau is consoling himself with the thought *of killing* you.	thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself, purposing *to kill* thee	Esau, thi brothir, manaasith *to sle* thee;	Esau ðin broðor þe ðencð *to ofsleane*.[40]

4.2.2. Participle [PREP + G = PART]

Our corpus contains even fewer participles than infinitives. All 9 of them come from the OE Bible. None occur as a structural predecessor of the gerund in the Alfredian Boethius translation. The ModE counterpart of the participle always serves as an adverbial here.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Matt 2:11	*On coming* to the house, they saw the child with his mother Mary	And when they *were come* into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother	And thei *entriden* in to the hous, and founden the child with Marie	and *gangende* into þam huse hi gemetton ðæt cild mid marian hys meder[41]

The rarity of occurrence of the infinitive and the participle in our OE corpus suggests that the structure of the language is more favourable to the finite verb solution.

      The difference in the respective proportions of the finite and non-finite verb forms in the Modern and Old English translations certainly reflects more than a mere difference in translation method. The typological point of view seems to be a useful tool of explanation here.

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[40] Esau, your brother, intends to kill you.
[41] And going into the house, they met the child with Mary, his mother.

4.3.   Noun [PREP + G = PREP/case + N]

There are 18 solutions by noun phrase in our OE corpus. These have been divided into three categories: noun of action, verbal noun in –*ung*, and other nouns. This classification has been made with regard to the gerund and is based on whether the respective noun bears any semantic verbal characteristics (noun of action), and whether these are also signalized morphologically (verbal noun in -*ung*).

4.3.1. Noun of action [(PREP) + G = PREP/case + N(action)]

There are 4 occurrences of this solution in the OE corpus. Although formally, these have to be considered '*full-fledged*' nouns, semantically, they denote a verbal action. This can be illustrated by listing the equivalents given in the Bosworth-Toller dictionary. The first or second equivalent of our four nouns of action is always a verbal noun in -*ing* denoting some action or process:

1. **tigel-geweorc**, es; *n.* **I.** *brickmaking* (Exod 5:7)
2. **weorc**, es; *n.* **II.** *working, doing, performance* (Deut 27:26)
3. **gyte**, es; *m. A pouring, shedding, inundation, flood* (Matt 23:30)
4. **cyme**, cime, es; *m.* [cuman *to come*] *A coming, an approach, advent* (Luke 12:45)

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Deut 27:26	"Cursed is the man who does not uphold the words of this law *by carrying* them out."	Cursed be he that confirmeth suede not all the words of this law *to do* them.	Cursid is he that dwellith not in the wordis of this lawe, nethir `*parfourmeth* tho in werk	Beo se awyrged ðe [ne] wunað on ðisse æ, and hi mid spræcon and mid wordum gefylð and nele *mid weorcum.*[42]

This solution is in fact bordering on the solution by a non-finite verb in that there are really two verbal actions in the sentence. The semantically verbal character of the noun – although not signalled morphologically – is beyond doubt. If we leave the strictly morphological distinction between word-classes, we have to admit that the borderline between noun and verb becomes slightly distorted here in terms of semantics.

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[42] Cursed be the one who [does not] dwell in this law, and fills it with speech and words, and not with work.

From a typological point of view, this solution is typically inflectional. We have here a noun inflected for case, expressing what in ModE is rendered by a gerund. The semantic quality of the noun, however, somewhat complicates the picture. Although typological distinction is based mainly on morphology and syntax, it seems here that considering the semantics be worthwhile in cases like this where – despite the undoubtedly nominal form – the meaning is verbal. The semantic regard makes us align this solution with that of the non-finite verb because, semantically, the noun can be perceived as a second verb. My aim here is not so much to challenge the typological classification, as to show that there are, as usual, no clear boundaries between individual types, but rather a fine scale. This solution, where a semantic verb underlies the morphological noun, can be perceived as one of the intermediate stages between the inflectional and the isolating type, where the lack of distinction between word classes is also signalled morphologically.

4.3.2. Noun in -ung

In this group, represented by 4 examples, the verbal character of the noun is signalled morphologically. The suffix *-ung* in OE is, however, verbal only in its meaning. (The same applies to the verbal noun in modern English.) The gerund, as such, appears in OE only in interlinear glosses as a direct imprint of the Latin original. (Mustanoja, 1960, 567) Once again, the boundary between the two word classes becomes '*fuzzy*' but, again, only semantically. From the point of view of grammar, the OE noun in *-ung* functions as a proper noun.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Exod 10:26	We have to use some of them *in worshipping* the LORD our God	for thereof must we take *to serve* the LORD our God	that ben nedeful in to *the worschipyng* of `oure Lord God	for ðam ðe we heora beþurfon to Drihtnes *ofrunge*, ures Godes[43]
Boeth II,p4	But what I cannot tolerate is your delight *in complaining* so mournfully	But I can not abyde such your delytes as depriued of som of thy felicitie, wayling & carefull thou *complaynst*.	but I may nat suffren thi delites þat *pleynest* so wepynge and angwissos for þat ther lacketh som what to thi welefulnesse	Ac ic ne mæg adreohan þine *seofunga* for þam lytlan þe þu forlure;[44]

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[43] Because we need them for the offering to Lord, our God.
[44] I can not bear your lamentations for the little that you have lost.

The ModE forms are undoubtedly gerunds, the first one taking a direct object, the second one being modified by an adverbial. The Old English forms must be considered verbal nouns due to their morphological nominal characteristics.

Morphologically and syntactically, then, we have a clear typological shift from an inflected form, definite as to word-class affiliation, to an *'intermediate'* gerundial form which cannot be assigned to neither one nor the other word class. Semantically, the picture is – as with the above discussed noun with verbal meaning – more complicated. With regard to the lexical meaning, the *-ung* form would have be classified as a verb, and should therefore be considered transitional.

4.3.3. Other nouns [(PREP) + G = PREP/case + N]

The last category, where the noun has no verbal characteristics whatsoever, contains 10 examples. These can once again be divided into two subclasses. The first one is composed of two cases where the relationship of the noun to other parts of the sentence is signalled by a case ending alone, that is, by solely inflectional means.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Boeth III,p11	or when we breathe in our sleep *without knowing* it.	& breth we drawe in our somber when we *know* it not.	and as we drawen owre breth in slepynge þat we *wite* it nat whil we slepyt	Swa eac ure gast bið swiðe wide farende *urum unwillum*, and ures ungewealdes[45] ælc þara gesceafta þe sawle hæfð, ge eac þa þe nabbað, willniað simle *to bionne*.[46]
Boeth III,p11	that all the things that exist crave by their nature the permanence *of remaining* unchanged	that such thinges as naturally desyre *an abode* will shun destruction.	that alle the thinges that ben anywhere that they ne requeren naturelly the ferme stablenesse *of* perdurable *dwellynge*	

The noun *unwilla* is characterized by the Bosworth-Toller dictionary as occurring "mostly in dat. (sing. or pl.) with adverbial force". The OED, on the other hand, claims that it is "used adverbially, in genitive (usually with possessive pron.)" Despite the contradiction in case, the dictionaries agree on the adverbial use of this word in other case than the nominative. Examples of genitive as well as dative forms can be found. Due to its adverbial use, however, the change in case seems to have little influence on the meaning of the respective phrase. The second example

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[45] So each breath of ours is carried so far away regardless of our will and our power.
[46] All the creation that has a soul, as well as that which does not, wants to exist for ever.

seems to parallel the first one, since the noun *unwilla* used in any other case than the nominative acquires an adverbial meaning.

In the remaining five cases, a combination of a preposition and a case ending is used:

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Matt 23:33	How will you escape *being condemned* to hell?	how can ye escape *the damnation* of hell?	hou schulen ye fle fro *the doom* of helle?	hu fleo ge *fram* helle *dome*;[47]

The formal fusion of inflective endings in OE resulting in the loss of meaning and structural importance, creates the need of prepositions to signal the function and position of the respective word or phrase in a sentence. This tendency can be perceived as a part of the typological transition from inflection to isolation during which words lose their word-class identity and morphological signals of grammatical categories so that these have to be expressed by grammatical words such as prepositions, articles etc.

4.4. Shift in structure [2 verbs in ModE vs. 1 verb in OE]

There are 37 examples in our corpus in which there are two verbal actions in Modern English and only one in Old English. In some cases, the shift is only structural while the meaning of the respective translations remains the same:

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Mark 7:9	You have a fine way *of setting aside* the commands of God in order to observe your own traditions!	Full well ye *reject* the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.	Wel ye *han maad* the maundement of God *voide*, `to kepe youre tradicioun.	wel ge *on idel dydon* godes bebod þæt ge eower laga healdon;[48]

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[47] How will you flee from the doom of hell.
[48] Well have you made God's command vain so that you could keep your law.

In some cases, the meaning is slightly different:

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Gen 14:17	after Abram returned *from defeating* Kedorlaomer and the kings allied with him	after his return *from the slaughter* of Chedorlaomer	after that he turnede ayen *fro sleyng* of Chodorlaomor	þa he Chodorlahomor ond þa cyningas him befreonde *oferwunnen hæfde*[49]

The differences in individual translations can be explained in several ways:

4.4.1. Source of the translation

This seems to be the least significant source of the structural and semantic differences between the individual translations. Only in 2 out of the 37 cases, it seems to provide a plausible explanation. The Old English versions and the Wyclif Bible were translated from the Latin Vulgate whereas the King James Bible and the New International Version use the Masoretic Hebrew text and the Greek *Textus Receptus* (Received Text). The Latin text in the Vulgate already differs from that of the original in structure in both cases, and the two earlier translations, thus, differ accordingly:

    1. Gen 31:20: *noluitque Iacob confiteri socero quod fugeret*[50]
    2. Exo 8:9: *constitue mihi quando deprecer pro te*[51]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Gen 31:20	Jacob deceived Laban the Aramean *by not telling* him he was running away	And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he *told* him *not* that he fled.	And Jacob *nolde knouleche* to the fadir of his wijf, that he wolde fle;	þa *nolde* Iacob *cyðan* hys scæcdom hys sweore.[52]
Exod 8:9	I leave to you the honour *of setting* the time for me to pray for you	Glory over me: *when* shall I intreat for thee,	*Ordeyne* thou a tyme to me, whanne Y schal preie for thee	*Gesete* me andagan, hwænne ðu wille þæt ic for þe gebide[53]

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[49] When he had overcome Kedorlaomer and the kings allied with him.
[50] And Jacob would not confess to his father in law that he was flying away.
[51] Set me a time when I shall pray for thee.
[52] Then Jacob would not tell about his escape to his father-in-law.
[53] Set me a time when you want that I would pray for you.

4.4.2. Terseness of the OE translations

King Alfred's loose method of translation results in substantial imprecision. This, however, is from a structural point of view interesting only on a more general level than the one we are dealing with. Six, out of the 37 examples discussed here, are to be attributed to this factor.

	ModE	EmodE	ME	OE
Boeth III,p12	that no one would be truly happy except *by being* God at the same time	of whom no man was made blessed, but he that *was* lyke to him	þat no wyht nis blysful but yif he *be* good also ther-with	þu cwæde đ ælc gesælig mon *wære* God.[54]

The OE translation of the Bible also tends to be terser than the newer ones and nuances of meaning captured in the other three translations are in some cases left out altogether. Again, these are not so interesting for us from a structural and typological point of view, perhaps only on a very general level.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Exod 23:2	do not pervert justice *by siding* with the crowd	neither shalt thou speak in a cause *to decline* after many to wrest judgment:	nether thou schalt *ascente* to the sentence of ful many men in doom, that thou go awey fro treuthe.	ne beforan manegon soþes *ne wanda*[55]

4.4.3. Typological structure of the language

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Matt 25:5	The bridegroom *was* a long time *in coming*,	While the bridegroom *tarried*,	And whilis the hosebonde *tariede*,	Ða se brydguma *ylde*[56]

The last group of this category consists of examples where the shift in structure of a sentence can, for the most part, be attributed to a different structure of the respective historical stages of English. In most of these cases, we have two verbal actions in Modern English (represented by a finite verb and a gerund) versus one verbal action in Old English. A combination of a verb with general meaning and a gerund, which carries the semantic centre of gravity in Modern English, stands

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[54] You say that every happy man would be God.
[55] Neither will you turn away from the truth before a multitude.
[56] When the bridegroom tarried.

against a single finite verb with very strong dynamism in Old English. These examples can serve as a demonstration of the typological view that "the English finite verb form frequently ceases to be the unmatched instrument of predication, being often reduced to something that very closely resembles a copula" (Vachek, 1961, 35)

5. GERUND IN A CONSTRUCTION EXPRESSING ASPECT IN ModE [VF + G]

5.1. Indeterminacy – noun vs. verb; gerund vs. participle

In the second subgroup of our corpus, the gerund or gerund/participle in Modern English examples serves – in combination with a finite verb of aspectual meaning – to express aspect. In 17 out of the 43 total examples in this category, it is difficult or impossible to distinguish whether the –*ing* form we are dealing with is a participle or a gerund. This indeterminacy is one of the reasons why some authors prefer to speak about the *-ing* form in general, without dividing this category any further. (Dušková, „Re-gerundium“) The indeterminacy of some of the syntactic positions in which the gerund occurs and the resulting difficulties of classifying it either as a nominal or a verbal category can be illustrated by the two following classifications. David Denison, in *English Historical Syntax*, subsumes the gerund under the noun in general, more specifically, under the deverbal noun:

> In Modern English the same ending, *-ing*, is used both for the verb form which appears in the progressive and for a certain kind of abstract nominalisation, as in *the writing of books*. (The nominalisation may undergo semantic change towards a concrete meaning: *the binding* (*of the book*).) Some grammarians use the term gerund or gerundive for certain partially verb-like uses of the nominalisation. (Denison, 1993, 386)

Libuše Dušková in *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*, chooses rather to subsume the gerund under the verb in general, more specifically, under the category of the non-finite verb forms:

> Neurčité tvary slovesné v angličtině zahrnují infinitiv, gerundium a participium. (Dušková, 1994 266)[57]

The indeterminacy of the gerund arises in both directions, verbal and nominal, and it is not my aim here to attempt to subsume it under one or the other category. The basic word-class categories, such as the verb or the noun, seem, from the point of view of these intermediate forms, to be insufficient, and trying to fit them into one or the other always results in some kind of distortion.

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[57] The non-finite verbal forms in English include the infinitive, the gerund and the participle.

From a typological point of view, however, this indeterminacy no longer seems inconvenient. It shows that the traditional word-class classification is more suitable for some types of languages than others. The categories of noun or verb, which are clearly distinguished in the inflectional type, become far more distorted in the isolating type since they are largely defined morphologically. In the isolating type, where a word is rather defined by its syntactic position and if taken out of this position it does not exhibit its part-of-speech affiliation, these intermediate forms seem to appear quite natural. The ambiguity of the form as to its part-of-speech affiliation is then a clear isolating feature of Modern English:

> It should also be noted that the easy conversions between different word categories /e.g. nouns – verbs, nouns – adjectives, etc./, so characteristic of ModE, were virtually unknown in OE, and that for the simple reason that each of the word categories /nouns, adjectives, verbs/ was characterized in OE by its own, specific set of inflectional endings. (Vachek, 1991, 29)

Classification becomes one step more difficult in uses where the *–ing* form stands in the position of subject complement [Cs] after the verb *to keep* where indeterminacy arises due to the multiple valency of the verb – it can be intransitive, transitive, copular, and complex-transitive. The position before the *–ing* form, allows then only transitive or copular valency. (Dušková, „Re-gerundium") However, it is often difficult to say which kind of valency the verb has in a given phrase. Moreover, the overall semantics of the phrase can complicate the interpretation even further. For this reason, I decided to subsume all the occurrences of the *–ing* form in the position of a subject complement after the verb *to keep* under the category G/PART without attempting further classification.

