Chapter 5

The syntax and semantics of the Old English predicative construction

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Abstract

This chapter analyses Old English constructions of the type Se cyningc þa him andswarode bysmerigende 'Then the king answered him deceiving'. In the predicative construction, the matrix predication contains a finite form of a verb other than bēon 'to be', while the linked predication, expressed by a present participle, shares its first argument with the matrix predication. This construction is discussed within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. The data, which have been extracted from The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, show that the predicative construction presents matrix verbs not only of motion and rest but also from other classes. The analysis of the syntactic structures and interclausal semantic relations holding in the predicative construction has implications for the evolution of the infinitive, which loses its ability to alternate with the participle because the configurations of a finite verb with a linked present participle show a low degree of syntactic and semantic integration.

Keywords

1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess the degree of semantic and syntactic integration of the Old English predicative construction, illustrated by instances like *Se cyningc þa him andswarode bysmerigende* ([LS 4 (Christoph) 001600 (51)]) 'Then the king answered him delusively

deceiving'.[1] In the participial predicative construction, a present participle, which is not auxiliarised by *bēon* 'to be', gives rise to a linked predication, in such a way that the matrix predication contains a finite form of the verb and shares its first argument with the linked predication. The term *predicative* is first suggested by Callaway's (1913: 198) to indicate that the linked verb carries the semantic weight of the construction, whereas the matrix verb plays a structural role comparable to an auxiliary.

The theoretical basis of the present study is functional-typological, that is to say, pride of place is given to semantics over syntax, while diachronic and typological explanations can go hand in hand with synchronic analysis. While a synchronic perspective is adopted on the Old English language, the present study also explores the implications for the change undergone by the uninflected infinitive, which loses its ability to alternate with the present participle in the predicative construction in Old English. In other words, the predicative construction becomes consistently participial in the period, even with verbs of motion and rest. As is shown below, the demise of the infinitive of the linked predication can be explained in terms of the semantic and syntactic integration of the construction. In a nutshell, syntactic tightness is motivated by semantic cohesion, which means that less cohesive semantics calls for less tight sytax. The data have been extracted from a syntactically annotated corpus of Old English and analysed on syntactic and semantic grounds, including transitivity, structural complexity, positional syntax, verbal class, and interclausal semantic relations.

This chapter, therefore, deals with the syntax and semantics of an Old English construction that revolves around the participle. Authors like Denison (1993: 385) and Ringe & Taylor (2014: 494) consider it one of the sources of the progressive. Martín Arista & Ojanguren López (2018: 155) remark that the participle is a witness to the loss of adjectival inflection already in the Old English period. For Lamont (2015: 341), the participle is "a powerful syntactic unit that can work at the broad level of the clause, or can function at the minute level of the single word, such as an adjective or a noun". For instance, the present participle *beodende* is complemented by a direct argument in *Þa gyrnde hyre maenig maere man micele maerða* **beodende** 'Then, many a famous man desired her, offering many wonderful things.' (Apol. 2, 8; Wedel 1978: 395-396); whereas *lifigendne* performs an adjectival function in *Swa hwilc man swa me Apollonium* **lifigendne** *to gebringð...* 'Whoever brings Apollonius to me alive...' (Apol. 0, 16; Wedel 1978: 395-396).[2]

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[1] The Old English citations in this chapter are provided with the corresponding text and fragment number from *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Healey et al. 2004).

[2] For a diachronic study in participles and infinitives (after aspectuals) in English and Greek, see Lavidas and Drachman (2012). These authors address an analogous question but with focus on aspectuals and a contrastive English-Greek historical perspective.

On the diachronic side, Callaway (1913: 91) finds that the participle replaces the infinitive following verbs of motion and rest. A change can be described, therefore, involving the demise of the infinitival predicative construction (which was restricted, as has just been said, to infinitives with verbs of motion and rest) and the generalisation of the participial predicative construction. The point of departure of this change can be illustrated with instances such as *Þa com ðær **yrnan** sum olbenda* 'Then a camel came running there' (comart3,Mart_5[Kotzor]…Se27, A.26.1887) (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 488); and *Þæt scræf ... þe ða seofon halgan lagon inne **slapan*** 'The cave that the seven saints lay sleeping in' (cosevens,LS_34_[SevenSleepers]:375.278). The infinitives *yrnan* 'to run' and *slapan* 'to sleep' depend, respectively, on the motion verb *com* 'came' and the rest verb *lagon* 'lay', respectively. With verbs of motion and rest, as Ringe & Taylor (2014: 493) put it, "there are few instances of the predicative participle in Early West Saxon, but in Late West Saxon it has become quite frequent". underline the use of present participles with verbs of motion (*to come, to go*, etc.) and rest (*to sit, to lie, to stand*, etc.). Traugott (1992: 248-249) points out that "by the time of Ælfric, however, the participial construction familiar in PDE [Present-Day English-JMA] was taking over".

There is agreement on the Latin origin of the participial predicative construction, which is also attested in other old Germanic languages. According to Mitchell (1985: §1436), "most if not all adjunct participial clauses in Old English are due to Latin influence". Indeed, many Old English translations closely follow the Latin original, as shown by Francini (2019: 111) in instances like *Iesus ergo rursum **fremens** in semetipso venit ad monumentum* / *Se Hælend eft **grymetende** com to ðære byrgenne* 'Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the grave' (John 11: 38). The Old English version selects the present participle *grymetende* to translate the Latin present participle *fremens*, while opting for the preterite *com* to render *venit*. Mitchell (1985: §1434) also remarks that Old English appositive participles usually appear in post-position and that they are often in the nominative case but morphologically unmarked as adjectives. Whereas in Present-Day English adjunct participial clauses often precede the matrix clause, they are non-initial in Old English, with very few exceptions (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 496).

Against this background, this chapter addresses three types of questions. From the descriptive point of view, the question arises as to whether verbs from classes other than motion and rest, on which previous research has focused, are found in the predicative construction. This raises the issue of the verbal and syntactic classifications, for which no unambiguous account is found in the literature. The solution adopted in the present study is to draw on a syntactic theory

deep-rooted in semantics, such as the one developed by Role and Reference Grammar (henceforth RRG). It is also of descriptive import to gauge the various degrees of syntactic integration of the predicative construction, which is done on the basis of the different levels of juncture involved (see Section 2). As for the degree of semantic integration, the analysis of verbal classes allows us to distinguish several frames in which the matrix and the linked verb converge or diverge as to class membership (see Section 3). From the explanatory point of view, the interclausal semantic relations distinguished in RRG motivate changes to the level of juncture of the complex predication. This can explain some aspects of the evolution of the infinitive in English, whose loss in the predicative construction calls for further explanation. Finally, this chapter also deals with the question of filtering in corpus analysis (see Section 3). It turns out that a rigorous descriptive framework is required in order to discard the undesired results of a search in a syntactically annotated corpus.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 sets the theoretical basis for the work, including the general framework as well as the aspects of the theory relevant for this study. The terminology, along with the principles and tasks of analysis, are presented in Section 3. Section 4 deals with corpus analysis, thus engaging in the selection of data, the definition of queries and the filtering of undesired results. Section 5 assesses the integration of the participial predicative construction on syntactic and semantic grounds. Section 6 explains the demise of the infinitival predicative construction in terms of the semantic and syntactic integration of the construction. To round off, Section 7 draws the main conclusions. The Appendix tabulates the results of the search for the participle phase in the corpus.

2 Theoretical basis

This section reviews the relevant aspects of the theoretical framework, including clause structure and the semantics and syntax of complex clauses. Special attention is paid to the interclausal semantic relations that correspond to syntactic constructions of various levels of structural complexity.

