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THE TWO CONSTRUCTIONS:
“ACCUSATIVE AND PARTICIPLE” AND
“GENITIVE AND GERUND”

A Diachronic-Synchronic Study in English Syntax

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CHAPTER I
Introduction

§ 1. In modern English syntax the two categories of verbals, the present participle and the gerund, often offer delicate problems to the students. In some kinds of expression it appears so difficult to judge whether a form ending in -ing is used as a participle or as a gerund that some grammarians or philologists think it better not to recognize the separate categories but to unify them into one common category, terming it “ing-form” or merely “ing.”

It is true that from the morphological point of view the participle and the gerund have been confused into one form -ileg on account of particular circumstances that have occurred in the history of the English language. But the problem is whether they have been confounded in their syntactic functions or stylistic values as well. Even those who have recourse to the common term ing-form or ing cannot help admitting that there are many cases where each of the two categories is used with the function very distinct from that of the other. Beside these ordinary cases, those where the distinction seems difficult or impossible may be said to be only exceptional. The present researcher firmly stands on the principle of recognizing the two separate categories. To him the two kinds of ing-form are common to each other merely in their outer speech-form, but in their intrinsic nature they should be absolutely separate from each other.

§ 2. To make our point clear, we shall below mention some of the dubious instances found in ModE.

(1) She had objected to him praying aloud in the evening.—Conrad, Amy Foster.
(2) I recollect my mother giving me three raisins.—Ruskin, Prælerita [Jespersen].

These sentences may be interpreted in two manners according as the -ing forms are considered gerunds or participles. First, if praying and giving are taken as gerunds, the sentences will be understood to mean (1) “She had objected to
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the fact that he prayed..." and (2) "I recollect that my mother gave...". This interpretation is based upon the historical fact that the accusative or common case, him and mother, has replaced the original genitive case, his and mother's.

The other interpretation is to regard praying and giving as participles. Here it must be noted that this is not because, as is often alleged, these participles can be paraphrased into the attributive clauses: "who prayed or was praying" and "who had given." Such paraphrasing would only produce a sense somewhat different from the original. It is in this respect that we see an important point concerning the theme of the present study.

§ 3. Now let us compare the following example.

(1) At this point he had just caught sight of a pale object slipping under. —Hardy, Life's Little Ironies, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" vi.

In this sentence "sight of a pale object slipping under" is certainly not equivalent to "sight that a pale object slipped or was slipping under." Slipping must be understood as a participle. Yet is it all right that we should only paraphrase "slipping under" into "that was slipping under"?

Admitting that such an -ing form is a participle as adjunct to the preceding noun, it is involuntarily invested with the function of predicative at the same time. The same function is discerned more clearly in the common pattern "I saw him coming"; but what we can say about coming either in "I caught sight of him coming" or in "I saw him coming" is that it is equally in the nature of predicative adjunct.

As contrasted with this loose adjunctive nature of the participle, the gerund, as in "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing," is more closely united with the preceding noun. In the sentence "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing," Miss Sharp is combined with appearing so as to become sense-subject of the latter. In this way the two elements have semantically composed a relation of subject and predicate, what Jespersen calls nexus.¹

We must notice that in such a nexus unit the nucleal element is the gerund rather than its sense-subject, as we can learn from the original form "Miss Sharp's appearing." The following example is instructive in this respect.

(2) I don't believe in interfering with anybody else's doings, or anybody interfering with mine.—S. Lewis, Arrowsmith IX. iii.

Here the supplemental nature of anybody as sense-subject of the gerund interfering is especially apparent, contrasted with the use of the "subjectless" interfering that has appeared in the parallel phrase. We are distinctly shown the syntactic characteristics of the gerund-construction as contrasted with those of the participle-construction.

§ 4. Furthermore, from the stylistic point of view, there should be a dis-

¹ According to Jespersen, him coming in "I saw him coming" is also a nexus. Accentuating the adjunctive nature of the participle in general, however, we abstain from applying the term to such a participial combination.
tinction between the participle and the gerund even in such instances as (1) and
(2) under §2, where it appears indifferent whether the -ing form may be inter-
preted in either way. Such phenomena, however, are nothing but the result
of confusion, psychological as well as syntactical. The aim of the present study
is to elucidate as far as possible what has brought about the confusion in En-
lish syntax.

As available approaches to the research, we shall primarily resort to a di-
achronic method. ModE "I saw him coming" on one hand, and "I insist on his
coming" on the other, surely represent the two lines of development which should
be traced back to the earliest period in the history of the English language.

We have found, however, that the complicate reality can never be explained
away by the diachronic method alone. The fact is that most of the questionable
phenomena are mainly observed in the late ModE period, as we shall describe
in Chapter IV. The solution of these requires a synchronical approach. The
factors should be sought for either psychologically or stylistically on the one
stage of the development. This is the secondary method we shall be forced to
adopt.