5.2. Semantic classification of aspect types and their formal realization in Modern and Old English

With the exception of the progressive aspect, ModE does not possess *'grammaticalized'* means of expressing aspectuality. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* presents the problem of aspectuality in Modern English in the following way:

> With perfective aspectuality, the situation is presented in its totality, as a complete whole; it is viewed, as it were, from the outside, without reference to any internal temporal

structure or segmentation [...]. With imperfective aspectuality, the situation is not presented in its totality; it is viewed from within, with focus on some feature f the internal temporal structure or on some subinterval of time within the whole. In languages such as Russian there are distinct verb-forms whose basic meanings correspond closely to these two aspectualities, and the languages are therefore said to have perfective and imperfective aspect. English, of course, is not such a language: the simple present and preterite can both be used either perfectively or imperfectively. With reference to English, therefore, the terms will be used wholly for categories of meaning and interpretation. A specific case of imperfectivity, however, is where a dynamic situation is presented as ongoing, in progress: this we refer to as progressive aspectuality, and since it is the basic function of the *be* + gerund-participle construction to express it, this construction is called progressive aspect. (Huddlestone, Pullum, 2002, 124-125)

In describing the more nuanced aspectual meanings of the combination [VF + G or VF + G/PART] in our corpus, I found it useful to use terms from Tauno Mustanoja's Middle English Syntax. His classification focuses on the semantic function of the respective types of aspect and accurately captures the three types which are expressed by ModE gerund in our corpus. The Modern English combination [VF + G or VF + G/PART] expresses the following three aspectual meanings in the corpus:

1. **Durative**, i.e. focusing attention at the duration of a action or process;
Gen 7:17: *the flood kept coming on the earth*

3. **Ingressive**; i.e. focusing attention at the beginning of an action or process;
Luke 4:21: *and he began by saying to them*

4. **Egressive**; i.e. focusing attention at the end of an action or process;
John 6:43: *stop grumbling among yourselves*

In Old English, the progressive has "typically no overt form [...] As a result there can be ambiguities between habitual and progressive aspect, although usually the context makes the aspect clear. If progressive has an overt form, it is a *be* verb (*beo-*, *wes-*, *weorþ-*) requiring *–ende* as the PrP on the main verb." (Traugott, 1972, 90).

A similar relation holds true for the perfect where "there was also a failure to distinguish regularly between perfective and nonperfective in the surface structure." (Traugott, 1972, 91) However, the expanded form [EF] *habban* + PP gradually comes into use though "[...]it is uncertain or even unlikely that there is full grammaticisation of HAVE/BE and thus a true perfect [in Old English]." (Denison, 193, 340)

Apart from these expanded forms [EFF], other means of expressing aspect were used in OE. One of them are verbal prefixes such as *for-*, *a-*, *ge-*. Traugott, however, notes that "from the earliest OE times, and probably even earlier Germanic, *ge-* was [...] not a very efficient realization of perfect, and other forms were found to express it" (Traugott, 1972, 91). Often, simply the lexical meaning of a verb sufficed to express the aspect:

> Auch im Altenglischen kann die SF [Simple Form] berechtigt als *generic aspect* charakterisiert werden. Neben der Dauer einschließlich der Iteration umfaßt die SF auch die Nicht-Dauer, das gnomische Präsens, habituelle Handlungen und die charakterisierende Funktion im Sinne von Joos. Welche Bedeutung ausgedrückt werden soll, wird durch den jeweiligen Kontext realisiert, der die lexikalische Bedeutung des Verbs einschließt. (Nickel, 1966, 245)[58]

Sometimes an adverb was used for this purpose, as in Boeth III, m1: *gif ðu ærest awyrtwalast of þinū mode ða leasan gesælða*. There are two examples in our corpus where two finite verbs are used, one of them expressing the aspectual meaning, the other carrying the meaning of the Modern English G or G/PART: Luke 7:45: *ne geswac þæt heo mine fet ne cyste*. The following table summarizes the counterparts of the ModE combination [VF + G or VF + G/PART] found in our corpus:

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[58] Also in Old English it is justified to characterize the SF as bearing *generic aspect*. Apart from the duration including iteration, the SF subsumes also the non-durative, the gnomic present, habitual actions and characterizing function in the understanding of Joos. Whichever meaning is to be expressed, it is realized by means of the immediate context, which encompasses the lexical meaning of the verb.

ModE [VF+G]	VF	G
OE	1. VF	a) PART
		b) INF
		c) N
	2. ADV	VF
	3. CONJ	
	4. PREF	
	5. VF	
	6. sem (semantics of the VF or the context)	

5.3. Aspect expressed by a finite verb in combination with a nominal element[59] (participle, infinitive or noun)

5.3.1. Finite verb in combination with participle [VF + G = VF + PART]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
John 8:7	When they *kept on questioning* him, he straightened up and said to them,	So when they *continued asking* him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them,	And whanne thei *abiden axynge* hym, he reiside hym silf,	þa hig *þurhwunedon* hine *axisiende* þa aras he upp and cwæð to him;[60]

In the first example of this category, the OE finite lexical verb gradually becomes an indeterminate form where it is uncertain whether it is a transitive lexical verb or a mere copula. In other words, it demonstrates the progress from two predicates to a verbal phrase[61]. The Modern English *-ing* form, though it is indeterminate, might rather be a gerund than a participle, since its predication is transitive. (Dušková L, e-mail). The ambiguity in this position has characterized this type of structure from ME all the way to ModE.

Exod 34:33	When Moses *finished speaking* to them, he put a veil over his face.	And till Moses *had done speaking* with them, he put a vail on his face.	And whanne *the wordis weren fillid*, he puttide a veil on his face;	þonne he wið hig *gesprecen hæfde*, he heng hrægl beforan his neb.[62]

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[59] „In his lectures Mathesius laid special stress on the part played in English complex condensation cases by three types of nominal forms derived from verbal bases, viz. by participles, infinitives and gerunds." (Vachek, 1961, 33)

[60] When they continued asking him, he stood up and said to them.

[61] Combinations of verbs of general meaning and nominal elements (nouns, adjectives or adverbs) that act as qualifiers specifying that general meaning. (Vachek, 1961, 35)

[62] When he had spoken to them, he hung a veil before his face.

The second example is rather different. Here, the Modern English –*ing* form is definitely a gerund. The Old English predicate is without a doubt composite since the verb *habban* does not have its lexical meaning and has to be considered an auxiliary. Its grammaticalisation has already begun:

> Wenn wir auch aus diesen wenigen Belegen keine allgemein gültigen Schlüsse ziehen dürfen, so steht doch fest, daß auch hier der Neuenglische EF-Gebrauch bereits im Altenglischen ansatzweise vorhanden ist. (Nickel, 1966, 244)[63]

The prefix *ge-* seems to be a rather formal component of the combination *habban* + PaPART[64], unnecessary for the expression of the aspectual meaning:

> Zusammenfassend wäre zu sagen, daß die mit *ge-* präfigierten Verben in bezug auf die EF ein besonderes, noch näher zu untersuchendes Verhalten zeigen, selbst jedoch nicht zur Bezeichnung der Aspekte verwendet wurden. Wenn eine Form im Altenglischen den Aspekt bezeichnete, dann war es die EF. (Nickel, 1966 242)[65]

Since the prefix does not seem to play an important aspectual role here, it should be concluded that the perfective aspect of this type was already in Old English expressed largely by isolating means. The first example demonstrates the isolating way of solving the problem of the second verb by a non-finite verb form. There are two predications here, one expressing the aspectual meaning, the other the lexical meaning. This solution seems to be half-way between the solution by two full verbs (discussed in section 5. of this chapter) and the solution by a verbal phrase which seems to be the case of the second example.

We have arrived at a scale of the rate of mutual dependency between the two verbs:

two finite verbs	*a finite and a non-finite verb*	*verbal phrase*
[dependent finite clause]	[dependent non-finite clause]	[auxiliary + finite verb]

Whereas the first solution would be typical for inflection, the other two are typically isolating.

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[63] Although no generally valid conclusions can be drawn from this scarce material, it remains certain that the Modern English use of the EF is in essence already present in Old English.

[64] i.e.past participle

[65] In short, it could be said that verbs with the prefix *ge-* related to the EF carry a specific meaning, which needs to be further examined, but they are not here to denote aspect. When a form in Old English expressed aspect, it was always the EF.

5.3.2. Finite verb in combination with infinitive [VF + G = VF + INF]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Mark 11:15	and *began driving out* those who were buying and selling there.	and *began to cast out* them that sold and bought in the temple,	he *bigan to caste out* silleris and biggeris in the temple;	he *ongann drifan* of þam temple syllende and bicgende;[66]

The mutual dependency of the two verb forms in this type of expressing the ingressive aspectual meaning is obvious. The meaning of the verb *onginnan* is largely aspectual here. As in the preceding (and following) section, we are dealing here with complex condensation, that is:

> The introduction into the sentence of a nominal element or phrase enabling that sentence to do without a subordinate clause the use of which would otherwise be indispensable [...] If, that is to say, a sentence dispenses with a subordinate clause, this undoubtedly results in closer cohesion of its elements; such cohesion is equivalent to a greater condensity of the whole sentence structure. (Vachek, 1961, 32)

Due to their word-class indeterminacy, the non-finite verb forms rank among the "nominal elements" and this isolating trend of complex condensation is already present in such OE cases as these.

5.3.3. Finite verb in combination with noun [VF + G = VF = N]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Matt 19:1	When Jesus had *finished saying* these things,	And it came to pass, that when Jesus *had finished these sayings*,	whanne Jhesus *hadde endid these wordis*,	And þa se hælend *geendode þas spræca*[67]
Matt 26:1	When Jesus *had finished saying* all these things,	when Jesus *had finished all these sayings*,	whanne Jhesus *hadde endid alle these wordis*,	Witodlice þa se hælend *hæfde eale þas spræca geendud*

This structure is very similar to the ones above. Again, we are dealing with complex condensation and close cohesion of elements which are typically isolating. This example, however, shows another interesting point. A comparison of the semantic fields of the two seemingly equivalent

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[66] he began to drive out of the temple the selling and buying ones
[67] and the Saviour finished the speech

nouns *speech* and *spræc*, might bring some further reaching conclusions. The noun *spræc* has a wide semantic field including the meaning of a deverbal noun whereas the noun *speech* is in its ability to express verbal action comparatively limited:

> **spræc**, f, **II.** *speech, talking* (*Bosworth and Toller*)
> **speech**, *n*, **1**: the act of speaking (*Merriam-Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus*)

In other words, it seems that the Old English noun *spræc* might encompass the deverbal meaning "*speaking*". That is, that the Old English sentence *And þa hælend geendode þas spræca*, might be translated: *And when Jesus finished speaking*. This might suggest that the rise and increasing use of the gerund resulted in its overtaking some of the functions of the noun.

5.4. Aspect expressed by adverb in combination with finite verb [VF + G = ADV + VF]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Gen 30:9	When Leah saw that she had *stopped having* children	When Leah saw that she *had left bearing*	Lya feelide that sche *ceesside to bere* child	þa Lia undergeat þæt heo *leng ne tymde*[68]

In this example, the Modern English isolating verbal phrase is in Old English paralleled by a "looser" combination of an adverb and a full verb. Even though the combination [ADV + VF] would not in general be prevented by the structure of Modern English, it would be difficult to apply it in this specific case since a verb of this meaning which would be able to carry the semantic load of the Old English *tíman* no longer exists in ModE:

> **tíman**; *p.* de. **I.** *to teem, be productive.* v. teám, **I.** (1) referring to a female, *to be with child, bear, bring forth* young (Bosworth-Toller)

In Modern English, the verb *to bear* would require an object. This has to do with the overall change in the structure of the language which is reflected in the weakened dynamism of the verb and in the tendency towards nominal rather than verbal wording of sentences. (Vachek, J., Some Less Familiar Aspect of the Analytical Trend of English, 32, 36) Thus, a structure similar to the Old English one would, in ModE, seem archaic or even incorrect: **When Leah perceived that she no longer bore*.

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[68] when Leah saw that she no longer bore

5.5. Aspect expressed by temporal conjunction in combination with finite verb [VF + G = CONJ + VF]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Gen 24:19	until they *have finished drinking*	until they *have done drinking*	But also Y schal drawe watir to thi camelis, *til* alle *drynken*.	and ic hlade siððan þinum olfendum wæter *oð ðæt* hig ealle *drincan*.[69]

In this case, the aspectual meaning is expressed by the temporal conjunction and its position with relation to the verb. The solution is thus isolational. This OE simple verb form can potentially express durative or perfective aspect. In the position after the preposition, the verb *drincan* has a perfective meaning. If we were to change the position of the conjunction so that it would follow, not precede the verb, the aspectual meaning of the verb would become durative:

> Doch kann Dauer keineswegs als die exklusive Funktion der EF angesehen werden. Hier braucht nur auf die zahllosen SFF [Simple Forms] verweisen zu werden, die ebenfalls die Dauer bezeichnen. Dies tritt besonders deutlich in Kontexten hervor, in denen nur "durative" Verbalaussagen stehen können. Hierzu gehört insbesondere die Position vor den Temporalkonjunktionen *oþ*, *oþþæt*, in einigen Fällen *ær*. (Nickel, 1966, 244)[70]

5.6. Aspect expressed by prefix in combination with finite verb [VF + G = PREF + VF]

The way of expressing aspect is agglutinative in this construction: by means of a prefix with one meaning. The inflectional type as such does not have its own means of expressing aspect. This is probably due to the fact that the polyfunctional inflectional ending is already overloaded with other, more important, categories such ase tense and number. The inflectional type then tends to use the agglutinative prefixes to express the aspectual meanings:

1. **standan**; *To stand.*
2. **æt-standan,** *v. intrans. To stand, stand still, stop, stand near, rest, stay, stand up;*

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[69] But I will draw water for your camels, till they all drink.

[70] Nevertheless, duration can certainly not be perceived as an exclusive function of the EF. It suffices only to refer to the countless SFF [Simple Forms] which also express duration. This becomes most evident in contexts where only verbs with durative meaning can occur. Among these contexts belongs first of all the position before temporal conjunctions *oþ*, *oþþæt*, sometimes also *ær*.

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	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Josh 3:16	the water from upstream *stopped flowing*	That the waters which came down from above *stood*	the watris yeden doun, and *stoden* in o place	swa **æt**stod se stream[71]

However, already in OE, the agglutinative prefixes are loosing their productive strength. The old perfective prefix *ge-*, for example, did often not suffice to express the aspectual, and other forms had to be found to express it. In our corpus, the solution by perfective prefix occurs only twice in OE and never in the later stages. This solution then seems to be dissappearing altogether.

5.7.   Aspect expressed by finite verb in combination with finite verb [VF + G = VF + VF]

This solution does not use condensation. The two verbs are full verbs in relation of subordination. The "tendency to dissociate reality to be expressed into a series of actions or processes, which may be mutually either coordinated or subordinated" (Vachek, 1961, 34) is still at work here. Though this way of solving the problem of the second verb is also used by isolation, it is far more typical for inflection:

> Spojky jsou sice izolační pomocné elementy, ale přesto jim dává flexivní typ přednost před infinitivy a participii, jichž užívá ve srovnání třeba s aglutinačními jazyky velmi omezeně. Argument proti infinitivům a participiím: jimi se oslabují dvě diferenciace – horizontální diferenciace nomen : verbum (poněvadž infinitivy a participia jsou jmenné formy sloves) a vertikální diferenciace věta jednoduchá : věta složená, a tím i základní vlastnost flexivního typu – dobře vyvinuté diferenciace. (Popela, 2006, 24)[72]

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[71] So stopped the stream.

[72] Conjunctions may well be isolating auxiliary elements, nevertheless, the inflectional type prefers them to the infinitives and participles [including the gerund] which are used here, e. g. in comparison with the agglutinative languages, to a very limited extent. The argument against infinitives and participles: they weaken two differentiations – the horizontal differentiation noun : verb (since infinitives and participles are nominal forms of verbs) and the vertical differentiation simple sentence : complex sentence and thus the basic feature of the inflectional type – well developed differentiations.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Luke 7:45	You did not give me a kiss, but this woman, from the time I entered, *has not stopped kissing* my feet.	Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in *hath not ceased to kiss* my feet.	Thou hast not youun to me a cosse; but this, sithen sche entride, *ceesside not to kisse* my feet.	Coss þu me ne sealdest; þeos | syððan ic ineode. *ne geswac* þæt heo mine fet *ne cyste*;[73]
Gen 19:9	They *kept bringing* pressure on Lot and moved forward to break down the door	And they *pressed sore* upon the man, even Lot, and came near to break the door	And thei *diden violentli* to Loth *ful greetli*.	Hi *ne forsocon* þæt hi Lothe *þrangon*

Although there are only two examples of this solution in the corpus, they seem to be significant. Not only, in both cases, is this inflectional solution isolated among the English translations, but it also differs in structure from the respective structures in the Latin source:

> Luke 7:45: *osculum mihi non dedisti haec autem ex quo intravit non cessavit osculari pedes meos*[74]
>
> Gen 19:9: *vimque faciebant Loth vehementissime*[75]

The Middle English translation has similar constructions to those found in Latin. The Old English solution by a subordinate clause is then probably motivated by the structure of the language itself. This solution shows that the inflectional tendencies are still strong in OE.