The discussion that follows is based on the theory of RRG (van Valin and LaPolla 1997; van Valin 2005; van Valin 2007), a functional-typological grammar that seeks semantic and pragmatic motivation for morpho-syntactic structure in its applications to a wide array of languages from various linguistic types and areas. Three components of RRG bear on the discussion that follows: the hierarchical structure of the clause (and the related approach to

constructions), the theory of nexus and juncture, and the semantic relation between clauses as stated in the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy.[3]

Beginning with clause structure, RRG is a projectionist theory that defines three semantic-syntactic layers: the core, the clause and the sentence. Each layer is comprised of all the inner layers (core-clause-sentence) and has associated operators that code morpho-syntactic and semantic features like tense, aspect and modality. Epistemic modality and tense, for instance, have scope over the clause, whereas aspect is a nuclear operator. The core can be broken down into a verbal nucleus, its arguments and argument-adjuncts (as *pizza* in *We ate pizza*; and *to the station* in *Susan ran to the station*, respectively). Arguments are syntactically direct (not governed by a preposition) whereas adjuncts may require prepositional government. Arguments, along with argument-adjuncts, belong in the core. Both are semantically compulsory and, as a result, get full expression. On the other hand, arguments are syntactically direct whereas argument-adjuncts and adjuncts are oblique (governed by preposition). In languages with full nominal declension, direct core arguments are, as a general rule, case-marked nominative and accusative, in contradistinction to argument-adjuncts, which select the case governed by the preposition, and adjuncts, which are usually inflected for the dative. The clause is defined as a core with an associated periphery, as in *The locals won yesterday*. Adjuncts such as *yesterday* are placed in the periphery. The sentence is a configuration with one or more units of clause level, as in *While I was on the phone, Cyrus was cooking dinner*.

The RRG approach to constructions draws on Fillmore (1988: 36), who defines grammatical constructions as "any syntactic pattern which is assigned to one or more conventional functions in a language, together with whatever is linguistically conventionalized about its contribution to the meaning or the use of structures containing it". Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 430) informally represent grammatical constructions by means of templates that capture the syntactic, morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties of the construction.

In RRG, the theory of nexus and juncture accounts for the semantics and syntax of complex sentences, which are comprised of more than one clause. The term *nexus* makes reference to the relations that hold between clauses in complex sentences, while *juncture* refers to the structural complexity of the units that give rise to complex sentences.

Three types of nexus are distinguished, namely cosubordination, coordination and subordination. Cosubordination is dependent coordination. It requires that the first argument is shared by the matrix and the linked predication and that operators have scope over both.

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[3] For further information on RRG, the reader is referred to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). An updated extensive overview of the theory is available from http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~rrgpage/rrg/RRG_overview.pdf.

Instances of cosubordination are *The audience clapped the band out and left hurriedly* and *The marchers disbanded singing*. Subordination admits clefting and passivisation. For instance, *The company apologised after the news was released* can undergo clefting and result into *It was after the news was released that the company apologised;* and *That Jim quit shocked everyone* can be passivised to give *Everyone was shocked by Jim's resignation*. *The company apologised after the news was released* and *That Jim quit shocked everyone,* therefore, involve subordination. Subordination falls into three categories: daughter subordination, in which the linked predication is an argument of the matrix predication, as in *That Jim quit shocked everyone;* peripheral subordination, in which the linked predication functions as a periphery of the matrix predication, as in *The company apologised after the news was released*; and adjunct subordination, in which the linked predication is a non-macrorole argument of the matrix predication, as is illustrated by instances like *John persuaded the customer that the item had been returned.* Coordination, unlike cosubordination, does not share arguments or operators, as in *The teacher asked the pupils to hand in the exam* and *The witness saw the suspect enter the building.*

As regards juncture, three types of units are distinguished on the grounds of the complexity of the configurations. Nuclear junctures consist of two nuclei that occur in a single core. The two nuclei may be adjacent, as in *I pushed open the door,* where the verbal predicate *pushed* and the adjectival *open* determine the level of juncture. In English, junctures are nuclear only if the second predicate is intransitive (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 445). In a core juncture, two or more cores belong in a clause, as in *I asked the waiter to bring an extra plate*, which can be broken down into the cores organised by the verbal nuclei *asked* and *to bring*. Complementisers, as well as transitive linked predications, result in core junctures, as is the case with *The employee tried to help all the customers*. Whereas nuclear junctures may comprise a verbal and an adjectival predication (as in *I wiped the table clean*), core junctures call for two verbal predications. Clausal junctures display two or more units of the clausal level in a sentence, such as *I have coffee in the morning but my wife prefers tea*.

The Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (henceforth IRH; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 480) relates linkage (nexus relations and juncture levels) to semantic relations. The IRH is presented in Figure 5.1. On its structural side, the hierarchy orders the nexus-juncture types according to the tightness of the syntactic link between the units partaking in the juncture, so that a nuclear cosubordination represents the tightest configuration and a sentential coordination the loosest one. Put another way, the structural part of the hierarchy is concerned with the degree of syntactic integration of the juncture units and distinguishes between those integrated into a single unit, as in a nuclear juncture, and those that remain two separate units, as in a clausal

juncture. On its functional side, the IRH organises the semantic relations between the propositions linked in a complex structure according to semantic cohesion, that is to say, the degree to which they express a single action or event or two actions or events. For instance, the semantic relation Causative is more cohesive than Direct Discourse. According to the functional part of the IFH, *Fred painted his car purple* conveys the semantic function First causative, *We didn't hear the kids arrive* involves Direct perception, and *Yolanda went to work even though she was ill* codes Concession.[4]

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[4] Two causative relations are distinguished depending on the category of the linked predication (the First Causative may involve an adjectival linked predication, for instance) and the juncture level (the Second Causative may comprise, for instance, a daughter subordination).

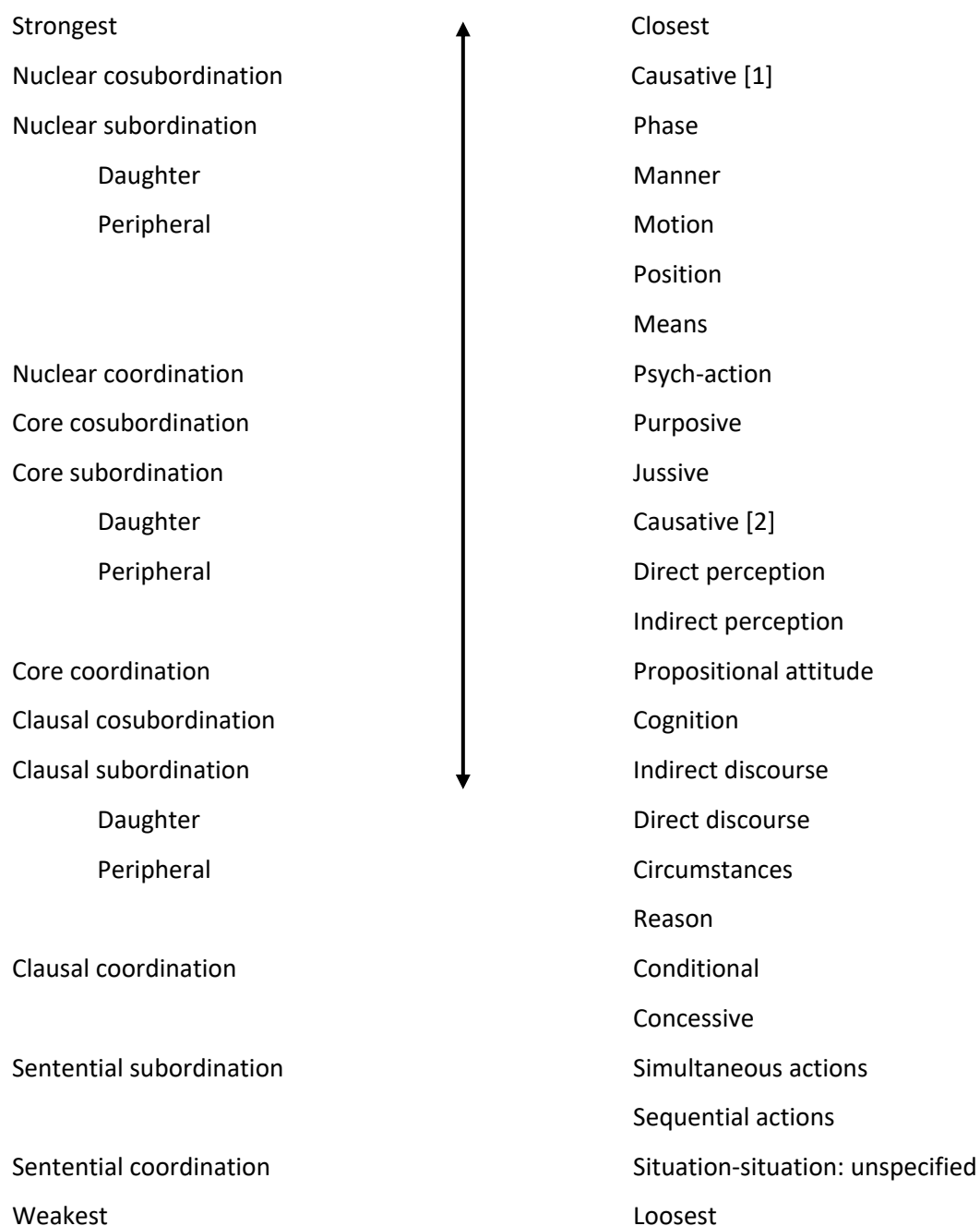|	
Strongest	Closest
Nuclear cosubordination	Causative [1]
Nuclear subordination	Phase
Daughter	Manner
Peripheral	Motion
	Position
	Means
Nuclear coordination	Psych-action
Core cosubordination	Purposive
Core subordination	Jussive
Daughter	Causative [2]
Peripheral	Direct perception
	Indirect perception
Core coordination	Propositional attitude
Clausal cosubordination	Cognition
Clausal subordination	Indirect discourse
Daughter	Direct discourse
Peripheral	Circumstances
	Reason
Clausal coordination	Conditional
	Concessive
Sentential subordination	Simultaneous actions
	Sequential actions
Sentential coordination	Situation-situation: unspecified
Weakest	Loosest