In order to make matters less complicate, we shall restrict ourselves to the
treatment of those constructions where a participial or gerundial phrase func-
tions as object of a transitive verb or a preposition. We shall exclude any in-
stance where a participle or a gerund takes part in the subject of a sentence, such
as "Women having the vote share political power with men," though this involves
the important problem that concerns the constructions we are going to treat.

CHAPTER II
The Development of the "Accusative
and Participle" Construction

1. The OE Infinitive-Construction Compared

§ 5. As in ModE the pattern "I saw him coming" is parallel with the pattern
"I saw him come;" so in OE the participle-construction seems to have been used
on the analogy of the infinitive construction. Having developed much more
verbal force and syntactic capacity, the infinitive was used in this construction
more usually than the participle, as in:

Riett meowle seo hiere bearn gesihƿ brandas þeecan.—The Fates of Men
ll. 46–47. (A woman weeps who sees the flames cover her child.)

In OE such an expression was fairly common, apparently through the in-
fluence of the Latin construction "accusativus cum infinitivo." Here the infinitive
þeecan (=cover), following the combination of the predicate verb gesihƿ
(=sees) and its accusative object brandas (=flames), performs the function as
predicative of the object.

Now the similar function could also be performed by the present participle.
The meaning of the sentence above would hardly suffer any change if we were to supplant the infinitive *peccan* by the participle *peccenđe* (=covering). The only conceivable differences would be that the participle, with its adjunctive nature, is appended to the preceding noun somewhat more loosely than the infinitive, and that the former displays more descriptive force than the latter, with its inherent aspect denoting a durative or imperfective action. In spite of these differences, however, the two constructions have remained parallel with each other in their structural procedure, which is distinct from that of the gerundial construction.

§ 6. Before inquiring into actual instances in OE, we shall compare the expression with that in the main allied languages German and French, so as to clarify the peculiarity of the participle-construction in English. In both German and French we can find the "accusative and infinitive" construction as well as in English, but in neither of them the "accusative and participle" construction. The two English sentences "I saw the dog *swim* across the river" and "I saw the dog *swimming* across the river" must be translated into German in one way of using an infinitive: "Ich sah den Hund über den Fluss *schwimmen*." If we specially want to express in German the durative or imperfective aspect of the action "swimming" that the second English sentence succeeds in expressing so exquisitely, we shall have to use a subordinate clause in this way: "Ich sah, wie der Hund über den Fluss *schwamm*."

Again, the meaning of the English "I see the dog *run*" as well as "I see the dog *running*" must be expressed in French by means of an infinitive: "Je vois le chien *courir,*" or otherwise with a relative clause: "Je vois le chien qui *court.*" These instances show not only that English is equipped with a concise and convenient means of expression as contrasted with German or French, but also that the English expression with the participle is more precise and expressive in conveying the delicate shade of meaning, and is so much the greater in linguistic value, than the corresponding expression in the two other languages. At the same time it must not be overlooked that such syntactic and stylistic potentiality exhibited by the present participle in this construction can be traced back to the earliest stage in the history of the English language.

2. The "Accusative and Participle" in OE

§ 7. The use of a present participle in OE could be distinctly discerned by its representative ending *-ende* (cf. OHG *-antis*), the form in West Saxon, in which dialect the best part of the OE literature was written and has been preserved.

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3 Regula, *Grundlegung und Grundprobleme der Syntax* § 54 II.
4 It is the same potentiality of the participle that has contributed to develop the usage of the so-called progressive form, as in "The dog is *running,*" which was also originated in the OE period and whose exact correspondent has never been found in any other language. Cf. Mossé, *F. P.* II. § 79.
The construction "verb+object+participle" was found in the earliest period. Only, while in ModE the introductory verbs are of several kinds (cf. §19), in OE the construction was more limited and chiefly introduced by verbs of sensuous or mental perception, that is, gesoe (=see), gehieran (=hear), gemelan (=find), etc.

(1) Hie Drihten 3esawon upasti3endne.—Blickling Homilies [Brunner]. (They saw the Lord ascending.)
(2) He geseah ane man sittende aet toll-scaemule.—Matt. ix. 9. (He saw a man sitting at the toll-seat.)
(3) Þa mænegu wundredon geseonde7 dumbe specende.—Matt. xv. 31. (The multitude wondered when they saw the dumb speaking.)
(4) Þa gehyrdon hyne twegen leorningcnihtas sprecedne. —John i. 37. (Then the two disciples heard him speaking.)
(5) Heo gemette þat mæden on hyre bedde liegende.—Mark vii. 30. (She found the maiden lying on her bed.)

In these examples the present participles appended to the accusative nouns and pronoun also stand in the accusative case so as to denote their adjunctive relation to the objects. The accusative case is externally clear in the ending -ne of upasti3endne in example (1). The formal denotation of the case in such predicative participles, however, was often obliterated already in this period, as is seen in sittende of example (2), where the ending -ende fails to distinguish the form from that of the nominative case. But it remains true that the participle was in the accusative, whether explicitly or implicitly. This fact shows that the participle is added to the preceding noun or pronoun adjunctively, though it has involuntarily come to appear as predicative of the latter. Here is revealed the concrete cumulative style of arranging the elements of the sentence one after another according to the succession of the ideas—the style characteristic of traditional English syntax. It may be of some interest in this respect to notice that Koch (Satzlehre §89) paraphrases the part "geseonde dumbe specende" in example (3) into the German construction with a subordinate clause: "als sie sah, dass die Tauben sprachen."