5.8. Aspect expressed by the semantics of the finite verb or the logical structure of the sentence [VF + G = VF]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
John 11:56	They *kept looking* for Jesus,	Then *sought* they for Jesus,	Therfor thei *souyten* Jhesu,	hig *sohton* þone hælend[76]

In the first example of this section, the durative aspect is inherent in the lexical meaning of the SF in Old English. Though a similar construction would be theoretically possible in Modern English,

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[73] A kiss you did not give to me [but] this [one] since I entered did not stop and kissed my feet.
[74] Thou gavest me no kiss. But she, since she came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet.
[75] 0 And they pressed very violently upon Lot:
[76] They sought the Saviour.

it would seem archaic. The reduced dynamism of the SF in Modern English leads to its limited use which does not include expressing aspect.

In the following example, the verb *stop* does not really seem to express primarily aspect. Rather it seems to serve as a means of negation. This view seems to be supported by the other three translations where the verb is simply negated. The wider context in which this sentence is set decides whether the simple negated form is referring to a past or a future action. In this case it shows that the aspectual meaning of the older translations is the same as that of the Modern one.

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
John 7:24	*Stop judging* by mere appearances, and make a right judgment.	*Judge not* according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.	*Nile* ye *deme* aftir the face, but deme ye a riytful doom.	*Ne deme* ge be ansyne ac demað rihtne dom;[77]

In the last example of this section, there is no overt mark of aspect in the Old English sentence. The perfective meaning of the verb is nevertheless clear from the logical structure of the sentence. One probably would not consider translating the OE text as: *This thing the Saviour was saying to him when he went and hid from him*:

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
John 12:36	When he *had finished speaking*, Jesus left and hid himself from them.	*These things spake* Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them.	Jhesus *spak these thingis*, and wente, and hidde hym fro hem.	*Đas þing* se hælend him *sæde* and eode and bediglode hine fram him;

Old English is apparently moderate in expressing aspect overtly and cases as these show that it was often not necessary since the logical structure sufficed to indicate the aspectual meaning. The moderateness probably stems from the very limited means the language had. The perfective prefixes were losing their productive strength and the new, isolating means were still far from being fully developed and systemized. Even the modern verbal phrase, however, is probably not comparable to the agglutinative perfective prefixes (used for instance in Czech) in its ability to express aspect. As was already implied in the introductory chapter, the relationship between tense and aspect is still not resolved.

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[77] Do not judge by appearance but judge a right judgement.

5.9. Aspect not expressed in Old English [VF + G = 0; VF + G/P = 0]

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
Luke 18:5	yet because this widow *keeps bothering* me, I will see that she gets justice,	Yet because this widow *troubleth* me, I will avenge her,	netheles for this widewe *is heuy* to me, Y schal venge hir;	þeah forþam þe ðeos wuduwe me *is gram* ic wrece hig.[78]

There are 15 such examples in our corpus where aspect is not expressed at all in Old English. The majority of them are counterparts of the Modern English structure *keep –ing* where the *–ing* form is indeterminate as to whether it is a participle or a gerund. The synchronic evidence from Modern English makes each decision a complicated and unequivocal one. The evidence of the other three translations would in most cases reduce the dynamic weight of the verb *keep* to a mere copula since its meaning is disregarded altogether. If we were to rely only on the diachronic evidence then, we would probably have to classify the verb *keep* as a copula and the *–ing* form as a participle. A few more examples of this type follow:

	ModE	EModE	ME	OE
John 19:12	From then on, Pilate tried to set Jesus free, but the Jews *kept shouting*,	And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him: but the Jews *cried out*, saying,	Fro that tyme Pilat souyte to delyuere hym; but the Jewis *crieden*, and seiden,	and syððan sohte pilatus hu he hyne forlete; Ða iudeas *clypodon*. and cwædon;
John 16:18	They *kept asking*,	They *said* therefore,	Therfor thei *seiden*,	Hig *cwædon* witodlice
Luke 23:21	But they *kept shouting,* "Crucify him! Crucify him!"	But they *cried*, saying, Crucify him, crucify him.	And thei *vndurcrieden*, and seiden, Crucifie, crucifie hym.	Ða *hrymdon* hig and cwædon ahoð hine ahoð hine;
Luke 13:33	I must keep going today and tomorrow and the next day	I must walk to day, and to morrow, and the day following:	it bihoueth me to dai, and to morewe, and the dai that sueth, to walke;	Ðeah hwæþere me gebyreþ todæg. and tomorhgen. and þy æfteran dæge gan:

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[78] though because this widow is heavy to me, I will avenge her

| Luke 5:33 | John's disciples often fast and pray, and so do the disciples of the Pharisees, but yours *go on eating* and *drinking*. | Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees; but thine *eat and drink*? | Whi the disciplis of Joon fasten ofte, and maken preieris, also and of Farisees, but thine *eten and drynken*? | hwi fæstaþ iohannes leorningcnihtas gelomlice and halsunga doð: and eallswa farisea. and þine *etað and drincað*; |

The participle interpretation becomes even more plausible when we look at the Latin Vulgate. The Latin structures also do not express aspectual meanings:

> John 19:12: *exinde quaerebat Pilatus dimittere eum Iudaei autem clamabant dicentes*[79]
>
> John 16:18: *dicebant ergo*[80]
>
> Luke 32:21: *at illi succlamabant dicentes crucifige crucifige illum*[81]
>
> Luke 13:33: *verumtamen oportet me hodie et cras et sequenti ambulare*[82]
>
> Luke 5:35: *quare discipuli Iohannis ieiunant frequenter et obsecrationes faciunt similiter et Pharisaeorum tui autem edunt et bibunt*[83]

The aspectual difference between the ModE and the OE and ME examples might then be caused by the Latin original of the two older translations. However, the aspectual meaning is not expressed in the EModE translation as well. Since this translation is based on the Greek original, we are forced to disregard the influence of Latin.

The aspectual meaning seems to be in ModE alone then. From the synchronic perspective, we cannot say, that the verb *keep* is a copula and the *ing*-form a participle in all these cases. A more plausible explanation seems, once again, to be provided by the weakened dynamism of the finite verb form which can no longer fulfil certain functions. Until ModE, the simple present or the simple past could be used to expressive the durative meaning. In ModE, this meaning is systematically expressed by the present or past continuous. The simple forms do not entail this meaning anymore.

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[79] And from henceforth Pilate sought to release him. But the Jews cried out, saying
[80] They said therefore
[81] But they cried again, saying: Crucify him, Crucify him
[82] Nevertheless, I must walk to-day and to-morrow and the day following
[83] Why do the disciples of John fast often and make prayers, and the disciples of the Pharisees in like manner; but thine eat and drink

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Identifying the forms

The first problem that had to be dealt with after the data had been collected was distinguishing the gerund from the other *ing*-forms. This distinction was made on the basis of syntactic characteristics of the gerund. Nevertheless, certain syntactic positions, in which the *ing*-forms occur, do not allow distinguishing the gerund from either the verbal noun, or the present participle. The *ing*-forms in such positions were included in the ModE corpus and were classified as "gerund/noun" [G/N], or "gerund/participle" [G/PART] respectively.

The position after the verb *keep* seemed to deserve special attention. From a synchronic perspective, identifying the *ing*-form can only be tentative. When determining the valency of the verb *keep* in a given occurrence, we need to know the identity of the *ing*-form. Determining the identity of the *ing*-form is based on the knowledge of the valency of the verb *keep*. Due to this *'vicious circle'* the *ing*-form remains indeterminate in this position when viewed solely from a synchronic perspective. Although the diachronic evidence and the evidence of the Latin Vulgate, where the aspectual meaning of the verb *keep* is not expressed at all, might seem to support the copular interpretation of the verb, the synchronic considerations must be taken into account. The 'mixed' category is therefore preserved in the corpus. The reasons for the "sudden" appearance of the aspectual meaning in ModE probably lie in the isolating structure of ModE. The weakened ModE simple verb form no longer encompasses the durative aspectual meaning since this meaning is now systematically expressed by expanded forms.

6.2. Overall results

The corpus shows a significant decline in the use of the finite verb. This tendency is related to the weakening dynamism of this form and to the growing tendency towards nominal predication in the structure of the English sentence. The relative numbers of occurrence in the corpus show a rise in the use of the two condensers, which had existed in OE (the infinitive and the participle), and the appearance, growing use and increasing functional load of a new condenser (the gerund). These numbers clearly demonstrate that English has undergone a significant typological change during its development. The gerund, together with the two other condensers, has overtaken some of the functions of the OE finite verb and of the OE verbal noun. In combination with nominal and verbo-nominal forms, the lexical meaning of the finite verb is either almost completely lost (as is

the case of auxiliaries), or is reduced to expressing a very narrow meaning (such as the aspectual meaning).

These conclusions are based on observable tendencies. In terms of absolute numbers, the finite-verb solution of the problem of the second verb is by far the most frequent one in the EModE corpus. The nature of data-selection (based on tracing the gerunds in the ModE translations) does not permit us to see the comparative numbers in ModE.

6.3. Gerund in the function of a condenser in ModE

With regard to the typological point of view, the number of categories from the first part of the corpus (Appendix I) was reduced to the following:

Table I	EModE	ME	OE
clause	57	65	70
INF	31	27	18
PART	17	14	9
G	13	3	0
G/N	1	6	0
N	14	17	20
shift	20	21	36
	153	153	153

Chart to table I
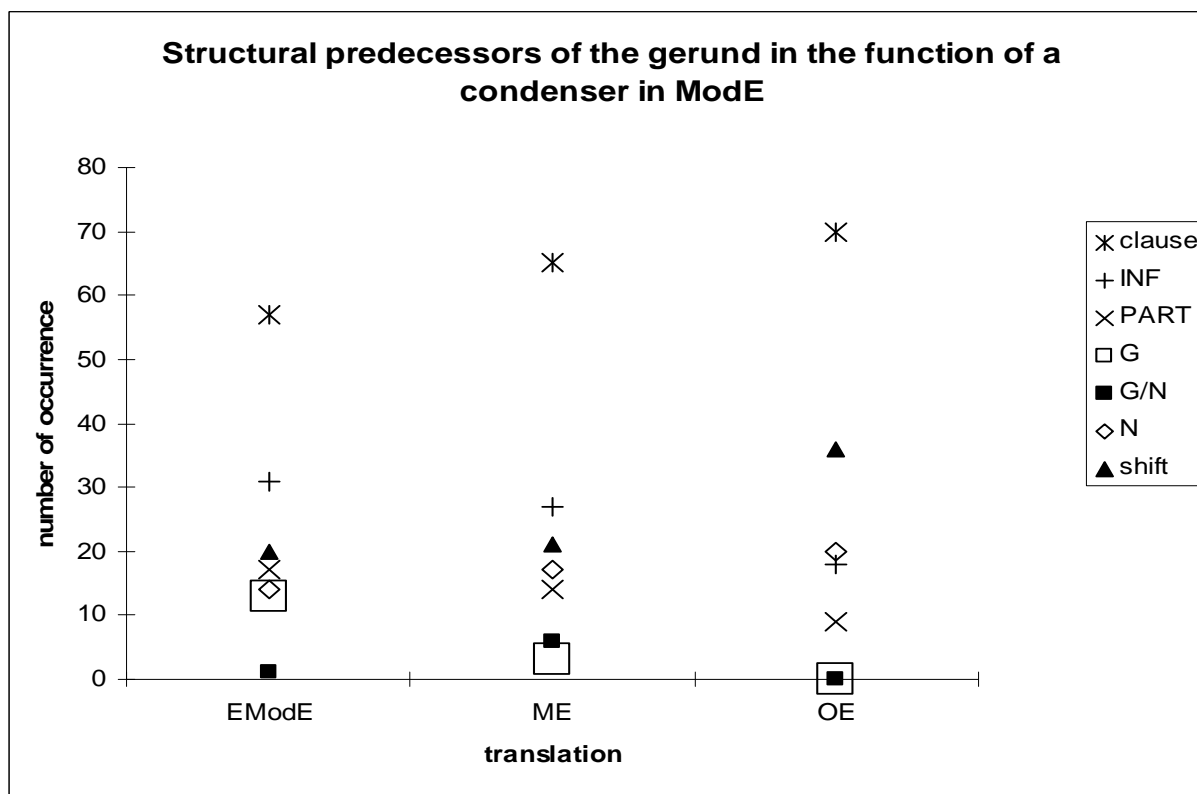
This chart demonstrates: a) the falling frequency of the solution by a clause (that is, by a finite verb); b) the growing use of the non-finite verb forms which had already existed in OE (the infinitive and the participle); c) the appearance and growing frequency of the solution by a gerund; and d) the falling use of the solution by a noun.

All these processes clearly demonstrate the typological change in the language, which has occurred over the course of its development. The solutions by a finite verb and by the three condensers have been mentioned above. The significance of the falling frequency of the solution by a noun is more subtle.

As we have seen, about 50% of the OE nouns in the corpus express some verbal action. The majority of their counterparts in all the later translations are gerund/nouns, gerunds, or infinitives; that is, verbo-nominal forms. This, perhaps, leads to the conclusion that the semantic field[84] of these OE nouns is larger than that of their ModE counterparts. In other words, the verbal constituent of the meaning of these nouns is, in the later stages of the development of the language overtaken by verbo-nominal forms. The all-encompassing old inflectional categories of the noun and the verb then seem to dissociate into a variety of intermediate forms.

The category of the 'ordinary' nouns, which do not express any verbal meaning shows the transition from inflection to isolation in the loss of inflectional endings and their supplementation by isolating prepositions. The differences in structure and/or meaning between the ModE and the OE translations, which fall under the category of "shift", are, in their majority, also connected to the typological development of the language. The two verbs in ModE can often be considered a verbo-nominal predicate. Their composite meaning equals the meaning of the OE finite verb. This category once again shows the weakening dynamism of the English verb.

6.4. Gerund in a construction expressing aspect in ModE

The ModE gerund occurs in constructions, which express three semantic types of aspectuality in the corpus: a) durative, b) ingressive, and c) egressive. These aspectual meanings are all expressed by a combination of a finite verb of aspectual meaning with a gerund or gerund/participle in ModE. This solution is typologically isolational.

Inflection (as the predominant type of OE) does not have its own means of expressing aspect. The polyfunctional inflectional ending must first express other, more important, categories.

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[84] i.e. the area of meanings they cover

Inflection usually tends to use agglutinative prefixes to express aspectual meaning, since these do not interfere with its basic characteristics.