FIGURE 5.1: Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 480).

When the structural and the functional part of the IRH are considered together, this hierarchy predicts the preference for a given semantic relation holding between the matrix and the linked predication to be coded as a certain linkage. For example, a semantic relation such as Phase, corresponding to aspectual verbs, as in *She started reading aloud*, is more likely to be coded as a nuclear cosubordination than as a core cosubordination. The IRH is motivated by iconicity: the more cohesive the semantic relation between the two actions or events of the propositions in

the complex structure, the more integrated is the linkage or, put briefly, the syntax of complex structures is a consequence of semantics.

3   Method

This section discusses the terminology relevant for the present study and presents the principles and steps of analysis. Beginning with the terminology, Mitchell (1976: 479), in a study in the verbal periphrasis involving *bēon/wesan* and the participle, remarks that it is not always possible to accurately determine the function of the participle, which results in terminological problems. Although it is not the aim of the present study to settle the terminological debate over the participle and the verbal periphrases in Old English, which overlaps with the development of the progressive (Lamont 2015: 76), it is suggested below that the terminology used for the description of the predicative construction can benefit from a separation of the various syntactic & semantic aspects implied.

Ringe & Taylor (2014: 494-495) define adjunct participial clauses as non-finite clauses headed by a participle, present or past. Syntactically, there is no connection between the participial clause and the matrix; semantically they perform an adverbial function. According to these authors, adjunct participial clauses fall into two types, namely free adjunct participial clauses and absolute participial clauses. Free adjunct participial clauses, which correspond to the appositive participial clauses of traditional terminology, share the subject with the matrix clause, as is the case with *Crist*$_i$ *ableow þone halgan gast ofer ðam apostolon* PRO$_i$ *þa gyt* **wuniende** *on eorðan* 'Christ blew the Holy Spirit over the apostles while he was still dwelling on the earth' (cocathom, +ÆCH_I,_16:309.54.2972; Ringe & Taylor 2014: 494; my emphasis-JMA). Absolute participial clauses have an explicit subject that is not co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause, as in *And heo ða hal aras þam folce* **onlocigendum** 'And she then arose whole with the people looking on' (coaelive,+ALS_[Martin]:501.6284; Ringe & Taylor 2014: 494-495; my emphasis-JMA). Concentrating on free adjunct participial clauses, they can be divided into adverbial and coordinate. Adverbial free adjunct participial clauses express any kind of adverbial relationship with the matrix clause, whereas a coordinate free adjunct participial clause is essentially equivalent to a coordinate clause (Callaway 1913: 268; in Ringe & Taylor 2014: 495). There are problems with this terminology, though, as in most instances the participle hovers between the predicative use on the one hand and the attributive or the appositive on the other (Callaway 1913: 223).

Present participles with verbs of motion and rest represent a sub-class of free adjunct participial clauses. Visser (1963: 190ff) consider this "slight subordination" along with the aspectualisers, while Denison discusses them in relation to the development of the progressive (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 494). According to Denison (1993: 385), many Old English verbs can be inflected for an *-ing* form. As Denison (1993: 385) puts it, "the collocations ['inflections'-JMA] that come closest to the progressive are those involving intransitive verbs. In Old English the usage is common with intransitive verbs of movement and the SIT/LIE/STAND group".

This brief review of the available terminology shows that the definitions relevant for this study hinge on a combination of syntactic and semantic criteria: whereas there are formal grounds for distinguishing participial clauses from other structural units, the notions of *adverbial, coordinate, attributive* and *predicative* participle do not have an explicit formal correlate. Leaving aside the question of the progressive, given that the construction with *bēon/wesan* falls out of the scope of the present study, the line is taken that explicit semantic criteria, along with independent morpho-syntactic criteria, are required not only for the clear-cut description of the steps of the analysis but also for the suitable definition of the search in a syntactically annotated corpus (and the necessary filtering of search hits).

This said, the terminological synthesis of the present study includes, to begin with, the term *predicative,* which is first suggested by Callaway (1913). In a study dealing with the infinitive that alternates with the participle of some verbs, Callaway (1913: 198) points out that "the infinitive seems to carry the chief idea in the verb phrase; and the principal verb seems to have become a mere auxiliary; for which reason it has seemed to me best to call this the predicative use of the uninflected infinitive after a verb of motion which has paled into an auxiliary".

The Old English predicative construction can be illustrated by instances such as *and hire swuster maria sæt stille æt drihtnes fotum.* **heorcnigende** *his lare* [ÆCHom II, 34 002100 (256.36)] 'and her sister Mary sat still at the Lord's feet, hearkening to his lore'.[5] On the morpho-syntactic side, the predicative construction involves a non-finite form of the verb (the present participle), such as *heorcnigende* 'listening', and a finite (from the preterit indicative, in most cases), like *sæt* 'sat'. Syntactically, this construction is comprised of a matrix and a linked predication, in such a way the first argument is shared by both predications. The construction excludes present participles in periphrases with *bēon/wesan,* like *wæs wuniende* 'was staying' in *Ne ferde heo worigende geond land ac* **wæs wunigende** *geþyldelice binnan Godes temple* [ÆCHom I, 9 009700 (255.195)] 'She went not wandering through the land but remained patiently within God´s temple'.

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[5] The translations for the Old English fragments draw on the edition by Thorpe (1844, 1846).