§ 8. The few examples cited in the previous section seem to suggest that this kind of construction is especially frequent in the West-Saxon version of the

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6 OED (s.v. Hear 3) notes that the present participle used after "heal+object" is originally a "verbal substantive (i.e. gerund) with a-". Though the dictionary itself records no example illustrative of this statement, the following may be mentioned as instances of "heal+object+gerund (cf. "The house is building.")."

1 Anne seem'd to hear her own death-scaffold raising.—Tennyson, Enoch Arden 175.
2 I had never heard one(=a coffin) making.—Dickens, David Copperfield ix.

But these special phenomena with the passival -ing form have nothing to do with the enlightenment of the origin in regard to the form after hear.

6 The verb has survived as ModE meet. With OE findan (=find) the "accusative and infinitive" construction was a usual one. The use, however, has become obsolete, and a participle is now usually used instead of an infinitive after find. Cf. OED, s.v. Find v. 1b.

7 This geseonde (cf. the infinitive geseon) is another participle, which functions as predicative in the relation of apposition to the subject Þa mænegu.
Gospels. The version was accomplished in the late OE period, extending from the last decade of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century, based upon the two Latin texts, the *Vulgate* and the *Vetus Italica*. We have good reason, therefore, to infer that the frequency of the construction may be due to the influence of the Latin model. The fact is that we can find the same use of the present participle in the Latin sentence corresponding to the OE example cited as (2) in the previous section. Below let us quote the Latin originals.

*Vulgate*: Vidit hominem *sedentem* in telonio.

*Vetus Italica*: Vidit hominem *sedentem* ad telonium.

*Sedentem* in either text is the accusative case of the present participle *sedens*, the infinitive being *sedere* (=sit).

The Latin influence should be surely regarded as an important factor for the origin of the construction in English. But concerning the later development, we must acknowledge the potentiality inherent in English syntax itself.

3. *cniht wesende / be him lifgendum*

§ 9. With respect to the construction observed in the previous sections, we should like to mention the two OE idiomatic expressions in either of which a present participle is an essential component. The first is the phrase *cniht wesende*, used in the following way.

(1) Segde he þæt he hine *cniht wesende* gesawæ.—*Bede* II. xv. (He said that he had seen it when a boy.)

(2) Ic hine cuðe *cniht wesende*.—*Beowulf* 372. (I know him as a boy.)

If the phrase *cniht wesende* is construed according to the original function, we may say that the noun *cniht* (=boy) is a complement of the present participle *wesende* (=being), which is appositively related to a preceding noun or pronoun. So the participle *wesende*, though devoid of the descriptive force perceived in usual participles, performs the same syntactic function, when it is related to the object of a transitive verb, as *coming* in “I saw him coming.” In example (1) *wesende* is appositive to the subject *he*; while in example (2) *wesende* is related to the object *hine* (=him), forming thus the “accusative and participle” construction.

Hitherto we have considered the structural side of the phrase *cniht wesende*. But it seems to be more important to inquire into the semantic or lexical side of this particular expression. As is the case with similar phenomena in early English, the combination of the two elements in *cniht wesende* is closely fixed. Between them there is no longer any sense of free syntactic relation, as we feel between *was* and *a boy* in the ModE expression “when he *was* a boy.” Indeed *cniht* and *wesende* are combined so fixedly that many editors or lexicographers print the...
combination as one compound word “cniht-wesende” or “cniht weesende” and rank it as an adjective. Indeed the similar, though poetic, expression “umbor (=child) weesende” is used in the inflected form of an adjective in the following example.

(3) Wene ic, ðæt he mid gode gyldan wille uncran eaferan, gif he ðæt eal gemon, hwæt wit to willan ond to wordermyndum umbor wesendum ær arna gefremedon.—Beowulf 1184—7. (I think that he will reward the sons of us two with goodwill, if he remembers all of what favours we once did to his pleasure and honours when he was a child.)

Here wesendum is in the dative case in concord with willan and wordermyndum, though semantically we should rather say that it is appositive to the unexpressed him, the personal sense of which is implied by the two dative nouns. Anyhow umbor has lost its status as an independent word and been attached to wesendum so as to form part of the one adjective.

Cniht-wesende or umbor-wesende was merely a fixed, short-lived formula, destined to become obsolete within the period of OE. That is true, but the phenomenon seems to be suggestive of the early stage in the history of the constructions that we go on investigating. Compare §§36, 37, 40.

§10. The other OE phrase that deserves our attention is be him lifgendum. The literal meaning of it is “by him living.” Be (=by) here denotes a temporal relation and means “during” in ModE, him is the dative governed by the preposition be, and lifgendum is a participle, also inflected in the dative case, derived from lifgan (=live) and is placed in apposition to him. The striking feature is that the whole group has been invested with a particular sense “during his lifetime.” Before inquiring into further details, let us see some actual examples.