In OE, however, agglutinative prefixes seem to be loosing their aspectual meaning and often no longer suffice to express aspect by themselves. In the majority of our OE examples where aspect is expressed at all, it is expressed mostly by isolating means. This tendency then increases in the ME and EModE translations. The following table and chart summarize the quantitative results of the analysis[85]:

Table II	EModE	ME	OE
"Verb phrase"	17	12	8
VF+N	4	7	5
ADV+VF	2	1	4
CONJ+VF	0	2	2
PREF+VF	0	0	2
VF+VF	1	0	2
sem	7	7	7
0	14	16	16
	44	44	44

Chart to Table II
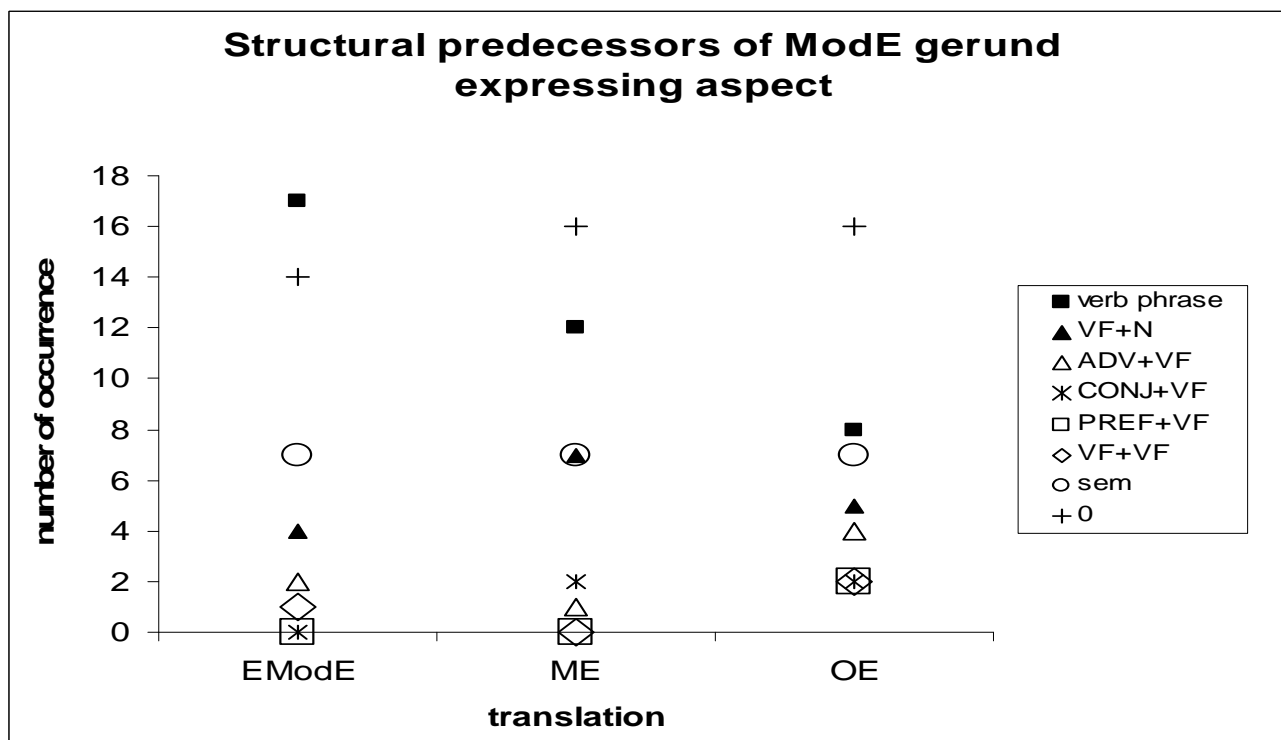
The OE, ME, and EModE structural precursors of the gerund in the aspectual function fall under several categories. The first category comprises of cases where the aspectual meaning is

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[85] This table is a simplifified version of the table in Appendix II.

expressed by a combination of two verbs. In the analysis, we have arrived at the following scale of mutual dependency between the two verbs:

two finite verbs	*a finite and a non-finite verb*	*a verb phrase*
[dependent finite clause]	[dependent non-finite clause]	[auxiliary + finite verb]

The first solution is (apart from the isolating conjunction between the clauses) inflectional. The other two solutions are increasingly isolating. In the solution by a dependent non-finite clause, the finite verb is not an auxiliary in the sense of grammar, but its meaning is narrowed to expressing the aspectual meaning. It could then be perceived as a kind of a *'semantic auxiliary'*. Its functional load and dynamism is certainly lowered in comparison with the finite verb in the first type of construction. The third solution is entirely isolating. Neither of the two verbs can function independently. In this type of construction, the identity of the *ing*-form (whether it is a gerund or a participle) becomes problematic.

The second category, where the aspectual meaning is expressed by a combination of a finite verb (or a perfective verb phrase) with aspectual meaning and a noun is in structure basically a verbo-nominal phrase. This way of expressing aspect is clearly isolating. Yet, in one aspect it is "less isolating" than its ModE counterpart. Two of the four nouns in the OE corpus are nouns of action. In such cases, the semantics of the noun have to cover a larger variety of meanings than the semantics of its ModE counterpart which does not express the verbal meaning. In ModE, this meaning is expressed by a verbo-nominal form, that is, by the gerund. It follows that the dynamism and functional load of the old inflectional noun is weakened by the typological transition from inflection to isolation. Such a typological shift then means that the "large" inflectional word classes are disintegrating into a scale of intermediate forms with specialized meanings and functions.

To conclude with, the qualitative analysis and the quantitative comparison of the individual stages of the development of the language have demonstrated that the rise and increasing use and functional load of the gerund is connected to the development of English as a language type. The majority of the OE structural precursors of the gerund in our corpus are inflectional. Charts to Table I and II suggest that proportion of the inflectional precursors has been gradually falling during the development of the language. The inflectional forms were then being supplanted either by isolating precursors of the gerund (such as the participle and the infinitive which had already existed in OE) or by the gerund itself.

7. SUMMARY (IN CZECH)

Tato práce se pokouší zmapovat strukturní předchůdce gerundia v angličtině a usouvztažnit vznik gerundia jako gramatické formy a jeho rostoucí užití a funkční zatížení s typologickým vývojem jazyka. Problematické je už samo vymezení gerundia, zejména jeho odlišení od deverbativního substantiva a přítomného participia, tedy forem se stejným sufixem. V této práci je gerundium vymezeno na základě svých syntaktických vlastností (tj. může se pojit s přímým předmětem, s predikátem či doplňkem, připouští modifikaci adverbiem, vykazuje slovesnou rekci a jeho podmět může být v obecném pádě). V některých syntaktických pozicích může nicméně potenciálně stát jak gerundium, tak deverbativní substantivum. Některé další zas připouští jak gerundium, tak participium. V podstatě jde o to, že v dané pozici nemá tvar na *-ing* žádnou z výše uvedených syntaktických vlastností, které by jej jednoznačně určily jako gerundium. Příklady, v nichž nelze rozhodnout, zda se jedná o gerundium, či deverbativní substantivum jsou zahrnuty do kategorie gerundium/substantivum [G/N]. Případy, kdy nelze rozhodnout, zda jde o gerundium, či přítomné participium, rovněž tvoří zvláštní kategorii gerundium/participium [G/PART].

Původním záměrem bylo založit analýzu na čtyřech historických překladech Boethiovy *Filosofie utěšitelky*. Staroanglický překlad je nicméně natolik nepřesný, že srovnání většinou není dost dobře možné. Většinu dat v korpusu tak nakonec tvoří příklady z Bible, kde je snaha o doslovnost mnohem větší i ve staré angličtině. Korpus tedy sestává z příkladů ze čtyř historických překladů Boethia[86] (zhruba 20% dat) a z příkladů ze čtyř historických překladů Bible[87] (zbývajících 80% dat). Překlady reprezentují jednotlivá období jazykového vývoje, tedy starou, střední, ranně moderní a moderní angličtinu.

Gerundia v moderní angličtině byla rozdělena do dvou hlavních skupin, podle toho, zda plní funkci druhého slovesa[88] v polovětné vazbě[89], nebo zda stojí za slovesem vyjadřujícím vid[90]. Právě v této pozici, zejména po slovesech vyjadřujících trvání nastává problém s odlišením gerundia od přítomného participia. Proto zde byla pro tvar na *-ing* zavedena zvláštní smíšená kategorie gerundium/participium [G/PART].

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[86] Autory jednotlivých překladů (od nejstaršího po nejnovější) jsou: Král Alfréd Veliký, Geoffrey Chaucer, Alžběta II a Joel C. Relihan

[87] The Old English Version of The Heptateuch and The Old English Version of the Gospels, Wyclif's Bible, King James Bible and the New International Version

[88] Typologický termín. Problém druhého slovesa se týká složených vět, v nichž jsou slovesa v hypotaktickém vztahu. Druhé sloveso je sloveso podřadné. „Jednotlivé typy řeší tento problém vedlejšími větami, infinitivy a participii (tato kategorie zahrnuje i gerundia)" (Popela, 2006, 24)

[89] i.e. Gerund in the function of a condenser in ModE.

[90] i.e. Gerund in a construction expressing aspect in ModE.

7.1. Gerundium ve funkci druhého slovesa v polovětné vazbě v moderní angličtině

V této skupině byli strukturní předchůdci gerundia rozděleni do následujících kategorií: a)věta: věta vedlejší, druhá věta hlavní[91]; b)polovětná vazba: infinitiv, participium, gerundium nebo gerundium/substantivum [G/N]; c)substantivum: dějové substantivum, deverbativní substantivum a substantivum bez slovesného významu; d) a strukturní „posun" [shift][92]. Je třeba říci, že přinejmenším na sémantické rovině není mezi polovětnou vazbou a předmětem ostrá hranice, což dokazuje i potřeba zavádět smíšenou kategorii gerundium/substantivum.

Z hlediska typologie Pražské školy je první kategorie, tedy kategorie „věta", typicky flexivní. Lze očekávat, že v převážně flexivní staré angličtině bude toto řešení převládat. Výsledky analýzy to také potvrzují. Bezmála 50% příkladů ze staré angličtiny řeší problém druhého slovesa větou vedlejší (zhruba 34%) nebo větou hlavní (zhruba 12%). V novějších překladech pak podíl větných konstrukcí klesá. Ve střední angličtině na zhruba 40%, v ranně moderní pak na 37%.

Kategorie polovětné vazby je naopak řešením typicky izolačním. Lze tedy očekávat, že ve staré angličtině bude její využití nejmenší a s postupem času poroste. Výsledky analýzy to opět potvrzují. Gerundium jako takové stará angličtina nezná (vyskytuje se pouze v interlineárních glosách a jedná se pravděpodobně o doslovné překlady z latiny). Zbývající dvě polovětné vazby (infinitiv a participium) tvoří dohromady necelých 20% staroanglických příkladů. Frekvence užití těchto vazeb pak v novějších překladech roste: na necelých 30% ve střední angličtině a bezmála 50% v ranně moderní angličtině. Dynamičnost a funkční zatížení určitého tvaru slovesného tedy zřejmě klesá. Sloveso je postupem času v určitých pozicích redukováno na pouhého nositele gramatických kategorií, přičemž sémantický význam predikace je vyjadřován nominálním tvarem (sem počítáme i „nominalizace" jakými jsou neurčité tvary slovesné).

Ve třetí kategorii je strukturním předchůdcem polovětné vazby větný člen, konkrétně předmět. Problém řešení druhého slovesa by zde tedy vlastně neměl nastat, jelikož zde žádné druhé sloveso není. Nicméně v polovině staroanglických příkladů tohoto typu je strukturním předchůdcem gerundia buď deverbativní substantivum na -*ing*, nebo substantivum dějové (se slovesným významem). Druhé sloveso je zde tedy, alespoň ve významu, přítomno. V novějších překladech nacházíme na místě staroanglický dějový jmen většinou neurčité tvary slovesné. Zdá se tedy, že sémantické pole některých staroanglických dějových jmen bylo větší než sémantické pole jejich moderních „ekvivalentů". Tato tendence zřejmě souvisí s měnící se strukturou jazyka.

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[91] V případě věty hlavní se sice, striktně řečeno, nejedná o řešení problému druhého slovesa, neboť mezi oběma slovesy není hypotaktický vztah, nicméně věta hlavní zde ve starších překladech plní stejnou funkci jako gerundium v překladech moderních. Řeší tedy stejný problém.

[92] Jde o konstrukce, v nichž dvěma slovesům v moderní angličtině odpovídá jedno sloveso ve starším překladu.

Staroanglická kategorie jména zřejmě ztrácí s ústupem flexe na dynamičnosti a funkčním zatížení a některé její významy a funkce přebírají „přechodné"[93] tvary jako právě gerundium. Děje se zde tedy něco podobného jako ve staroanglické kategorii slovesa. Obecně lze říci, že slovnědruhové kategorie flexivního jazyka ztrácejí při přechodu k izolaci na síle. Ztráta schopnosti sloves a substantiv vyjadřovat gramatické významy je provázena vznikem a/nebo rostoucím významem „přechodných" tvarů, které tyto vztahy již nevyjadřují.

7.2. Gerundium v konstrukci vyjadřující vid v moderní angličtině

V této skupině byla při klasifikaci brána v potaz celá konstrukce vyjadřující vid. V moderní angličtině je tato konstrukce složena z určitého slovesa s vidovým významem a gerundia (případně gerundia/participia), které nese hlavní slovesný význam dané predikace. Jde tedy o kombinaci určitého „pomocného" slovesa[94] a neurčitého slovesného tvaru. Toto sloveso sice nepatří do kategorie pomocných sloves, nicméně jeho funkce se zde funkci pomocného slovesa blíží, jelikož slouží pouze k vyjádření slovesných kategorií a hlavní význam predikace je nesen neurčitým tvarem slovesným, tedy gerundiem. Můžeme tedy říci, že toto řešení je v podstatě izolační.

Strukturní předchůdci této konstrukce byli rozděleni do následujících kategorií: a) určité sloveso s perfektivizující předponou; b) určité sloveso vidového významu ve spojení s určitým slovesem vyjadřujícím hlavní význam predikace; c) určité sloveso vidového významu ve spojení s neurčitým tvarem slovesným (infinitivem, participiem, gerundiem nebo gerundiem/participiem) nebo se substantivem; d) temporální spojka ve spojení s určitým slovesem. e) adverbium vyjadřující vid ve spojení s určitým slovesem; f) vidový význam je vyjádřen sémantickou slovesa nebo logickou strukturou celé věty.

První řešení je typicky aglutinační. Staroanglická část našeho korpusu obsahuje pouze dva příklady, kde perfektivizující předpona sama vyjadřuje vidový význam. Jedná se o předpony *æt-* a *for-*. Stará perfektivizující předpona *ge-* je už v tomto období zřejmě oslabena do té míry, že na vyjádření vidu sama nestačí. V našem korpusu se participium s "perfektivizující" předponou *ge-* vyskytuje dvakrát a v obou případech se kombinuje se slovesem *habban*, přičemž se zdá že vid je vyjádřen právě touto kombinací a sama předpona zde k vyjádření aspektuálního významu neslouží.

Druhé řešení, tedy řešení dvěma určitými predikacemi, je nejvíce typické pro flexi. Obě slovesa jsou zde plnovýznamová a nesou všechny slovesné kategorie. Predikace jsou sice spojeny izolačními pomocnými elementy, tedy spojkami, nicméně je toto řešení typické spíše pro flexi,

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[93] i.e. "přechodné" z hlediska systémového, ne časového.
[94] Nejde o pomocné sloveso v pravém slova smyslu. Pomocná slovesa jsou taková, která v predikaci ztrácejí svůj lexikální význam a slouží výhradně k vyjádření gramatických kategorií.

jelikož sloveso v závislé vedlejší větě musí nést slovesné kategorie, které jsou vyjádřeny flektivně. Náš korpus obsahuje jen dva příklady tohoto řešení, a to ve staré angličtině. Nicméně vzhledem k tomu, že v obou případech je staroanglické řešení ojedinělé, a navíc neodpovídá latinskému originálu, bude nejspíš ukazovat na strukturu staré angličtiny, která ještě stále takováto flektivní řešení umožňuje, a dokonce, alespoň občas, upřednostňuje.

Třetí řešení, v němž se určité sloveso vidového významu pojí s neurčitým tvarem slovesným nebo se substantivem, je již do značné míry izolační. Určité sloveso zde sice nepatří do kategorie pomocných sloves, nicméně jeho význam je opět redukován pouze na vyjádření slovesných kategorií, včetně vidu. V případech, kdy u „pomocného" slovesa připadá v úvahu jen valence tranzitivní (např. u sloves *stop* a *finish*), je tvar na *-ing* nepochybně gerundium. Po slovese *keep*, které může být před tvarem na *-ing* jak spona, tak sloveso tranzitivní (Dušková, „Re-gerundium"), je však tvar na *-ing* obtížně určitelný. Tyto případy však spadají do kategorie, v níž strukturní předchůdci gerundia vidový význam nevyjadřují.

Čtvrté řešení, v němž je vidový význam vyjádřen temporální spojkou a její pozicí ve vztahu ke slovesu, vyjadřuje tento význam izolačně. Čtvrté i páté řešení (tedy řešení pomocí adverbia) jsou však v našem korpusu zastoupeny jen málo.

Větší podíl mají případy, kdy je vidový význam buď inherentně obsažen v lexikálním významu slovesa, nebo kdy je vyjádřen logickou strukturou věty. V obou těchto případech je řešení sémantické, ne gramatické. V prvním případě lze mluvit o relativně větší dynamičnosti staroanglického slovesa (ve srovnání se slovese moderním).