In RRG, adverbial and coordinate free adjunct participial clauses are couched in terms of four types of modifying subevents: modifying subevents of manner (*Bill entered the room skipping*), motion (*I speak while going up*), position (*Dana sat reading a newspaper*) and means (*Sam opened the box by slicing it with a knife*).[6] This classification of modifying subevents is orthogonal, though, considering that manner, motion and means are defined with respect to the linked predication, whereas position refers to the matrix predication (the stance adopted while an action is carried out). Moreover, the distinction between modifying subevents of manner and means is fuzzy: neither the prosody nor the punctuation of the matrix and the linked predications are reliable criteria in Old English (Mitchell 1976: 478). Ringe and Taylor (2014: 496) also comment on the different relative positions of the matrix & the linked predication, which is not aligned initially on a regular basis. The additional argument can be adduced of the absence of *by* prepositional marking in Old English comparable to *Sam opened the box by slicing it with a knife.*

For these reasons, while the syntactic category of modifying subevent is adopted to refer to the predicative construction, the semantics of the construction is couched in terms of semantic frames based on the verbal classes of the matrix and the linked predication. For example, *Ða com þær **stæppende** sum uncuð cempa* [ÆCHom I, 30 010100 (437.249)] 'Then came there walking an unknown warrior' is defined as a motion frame because it comprises the general motion verb *cuman* 'to come' and the manner of motion verb *stæppan* 'to step'.

With these premises, the degree of syntactic integration of the predicative construction is assessed on the basis of criteria related to linkage. The degree of semantic integration of the construction, for its part, is gauged according to semantic frames and verbal classes.

In order to assess the degree of syntactic integration, it is necessary to determine the transitivity of the linked predication, as well as the adjacency matrix-linked verb. The relative order matrix-linked predication may also be relevant. *A priori*, two degrees of syntactic integration are considered: adjacency and non-adjacency of the matrix and the linked verb. Three levels of juncture are taken into account: nuclear juncture, core juncture and clausal juncture. The nexus relation in the three linkages is cosubordination. In the nuclear juncture, two intransitive verbal nuclei are directly dominated by the node Nucleus, as in *Jill sat singing*. In the core juncture, two cores containing a second argument or an argument-adjunct each are directly dominated by the node Core, as in *Jill sat playing the flute.* Finally, in a clausal juncture, two clauses, one of which has an associated periphery, are directly dominated by the node

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6 These definitions and examples have been taken from the overview of RRG available at http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~rrgpage/rrg/RRG_overview.pdf. See also Van Valin and LaPolla (1997).

Clause, as in *The passengers eventually escaped the vehicle breaking the window with a hammer*. The correlation between adjacency, nexus and juncture is ruled by the IRH. As in the IRH, nuclear linkages are more integrated than core linkages, which, in turn, are more integrated than clausal linkages.

The assessment of semantic integration relies on verbal classes, so that semantic frames that contain a matrix verb and a linked verb from the same class are more integrated than verbal frames with verbs from two classes.[7] This is an interpretation of the IRH, which predicts that more cohesive propositions express a single action or event, whereas less cohesive ones convey two. Verbs from the same verbal class are likely to code a single action or event, as in *Ac an ðæra fugela. eft* **fleogende com** [ÆCHom II, 10 007000 (86.194)] 'but one of those birds, flying back, came (=came back flying)'. In this respect, linked verbs that constitute a pair of near-synonyms can be interpreted as a frequent stylistic feature of Old English (Kuhn 1947; Berger 1993), such as *biddende and cweðende* 'praying and saying' in *Þa genealæhte him to sum hundredes ealdor* **biddende & cweðende.** *Drihten min cniht lið æt ham bedreda* [ÆCHomI, 8 004600 (244.86)] 'Then a certain centurion approached him, praying and saying (=beseeching), Lord, my servant lieth at home bedridden'.

In the assessment of semantic integration, the following verbal classes are considered: action (e.g. *dōn* 'to do'), causative (e.g. *tæcan* 'to shew'), consumption (e.g. *etan* 'to eat'), general motion (*gān* 'to go'), manner of motion (w*adan* 'to wade'*)*, path of motion (e.g. *āstīgan* 'to ascend'), non-translational motion (e.g. *bīgan* to bend') position (e.g. *standan* 'to stand'), contact (e.g. s*tænan* 'to stone), emission (e.g. *stincan* 'to stink'), speech (e.g. sprecan 'to speak'), knowledge (e.g. *dwelian* 'to be wrong'), possession (e.g. *healdan* 'to hold'), state (e.g. *wilnian* 'to desire), change of state (e.g. *gelacnian* 'to heal'), and perception (e.g. *behealdan* 'to look'). These verbal classes motivate the following semantic frames: action frame (action, causative, consumption and emission verbs), contact frame (contact verbs), motion frame (general motion, manner of motion, path of motion and non-translational motion verbs), position frame (position verbs), speech frame (speech verbs), state frame (knowledge, state, change of state and possession verbs), and perception frame (perception verbs). The inventory of verbal classes draws on Faber & Mairal (1999). Verbs of general motion follow Ogura (2002), while verbs of manner of motion and path of motion have been taken, with minor differences, from Fanego (2012) and Huber (2017). The basic idea in this respect is that there are not many verbs of path

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[7] Frames, as in Fillmore and Baker (2010), analyse lexical meanings and relate individual items to constructions. In the present study, the concept of frame is restricted to the co-occurrence of verbal classes in the construction at stake.

of motion in Old English, the majority of them also conveying some component of manner of motion (Huber 2017: 106).

4   Corpus analysis: data selection, searches and filtering

The data of this research have been extracted from *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (hereafter YCOE; Taylor et al. 2003), a 1.5 million-word corpus provided with part of speech tagging and syntactic parsing. The YCOE has been searched for the participial predicative construction in two steps. Given the search options available in the YCOE, the participle phrase has been targeted in the first place, through the query presented in Figure 5.2.[8]

node: IP*

query: (IP* idoms PTP*)

AND (PTP* idoms

*BAG^N|*HAG^N|*AXG^N|*VAG^N|*BAG^A|*HAG^A|*AXG^A|*VAG^A|*BAG^D|

*HAG^D|*AXG^D|*VAG^D|*BAG^G|*HAG^G|*AXG^G|*VAG^G)

FIGURE 5.2:   Search file in the YCOE.

The query in Figure 5.2 targets a participle phrase (PTP) directly dominated by a node IP and that directly dominates a present participle (BAG, HAG, AXG, VAG) inflected for the nominative (N), accusative (A), genitive (G), and dative (D). The query in Figure 5.2 turns out hits like the one presented in Figure 5.3, which displays the morphological labeling and syntactic parsing of *Ða þa he hit gemette he hit bær on his exlum to þære eowde.* **blissigende** [ÆCHom I, 24 001700 (372.30)] 'When he had found it, he bore it on his shoulders to the flock rejoicing'. With respect to the labelling in Figure 5.3, it must be borne in mind that clauses in the YCOE are labelled IP with an additional label to indicate type, such as IP-MAT for declarative matrix IPs and IP-SUB for subordinate IPs dominated by CP. Any clause that contains a WH-word or complementiser is labelled CP. The internal structure of clauses is flat, so that the node VP is used to verbal forms and the complements are directly dominated by the node IP-MAT.

((CODE <T02330001700,372.30>)

(IP-MAT (CP-ADV (ADV^T Ða) (P þa)

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                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (NP-NOM (PRO^N he))
                        (NP-ACC (PRO^A hit))
                        (VBD gemette)))
        (NP-NOM (PRO^N he))
        (NP-ACC (PRO^A hit))
        (VBDI bær)
        (PP (P on)
                (NP-DAT (PRO$ his) (N^D exlum)))
        (PP (P to)
                (NP-DAT (D^D þære) (N^D eowde)))
        (, .)
        (PTP-NOM (VAG^N blissigende))
        (. .)) (ID cocathom1, ÆCHomI,_24:372.30.4688))
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FIGURE 5.3:   Query hit in the YCOE.

Syntactic categories: NP (noun phrase), PP (prepositional phrase), PTP (participle phrase); lexical categories: ADV (adverb), D (determiner), N (noun), P (preposition), PRO (personal pronoun), PRO$ (possessive pronoun), VAG (verb, present participle), VBD (verb, preterit), VBDI (verb, preterit indicative); morphological case at word level: ^A (accusative), ^D (dative), ^N (nominative); morphological case at phrase level: -ACC (accusative), -DAT (dative), -NOM (nominative).