(1) Constantinus...be Diocletiane lifgendum Gallia rice and Ispania heold and rehte.—Bede I. viii. (Constantinus held and swayed the kingdom of Gaul and Spain in the lifetime of Diocletianus.)

(2) Hie be him lifgendum hie¹¹ gedældun.—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A) 718. (They parted during their lifetime.)

(3) Se Wulfwi feng to ðan biscoirce pe Ulf hæfde be him libbendum and of adrafðum.—Ibid. (C) 1053. (The aforesaid Wulfwig succeeded to the bishopric that Ulf had during his lifetime and exile.)

Example (3) is especially noticeable. The present participle libbendum (<lib- ban live), a variant of lifgendum, is co-ordinately connected by of adrafðum. The latter is a past participle and is in the same dative case as the former. Adrafðum is the dative past participle of adrafan (=drive away, expel); and the preceding adverb of (=off, away) is prefixed to the main word so as to form part of a compound after the fashion of OE syntax. So of-adrafðum, meaning literally “driven away,” as well as libbendum (=living), is appositively appended to him.

This indicates that the phrase be him lifgendum was not altogether felt as a set formula. It represents a type of syntactic combination in OE. Moreover it

¹¹ This hie is an accusative used as reflexive object of gedældun (or gedæidon), plural pret- erite of (ge)dælan (=divide).
seems instructive to us that here is revealed an essential characteristic in early English syntax. In this combination each significant element is accumulated one after another, so that the intended meaning is analytically expressed with simple concreteness.

§ 11. It must be admitted that there is another way of explaining the OE phrase "be him lifgendum." In OE the construction with a so-called dative absolute was fairly common, mostly due to the influence of the ablative absolute construction in Latin. In the following example the italic part is a dative absolute.

_Hym pa gyt sprecendum, hig comon fram pam heahgesammungum._—
_Mark v. 35. (While he was still speaking, they came from the chief synagogue.)_

The combination _hym sprecendum_ in this sentence implies a temporal adverbial relation to the main statement "hig comon...." If we were to convey the implied sense of temporal relation more explicitly, we should have recourse to some formal means expressive of it. _Be in be him lifgendum_ can be interpreted as a demanded means that has been added to express more clearly the temporal relation implied by the dative absolute "_him lifgendum."_13

Even if this second explanation may be admitted, we can still see the same characteristic in the style of expression "be him lifgendum"—appositional and so primitively concrete. But the expression scarcely survived in the ME period.

4. The Morphological Change of the Present Participle in ME

§ 12. Before entering into the observation of the construction in ME we should like to survey how the form of the present participle got confused with that of the gerund in -ing in the course of the ME period. Generally speaking, the variant forms of the present participle in ME properly inherited from OE were -inde in the Southern dialect, -ende in the Midland dialect, and -and(e) in the Northern dialect. Already in the early part of the thirteenth century the old form of the present participle began to be supplanted by the new form -ing(e), which had been the original ending of the verbal substantive or gerund. This supersession first took place in the Southern dialect (except the Kentish), then in the Midland, and finally in the Northern. In _The Owl and the Nightingale_, a poem written in the Southern dialect in 1225, there appears -inge concurrently with -inde. There is the trace of fluctuation between -ynde and -ynge in Langland's _Piers Plowman_ (Text C), a long poem written in the West Midland dialect in 1393; while Chaucer's poems (1365—99), representative of the East Midland dialect, are decidedly in favour of -ynge. In the Northern dialect we still see -and

12 Mätzner, _Englische Grammatik_ III. p. 78.
13 We might here compare the following example, where _be_ has been added to a dative absolute phrase which has no participle in it and denotes an attendant circumstance.

_Gif elles be cuicum mannum ciricgr0 abrocen beo....—Ancient Laws and Institutes of England [A.-S. D., Sup.] (If otherwise the sanctuary be broken through by the men living, _i.e._ without anybody being killed,...)
in Cursor Mundi (1300–40), but yet in Misyn's Documents of Yorkshire in the fifteenth century -and and -ing are used promiscuously. It may be cursorily concluded that the use of the new form -ing(e) went on expanding from the end of the fourteenth century down to the fifteenth century, finally contaminating the Northern dialect.14

§ 13. It would be both interesting and instructive now to inquire into the factors that had brought about the phonological and morphological confusion between -end and -ing. There are three factors to be considered.

(1) Special significance should be attached to the fact that the confusion first took place in the Southern dialect, where the old traditional form of the present participle was -inde, a form weakened from OE -ende. As the ending of the gerund, on the other hand, -ing had been retained in the Southwestern dialect till about 1250, but after that the form was scarcely found, the ending -ing having been generally established (cf. § 33). Moreover there was a growing tendency to confuse -inde, as the ending of the present participle, with -inge in the Southern (except Kentish) dialect about that time.