Největší podíl tvoří případy, kdy není vid ve staré angličtině vyjádřen vůbec. Jedná se o strukturní předchůdce již zmíněné konstrukce *keeep* + tvar na *-ing*, v nichž je tento tvar obtížně určitelný. Dostáváme se zde totiž do „začarovaného kruhu". Abychom určili tvar na *-ing*, potřebujeme znát valenci slovesa v daném konkrétním případě. Valenci slovesa v daném konkrétním případě ovšem můžeme určit, jen když známe identitu větných členů, s nimiž se pojí, tvar na *-ing* neumožňuje právě díky své nejednoznačnosti. Potom je třeba vycházet ze sémantiky celé fráze, nicméně konečné rozhodnutí zůstává díky tomuto „začarovanému kruhu" neurčité. Proto byla pro tyto případy zavedena smíšená kategorie gerundium/participium [G/PART]. Nahlédneme-li ovšem do starších překladů, zjistíme, že vidový význam slovesa *keep* zde není vyjádřen vůbec nikde. Ve staré, střední ani ranně moderní angličtině nenalezneme jediný příklad, kde by byl jeho vidový význam trvání vyjádřen. U staroanglického a středoanglického překladu bychom se ještě mohli odvolávat na jejich latinskou předlohu, kde tento význam rovněž „chybí". Nicméně význam trvání „chybí" i v překladu ranně novověkém, který, stejně jako překlad moderní, vychází z hebrejského a řeckého originálu. Durativní význam se tedy „náhle objevil" až

v moderní angličtině. Důvody je zřejmě třeba hledat ve struktuře moderní angličtiny. Vzhledem k tomu, že durativní vidový význam zde již zcela systematicky vyjadřují složené tvary slovesné, prostý tvar slovesný tento význam (oproti přechozím vývojovým fázím) již neobsahuje.

Ze srovnání strukturních předchůdců gerundia v našem korpusu tedy vyplývá, že se ztrátou flektivních koncovek staroanglické „velké" slovnědruhové kategorie slovesa a jména slábnou a „rozpadají" se ve škálu neurčitých verbonominálních forem:

substantivum	*deverbativní substantivum*	*gerundium/infinitiv/ participium*	*gerundium/infinitiv / participium*	*sloveso*
(sémanticky i gramaticky jméno)	(gramaticky jméno, sémanticky sloveso)	(jako jmenná součást přísudku)	(jako polovětná vazba, tedy jako neurčité sloveso)	(sémanticky i gramaticky sloveso)

Klesá tedy užití a funkční zatížení určitého slovesa a některá stará podstatná jména ztrácejí dějovou složku svého sémantického pole ve prospěch těchto verbonominálních forem. Jde vlastně o jakési „přerozdělování funkcí" v jazyce, při němž izolační formy nahrazují v některých funkcích formy flektivní. Vznik a rostoucí užití gerundia spolu s rostoucím užitím již existujících neurčitých tvarů slovesných tak ilustruje typologickou proměnu jazyka od převažující flexe k izolaci.

8. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	adverb
adv. phr.	adverbial phrase
AUX	auxiliary
CONJ	conjunction
EF	expanded form
EFF	expanded forms
EModE	Early Modern English
G	gerund
INF	infinitive
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
N	noun
N (action)	noun of action
N *-ing*	noun in *-ing*
obj.	object
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PART	participle
PP	past participle
pred.	predication
PREF	prefix
PrP	present participle
sem.	semantics
SF	simple form
SFF	simple forms
subj.	subject
V	verb
VF	finite verb
VNF	non-finite verb
0	zero aspect

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APPENDIX I

Gerund in the function of a condenser in ModE

		ModE	EModE	ME	OE
1	Gen 2:3	he rested from all the work *of creating* that he had done	he had rested from all his work which God *created* & made	God ceesside of al his werk which he *made* of nouyt	he on ðone dæg geswac his weorces ðe he gesceop *to wyrcenne*
		G/N	clause (S)	clause (S)	INF (infl)
2	Gen 14:17	after Abram returned *from defeating* Kedorlaomer and the kings allied with him	after his return *from the slaughter* of Chedorlaomer	after that he turnede ayen *fro sleyng* of Chodorlaomor	þa he Chodorlahomor ond þa cyningas him befreonde *oferwunnen hæfde*
		G	N	N-ing	shift
3	Gen 16:2	The LORD has kept me *from having* children.	the LORD hath restrained me *from bearing*	the Lord hath closid me, that Y schulde not *bere* child	þu wast þæt ic eom *untymende*
		G	G	clause (S)	shift
4	Gen 18:19	so that he will direct his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD *by doing* what is right and just	hat he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the LORD, *to do* justice and judgment	that thei kepe the weie of the Lord, and that thei *do* riytfulnesse and dom	þæt hi healdon Godes weg and þæt hi *don* rihtwisnysse and rihtne dom
		G	INF	clause (S)	clause (S)
5	Gen 20:6	and so I have kept you *from sinning* against me	for I also withheld thee *from sinning* against me	and therfor Y kepte thee, lest thou *didist synne* ayens me	ic ðe eac for ði geheold ðæt þu wið me *ne syngodest*
		G	G	clause (S)	clause (S)
6	Gen 20:10	What was your reason *for doing* this?	What sawest thou, that thou *hast done* this thing	What thing seiyist thou, that thou woldist *do* this?	Hwæt gesawe ðu mid us, þæt ðu swa *don* woldest?
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
7	Gen 23:6	None of us will refuse you his tomb *for burying* your dead.	none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou *mayest bury* thy dead	and no man schal mow forbede thee, that *ne* thou *birie* thi deed bodi in the sepulcre of him	þu swiðe wel most on urum gecorenum birgenum *bebyrige* þine diadan
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	INF (uninfl)
8	Gen 24:21	*Without saying* a word, the man watched her closely	And the man wondering at her *held* his peace	Sotheli he bihelde hir *priueli*	þa beheold se ærndrace þa gebicnunge *swiglice*
		G	PART	shift	shift
9	Gen 27:42	Your brother Esau is consoling himself with the thought *of killing* you.	thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself, purposing *to kill* thee	Esau, thi brothir, manaasith *to sle* thee;	Esau ðin broðor þe ðencð *to ofsleane*.
		G	INF	INF	INF (uninfl)

10	Gen 31:20	Jacob deceived Laban the Aramean *by not telling* him he was running away	And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he *told* him *not* that he fled.	And Jacob *nolde knouleche* to the fadir of his wijf, that he wolde fle;	þa *nolde* Iacob *cyðan* hys scæcdom hys sweore.
		G	clause (S)	shift	shift
11	Gen 34:7	because Shechem had done a disgraceful thing in Israel *by lying* with Jacob's daughter	because he had wrought folly in Israel *in lying* with Jacob's daughter	and he hadde do a thing vnleueful in *the defoulyng* of the douyter of Jacob.	Emores sunu Sichem ræfode hi and *slæp* mid hire
		G	G	N-ing	clause (C)
12	Gen 40:15	and even here I have done nothing to deserve *being put* in a dungeon	and here also have I done nothing that they should *put* me into the dungeon	and here Y am *sent* innocent in to prisoun	For ðæm þe ic wæs dearnunga forstolen of Ebrea lande and her unscyldig on pit *beworpen*.
		G	clause (S)	shift	shift
13	Gen 43:6	Why did you bring this trouble on me *by telling* the man you had another brother?	Wherefore dealt ye *so* ill with me, as *to tell* the man whether ye had yet a brother?	Ye diden this in to my wretchidnesse, that ye *schewiden* to hym, that ye hadden also another brother	Earmlice didon ge wið me, þa ge him *sædon* þæt ge a ma gebroþra hæfdon.
		G	INF	clause (S)	clause (S)
14	Gen 45:5	and do not be angry with yourselves *for selling* me here	nor angry with yourselves, that ye *sold* me hither	nyle ye drede, nether seme it to be hard to you, that ye *seelden* me in to these cuntreis	Ne ondræde ge eow nan þing, ne eow ne ofþince þæt ge me *sealdon* on þis rice.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
15	Gen 50:14	*After burying* his father, Josheph returned to Egypt	after he *had buried* his father	whanne the fadir *was biried*	siþþan his fæder *bebyriged wæs*
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
16	Exod 2:14	Are you thinking *of killing* me as you killed the Egyptian?	intendest thou *to kill* me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?	Whether thou wolt *sle* me, as thou killidist yisterdai the Egipcian?	Wilt ðu *ofslean* me, swa þu gyrsandæg þone Egyptiscean ofsloge?
		G	INF	INF	INF (uninfl)
17	Exod 5:5	and you are stopping them *from working*	and ye make them rest from *their burdens*	if ye schulen yyue to hem reste fro *werkis*	gyf we heom reste sillað fram *heora weorcum*
		G/N	N	N (action)	N (action)
18	Exod 5:7	You are no longer to supply the people with straw *for making* bricks	Ye shall no more give the people straw *to make* brick, as heretofore	Ye schulen no more yyue stre to the puple, *to make* tijl stoonys as bifore	Ne sille ge leng nan ceaf þis Ebreiscan folce to *tigolgeweorce*, swa ge ær didon,
		G	INF	INF	N (action)
19	Exod 6:27	They were the ones who spoke to Pharaoh king of Egypt *about bringing* the Israelites out of Egypt.	These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, *to bring* out the children of Israel from Egypt:	these it ben, that speken to Pharao king of Egipt, that thei *lede* the sones of Israel out of Egipt;	Hi spæcon to Pharaone, Egzpta cyninge, þæt he *lete faran* Israhela folc of Egypta lande.
		G	INF	clause (S)	clause (S)

II

20	Exod 7:24	And all the Egyptians dug along the Nile to get *drinking* water	And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water *to drink*	Forsothe alle Egipcians diggiden watir `bi the cumpas of the flood, *to drinke*	witodlice ealle þa Tgyptyscean dulfon wæterpittas neah ðam flode, and woldon *drincan*
		G	INF	INF	INF (uninfl)
21	Exod 8:3	and into your ovens and *kneading* troughs	and into thy *kneadingtroughs*	and in to the *relyues* of thi metis	on þine *metelafa*
		G	G	N	N
22	Exod 8:9	I leave to you the honour *of setting* the time for me to pray for you	Glory over me: *when* shall I intreat for thee,	*Ordeyne* thou a tyme to me, whanne Y schal preie for thee	*Gesete* me andagan, hwænne ðu wille þæt ic for þe gebide
		G	shift	shift	shift
23	Exod 10:26	We have to use some of them *in worshipping* the LORD our God	for thereof must we take *to serve* the LORD our God	that ben nedeful in to *the worschipyng* of `oure Lord God	for ðam ðe we heora beþurfon to Drihtnes *ofrunge*, ures Godes
		G	INF	N-ing	N-ing
24	Exod 13:20	*After leaving* Succoth they camped at Etham on the edge of the desert.	And they *took* their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness.	And thei *yeden forth* fro Socoth, and settiden tentis in Etham, in the laste endis of wildirnesse.	and hi *foron* fram Socho and wicodon æt Etham on þam ytemestan ende þæs westenes
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
25	Exod 15:22	For three days they travelled in the desert *without finding* water.	and they went three days in the wilderness, and *found* no water.	and thei yeden thre daies bi the wildirnesse, and thei *founden not* watir	and hi foron ðry dagas ðurh ðat westen, ðæt hi nan wæter *ne gemytton*
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (S)
26	Exod 18:9	all the good things the LORD had done for Israel *in rescuing* them from the hand of the Egyptians	all the goodness which the LORD had done to Israel, whom he *had delivered* out of the hand of the Egyptians	alle the goodis whiche the Lord hadde do to Israel, for he *delyuerede* Israel fro the hond of Egipcians	for eallum ðam godum ðe Drihten dyde Israhela folce, for ði ðe he hi *generode* on Egypta lande
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
27	Exod 21:30	he may redeem his life *by paying* whatever is demanded	then he shall *give* for the ransom of his life whatsoever is laid upon him	he schal *yyue* for his lijf what euer he is axide	Gif he betan mote, *sylle* wið his life swa hwæt swa man him scrife
		G	shift	shift	shift
28	Exod 23:1	Do not help a wicked man *by being* a malicious witness.	put not thine hand with the wicked *to be* an unrighteous witness.	nether thou schalt ioyne thin hond, that thou *seie* fals witnessyng for a wickid man.	*Ne underfo* ge lease gewitnesse.
		G	INF	clause (S)	shift
29	Exod 23:2	Do not follow the crowd *in doing* wrong.	Thou shalt not follow a multitude *to do* evil;	Thou schalt not sue the cumpanye *to do* yuel,	Ne filig ðu þam folce þe yfel wille *don:*
		F	INF	INF	clause (S)

III

30	Exod 23:2	do not pervert justice *by siding* with the crowd	neither shalt thou speak in a cause *to decline* after many to wrest judgment:	nether thou schalt *ascente* to the sentence of ful many men in doom, that thou go awey fro treuthe.	ne beforan manegon soþes *ne wanda*
		G	INF	shift	shift
31	Num 3:7	They are to perform duties for him and for the whole community at the Tent of Meeting *by doing* the work of the tabernacle.	And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation before the tabernacle of the congregation, *to do* the service of the tabernacle.	and that thei kepe what euer thing perteyneth to the religioun of multitude, *bifor* the tabernacle of witnessyng;	ðæt hi ðenion him and healdon and begymon ðære ðinga ðe to ðære halgan eardnungstowe *belimpað*
		G	INF	shift	clause (S)
32	Num 3:8	They are to take care of all the furnishings of the Tent of Meeting, fulfilling the obligations of the Israelites *by doing* the work of the tabernacle.	And they shall keep all the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the children of Israel, *to do* the service of the tabernacle.	and that thei kepe the vessels of the tabernacle, and *serue* in the seruyce therof	and *begymon* ðæra ðinga ðe to ðære halgan eardnungstowe belimpað
		G	INF	clause (C)	clause (S)
33	Num 14:10	But the whole assembly talked *about stoning* them.	But all the congregation bade *stone* them with stones.	And whanne al the multitude criede, and *wolde oppresse* hem with stonys,	Ða hrymde eal seo mæniu and mid stanum woldon hi *oftorfian*;
		G	INF	INF (mod)	INF (uninfl)
34	Num 14:36	and made the whole community grumble against him *by spreading* a bad report about it	and made all the congregation to murmur against him, *by bringing up* a slander upon the land,	and maden al the multitude to grutche ayens hym, and *depraueden* the lond, that it was yuel,	for ðan ðe hi þæt folc mistihton and þæt land *tæl*
		G	G	clause (C)	clause (C)
35	Num 22:30	Have I been in the habit *of doing* this to you?	was I ever wont *to do* so unto thee?	seie thou, what lijk thing Y *dide* euere to thee?	Sege hwænne ic æfre ær þyllic ðe *gebude*.
		G	INF	shift	shift
36	Deut 23:22	But if you refrain *from making* a vow, you will not be guilty.	But if thou shalt forbear *to vow*, it shall be no sin in thee.	If thou `nylt *bihete*, thou schalt be with out synne.	gyf ðu nan ðinge *ne behætst*, ðu byst clæne
		G	INF	INF (mod)	clause (S)
37	Deut 27:26	"Cursed is the man who does not uphold the words of this law *by carrying* them out."	Cursed be he that confirmeth suede not all the words of this law *to do* them.	Cursid is he that dwellith not in the wordis of this lawe, nethir `*parfourmeth* tho in werk	Beo se awyrged ðe [ne] wunað on ðisse æ, and hi mid spræcon and mid wordum gefylð and nele *mid weorcum*.
		G	INF	clause (C)	N (action)

38	Deut 28:5	Your basket and your *kneading* trough will be blessed.	Blessed shall be thy basket and thy *store*.	blessid schulen be thi bernes, and `blessid schulen be `thi *relifs*;	Beon ðine bernu gebletsode, and eac ðine *lafa*.
		G	shift	shift	shift
39	Deut 28:20	until you are destroyed and come to sudden ruin because of the evil you have done *in forsaking* him	because of the wickedness of thy doings, whereby thou *hast forsaken* me	for thi werste fyndyngis, in whiche thou *hast forsake* me.	oð he ðe fordo, for ðam ðe ðu hine *forlete*
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
40	Deut 31:18	because of all their wickedness *in turning* to other gods	or all the evils which they shall have wrought, in that they *are turned* unto other gods.	for alle the yuels `whiche it dide, for it *suede* alien goddis	for eallum [þam yfelum] ðe hi dydon, and for ðam ðe hi *fyligdon* fremdum godum
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
41	Josh 6:18	so that you will not bring about your own destruction *by taking* any of them	lest ye make yourselves accursed, when ye *take* of the accursed thing	lest ye *touchen* ony thing of these that ben comaundid to you	and ge nan ðinge *ne hreppon* on reafe ne on feo
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (C)
42	Josh 23:6	Be very strong; be careful to obey all that is written in the Book of the Law of Moses, *without turning aside* to the right or to the left.	Be ye therefore very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye *turn not aside* therefrom to the right hand or to the left;	and *bowe not awei* fro tho, nether to the riyt side nether to the left side,	He bæd hi ða georne ðæt hi *bugan* ne sceoldon fram Godes biggengum
		G	clause (S)	clause (C)	clause (S)
43	Pss 6:6	I am worn out *from groaning*	I am weary *with my groaning*	I traueilide *in my weilyng*	Ic swince *on minre granunge* (OL)
		G	G/N	G/N	N-ing
44	Matt 2:11	*On coming* to the house, they saw the child with his mother Mary	And when they *were come* into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother	And thei *entriden* in to the hous, and founden the child with Marie	and *gangende* into þam huse hi gemetton ðæt cild mid marian hys meder
		G	clause (S)	clause (C)	PART
45	Matt 6:27	Who of you *by worrying* can add a single hour to his life?	Which of you *by taking thought* can add one cubit unto his stature?	But who of you *thenkynge* mai putte to his stature o cubit?	Hwylc eower mæg soþlice *geþencan* þæt he geeacnige ane elne to hys anlicnesse.
		G	G	PART	clause (S)
46	Matt 9:12	*On hearing* this, Jesus said,	But when Jesus *heard* that, he said unto them,	And Jhesus *herde*, and seide,	and se hælend cwæð þis *gehyrende*
		G	clause (S)	clause (C)	PART