The results of the query in Figure 5.2 are tabulated in Appendix 1. They are in line with the importance of the Latin sources underlined by Mitchell (1985: §1436) and the increasing frequency as the period advances (Traugott 1992: 248-249). Indeed, most instances are evinced by Old English translations from Latin originals, such as *Gregory's Dialogues* and the *West-Saxon Gospels*; while later texts such *as Ælfric's Lives of Saints* turn out more occurrences of the construction than earlier texts, like *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, Orosius, St. Augustine's Soliloquies* and the *Martyrology*. The results of the corpus search also indicate that nearly one half of the instances occur in texts attributed to Ælfric (in contradistinction to the coetaneous Wulfstan, whose homilies present six instances of the construction only); that Ælfric's *Supplemental Homilies* and *Catholic Homilies* show many more instances of the participle phrase than other texts of homiletic style, such as the *Blickling Homilies* and the *Vercelli Homilies*; that narrative texts like Bede's *History of the English Church* contain more instances than scientific texts, such as *Lacnunga, Leechdoms* and *Medicina de quadrupedibus*; that texts not translated from Latin, like *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, do not evince many; and that legal documents like the laws and the documents (wills and charters) are not witnesses to the participle phrase at all.

Put briefly, the participle phrase is mainly attested in Latin translations and, above all, in the texts authored by Ælfric. For this reason, the data for this study have been extracted from Ælfrician records. The analysis concentrates on the *Catholic Homilies*, with a view to avoiding works that resemble the Latin original more closely. In this respect, Ælfric's style has been praised for its *clarity, smoothness*, as well as for its *careful architectural structuring of sentences* (Lipp 1969: 694). For Minkoff (1976: 40), the Homilies represent a freer style than other works like *Genesis* because they do not incorporate literal biblical quotations. According to Bender-Davis (1985: 257), Ælfric's translation *was governed by a desire to convey knowledge to his audience and, consequently, resulted in significant changes to the source*. Corona (2008: 169) attributes the deviation from the Latin original to *Ælfric's use of alliterative patterns in prose*. Considering all these aspects, *the Homilies would thus represent Ælfric's personal style* (Minkoff 1976: 40), although Francini (2019) finds many parallelisms some direct quotes from biblical material.

In the specific area of participles, consistency in the use of the periphrasis is not a characteristic of the Old English literal translations (Mitchell 1976: 489). However, in the translation of participles, Ælfric often avoids a present participle when the anonymous translator of *Genesis* prefers to render an infinitive (Lamont 2015: 112). Ælfric sometimes opts for a finite form of the verb in the *Homilies* where the *West Saxon Gospels* translate the Latin into a present participle (Francini 2019: 73). In other instances, the abbot of Eynsham prefers a present participle where the *West Saxon Gospels* have a finite form of the verb (Francini 2019: 119).

For the quantitative and qualitative reasons given above, the data of this study have been extracted from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. This said, in order to carry out the analysis, it is necessary to manually revise the raw data from the corpus search so as to filter out undesired results, which boils down to excluding instances of participle phrases that do not qualify as participial predicative constructions.

Given the description of the participial predicative construction offered in Section 3, the scope of this research includes instances with verbal linked predications, such as *rarigende* 'wailing' in (1a), as well as instances with adjectival and verbal linked predications, like *orsorh and blissigende* 'cheerful and rejoicing' in (1b).[9]

(1)
a.   [ÆCHom I, 4 007000 (210.131)]

Seo	*dreorige*	*moder*	*(...)*
the:NOM;SG	afflicted:NOM;SG	mother:NOM;SG	(...)
rarigende	*hi*	*astrehte*	*æt*
wail:PRS;PTCP	she:ACC;SG;REFL	postrate:3SG;PST	at:PREP
þæs	*halgan*	*apostoles*	*fotum.*
the:GEN;SG	holy:GEN;SG	apostol:GEN;SG	foot:DAT;PL

'The afflicted mother (...) wailing prostrated herself at the holy apostle's feet.'

b.   [ÆCHom I, 38 018100 (517.300)]

Orsorh	***&***	***blissigende***	*ic*
happy:NOM;SG	and:CONJ	rejoice:PRS;PTCP	I:NOM;SG
cume	*to*	*þe.*	
come:1SG;PRS	to:PREP	you:DAT;SG	

'Cheerful and rejoicing I come to thee.'

On the other hand, four syntactic configurations are excluded: the copulative periphrasis and/or a linked predication that does not share its first argument with the matrix predication, as in (2a), which has the first arguments *Drihten* 'lord' and *we* 'we'; copulative verbs with relatives, such as *wyrcende tacna & wundra '*working signs and wonders' in (2b); and passive constructions with a linked predication in the participle, such as *beon alysed lybbende* 'be released living' in (2c).

(2)

a.   [ÆCHom II, 36.1 003800 (270.85)]

Drihten	*bead*	*þæt*	***we***
lord:NOM;SG	bid:3SG; PST	that:COMP	we:NOM;PL
næron	*bysige*	*and*	*carfulle*
be:3PL;PST;NEG	busy:NOM;PL	and:CONJ	careful:NOM;PL
cweðende.	*hwæt*	*sceole*	*we*
say:PRS;PTCP	what:ACC;SG	should:1PL;SBJV	we:NOM;PL
etan.			
eat:INF			

'The Lord enjoined that we should not be concerned and anxious, saying, "What shall we eat?"'

b.   [ÆCHom I, 37 007900 (504.227)]

... for þan ðe	*he*	*is*	*alysend.*
because:CONJ	he:NOM;SG	be:3SG;PRS	redeemer:NOM;SG
&	*hælend*	***wyrcende***	***tacna***
and:CONJ	saviour:NOM;SG	work:PRS;PTCP	sign:GEN;PL
&	***wundra***	*on*	*heofenan*
and:CONJ	wonder:GEN;PL	on:PREP	heaven:DAT;PL
&	*on*	*eorþan.*	
and:CONJ	on:PREP	earth:DAT;SG	

'... for he is the Redeemer and Saviour, working signs and wonders in heaven and on earth.'

c.   [ÆCHom I, 38 019300 (518.325)]

Nelle	*ic*	***beon***	***alysed***
will:1SG;PRS;NEG	I:NOM;SG	be:INF	release:PST;PTCP
lybbende	*heonon.*		
live:PRS;PTCP	hence:ADV		

'I will not be released hence living.'

After the undesired results have been put aside, 169 instances of the participial predicative construction remain. This represents around one third of the participle phrases, a percentage that may be extrapolated to the figures found in the other texts presented in the appendix.

A total of 145 instances display one matrix and one linked verb, while the remaining 24 stage more than one verb linked to the matrix.

5   The linkages and frames of the Old English participial predicative construction

This section delves into the syntax and semantics of the participial predicative construction. To recapitulate, the degree of syntactic integration of the participial predicative construction is assessed on the grounds of linkage, while its semantic integration is gauged on the basis of frames and verbal classes. Put in other words, the syntactic part is examined from the perspective of clausal relations, including nexus and juncture, which, in turn, requires the analysis of complementation and several aspects of adjacency and order. On the semantic side, the various semantic frames are taken into account.

In constructions with one linked verb, the maximal degree of syntactic integration should be expected to arise in syntactic configurations comprising a linked verb adjacent to its matrix verb. A total of 59 instances have been found, 41 of which involve an intransitive linked verb, as is the case with (3).

(3) [ÆCHom I, 31 011300 (447.231)]

... &	þær	**wedende**	**swulton.**
and:CONJ	there:ADV	rave:PRS;PTCP	die:3PL;PST

'... and there raving died.'