Now it is inferred that the Southern participial form -inde had the least resistance to be superseded by -inge; the other forms -ende and -and(e) were retained much longer, in clear contrast with the gerundial form -ynge or -ing. The reason may be easily ascribed to the phonetic contiguity between the two forms -inde and -inge.15 The process from -nd [nd] to -ng, which is supposed to represent the sound [ŋ], is merely the result of the simple substitution in the points of articulation, that is, the shifting from alveolar to velar. Furthermore we may assume that the substitution had been greatly prompted by the presence of the preceding vowel i, for in the points of articulation [i] is much closer to the velar [ŋ] than to the alveolar [n]. In short, it was phonetically easier to pass from -inde to -ing than to pass from -end or -and to -ing.

(2) Besides the articulatory assimilation of [nd] to [ŋ], there is another phonetical process to be assumed.16 The pronunciation of both -inde and -inge had already become indistinct in the thirteenth century, and it is probable that both the endings were soon pronounced [ŋ] with the paratalized n. The morphological confusion can be attributed to this phonological levelling.

We should be reminded, in this respect, that the modern dialects of Northumberland and the southern counties of Scotland have preserved the formal distinction of a present participle and a gerund, but that with the general obscuration of the final consonants, the endings have resulted in most cases in [-on] (<-and) on one hand and [-in] (<-ing) on the other.17

The two phonetical factors mentioned about under (1) and (2) must not be

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14 The description in this section mainly depends upon Mossé, F.P. II. §§131–139.
15 Mossé, F.P. II. §156.
16 Langenhove, The Origin of the Gerund §2. 3. 5 (c); Brunner, Die englische Sprache I. p. 169, II. p. 349.
17 OED s.v. -ing.
considered separately. They probably acted simultaneously, reciprocally influencing each other, to bring about the confusion.

(3) The next to be considered is an external factor. OED (s.v. -ING2) says that the confusion between -inde and -inge “is specially noticeable in MSS. written by Anglo-Norman scribes in the thirteenth century.” As we shall see in some examples quoted in the following sections, there were a number of works in those days which had been translated, either directly or indirectly, from the originals written in Old French or Norman French. It is very likely that the scribes of those translations were often encumbered by the confused use of the French verbal ending in -ant when they were going to express a present participle or a gerund in English. From the geographical situation, we can judge that the effect of the scribal influence was most apparent in the literature of Southern England.

These are the factors that were considered to cause the confusion of -inde and -inge in the Southern dialect. Here we see the reason why the transition of -el to -ile took place later in the Midland and Northern dialects, which are usually more radical in morphological changes.

5. "Verb+Object+Participle" in ME

§ 14. We are in a position to observe the actual examples of the “accusative and participle” construction found in ME. The farther we advanced into the ME period, the wider we came to see the construction expanded in use. The commonest kind of verbs that introduced it were, as in OE (cf. §7), verbs of sensuous or mental perception. Let us first cite the examples containing this kind of verbs.

(1) He saw his wyves moder liggyng and shakun.—Wyclif, Matt. viii. 14. (He saw his wife’s mother lying and shaken.)

(2) He saw a mayde walkinge him biforn.—Chaucer, C. T., “The Tale of the Wyf of Bathe” 130. (He saw a maid walking before him.)

(3) In erth I see bot syn reyndern.—The Towneley Mysteries ((c. 1450)) [Mätsner]. (On earth I see only sin reigning.)

(4) I haue seyne Charite also syngen and reden, Ryden and rennen in ragged wedes, Ac beddyng as beggeres bihelde I hym neuere.—Langland, Piers Plowman (B) xv. 219-221 ((1377)). (I have seen Charity also sing, read and run in ragged garments, but I never beheld him begging as beggars.)

(5) I herde thi fader spekynge.—Wyclif, Gen. xxvii. 6. (I heard thy father speaking.)

(6) When that she hereth any herde tale Or in the hegges any wight ster-inge,....—Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde iii. 1235-6. (When she i.e. the nightingale hears any shepherd speak or any person stirring in the hedges,....)

(7) We heren hors nygenge and cokkes crowinge.—The Voiage and Travaile

18 Compare the second footnote (51) under §38.
of Sir John Maundeville (c. 1400) [Koch]. (We hear horses neighing and cocks crowing.)

(8) He fooude hem slepinge.—Wyclif, Matt. xxvi. 40. (He found them sleeping.)

(9) He...fand him slowmand on slepe.—The Wars of Alexander (c. 1400-50) [Koziol]. (He found him sleeping.)