V

47	Matt 15:20	These are what make a man`unclean'; but *eating* with unwashed hands does not make him`unclean'.	These are the things which defile a man: but *to eat* with unwashen hands defileth not a man.	Thes thingis it ben that defoulen a man; but *to ete* with hondis not waischun, defoulith not a man.	þis synt þis synt þa ðing þe þone mann besmitað; ne besmit þone mann þeah he unþwogenum handum *ete*.
		G	INF	INF	clause (S)
48	Matt 16:8	why are you talking among yourselves *about having* no bread?	why reason ye among yourselves, because ye *have brought* no bread?	What thenken ye among you of litel feith, for ye *han* not looues?	hwæt þence ge betwux eow. lytles geleafan þæt ge hlafas *nabbað*
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
49	Matt 22:24	Moses told us that if a man dies *without having* children, his brother must marry the widow and have children for him.	If a man die, *having* no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.	if ony man is deed, *not hauynge* a sone, that his brother wedde his wijf, and reise seed to his brothir.	lareow moyses sæde gyf hwa dead syg and bearn *næbbe* þæt his broðor nyme hys wif and stryne him bearn
		G	PART	PART	clause (S)
50	Matt 23:23	You should have practised the latter, *without neglecting* the former.	these ought ye to have done, and *not to leave* the other undone.	And it bihofte to do these thingis, and *not to leeue* tho.	þas þing hyt gebyrede þæt ge dydon and þa oðre *ne forletun*.
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
51	Matt 23:30	we would not have taken part with them *in shedding* the blood of the prophets.'	we would not have been partakers with them *in the blood* of the prophets.	we schulden not haue be her felowis *in the blood* of prophetis.	nære we heora geferan on þære witegena blodes *gyte*;
		G	shift	shift	shift
52	Matt 23:33	How will you escape *being condemned* to hell?	how can ye escape *the damnation* of hell?	hou schulen ye fle fro *the doom* of helle?	hu fleo ge fram helle *dome*;
		G	N	N	N
53	Matt 25:5	The bridegroom was a long time *in coming*,	While the bridegroom *tarried*,	And whilis the hosebonde *tariede*,	Ða se brydguma *ylde*
		G	shift	shift	shift
54	Matt 27:35	When they had crucified him, they divided up his clothes *by casting* lots.	They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture *did* they *cast* lots.	And aftir that thei hadden crucified hym, thei departiden his clothis, and *kesten* lotte,	Hig todælon heom mine reaf. and ofer mine reaf hig *wurpon* hlot;
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
55	Matt 27:66	So they went and made the tomb secure *by putting* a seal on the stone	So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, *sealing* the stone,	And thei yeden forth, and kepten the sepulcre, *markynge* the stoon,	Soþlice hig ferdon and ymbetrymedon þa byrgene and *innseglodon* þone stan
		G	PART	PART	clause (C)
56	Matt 27:66	and *posting* the guard.	and *setting* a watch.	*with* keperis.	*mid* þam weardum
		G	PART	shift	shift

57	Mark 2:17	*On hearing* this, Jesus said to them,	When Jesus *heard* it, he saith unto them,	Whanne this *was herd*,	þa se hælend þis *gehyrde* he sæde him
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
58	Mark 3:9	Because of the crowd he told his disciples to have a small boat ready for him, to keep the people *from crowding* him.	And he spake to his disciples, that a small ship should wait on him because of the multitude, lest they should *throng* him.	And Jhesus seide to hise disciplis, that the boot schulde serue hym, for the puple, lest thei *thristen* hym;	and he cwæð to his cnihtum þæt hi him on scipe þenodon. for þære menigu ære menigu þæt hi hine ne *ofþrungon*
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
59	Mark 5:26	She had suffered a great deal under the care of many doctors and had spent all she had, yet instead *of getting* better she grew worse.	And had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and *was* nothing bettered, but rather grew worse,	and hadde resseyued many thingis of ful many lechis, and hadde spendid al hir good, and *was* nothing amendid, but was rather the wors,	and fram manegum læcum fela þinga þolode. and dælde eall þæt heo ahte. and hit naht *ne fremode*. ac wæs wyrse;
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
60	Mark 6:46	*After leaving* them, he went up on a mountainside to pray.	And when he *had sent* them away, he departed into a mountain to pray.	And whanne he *hadde left* hem, he wente in to an hille, to preye.	And þa he hi *forlet* he ferde on þone munt and hine ana þar gebæd;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
61	Mark 7:5	Why don't your disciples live according to the tradition of the elders instead of *eating* their food with`unclean' hands?	Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but *eat* bread with unwashen hands?	Whi gon not thi disciplis aftir the tradicioun of eldere men, but with vnwasschen hondis thei *eten* breed?	hwi ne gað þine leorningcnihtas æfter ure yldrena gesetnysse; ac besmitenum handum hyra hlaf *þicgað*.
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
62	Mark 7:9	You have a fine way *of setting aside* the commands of God in order to observe your own traditions!	Full well ye *reject* the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.	Wel ye *han maad* the maundement of God *voide*, `to kepe youre tradicioun.	wel ge *on idel dydon* godes bebod þæt ge eower laga healdon;
		G	shift	shift	shift
63	Mark 7:15	Nothing outside a man can make him`unclean' *by going* into him.	There is nothing from without a man, that *entering* into him can defile him:	No thing that is withouten a man, that *entrith* in to hym, may defoule him;	Nis nan þing of þam men on hine *gangende* þæt hine besmitan mæge;
		G	PART	clause (S)	PART
64	Mark 8:17	Why are you talking *about having* no bread?	Why reason ye, because ye *have* no bread?	What thenken ye, for ye *han* not looues?	Hwæt þence ge forþam ge hlafas *nabbað*:
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)

65	Mark 9:10	They kept the matter to themselves, discussing what "*rising* from the dead" meant.	And they kept that saying with themselves, questioning one with another what *the rising* from the dead should mean.	And thei helden the word at hem silf, sekynge what this schulde be, whanne he *hadde risun* ayen fro deth.	Hi þa ðæt word geheoldon betwux him and smeadon hwæt þæt wære þonne he of deaðe *arise*;
		G	N-ing	clause (S)	clause (S)
66	Mark 10:2	Some Pharisees came and tested him *by asking*,	And the Pharisees came to him, and *asked* him, Is it lawful for a man to put away *his* wife? tempting him.	And the Farisees camen, and *axiden* hym, Whether it be leueful to a man to leeue his wijf? and thei temptiden hym.	Ða genealehton him pharisei and hine *axodon*: Hwæþer alyfþ ænegum men his wif forlætan? his ðus fangiende.
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
67	Mark 11:15	*On reaching* Jerusalem, Jesus entered the temple area	And they *come* to Jerusalem: and Jesus went into the temple,	and thei *camen* to Jerusalem. And whanne he was entrid in to the temple,	þa *comon* hi eft to hierusalem and þa he on þæt templ eode
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
68	Mark 12:20	The first one married and died *without leaving* any children.	and the first took a wife, and *dying left* no seed.	and the firste took a wijf, and diede, and *lefte* no seed.	and se æresta nam wif and wearð dead na *læfedum* sæde;
		G	PART	clause (C)	PART
69	Mark 12:32	You are right *in saying* that God is one and there is no other but him.	thou hast *said* the truth: for there is one God; and there is none other but he:	in treuthe thou hast wel *seid*; for o God is, and ther is noon other, outakun hym;	well þu on soþe *cwæde*. ðæt an god is. and nis oðer butan him
		G	shift	shift	shift
70	Luke 4:21	Today the scripture is fulfilled *in your hearing*.	This day is this scripture fulfilled in *your ears*.	For in this dai this scripture is fulfillid in *youre eeris*.	Soþlice todæg þis gewrit is on *eowrum earum* gefylled;
		G/N	N	N	N
71	Luke 4:35	Then the demon threw the man down before them all and came out *without injuring* him.	And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and *hurt* him *not*.	And whanne the feend hadde cast hym forth in to the myddil, he wente a wei fro hym, and he *noyede* hym no thing.	he him fram gewat; and him naht *ne derude*;
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
72	Luke 4:42	The people were looking for him and when they came to where he was, they tried to keep him *from leaving* them.	and the people sought him, and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not *depart* from them.	and the puple souyten hym, and thei camen to hym, and thei helden hym, that he schulde not *go a wei* fro hem.	and þa meniu hine sohtun. and hi comon to him; and behæfdon | hine; þæt he him *fram ne gewite*;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
73	Luke 5:39	And no-one *after drinking* old wine wants the new,	No man also *having drunk* old wine straightway desireth new:	And no man *drynkynge* the elde, wole anoon the newe;	And ne *drincð* nan man eald win and wylle sona þæt niwe win
		G	PART	PART	clause (C)

#	Ref				
74	Luke 6:29	If someone takes your cloak, *do not stop* him *from taking* your tunic.	and him that taketh away thy cloke forbid not *to take* thy coat also.	and fro hym that takith awei fro thee a cloth, *nyle* thou *forbede* the coote.	and þam þe ðin reaf nymþ; *ne forbeod* him no þine tunecan;
		G	INF	INF (mod)	shift
75	Luke 6:35	But love your enemies, do good to them, and lend to them *without expecting* to get anything back.	But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, *hoping* for nothing again;	Netheles loue ye youre enemyes, and do ye wel, and leene ye, *hopinge* no thing therof,	þeah hwæþere lufiaþ eowre fynd and him wel doð. and læne syllað nan þing þanun eft *gehihtende*.
		G	PART	PART	PART
76	Luke 8:15	But the seed on good soil stands for those with a noble and good heart, who hear the word, retain it, and *by persevering* produce a crop.	But that on the good ground are they, which in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit *with patience*.	But that that fel in to good erthe, ben these that, in a good herte, and best heren the word, and holdun, and brengen forth fruyt *in pacience*.	þæt feoll on ða godan eorðan; þæt synt þa ðe on godre and on selestre heortan gehyrende þæt word healdað and wæstm *on geþylde* bringað;
		G	N	N	N
77	Luke 11:16	Others tested him *by asking* for a sign from heaven.	And others, tempting him, *sought* of him a sign from heaven.	And othir temptinge *axiden* of hym a tokene fro heuene.	And sume his fandodon and *gyrndon* of heofone tacnys of him;
		G	PART	PART	clause (C)
78	Luke 11:42	You should have practised the latter *without leaving* the former undone.	these ought ye to have done, and *not to leave* the other undone.	For it bihofte to do these thingis, and *not leeue* tho.	þas þing eow gebyrede to donne. and þa þing *ne forlætan*;
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
79	Luke 11:44	Woe to you, because you are like unmarked graves, which men walk over *without knowing* it.	for ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk over them *are not aware* of them.	Wo to you, that ben as sepulcris, that ben not seyn, and men walkynge aboue *witen* not.	Wa eow forþam þe ge synt swylce þa byrgena e man innan ne sceawað; And þa men *nyton* þe him onufan gað
		G	clause (S)	PART	clause (S)
80	Luke 12:25	Who of you *by worrying* can add a single hour to his life?	And which of you *with taking thought* can add to his stature one cubit?	And who of you *bithenkynge* may put to o cubit to his stature?	Hwylc eower mæg *þencende* ican ane elne: to his anlicnesse.
		G	G	PART	PART
81	Luke 12:45	My master is taking a long time *in coming*,'	My lord delayeth *his coming*;	My lord tarieth *to come*;	min hlaford uferaþ *hys cyme*.
		G	N-ing	N	N (action)
82	Luke 16:1	There was a rich man whose manager was accused *of wasting* his possessions.	There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he *had wasted* his goods.	Ther was a riche man, that hadde a baili; and this was defamed to him, as he *hadde wastid* his goodis.	Sum welig man wæs hæfde sumne gerefan se wearð wið hine forwreged swylce he his god *forspilde*.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)

83	Luke 16:8	For the people of this world are more shrewd *in dealing* with their own kind than are the people of the light.	for the children of this world are *in* their generation wiser than the children of light.	for the sones of this world ben more prudent *in* her generacioun than the sones of liyt.	forþam þe ðisse worlude bearn. synt gleawran þises leohtes bearnum *on* þisse cneoresse;
		G	shift	shift	shift
84	Luke 16:11	So if you have not been trustworthy *in handling* worldly wealth, who will trust you with true riches?	If therefore ye have not been faithful *in the* unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?	Therfor if ye weren not trewe *in* the wickid thing of ritchesse, who schal bitake to you that that is verry?	Gif ge *on* unrihtwisum woruldwelan næron getrywe hwa betæhð eow þæt eower ys;
		G	shift	shift	shift
85	Luke 18:5	so that she won't eventually wear me out *with her coming*!	lest *by her* continual *coming* she weary me.	lest at the laste sche *comynge* condempne me.	þe læs heo æt neahstan *cume* me behropende;
		G	G	PART	PART
86	Luke 20:35	But those who are considered worthy *of taking* part in that age	But they which shall be accounted worthy *to obtain* that world,	but thei that schulen be had worthi *of* that world,	Ða ðe synt *þære worulde* wyrðe.
		G	INF	shift	shift
87	Luke 21:13	This will result *in your being* witnesses to them.	And it shall turn to you *for* a testimony.	but it schal falle to you in *to* witnessyng.	þis eow gebyrað *on* gewitnesse;
		G	shift	G/N	shift
88	Luke 21:19	*By standing* firm you will gain life.	In *your patience* possess ye your souls.	in *youre pacience* ye schulen welde youre soulis.	On *eowrum geþylde* ge healdað eowre sawla:
		G	N	N	N
89	Luke 22:17	*After taking* the cup, he gave thanks and said,	And he *took* the cup, and gave thanks, and said,	And whanne he *hadde take* the cuppe, he dide gracis, and seide,	And *onfeng* calice and þancas dyde and cwæð;
		G	clause (C)	clause (S)	clause (C)
90	Luke 22:40	*On reaching* the place, he said to them,	And when he *was* at the place, he said unto them,	And whanne he *cam* to the place, he seide to hem,	And þa he *com* to þære stowe he dæde him:
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
91	Luke 22:70	You are right *in saying* I am.	Ye *say* that I am.	Ye *seien* that Y am.	Ða cwæð he ge *secgað* þæt ic eom;
		G	shift	shift	shift
92	Luke 23:5	He stirs up the people all over Judea *by his teaching*.	He stirreth up the people, *teaching* throughout all Jewry,	He moueth the puple, *techynge* thorou al Judee,	he astyrað þis folc *lærend* þurh ealle iudeam
		G/N	PART	PART	PART
93	Luke 23:6	*On hearing* this, Pilate asked if the man was a Galilean.	When Pilat *heard* of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilaean.	And Pilat *herynge* Galile axide, if he were a man of Galile.	Ða pilatus *gehyrde* galileam. he ahsude hwæðer he wære galileisc man;
		G	clause (S)	PART	clause (S)