Nearly two-thirds of the adjacent intransitive occurrences (24 out of 41) align the linked before the matrix verb, as in (3). This contrasts with the predicative construction in which the matrix and the linked verb are not adjacent, as is shown below. The order linked-matrix may be a consequence of the dependent status of the matrix clause, which places the verb in final position. One half of the linked-matrix alignments (12 out of 24) occur in configurations with a dependent matrix verb in the final position of the clause, as happens to *hwearftliað* 'to roll about' in (4).

(4) [ÆCHom I, 35 010300 (482.189)]

Ðær	*wepað*	*þa*	*eagan*
there:ADV	weep:3PL;PRS	the:NOM;PL	eye:NOM;PL
on	*þam*	*hellicum*	*lige*
in:PREP	the:DAT;SG	hellish:DAT;SG	fire:DAT;SG
þe	*nu*	*þurh*	*unalyfedlicum*
that:REL	now:ADV	through:PREP	wrong:DAT;PL
gewilnungum	*goretende*	**hwearftliað**.	
desire:DAT;PL	gaze:PRS;PTCP	wander:3PL;PST	

'There the eyes shall weep in the hellish flame, which now libidinously roll about with unallowed desires.'

Considering that when the matrix and the linked verb are not adjacent the order matrix verb-linked verb is clearly preferred (83 out of 110 instances place the matrix verb in front of the linked verb), a tendency can be identified for the predicative construction to align the linked verb in front of the adjacent matrix verb. The picture that emerges is that nuclear cosubordination, which is restricted to adjacent intransitive linked verbs, tends to opt for the order linked-matrix verb illustrated in (5).[10] This is true of predications in both main and

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10 As can be seen if a longer context is considered, the infinitives *sweltan* 'to die' and *æfterfylian* 'to follow' complement the main verb *wylle* 'will': *Ac swa ðeah ic wylle deaðe sweltan for mancynnes alysednysse & þe sweltende æfterfylian* 'And yet will I perish by death for the redemption of mankind, and follow thee dying'.

dependent clauses, although the evidence is scarce (4 in total, 2 in main clauses and 2 in dependent clauses).

(5) [ÆCHom I, 3 008200 (204.163)]

... &	*þe*	***sweltende***	***æfterfylian****.*
and:CONJ	you:ACC;PL	die:PRS;PTCP	follow:PRS;INF

''... and follow thee dying.'

Syntactic configurations involving a matrix verb and a non-adjacent linked verb are likely to show a lower degree of syntactic integration. Indeed, they are characterised by the presence of core arguments, that is to say, first arguments and second arguments of syntactically transitive verbs, as is the case with *hit* 'it' and *ðine bearn* 'your children' (6). The resulting linkages take place at the level of the core.

(6)

[ÆCHom II, 35 004600 (262.75)]

And	*efne*	*þa*	*færlice*
and:CONJ	also:ADV	then:ADV	suddenly:ADV
swegde	*swiðlic*	*wind*	*of*
blow:3SG;PST	swift:NOM;SG	wind:NOM;SG	of:PREP
ðam	*westene*	*(....)*	*þæt*
the:DAT;SG	wilderness:DAT;SG	(...)	so.that:CONJ
hit	*hreosende*	***ðine***	***bearn***
it:NOM;SG	fall:PRS;PTCP	you:ACC;PL;POSS	child:ACC;PL
ofðrihte.	*and*	*acwealde.*	
crush:3SG;PST	and:CONJ	kill:3SG;PST	

'A strong wind suddenly sounded from the wilderness (...) so that falling it crushed thy children, and killed them.'

In contexts similar to (6), the non-adjacency between the matrix and the linked verb is frequently caused by argument-adjuncts and peripheries rather than by core arguments or, put another way, most non-adjacent matrix verbs (71 out of 110) are syntactically intransitive. This

is in keeping with the semantic intransitivity of verbs of state, motion or position but is less predictable of semantically transitive verbs, like the ones from the class of speech.

Overall, 110 instances of non-adjacency between the matrix and the linked verb have been found. The vast majority (82 instances) appear in clausal cosubordination. This nexus-juncture relation also represents the majority in instances of adjacency, both with transitive and intransitive linked verb. Nuclear cosubordination can only hold in non-adjacent instances as a result of topicalisation, involving, for instance, the placement of the linked verb in clause-initial position, as in (7). There is just one such instance in the corpus.

(7) [ÆCHom I, 36 008100 (492.173)]

Sittende	*he*	*tæhte*	*þæt*
sit:PRS;PTCP	he:NOM;SG	teach:3SG;PST	that:NOM;SG
belimpð	*to*	*wurþscipe*	*lareowdomes*.
belong:3SG;PRS	to:PREP	dignity:DAT;SG	teaching:GEN;SG

'He taught sitting: that belongs to the dignity of teachership.'

The results of the analysis of syntactic integration are tabulated in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1:   Syntactic integration.

	Adjacent intransitive	Adjacent transitive	Non-adjacent	Matrix-linked	Linked-matrix
nuclear cosubordination	3	0	1	0	4
core cosubordination	9	6	22	22	33
clausal cosubordination	29	12	87	95	15
total	41	18	110	117	52

Semantic integration, as has been remarked above, is gauged on the basis of the convergence or divergence of the matrix and the linked verb. For instance, (7) is divergent with respect to semantic integration as it involves the causative matrix verb *tǣcan* 'to teach' and the position linked verb *sittan* 'to sit'. On the other hand, the speech frame in (8a), made up of two verbs of

speech (*sprecan* 'to speak' and *lēogan* 'to lie') qualifies as convergent. When the semantic relation between the matrix and the linked verb is one of hyperonymy, the semantic frame is convergent too. This is the case with (8b), where the matrix verb of speech *biddan* 'to pray' is complemented by the objective genitive *inganges* 'admission' and, therefore, holds a semantic relation of hyperonymy with the linked verb of contact *cnuciende* 'knocking'.[11]

(8)

a. [ÆCHom I, 36 007700 (491.164)]

... &	*ælc*	*yfel*	*ongean*
and:CONJ	every:ACC;SG	evil:ACC;SG	against:PREP
eow	***sprecð***	***leogende***	*for*
you:DAT;PL	speak:3PL;PRS	lie:PRS;PTCP	for:PREP
me.			
I:DAT;SG			

'... and lying speak every evil against you for me.'

b. [ÆCHom I, 34 012300 (474.247)]

... &	*he*	*to*	*his*
and:CONJ	he:NOM;SG	to:PREP	his:DAT;SG;POSS
geferum	*becom.*	*&*	***cnuciende***
companion:DAT;PL	come:3SG;PST	and:CONJ	knock:PRS;PTCP
inganges	***bæd***		
access:GEN;SG	bid:3SG;PST		

'... and he came to his companions, and knocking prayed for admission.'

In terms of semantic frames, the predicative construction mostly occurs in motion frames (78 instances), state frames (41 instances), speech frames (24 instances), position frames (15 instances) and action frames (9 instances). This speaks of the relevance of state, speech and action for the predicative construction, which has been considered from the angle of motion and position exclusively in previous studies.

In occurrences with one linked verb, speech frames and motion frames are more convergent than position frames, action frames, and state frames. Speech frames show the highest degree

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11 The context of (8a), which has not been glossed for reasons of space, reads as follows: *Ge beoð eadige þonne eow man wyrigð & eower eht & ælc yfel ongean eow sprecð leogende for me* 'Blessed are ye when men curse you, and persecute you, and lying speak every evil against you for me'.

of convergence, around one third, followed by motion frames (one fourth of the total, approximately). The figures can be seen in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2: Semantic integration with one linked verb.

	Action	Motion	Position	Speech	State	Others
convergence	1 (12.5%)	16 (24.2%)	1 (6.6%)	7 (31.8%)	6 (18.7%)	
divergence	7 (87.5%)	50 (75.8%)	14 (93.4%)	15 (68.2%)	26 (81.3%)	
total	8	66	15	22	32	2

In instances of the predicative construction with two linked verbs, the maximal convergence between the matrix verb class and the class of the first linked verb is also found in speech frames and motion frames, as shown in Table 5.3.