Of the examples above, the first four contain the verb “see” or its synonym “behold”, the next three the verb “hear”, and the last two the verb “find.” In example (1) the present participle liggyng (=lying) is used co-ordinately with the past participle shakun (=shaken). In example (3) we had the old participial form reynand. This is because the work from which this passage is quoted was written in Yorkshire, where, as in the other districts in North England, the form in -and had been retained in the fifteenth century. Examples (4) and (6) present a common syntactic feature. In (4) the sentence including a participle-construction is co-ordinated by ac (=but) with a parallel sentence including an infinitive-construction introduced by the predicate verb haue seyne (=have seen). In (6) the verb hereth introduces the two co-ordinate expressions combined by or, where the participle sterilcge (=stirring) appears in the same functional position as the infinitive tale (=tell a tale). These phenomena show that the “accusative and participle” construction had been becoming as popular as the “accusative and infinitive” construction (cf. §5). It is moreover conceivable that the participles here have displayed the special descriptive value with their imperfective aspect, as contrasted with the perfective aspect implied by the infinitives, though in such poetic examples we should also recollect the metrical influence upon the expression.19

§ 15. In ME it was not only verbs of perception that were used to introduce the construction in question. Below we shall cite some examples that contain other kinds of verbs.

(1) Thus left me that lady liggyng aslepe.—Langland, Piers Plowman (B) ii. 51 ((c. 1377)). (Thus that lady left me lying asleep.)

(2) I Iefte hem lyynge there.—Chevalere Assigne (c. 1400) [Koziol]. (I left them lying there.)

(3) Lete I this noble prince Theseus Toward Athenes in his wey rydinge. —Chaucer, Anelida a:id Arcite 45–46 ((c. 1374)). (I will leave this noble prince Theseus riding on his way towards Athens.)

(4) A man that is joyous and glad in herte, it him conserveth florishinge in his age.—Chaucer, C.T. (c. 1386) [Mätsner]. (...in heart, it conserves him flourishing.)

19 Compare the following ModE examples:

(1) Thee I have heard relating what was done Ere my remembrance: now hear me relate My story, which, perhaps, thou hast not heard.—Milton, Paradise Lost viii. 203-205.

(2) I see women marrying indiscriminately with staring burgesses and ferret-faced, white-eyed boys, and men dwell in contentment with noisy scullions, or taking into their lives aciduous vestals.—Stevenson, Virginibus Puerisque 1.
(5) My dowte dothe aprevyn Cryst levynge fful bolde.—Ludus Coventriae ((14. . )) [Mätsner]. (My doubt does approve Christ living very boldly.)

The verb leave, as in examples (1) and (2), began to be used in the thirteenth century in the construction where its object is followed by some appositive adjunct, meaning either “allow to remain” as here or more concretely “depart from.”

The present participle has naturally performed the function as such an appositive adjunct of an object.

In example (3) the predicate verb lete (=let), which is usually accompanied by a bare infinitive as objective complement, would now appear curious in introducing a participle-construction. The meaning here denoted, however, is not causative; lete is rather synonymous with “leave.” The present participle rydinge implies the durative state of a person denoted by the object “this noble prince Theseus.” We can see that the sense of ModE let has been specialized as compared with that of the verb in Chaucer’s age.

The use of the verbs in examples (4) and (5) seem to be somewhat special even in ME. Conserveith in (4) would be replaced by keeps in ModE. The meaning of (5) would usually be expressed in ModE by the construction: “...approve Christ to be living...” (cf. OED, s.v. APPROVE v.1 4). Nevertheless these special cases show the potentiality of the present participle that has enabled the “accusative and participle” construction to become so popular in the ModE period.

§ 16. The peculiar ME use of the present participle in the same function is seen with factitive or causative make, which is now usually used with a bare infinitive as objective complement.

(1) New tithand That makes me ful wele lykand.—The Proces of the Sevin Sages ((c. 1320)) [Mätsner]. (The new message that makes me very well pleasing.)

(2) Some men wille noght understande, pat pat mught mak pam dredalide. —Rolle of Hampole, The Pricke of Conscience ((c. 1340)) [Koch]. (Some people will not understand that that might make them dreading.)

(3) Pe sternes pou made on pe sky standande and the planettes in peire course passande.—Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse ((c. 1440)) [Koch]. (Thou made the stars standing in the sky and the planets passing in their course.)

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20 OED s.v. LEAVE v.1 3d, 7b. Also compare example (10) under § 20 and example (1) under § 23.

21 In the following example lete seems to introduce a similar construction, but actually rominge (=roaming) should be viewed in another light.

And thus I lete him sitte up-on the pyrie, And Januarie and May rominge myrie.—Chaucer, C.T., “The Marchantes Tale” 973—4. (And thus I leave him sitting on the pear-tree, with January and May roaming merrily.)

The phrase introduced by the second “and” is not dependent on the predicate verb lete, but is rather independently attached to express an attendant circumstance like an “absolute construction.”

22 The form aprevyn (cf. OED, s.v. APPREVE) is the northern and especially Scottish equivalent of approve (=approve). It is originally the adapted form of OF a(p)prevue, the tonic stem of aprevier.
The present participles above, which all happen to appear in the old distinct form -and(e) in the examples quoted from the Northern or Midland works, seem to be what have been turned into adjectives rather than the original verbals. Especially, *lykand* (=pleasing) and *dredande* (=dreadful) in examples (1) and (2) clearly denote permanent static conditions, not imperfective actions or movements.