94	Luke 23:34	And they divided up his clothes *by casting* lots.	And they parted his raiment, and *cast* lots.	And thei departiden his clothis, and *kesten* lottis.	Soðlice hi dældon hys reaf and *wurpon* hlotu.
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
95	Luke 24:16	but they were kept *from recognising* him.	But their eyes were holden that they should not *know* him.	But her iyen weren holdun, that thei *knewen* him *not*.	Soðlice hyra eagan wærun forhæfde þæt hig hine *ne gecneowun*.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
96	John 6:60	*On hearing* it, many of his disciples said,	Many therefore of his disciples, when they *had heard* this, said,	Therfor many of hise disciplis *herynge*, seiden,	Manega his lerningcnihta cwædon þa hig ðis *gehyrdon*;
		G	clause (S)	PART	clause (S)
97	John 7:15	How did this man get such learning *without having studied*?	How knoweth this man letters, *having* never learned?	Hou can this man lettris, sithen he *hath* not lerned?	Humeta cann þes stafas þonne he *ne leornode*.
		G	PART	clause (S)	clause (S)
98	John 7:23	why are you angry with me *for healing* the whole man on the Sabbath?	are ye angry at me, because I *have made* a man every whit *whole* on the sabbath day?	han ye indignacioun to me, for Y *made* al a man *hool* in the sabat?	and ge belgað wið me forðam þe ic *gehælde* anne man. on restedæge.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
99	John 7:40	*On hearing* his words, some of the people said,	Many of the people therefore, when they *heard* this saying, said,	Therfor of that cumpanye, whanne thei *hadden herd* these wordis of hym, thei seiden,	Of ðære tide seom menigeo cwæð þa heo *gehyrde* ðas his spræce.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
100	John 7:51	Does our law condemn a man *without* first *hearing* him to find out what he is doing?	Doth our law judge any man, before it *hear* him, and know what he doeth?	Whethir oure lawe demith a man, but it *haue* first *herde* of hym, and knowe what he doith?	cwyst þu demð ure æ. ænine man buton hyne man ær *gehyre* and wite hwæt he do;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
101	John 8:6	They were using this question as a trap, in order to have a basis *for accusing* him.	This they said, tempting him, that they might have *to accuse* him.	And thei seiden this thing temptynge hym, that thei *myyten accuse* hym.	Ðis hig cwædon his fandiende þæt hig hine *wrehton*.
		G	INF	INF (mod)	clause (S)
102	John 8:48	Aren't we right *in saying* that you are a Samaritan and demon-possessed?	*Say* we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?	Whether we *seien* not wel, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a Deutel?	Hwi ne *cwepe* we wel þæt ðu eart samaritanisc and eart wod.
		G	shift	shift	shift
103	John 8:56	Your father Abraham rejoiced at the thought *of seeing* my day;	Your father Abraham rejoiced *to see* my day:	Abraham, youre fadir, gladide *to se* my dai;	Abraham eower fæder geblissode þæt he *gesawe* minnæ dæg
		G	INF	INF	clause (S)

104	John 9:8	His neighbours and those who had formerly seen him *begging* asked,	The neighbours therefore, and they which before had seen him that he *was blind*, said,	And so neiyboris, and thei that hadden seyn him bifor, for he *was a beggere*, seiden,	Witodlice his neahgeburas and þa þe hine gesawon þa he *wædla wæs* cwædon;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
105	John 9:32	Nobody has ever heard *of opening* the eyes of a man born blind.	Since the world began was it not heard that any man *opened* the eyes of one that was born blind.	Fro the world it is not herd, that ony man *openyde* the iyen of a blynd borun man;	Ne gehyrde we næfre on worulde þæt ænig *ontynde* þæs eagan þe wære blind geboren.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
106	John 11:37	Could not he who opened the eyes of the blind man have kept this man *from dying*?	ould not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not *have died*?	Whethir this man that openyde the iyen of the borun blynde man, myyte not make that this schulde not *die*?	ne mihte ðes þe ontynde blindes eagan. don eac þæt þes *nære dead*;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
107	John 16:14	He will bring glory to me *by taking* from what is mine	He shall glorify me: for he *shall receive* of mine,	He schal clarifie me, for of myne he *schal take*,	he me geswutelað forþam he *nimð* of minum
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
108	John 16:14	and *making* it *known* to you.	and *shall shew* it unto you.	and *schal telle* to you.	and *cyð* eow;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
109	John 16:17	What does he mean *by saying*,	What is this that he *saith* unto us,	What is this thing that he *seith* to vs,	hwæt ys þæt he us *segð*.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
110	John 17:4	I have brought you glory on earth *by completing* the work you gave me to do.	have glorified thee on the earth: I *have finished* the work which thou gavest me to do.	Y haue clarified thee on the erthe, Y *haue endid* the werk, that thou hast youun to me to do.	Ic þe geswutelode ofer eorðan; Ic *geendode* þæt weorc	þæt þu me sealdest to donne;
		G	clause (C)	clause (C)	clause (C)
111	John 20:31	But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that *by believing* you may have life in his name.	But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that *believing* ye might have life through his name.	But these ben writun, that ye bileue, that Jhesus `is Crist, the sone of God, and that ye *bileuynge* haue lijf in his name.	Witodlice þas þing synt awritene þæt ge gelyfon þæt se hælend is crist godes sunu; and þæt ge habbað	ece lif þonne ge *gelyfað* on his naman;
		G	PART	PART	clause (S)
112	Boeth I,p5	who has determined to establish his *dwelling* place within it	Whoso choosith there to build *a seate*?	þat what wyht þat hath leuer fownden there/in *hys sete* or his hows	þa beoð ðære heofencundan Ierusalem *burgware*.
		G	N	N	N
113	Boeth I,m7	and the entryway *for winning back* your recuperation	or a waye *to reconcile* the home agayne.	or elles the entre *of recoeueringe* of thin heele	ac ic wat hu þin man *tilian sceal*
		G	INF	N-ing	shift

114	Boeth II, p2	Or shall I alone be kept *from excercising* my rights?	Am I alone forbyd my right *to vse*?	I shal thanne oonly ben deffendyd *to vsen* my Ryht	ð ic ne mot *wealdan* minra agenra þeawa.
		G	INF	INF	INF (uninfl)
115	Boeth II, p3	whether you abandon her by dying or she abandons you *by running away*?	Wilt thou leave her dyeng, or she thee *flyeng*?	yif thow forlete hyr in deyinge or elles þat she fortune forlete the *in fleynge away*	þe þu gebide hwonne hi ðe sorgiendne *forlæten*?
		G	PART	G	PART
116	Boeth II,p4	that she wastes away *in longing* for you	And for lack of the, with *teares & woe* pynith.	And is al maad and ouerkomen by *wepynge and sorwe* for desyr of the	forðæm hio is for þinum lufum ormod and fulneah dead for *tearum* and for *unrotnesse*.
		G	N	N-ing	N
117	Boeth II,p4	But what I cannot tolerate is your delight *in complaining* so mournfully	But I can not abyde such your delytes as depriued of som of thy felicitie, wayling & carefull thou *complaynst*.	but I may nat suffren thi delites þat *pleynest* so wepynge and angwissos for þat ther lacketh som what to thi welefulnesse	Ac ic ne mæg adreohan þine *seofunga* for þam lytlan þe þu forlure;
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	N-ing
118	Boeth II,p4	nevertheless it can not be kept *from going* when it wants to.	which if they seemid to the enioyer delitefull when he wolde, it *is gon*, therfore he may not keepe it.	yit may yt nat ben with-holden þat it *ne goth away* wan yt woole	ne mæg he hi no gehabban gif hio hine *flion* onginð.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
119	Boeth II,p5	but your riches cannot pass on to more than one except *by being divided*,	but Riches *not distributd* may not passe to many:	but certes yowre rychesse ne mowen nat passen in to moche folk *with owte amenusynge*	þeah ðu hi smale *todæle* swa dust, ne miht þu ealle men emnlice mid gehealdan
		G	PART	G/N	clause (S)
120	Boeth II,p5	If they do not have within themselves any beauty *worth craving*,	what is it that thou waylest for losse, or *Joyest* to haue?	yif ther be no beaute *to ben desyred*	Gif ðonne þisse worulde wlites and wela *to wilnienne* nis,
		G	shift	PART	INF (infl)
121	Boeth II,p5	you need many things to assist you *in protecting* the multiplicity of your valuable possessions.	for ye had neede of many helps *to preserue* the variety of deere goodes.	it nedeth of ful manye helpynges *to kepyn* the diuersyte of presyos ostelementus	forþā se þe micel innierfe and mislic *agan* wile, he beðearf eac miceles fultumes
		G	INF	INF	shift
122	Boeth II,m5	Up blazes the hot lust *for having*.	But Gridy *getting* Loue burnes	but þe angwissos loue *of hauynge* brenneth i folk	Ac nu manna *gitsung* is swa byrnende swa ð fyr on þære helle
		G	PART	G	N-ing
123	Boeth II,p6	there is present in Fortune nothing *worth pursuing*,	that hath nothing in her as it is playne to be *desyrde*,	in which þer nis nothinge to ben *desired*	be eallum þā woruldgesælðum þe seo wyrd brengð, ð nan wuht on nis ðæs þær *to wilniane* seo
		G	shift	INF	INF (infl)

124	Boeth II,p7	but I did desire the opportunity *for doing* things	but wish a ground *in* our affayres	but I haue wel desyred matere of thinges *to done*	ne ic ealles forswiðe ne girnde þisses eorðlican rices, buton tola ic wilnode þeah and andweorces to þā weorce þe me beboden was *to wyrcanne*
		G	shift	INF	INF (infl)
125	Boeth II,p7	to keep my virtue *from growing* old along with me in silence.	by which silent vertue *should not growe olde*.	ffor vertu stille ne *sholde nat elden*	Forðā ælc cræft and ælc anweald *bið* sona forealdod and forsugod, gif he be buton wisdome
		G	shift	shift	shift
126	Boeth II,p7	do all of you [...] make calculations *about publicizing* your reputations	what think we so much *of enlarging* fame	thinken ye *to manyfesten* yowre renoun	þæt ge wilniað eowerne hlisan ungemetlice *to brædanne* ofer swelcne cauertun
		G	G	INF	INF (infl)
127	Boeth II,p7	and *promulgating* your names,	& name *promoting*	and don yowre name *to ben born forth*	To whon wilnige ge þonne to ungemetlice ð ge eowerne naman *tobrædan* ofer þone teoðan dæl
		G	G	INF	INF (uninfl)
128	Boeth III,p2	there is no other thing that is equally capable *of bringing about* true happiness	for that nought *can* so well *obtayne* happynes as flowing state of all good thinges,	Certes ther nis non oother thyng þat *may* so wel *performe* blysfulnesse	Nyton þonne nan herre good þōn eallra þara deorwyrðestena ðinga *gegadrunga* to hiora anwealde
		G	INF (mod)	INF (mod)	shift
129	Boeth III,p2	practically all mortals in their striving work *at securing* for themselves	that the care ech mans labour couettes *to gett*.	alle the entencyon of mortal foolk trauaylen for *to geten* yt	ælces monnes ingeþanc wenð ðte good sie, and æfter higað, and wilniað *to begitanne*?
		G	INF	INF	INF (infl)
130	Boeth III,p4	what is the beauty that they have within themselves that is *worth craving*?	what beauty haue they in them selves, or *can giue* others?	what is þat they han in hem self of beaute þat *owhte ben desyred*	hwæt þincð þe þōn on þā welan and on anwealde wynsumes oððe *nytwyrþes*, nu hi nanes ðinges gonog nabbaþ
		G	INF (mod)	INF (mod)	shift
131	Boeth III,p7	for all of their striving is similarly directed *toward filling* their bodily cavities full.	whose wholle delite hyes *to satisfy* their lust.	al the entencyon hasteth *to fulfylle* hyr bodyly Iolyte	forðæm ðe hiora willa to nanum oðrum ðingum nis aþenod buton to *gifernesse* and to wrænnesse
		G	INF	INF	N

132	Boeth III,p8	all others in honor will become worthless through the humiliation *of having* to beg for it	thou that desyrst to aduaunce others in honour, with lowlynes *of request*, art dasht.	thow shal defowle thyself thorw humblesse *of axynge*	þonne scealt ðu *oleccan* swiðe earmlice and swiðe eadmodlice þæm ðe to þæm gefulteman mæge
		G	N	G/N	shift
133	Boeth III,p9	in those things that we have shown to be incapable *of bestowing* what they promise	shall he fynde her in these that we haue shewed you, promise more than they *giue*?	þat ne *mowen* nat *yeuen* þat they beheten	ac he ne mæg ða fullice *begitan* on ðisse weorulde, forðæm þeah he ealle þa fif gesælða begite
		G	clause (S)	INF (mod)	INF (uninfl)
134	Boeth III,p10	to keep this line of reasoning *from regressing* to infinity	and lest our reason should neuer *have* end,	And for-thy for as moche as that my resoun or my processes ne *go nat a-wey* without an ende	þylæs we leng *sprecen* ymb þonne we ne þyrfen.
		G	shift	shift	shift
135	Boeth III,p10	Since people become happy *by securing* happiness for themselves,	For since men be blissed *by getting* of felicitie,	for as moche as *by the getynge* of blysfulnesse men ben maked blysful	Se þe þonne þa gesælða *hæfð*, þonne hæfð he ægþer, se þe þone ægþer hæfð.
		G	G/N	N-ing	clause (S)
136	Boeth III,p10	nothing prevents there *being* as many gods as you please by participation.	So euery blessed man *is* in a kinde a God, but in nature one, in participation may be.	ther ne let ne desturbyth nothing that ther ne *ben* many goddes	þeah he nu sie se fruma and se staðol ealra goodra and ealra gooda, þeah is mænig good þe of him *cymð*;
		G	shift	clause (S)	shift
137	Boeth III,p10	I would like you to make this question more clear *by reminding* me of the things themselves.	I wold thes thinges were explaned [...] as *by a memoriall*.	I wolde quod I that thow makedest me clerly to vndyrstonde what thow syst and þat thow *recordedyst* me the forseyde thinges	Ic wolde ð ðu me *sædest* get sweotolor ymb þa oðru good þe to ðære soðan gesælðe belimpað.
		G	N	clause (S)	shift
138	Boeth III,p11	surely it is *by their securing* of unity for themselves that it happens that these things are good?	But are not all these thinges made good *by getting* of a true unity?	ne comth it hem nat thanne *by the getynge* of vnite that they ben maked goodes.	forðæm is ð fulle good ð eall ætgædre *is* untodæled.
		G	G/N	N-ing	clause (S)
139	Boeth III,p11	While it remains unchanged in one form *by the joining* together of its limbs	This body allso when hit remayns in one forme & *joyntes* of lyms,	whil it dwelleth in oo forme *by coniunccyoun* of menbrys	Swa eac se lichoma bið lichoma þa hwile þe he his limu ealle *hæfð*;
		G	clause (C)	N	clause (S)

140	Boeth III,p11	For every animate being works *at protecting* its own physical well-being;	For ech best I finde studys safety *to keepe*,	ffor euery beest trauaylith fym *to deffende* and keepe the sauacion of hys lyf	forðæmþe ælc wuht wolde *bion* hal and libban
		G	INF	INF	INF (uninfl)
141	Boeth III,p11	or when we breathe in our sleep *without knowing* it.	& breth we drawe in our somber when we *know* it not.	and as we drawen owre breth in slepynge þat we *wite* it nat whil we slepyt	Swa eac ure gast bið swiðe wide farende *urum unwillum*, and ures ungewealdes
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	N
142	Boeth III,p11	for Providence has given this to the things that have been created by it as perhaps the greatest cause *of* their *remaining* unchanged,	For Godes prouidence hath giuen to all thinges that be made the desyre *of remayning,* that	ffor the puruyance of god hat yeuen to thinges þat ben creat of hym this þat is a ful gret cause to lyuen and *to duren*	ð se sceppend ealra gesceafta hæfð forgifen ænne lust and an gecynd eallum his gesceaftū ; þæt is ð hi woldon *ā bion.*
		G	shift	INF	shift
143	Boeth III,p11	that all the things that exist crave by their nature the permanence *of remaining* unchanged	that such thinges as naturally desyre *an abode* will shun destruction.	that alle the thinges that ben anywhere that they ne requeren naturelly the ferme stablenesse *of* perdurable *dwellynge*	ælc þara gesceafta þe sawle hæfð, ge eac þa þe nabbað, willniað simle *to bionne.*
		G	shift	N-ing	INF (infl)
144	Boeth III,p12	all these things eagerly direct themselves toward the Good *by* their natural *striving*	that all thinges as I haue taught you, by naturall *instinct* hyes to the hiest good	and alle this same thinges [...] hasten hem by naturel *entencyon* to comen to good	ealra gesceafta agnū *willum* God ricsað ofer hi
		G/N	N	N	N
145	Boeth III,p12	that no one would be truly happy except *by being* God at the same time	of whom no man was made blessed, but he that *was* lyke to him	þat no wyht nis blysful but yif he *be* good also ther-with	þu cwæde ð ælc gesælig mon *wære* God.
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	shift
146	Boeth IV,p3	But the very appearance of a human body [...] shows them up as *having been* human before;	but to prove that men they *were*, the forme of their humayne body shewith,	the forme of the body with-owte sheweth yit that thise shrewes *weeren* whilom men	ð mon mæg gesion ð hi gio men *wæren*
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	clause (S)
147	Boeth IV,p3	that anyone who has ceased to be a human being *by deserting* righteousness,	that he that *forsakyth* honesty leaues to be a man;	he þat *forletith* bownte and prowesse he foletith to ben a man	Forðam gif ðu swa gewlætne mon metst ð he *bið ahwærfed* from goode to yfle,
		G	clause (S)	clause (S)	shift