TABLE 5.3: Semantic integration with two linked predications: matrix verb-linked verb 1.

	Action	Motion	Position	Speech	State	Others
convergence	0	3	0	1	2	
divergence	1	9	0	1	7	
total	1	12	0	2	9	0

As is presented in Table 5.4, in the predicative construction with two linked verbs, the maximal convergence between the class of these verbs also corresponds to speech frames and motion frames.

TABLE 5.4: Semantic integration with two linked predications: linked verb 1-linked verb 2.

	Action	Motion	Position	Speech	State	Others
convergence	0	2	0	3	4	
divergence	0	3	1	2	4	
total	0	5	1	5	8	5

In configurations with two linked verbs, complementary pairs of linked verbs can be found, such as *feallan* 'to fall'– *arīsan* 'to arise', but pairs of near-synonyms are more frequent, thus

blissian 'to rejoice' – *bletsian* 'to bless', *biddan* 'to pray' – *cweðan* 'to say', *clipian* 'to cry out' – *cweðan* 'to say', *wepan* 'to weep' – *biddan* 'to pray', *wuldrian* 'to extol' – *herian* 'to praise'.

Overall, the degree of semantic integration of speech frames and motion frames is relatively high if semantic convergence is assessed in terms of the class of the verbs involved. This is valid not only for the relationship between the matrix and the linked verb but also for the two linked verbs. State frames also qualify as relatively convergent in configurations with two linked verbs. However, only 31 instances of the construction with one linked verb, out of a total of 145 (in the area of 20%), present two verbs from the same class. The degree of convergence is similar in pairs of matrix verb and linked verb in configurations with two linked verbs (25%), and slightly higher if convergence between the two linked verbs is measured (over 40%). With these figures, the semantic integration of the construction can be assessed as relatively low.

6   The IRH and the level of juncture: changes to the infinitival predicative construction

The lesson that can be learned from the analysis presented in Section 5 is that the degree of integration of the participial predicative construction is low: on the semantic side, the class of the linked verb is often divergent from the class of the matrix verb; from the syntactic point of view, the nexus relation of cosubordination co-occurs with nuclear, core and clausal junctures. As has been pointed out above, the predicative construction consistently displays linked present participles at the end of the Old English period, with the corresponding loss of the uninflected infinitive following verbs of motion and rest. This section explains the demise of the infinitive in the predicative construction as a change towards a more direct correspondence between the semantics and the syntax of the construction: the nuclear juncture staging an infinitive is syntactically too tight and the looser core juncture that displays a participle eventually prevails.

Callaway (1913: 90) distinguishes two predicative constructions with verbs of motion and rest, one with the non-finite verb in the infinitive, the other in the present participle. Instances of the infinitival predicative construction include *and ic wille faran fandian ðæra* [ÆCHom II, 26 003000 (214.43)] 'and I will go test them' (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 488). The verbs of motion *becuman* 'to come', *cuman* 'to come', *fleon* 'to fly', and *gewitan* 'to depart' are followed by a predicative infinitive of another verb of motion (or even by the infinitive of other verbs like *blican* 'to shine', *lixan* 'to shine', *scinan* 'to shine' and *hlynnan* 'to resound'). The verbs of position *licgan* 'to lie' and *standan* 'to stand' are found in constructions with *slapan* 'to sleep', *geomrian* 'to mourn', *reotan* 'to weep', and *wepan* 'to weep' (Callaway 1913: 290-292).

The demise of the infinitival predicative construction is explained by Callaway (1913: 91) in the following terms: "gradually the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and rest began to be supplanted by the predicative nominative of the present participle". Callaway (1913: 221)

gives three reasons for this: the low textual frequency of the construction, the availability of periphrastic forms consisting of the copulative verb and a present participle, and the distribution of the participle of verbs of motion with matrix verbs of motion and non-motion. Callaway (1913: 198) notes that whereas there is a Latin source for the participle, there is no such counterpart of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion. Considering the width and depth of Latin influence in Old English, this can be seen as another cause of the demise of the construction with the infinitive.

Previous studies in the evolution of the English participle identify two patterns of competition directly or indirectly related to the predicative construction. Callaway (1913: 266) notes the variation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive (as in *lufian* 'to love' and *to lufianne* 'to love, loving', respectively) and states that the inflected infinitive is more frequent as subject, while the uninflected infinitive tends to take up the other functions. Molencki (1991: 91) focuses on the competition between the finite and the non-finite forms of the verb, including the infinitive and the participle, and remarks that Old English resorts to finite forms where Present-Day English requires an infinitive or a participle because Old English has not developed progressive and perfective infinitives and participles yet. With some differences, Denison (1993: 172), Los (2005: 68) & Ringe & Taylor (2014: 485) also emphasise the competition between the non-finite and the finite clause. If considered from this perspective, the assessment of the integration of the predicative construction has implications for the competition between the infinitive and the participle in the predicative construction and can ultimately explain the generalisation of the participial predicative construction.

The research reported in this chapter provides a wider context for the competition between the infinitive and the participle, as well as an explanation for the outcome of such competition, which is solved in favour of the participle. The situation is one in which the textual frequency is higher with the participle; the semantic range of verbs in the participle is wider, involving various classes that are scarcely convergent when considered pair by pair; and the syntactic configurations that take a participle are more complex, with projections that incorporate more arguments, argument-adjuncts and peripheries. The lower syntactic integration of the participial predicative construction iconically reflects its lower integration on the semantic side: little semantic convergence in frames motivates looser syntax. According to the IRH, the interclausal semantic relations corresponding to these semantic frames, including, at least, Propositional attitude, Indirect discourse and Direct discourse are not coded by means of nuclear junctures (which applies when the linked predicate is an infinitive and only exceptionally with the participle), but through core and clausal junctures. This means that, in the infinitival predicative

construction, the syntactic linkage changes because the propositions are less cohesive as they tend to code more than one event.[12]

To summarise, the syntax of the infinitival predicative construction, therefore, changes because the semantics is not cohesive enough for a nuclear juncture. However, only the level of juncture is modified (it changes to core or clause level), the type of nexus remaining (cosubordination). This can be seen as an additional reason for the loss of the infinitive and the generalisation of the participle in the predicative construction of Old English. If the reasoning is correct, the cosubordination with the infinitive (without complementiser, adjacent and mostly without arguments depending on the infinitive) is syntactically too tight to express scarcely cohesive propositions. Therefore, the juncture of the construction is changed in favour of a looser level (the core or the clause).

7   Conclusion

This chapter has assessed the syntactic and semantic integration of Old English participial predicative constructions. The theoretical basis of the analysis has been provided by RRG, while the data and syntactic parsing have been retrieved from the YCOE. In this sense, this research is a contribution to the school of thought that relies on corpus analysis and linguistic theory when it comes to gaining insight into historical texts. On specific aspects, this research has also benefited from the perspectives offered by related fields, such as philology, stylistics and poetry. The main conclusions that can be drawn from this study can be grouped under the headings of corpus analysis and theoretical approaches to language change.

The analysis of the corpus has shown that the Old English predicative construction displays not only matrix verbs of motion and rest (general motion, manner of motion, path of motion, non-translational motion and position) but also matrix verbs from other classes, including action, causative, change of state, contact, perception, possession, speech and state verbs. The verbs linked to these matrix verbs in the predicative construction also belong to the same range of classes. It has also turned out that speech and motion matrix verbs tend to be linked to verbs from the same classes.

By text type and author, the participle phrase and the predicative construction are mainly found in translations from Latin and, above all, in the works authored by Ælfric. Since the literature insists on the influence of Latin originals, Ælfric´s *Catholic Homilies* has been analysed, a work on which there is a relative consensus regarding its comparatively long distance from the

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[12] Ojanguren López (2019) identifies a change to the level of juncture of Old English verbs of inaction, including *End* verbs, *Fail* verbs, and *Try* verbs, that is in accordance with the IRH and the implications for the evolution of the infinitive discussed in this section. See also Ojanguren López (2020, 2021).