In any case, this use of the present participle has now become obsolete. Instead we should now use either a real adjective if some resultant state is to be expressed as predicative of the object, or a bare infinitive if we are to express an action of one agent caused by another. Unlike an infinitive, in general, a present participle ordinarily denotes the durative and imperfective aspect of an action, and so is unfit to express an ingressive or effective action involved by the causative sense of the verb "make."

As a rare instance of ModE, which seems a remnant of the ME usage here described, we can cite:

(4) What makes the bread rising?...What makes the mutton five-pence a pound?—Goldsmith, *The Good-Natur'd Man* iii.

The participle *rising* in "What makes the bread rising?" is capable of implying the current situation that the price of the bread is really rising, so that it has a unique semantic value that cannot be perceived in the infinitive *rise*. Although the expression may sound rather curious to a present-day speaker, a light, vivid and expressive style is displayed in this short sentence.

6. "Preposition+Object+Participle" in ME

§ 17. Just as a transitive verb introduces an "accusative and participle" construction, so a preposition can be used as an introductory word for the same construction. The latter usage, however, was only gradually developed in the ME period (cf. § 10). *With* is the chief preposition in this use.

(1) Pe stok nest pe roote growand Es the heved with nek folowand.—Rolle of Hampole, *The Priche of Conscience* ((c. 1340)) [Curme]. (The stock growing next the root is the head with the neck following.)

(2) Ho raȝt hym a riche rynk...With a starande ston stoldande alofte.—Sir Gau'ain and the Green Knight ((c. 1360)) [Kozioł]. (She reached him a rich man with a glittering stone standing aloft.)

(3) Upon hir humble face he gan biholde, With fadres pitee stiking thurgh his herte.—Chaucer, *C.T.*, "The Phisiciens Tale" 210–1 (c. 1386). (Upon her humble face he beheld, with the father's pity sticking through his heart.)

(4) All his sheldre was to shew shynyng of gold, *With* pre lions lyvely launchound perin.—The Gest Hystorial of the Destruction of Troy ((c. 1400))
[Koziol]. (All his shield was to show the shining of gold, with three lions lively leaping therein.)

(5) Oure inhabetting...is an Ilee...With rynand all aboute our erd an endles wattre.—The Wars of Alexander ((c. 1400—50)) [Koziol] (Our dwelling is an island with an endless water touching all about our ground.)

The construction began to be seen in the fourteenth century,24 and as we shall observe later (§ 25), has kept on growing lustily in the ModE period. That the -ing form there is a present participle, not a gerund, is evidently proved by the form -aled(e) in the examples, except (3), which are cited from the works written in Northern England or Northwestern Midland. Functionally it is adjunctively related to the preceding, or, as in example (5), following, noun and at the same time adds some complementary predication about the latter. The noun, in turn, is connected with the preposition with to the main part of the sentence. The construction represents an additional or cumulative style of expression—the style so characteristic of the tradition of English syntax.

§ 18. It is possible to interpret the with-construction as the more explicit substitute for the “nominative absolute,” which had been turned from the “dative absolute” in OE. Similar interpretation has been described concerning OE be him lifgendum in § 11. In view of the general equivalency we may admit the theory that the two constructions have been fused; yet it must be noticed that there is a striking difference in the stylistic features between them. The with-construction has far more natural adaptability to grow on in English syntax than the absolute construction.

As to the nature of this construction, furthermore, Kellner (Historical Outlines of English Syntax §154) says that it “has a certain resemblance to that used in Gothic and Old Norse,” as if to suggest the presence of some influence exerted by those old Germanic languages. Whatever origin it may be primarily ascribed to, the expression “with nek folowand” is so characteristic of English syntax that we may safely affirm with Curme (Syntax p. 156) that “it is native English.”

7. “Verb+Object+Participle” in ModE

§ 19. In ModE the use of the “accusative and participle” construction has become much more wide-spread. It has been introduced not only by verbs of perception but by several other kinds of verbs. In the syntactic use of these verbs, we see a remarkable parallelism between the two constructions “accusative and infinitive” and “accusative and participle” as in the following couples of sentences.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I saw him come.} & \quad \text{I don't like him to go there.} \\
\text{I saw him coming.} & \quad \text{I don't like him going there.}
\end{align*}
\]

24 OED (s.v. With prep. 36) records the one example belonging to the late thirteenth century though it contains an adjective instead of a present participle. It is:

With one halter ope pe mere forth rod pis hol man.—The Early South-English Legendary (c. 1290). (With one halter open this holy man rode the mare forth.)
It is evidently true that the participle-construction has made rapid advance especially since the beginning of the ModE period, so much so that it seems as if it had been endeavouring to vie and catch up with the infinitive-construction. In this respect we cannot agree with the remark of Koch (Satzlehre § 133) that the participle-construction has been gradually displaced by the infinitive-construction. Although we cannot help admitting the concise facility of the infinitive-construction, the fact is that the present participle has been and will be growing in this use with its inherent potentiality, both semantic and stylistic.