148	Boeth IV,p4	that these people be deserted by their false power *of committing* crimes	I wish them depriued of possibilitie *to doo* mischeefe.	þat shreses weeren despoyled of mowynge *to don* yuel	đ hi næfden ða heardsælða đ hi meahten yfel *dōn*.
		G	INF	INF (mod)	INF (uninfl)
149	Boeth IV,p6	when *by using* them in due proportion it draws forth from them the end result of some good	when *vsing* them as they ought, drawes from them som effect of good.	whan it *vseth* tho yuelis couenably and draweth owt the effect of any goode	forðæm hit is þæs godcundan anwealdes gewuna đ he *wircð* of yfle good
		G	PART	clause (S)	shift
150	Boeth IV,p7	*In following* the opinion of the people we may have achieved something really unexpected.	Let vs beware lest *following* the common opinion we doo somthing vnawares.	lest þat we *in folwynge* the opynyon of the people haue confessyd and concludyd thing þat is vnable to ben weened to the people	gif wit þæs *wenað* ðe þis folc wenð, þonne forlæte wit ælce gesceadwisnesse and ælce rihtwisnesse
		G	PART	G	clause (S)
151	Boeth V,p1	that you'll be exhausted on the sidetracks and won't be able to bear up *for traveling* the straight path through to its end.	lest wearyed by the bye crookes, thou mayst not be hable to endure *the journey* to right way.	þat þou ne be maked weery by mys weyes so þat þou ne mayst nat suffice *to mesuren* the ryht wey	đ ic þe læde hidres þidres on ða paðas of þinū wege, đ þu ne mæge eft þinne weg *aredian*.
		G	N	INF	INF (uninfl)
152	Boeth V,p4	even if there is no necessity *of* their *resulting* for future things,	tho it bring no necessity that thinges *must hap*,	þat the prescience nis nat cause of necessite to thingis *to comyn*	Ne ðearf hit no eall *geweorðan* unanwendendlice
		G	clause (S)	INF	shift

clause (S)		43	46	52
clause (C)		14	19	18
INF		29	19	0
INF (mod)		2	8	0
INF (uninfl)		0	0	11
INF (infl)		0	0	7
PART		17	14	9
G	147	10	3	0
G/N	5	3	4	0
N (action)		0	1	4
N-ing		2	8	4
N		12	9	10
shift		20	21	37
		152	152	152

XVII

APPENDIX II

Gerund in a construction expressing aspect in ModE

		ModE	**EModE**	**ME**	**OE**
1	Gen 7:17	For forty days the flood *kept coming* on the earth,	And the flood *was* forty days upon the earth	And the greet flood *was maad* fourti daies and fourti niytis on erthe	*Wæs* ða *geworden* micel flod
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
2	Gen 8:2	and the rain *had stopped falling* from the sky	and the rain from heaven *was restrained*	and reynes of heuene *weren ceessid*	and se ren *wearð forboden*
		VF+G	sem	sem	PREF+VF
3	Gen 8:7	and it *kept flying* back and forth	which *went* forth to and fro	and sente out a crowe, which *yede* out	se hrem *fleah* ða ut
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
4	Gen 11:8	and they *stopped building* the city	and they *left off to build* the city	and thei *cessiden to bielde* a cytee	and hi *geswicon to wyrcenne* þa buruh
		VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF	VF+INF
5	Gen 17:22	When he *had finished speaking* with Abraham	And he left off *talking* with him	And whanne *the word* of the spekere with hym was endid	syððan he þas spræce geendod hæfde
		G	G	N	N (action)
6	Gen 19:9	They *kept bringing* pressure on Lot and moved forward to break down the door	And they *pressed sore* upon the man, even Lot, and came near to break the door	And thei *diden violentli* to Loth *ful greetli.*	Hi *ne forsocon* þæt hi Lothe *þrangon*
		VF+G/PART	ADV+VF	ADV+VF	VF+VF
7	Gen 24:15	Before he *had finished praying*	before he *had done speaking*	And he *hadde not* yit *fillid the wordis* with ynne hym silf	þa, mid þam þe he þus *spræc*, þa com Rebecca
		VF+G	VF+G	VF+N	0
8	Gen 24:19	until they have *finished drinking*	until they *have done drinking*	But also Y schal drawe watir to thi camelis, *til* alle *drynken.*	and ic hlade siððan þinum olfendum wæter *oð ðæt* hig ealle *drincan.*
		VF+G	VF+G	CONJ+VF	CONJ+VF
9	Gen 30:9	When Leah saw that she *had stopped having* children	When Leah saw that she *had left bearing*	Lya feelide that sche *ceesside to bere* child	þa Lia undergeat þæt heo *leng ne tymde*
		VF+G	VF+G	VF+INF	ADV+VF
10	Exod 5:9	Make the work harder for the men so that they *keep working* and pay no attention to lies.	Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they *may labour* therein; and let them not regard vain words.	be thei oppressid bi werkis, and *fille* thei *tho*, that thei assente not to the false wordis	Beon hi gehynede and *gefillon* þa weorc, þæt hi ær worhton, ge ge nan þing ne gewanion
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0

11	Exod 5:13	The slave drivers *kept pressing* them, saying,	And the taskmasters *hasted* them, saying,	And the maystris of werkis *weren bisi*, and seiden,	Wytodlice þa weorcgerefan *stodon* myd heom, and cwædon:
		VF+G/PART	0	0	sem
12	Exod 34:33	When Moses *finished speaking* to them, he put a veil over his face.	And till Moses *had done speaking* with them, he put a vail on his face.	And whanne *the wordis weren fillid,* he puttide a veil on his face;	þonne he wið hig *gesprecen hæfde*, he heng hrægl beforan his neb.
		VF+G	VF+G	VF+N	VF+PART
13	Deut 25:8	If he *persists in saying*, "I do not want to marry her,"	and if he *stand to it*, and *say*, I like not to take her;	If he *answerith*, Y nyle take hir to wijf;	gyf he ðonne *cwyð*: Nelle ic habban to wife;
		VF+G	VF+VF	sem	ADV+VF
14	Deut 31:24	After Moses *finished writing* in a book the words of this law from beginning to end	when Moses *had made an end of writing* the words of this law in a book	*aftir tha*t Moises *wroot* the wordis of this lawe in a book	*Æfter ðam ðe* Moyses *wrat* ðisse æ bebodu
		VF+G	VF+G	CONJ+VF	CONJ+VF
15	Josh 3:16	the water from upstream *stopped flowing*	That the waters which came down from above *stood*	the watris yeden doun, and *stoden* in o place	swa *ætstod* se stream
		VF+G	sem	sem	PREF+VF
16	Matt 6:7	And when you pray, do not *keep on babbling* like pagans,	But when ye pray, *use not vain repetitions*, as the heathen *do*	But in preiyng *nyle yee speke* myche, as hethene men doon,	Soðlice þonne ge eow gebiddon: *nelle ge sprecan* fela swa swa hæðene
		VF+G/PART	VF+N	0	0
17	Matt 19:1	When Jesus had *finished saying* these things,	And it came to pass, that when Jesus *had finished these sayings*,	whanne Jhesus *hadde endid these wordis*,	And þa se hælend *geendode þas spræca*
		VF+G	VF+N	VF+N	VF+N
18	Matt 26:1	When Jesus *had finished saying* all these things,	when Jesus *had finished all these sayings*,	whanne Jhesus *hadde endid alle these wordis*,	Witodlice þa se hælend *hæfde eale þas spræca geendud*
		VF+G	VF+N	VF+N	VF+N
19	Mark 11:15	and *began driving out* those who were buying and selling there.	and *began to cast out* them that sold and bought in the temple,	he *bigan to caste out* silleris and biggeris in the temple;	he *ongann drifan* of þam temple syllende and bicgende;
		VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF	VF+INF
20	Luke 4:21	and he *began by saying* to them,	And he *began to say* unto them,	And he *bigan to seie* to hem,	Ða *ongan* he him *to cweðan*;
		VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF	VF+INF
21	Luke 4:44	And he *kept on preaching* in the synagogues of Judea.	And he *preached* in the synagogues of Galilee.	And he *prechide* in the synagogis of Galilee.	and he *wæs bodigende* on galilea gesamnungum;
		VF+G/PART	0	0	VF+PART

22	Luke 5:4	When he *had finished speaking*, he said to Simon,	Now when he *had left speaking*, he said unto Simon,	And as he *ceesside to speke*, he seide to Symount,	Ða he *sprecan geswac* he cwæþ to simone
		VF+G	VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF
23	Luke 5:33	John's disciples often fast and pray, and so do the disciples of the Pharisees, but yours *go on eating* and *drinking*.	Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees; but thine *eat and drink*?	Whi the disciplis of Joon fasten ofte, and maken preieris, also and of Farisees, but thine *eten and drynken*?	hwi fæstaþ iohannes leorningcnihtas gelomlice and halsunga doð: and eallswa farisea. and þine *etað and drincað*;
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
24	Luke 7:1	When Jesus *had finished saying* all this in the hearing of the people,	Now when he *had ended* all *his sayings* in the audience of the people,	And whanne he *hadde fulfillid* alle hise wordis in to the eeris of the puple,	Soþlice ða he *ealle his word gygylde* on þæs folces hlyste.
		VF+G	VF+N	VF+N	VF+N
25	Luke 7:45	You did not give me a kiss, but this woman, from the time I entered, *has not stopped kissing* my feet.	Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in *hath not ceased to kiss* my feet.	Thou hast not youun to me a cosse; but this, sithen sche entride, *ceesside not to kisse* my feet.	Coss þu me ne sealdest; þeos | syððan ic ineode. *ne geswac* þæt heo mine fet *ne cyste*;
		VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF	VF+VF
26	Luke 13:33	I must *keep going* today and tomorrow and the next day	I must *walk* to day, and to morrow, and the day following:	it *bihoueth* me to dai, and to morewe, and the dai that sueth, *to walke*;	Ðeah hwæþere me *gebyreþ* todæg. and tomorhgen. and þy æfteran dæge *gan*:
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
27	Luke 18:5	yet because this widow *keeps bothering* me, I will see that she gets justice,	Yet because this widow *troubleth* me, I will avenge her,	netheles for this widewe *is heuy* to me, Y schal venge hir;	þeah forþam þe ðeos wuduwe me *is gram* ic wrece hig.
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
28	Luke 18:7	Will he *keep putting* them off?	though he *bear long* with them?	and *schal haue pacience* in hem?	and he *geþyld* on him *hæfþ*
		VF+G/PART	ADV+VF	VF+N	VF+N
29	Luke 23:21	But they *kept shouting*, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"	But they *cried*, saying, Crucify him, crucify him.	And thei *vndurcrieden*, and seiden, Crucifie, crucifie hym.	Ða *hrymdon* hig and cwædon ahoð hine ahoð hine;
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
30	Luke 23:45	for the sun *stopped shining*.	And the sun *was darkened*,	And the sun *was maad derk*,	and sunne *wæs aþystrod*
		VF+G	sem	sem	sem
31	John 6:43	*Stop grumbling* among yourselves,	*Murmur not* among yourselves.	*Nyle* ye *grutche* togidere.	*ne murcniaþ* eow betwynan;
		VF+G	sem	sem	sem
32	John 7:24	*Stop judging* by mere appearances, and make a right judgment.	*Judge not* according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.	*Nile* ye *deme* aftir the face, but deme ye a riytful doom.	*ne deme* ge be ansyne ac demað rihtne dom;
		VF+G	sem	sem	sem

33	John 8:7	When they *kept on questioning* him, he straightened up and said to them,	So when they *continued asking* him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them,	And whanne thei *abiden axynge* hym, he reiside hym silf,	þa hig *þurhwunedon* hine *axisiende* þa aras he upp and cwæð to him;
		VF+G/PART	VF+G	VF+G/PART	VF+PART
34	John 11:56	They *kept looking* for Jesus,	Then *sought* they for Jesus,	Therfor thei *souyten* Jhesu,	hig *sohton* þone hælend
		VF+G/PART	sem	sem	sem
35	John 12:36	When he *had finished speaking*, Jesus left and hid himself from them.	*These things spake* Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them.	Jhesus *spak these thingis*, and wente, and hidde hym fro hem.	*Ðas þing* se hælend him *sæde* and eode and bediglode hine fram him;
		VF+G	0	0	sem
36	John 16:18	They *kept asking*,	They *said* therefore,	Therfor thei *seiden*,	Hig *cwædon* witodlice
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
37	John 18:1	When he *had finished praying*, Jesus left with his disciples and crossed the Kidron Valley.	When Jesus *had spoken these words*, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron,	Whanne Jhesus *hadde seid these thingis*, he wente out with hise disciplis ouer the strond of Cedron,	þa se hælend þas þing *cwæð* þa eode he ofer ða burnan cedron ðær wæs an wyrtun.
		VF+G	VF+PART	VF+PART	0
38	John 19:12	From then on, Pilate tried to set Jesus free, but the Jews *kept shouting*,	And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him: but the Jews *cried out*, saying,	Fro that tyme Pilat souyte to delyuere hym; but the Jewis *crieden*, and seiden,	and syððan sohte pilatus hu he hyne forlete; Ða iudeas *clypodon*. and cwædon;
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0
39	John 20:27	*Stop doubting* and believe.	and *be not faithless*, but believing.	and *nyle* thou be *vnbileueful*, but feithful.	and *ne beo* þu *ungeleafful* ac geleaffull;
		VF+G	sem	sem	sem
40	John 21:15	When they had *finished eating*,	So when they *had dined*,	And whanne thei *hadde etun*,	Ða hi *æton* þa cwæð se hælend to simone petre;
		VF+G	VF+PART	VF+PART	0
41	Num 11:4	and again the Israelites *started wailing* and said,	and the children of Israel also *wept again*, and said,	and *wepte* with the sones of Israel ioyned togidere to hem, and seide,	and *weopon* mid Israhela folce, and cwædon
		VF+G	0	0	0
42	Num 11:13	They *keep wailing* to me,`Give us meat to eat!'	for they *weep* unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat.	Thei *wepen* bifore me, and seyn, `Yyue thou fleischis to vs that we ete;	Hi *wepað* ongean me, and cweðað: Syle us flæsc to etanne.
		VF+G/PART	0	0	0

43	Boeth I,p5	When I *was through barking* all this *out* in my protracted lamentation, Philosophy maintained her serene expression and was in no way moved by all my complaining.	This when with contynuall wo I *had burst out*, seeing her with mylde countenance nothing mooued with my mones	*Han I hadde* with continuel sorwe sobbed or *borken owt* thise thinges she with hie chere pesyble and nothing amoeued with my compleyntes	þa ð Mod þa þillic sar *cweþende wæs* and þis leoð singende wæs, se Wisdom þa and seo Gesceadwisnes him bliðum eahum on locodon;
		VF+G	VF+PART	VF+PART	VF+PART
44	Boeth III,m1	*Start at removing* your neck out from the yoke;	*Begin* thy neck from yoke *to pluck*	*bygyn to with-drawen* thy nekke fro the yok	gif ðu *ærest awyrtwalast* of þinū mode ða leasan gesælða
		VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF	ADV+VF
45	Boeth IV,p2	those who abandon the common goal of all the things that are also *quit existing* as well.	For they that forsake the common end of all thinges that be, they *leave* themselves *to be*.	ffor they þat forleytn the comune fyn of alle thinges þat ben they *forletyn* also ther-with-al *for to ben*	forðæm swa hwa swa ðone gemænan God eallra goda forlæt, buton tweonne *ne bið* se *nauht.*
		VF+G	VF+INF	VF+INF	sem

VF+G	28	8	0	0
VF+G/PART	17	0	1	0
VF+PART		3	3	4
VF+INF		6	8	4
VF+N		4	7	5
ADV+VF		2	1	3
CONJ+VF		0	2	2
PREF+VF		0	0	2
VF+VF		1	0	2
sem		7	8	8
0		14	15	15
	45	45	45	45

XXII