Latin source. This allows us to focus the discussion on language-internal aspects. However, the availability of written records drives the agenda of the corpus-based approach to historical texts and, in this case, the representativeness of the corpus is stronger from the qualitative than from the quantitative point of view. Another issue that sets the limits of our knowledge of earlier periods of the language is corpus annotation. Even extensive syntactic parsing may not be completely compatible with the research method. This is the case with this research, as automatic searches turned out participle phrase hits that must be filtered out manually in order to discard the participle phrases that do not qualify as predicative constructions, which, as a matter of fact, constitute two thirds of the total if the percentage of hits in the Homilies is extrapolated to the other texts.

On the side of theoretical explanations for language change, the degree of semantic and syntactic integration of the participial predicative construction is low: the class of the linked verb is often divergent from the class of the matrix verb and one nexus type (cosubordination) has three juncture counterparts (nucleus, core and clause). The IRH predicts the preference for a given semantic relation holding between the matrix and the linked predication to be coded as a certain linkage. The IRH can also explain changes to the level of juncture of the complex predication on account of the interclausal semantic relations that hold in the predicative construction. This chapter has shown that the configurations of a finite verb with a linked participle show a low degree of syntactic and semantic integration: arguments, argument-adjuncts and peripheries increase the complexity of the linkages and preclude the adjacency of the two verbal nuclei, while the classes of the matrix and the linked verb are often divergent. Given the syntactic constructions and interclausal semantic relations, as well as the correspondences between them, the conclusion can be reached that the infinitive loses its ability to alternate with the participle in the Old English predicative construction because the cosubordination with the infinitive is syntactically too tight to express scarcely cohesive propositions. From the descriptive point of view, it is the case that speech, state and action verbs stand out as frequent in the predicative construction. The frequency of the order linked-matrix verb has also been underlined.

Two questions deserve attention in future research. In the first place, the replacement of the infinitive for the participle in the predicative construction could be considered in the wider setting of the evolution of Old English syntax from parataxis to hypotaxis (Traugott 1992: 218; Mitchell & Donoghue 1992: 163), as this development represents a step towards hypotaxis. Secondly, convergent semantic frames that code propositional cohesion, as in *came flying* giving rise to *flew back*, could be discussed from the perspectives of the rise of phrasal verbs (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 117) and satellite-framed constructions (Talmy 1985: 57).

Acknowledgement

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Appendix. The participial phrase in the YCOE

The Appendix tabulates the results of the query (IP* idoms PTP*) AND (PTP* idoms *BAG^N|*HAG^N|*AXG^N|*VAG^N|*BAG^A|*HAG^A|*AXG^A|*VAG^A|*BAG^D|*HAG^D| *AXG^D|*VAG^D|*BAG^G|*HAG^G|*AXG^G|*VAG^G).

Text title	Instances	Word count	Normalisation to 1,000 words
Adrian and Ritheus	0	1,092	0
Ælfric's Supplemental Homilies	97	62,669	1.54
Ælfric's Lives of Saints	251	100,193	2.5
Alcuin De virtutibus et vitiis	6	5,549	1
Alexander's Letter to Aristotle	1	7,721	0.12
Apollonius of Tyre	11	6,545	1.68
Augustine	0	103	0
Bede's History of the English Church	86	80,767	1
Benedictine Rule	43	20,114	2.1
Blickling Homilies	18	42,506	0.42
Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy	18	48,443	0.37
Byrhtferth's Manual	3	20,243	0.14
Canons of Edgar (D)	0	1,765	0
Canons of Edgar (X)	0	2,118	0
Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I	213	106,173	2
Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II	235	98,583	2.38
Saint Chad	9	2,659	3.38
Chrodegang of Metz, Rule	3	18,386	0.16
Saint Christopher	1	1,426	0.7
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A	1	14,583	0.06
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C	3	22,463	0.13
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D	3	26,691	0.11
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E	12	40,641	0.29
Cura Pastoralis	41	68,556	0.59
Cura Pastoralis (Cotton)	1	2,119	0.47
Dicts of Cato	0	2,180	0
Documents 1 (O1)	0	1,753	0

Documents 2 (O1/O2)	0	253	0
Documents 2 (O2)	0	1,857	0
Documents 3 (O2/O3)	0	679	0
Documents 3 (O3)	2	7,171	0.27
Documents 4 (O2/O4)	0	193	0
Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium 1	0	1,512	0
Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium 2	0	583	0
Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis	3	965	3.1
Saint Euphrosyne	12	3,658	3.2
Saint Eustace and his companions	16	5,271	3.03
Exodus (P)	0	1,096	0
Genesis (C)	1	5,224	0.19
Gregory's Dialogues (C)	195	91,553	2.12
Gregory's Dialogues (H)	91	25,593	3.5
Pseudo-Apuleius, Herbarium	20	22,213	0.9
Wulfstan's Institute of Polity (D)	1	2,530	0.39
Wulfstan's Institute of Polity (X)	1	4,896	0.2
Saint James	2	1,659	1.2
Lacnunga	3	7,099	0.42
Leechdoms	7	34,727	0.2
Laws, Cnut I	0	2,386	0
Laws, Cnut II	0	4,761	0
Laws, Æthelred V	0	1,228	0
Laws, Æthelred VI	0	2,096	0
Laws, Alfred	0	3,314	0
Alfred's Introduction to Laws	0	1,966	0
Laws, Gerefa	0	751	0
Laws, Ine	0	2,755	0
Northumbra Preosta Lagu	0	1,330	0
Laws, William I, Lad	0	220	0
Leofric	1	1,017	0.98
Ælfric's Letter to Sigefyrth	2	1,648	1.21
Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard (B)	3	3,665	0.81
Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard (Z)	16	10,420	1.53

Ælfric's Letter to Wulfgeat	1	2,460	0.40
Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsige (T)	0	319	0
Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsige (Xa)	0	3,336	0
Ælfric's Letter to Wulfstan I	4	4,544	0.88
Ælfric's Letter to Wulfstan II	3	4,036	0.74
Saint Margaret (C)	3	4,196	0.71
Saint Margaret (T)	6	3,661	1.63
Martyrology, I	0	1,300	0
Martyrology, II	1	4,391	0.22
Martyrology, III	13	25,781	0.5
Marvels of the East	0	1,891	0
Mary of Egypt	63	8,181	7.7
Saint Neot	8	2,003	4
Gospel of Nicodemus (A)	7	8,197	0.85
Gospel of Nicodemus (C)	3	4,629	0.64
Gospel of Nicodemus (D)	0	1,798	0
Gospel of Nicodemus (E)	0	1,588	0
Orosius	16	51,020	0,31
Heptateuch	47	59,524	0.78
Ælfric's Preface to Catholic Homilies I	2	1,035	1.93
Ælfric's Preface to Catholic Homilies II	0	223	0
Preface to the Cura Pastoralis	0	831	0
Ælfric's Preface to Genesis	0	1,399	0
Ælfric's Preface to Lives of Saints	0	373	0
Preface to Augustine's Soliloquies	0	441	0
Pseudo-Apuleius, Medicina de quadrupedibus	3	4,276	0.7
History of the Holy Rood-Tree	3	6,920	0.43
Seven Sleepers	4	9,143	0,43
St. Augustine's Soliloquies	0	15,856	0
Solomon and Saturn I	0	2,046	0
Solomon and Saturn II	0	1,235	0
Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni	1	5,495	0.18
Vercelli Homilies	11	45,674	0,24
Vercelli Homilies (E)	1	4,463	0.22

Vercelli Homilies (L)	0	1,986	0
Saint Vincent (Bodley 343)	0	728	0
Vindicta Salvatoris	0	3,655	0
West-Saxon Gospels	172	71,104	2.41
Wulfstan's Homilies	6	28,768	0.2
Total	1,810	ca. 1.5 mil.	ca. 1.2