Now it would be convenient to classify the introductory verbs into three groups from the semantic point of view, so that we may be able to arrange the examples more systematically. Those groups are:

a. Verbs of sensuous or mental perception, such as see, hear, find, feel, observe, watch, perceive, notice, catch, etc.

b. Verbs that imply or involve a durative state, such as leave, keep, have, get, send, etc.

c. Verbs of psychological state or activity, such as understand, remember, recollect, imagine, fancy, like, hate, want, etc.

Of these groups of verbs, we can first notice that only a few belonging to groups a and b are in the same use as in OE and ME, but all the others have come to be newly used with the construction in the ModE period. It is true that many of them introduce the “accusative and infinitive” construction as well, but we must also observe that some belonging to groups b and c, such as keep, remember, recollect, etc., can only be used with the “accusative and participle” construction.

§ 20. First we shall see the examples quoted from works in the first three centuries of the ModE period. Most of them show the continuation of the usage in OE and ME which contains such verbs as see, hear, find, leave, etc. There must also be exemplified the use of the important verbs feel, observe, keep and imagine, which has newly been found in ModE. The examples will be arranged according to the groups of verbs mentioned in the previous section.

a. (1) Sone after none thys mother...Sawe from the body, the soule departynge.—Prymer in Englyshe and Laten ((1536)) [OED]. (Soon after noon this mother saw the soul departing from the body, i.e. of her son.)

(2) And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom.—A. V., Matt. ix. 9 ((1611)).

(3) As I heard once a doctor of Divinite...earnestly defendyng his cause with examples...—T. Wilson, The Rule of Reason ((1551)) [OED].

(4) I hear him coming.—Shakespeare, Ham!. iii. i. 55 ((1600—1)).

(5) O, thus I found her, straying in the park, Seeking to hide herself.—Id., Tit. A. iii. i. 88—89 ((1593—4)).

(6) I...find thee knowing not of beasts alone,...but of thyself.—Milton,

The classification, however, is far from strict. It should be understood, for instance, that find and feel sometimes have the sense that ought to make them belong to group c.
Paradise Lost viii. 437-9 ((1667)).

(7) When the Genowayes felt the Arrowes pearcyng (=piercing) thorough their heads, armes and breastes...—Grafton, A Chronicle of England ((1568)) [OED].

(8) Then all on a sudden (I) felt myself falling perpendicularly down for above a minute.—Swift, “Works” [Jespersen].

(9) It was there, from the window, that the young lady happened to observe one of my little boys playing in the street.—Goldsmith, The Vicar of Wakefield xxxi ((1766)).

As to example (2) some comment should be made. In Tindale’s version of 1526, earlier than the Authorized Version from which the quotation has been taken, the infinitive is used in this very passage instead of the present participle, in this way: “...he sawe a man sytt (=sit) at the receyte off custume...”. According to Delcourt (Initiaiio,e S 141), the infinitive here is used only by Tindale and Coverdale (whose version was published in 1535), every other biblical translator, either older or newer, having recourse to the present participle. This proves that the participle is more adapted to the context than the infinitive in spite of the syntactic parallelism of the two verbals.

Example (5) should also be noticed in that there is an apparent pause (printed as a comma) between “found her” and “straying.” This phenomenon reveals that the participle in this construction is intrinsically adjunctive and is liable to be connected with the preceding noun or pronoun more loosely than is the gerund or even the infinitive in similar constructions (cf. § 22).

b. (10) Then did leave us sticki~g in the myre.—A. Fleming, A Panople of Epistles ((1576)) [OED].

(11) So poor, that it is hardly able to keep the Pot boilileg for a Parsons Dinner.—Heylin, Ecclesia Restauraia ((1661)) [OED].

From such use as in the last example keep the pot boiling has come to mean figuratively “go on providing one’s livelihood” or, further generalized, “keep anything going briskly” (cf. OED, s.v. Pot sb.1 13e).23

c. (12) Be now the father and propose a son,
    Hear your own dignity so much profaned,
    See your most dreadful laws so loosely slighted,
    Behold yourself so by a son disdained;
    And then imagine me taking your part
    And in your power soft silencing your son.

—Shakespeare, 2 Hen. IV v. ii. 92-97 ((1597)).

16 Compare example (2) under §7 and also §8.
17 Compare also the note of OED (s.v. See v. 1e): “In early examples the infinitive is often found when we should now use the complementary participle.”
18 OED also records a following example.
19 To employ them, as a literary man is always tempted, to keep the domestic pot a-boiling.
20—Lowell, My Study Windows ((1870)).

Here a-boiling shows that boiling is a gerund. But since this is a far later quotation than example (11) above, which is the earliest one in this use given by OED, we might judge that boiling in this expression is originally a participle and that the appearance of the gerundial form is rather a temporary phenomenon due to the analogy of “set a thing going” or “send a person packing” as described in §23.
The example has been quoted in a longer context, though the construction in question is found only in the last two lines. This is because we want to show clearly that taking and silencing are present participles. They might be interpreted as gerunds if only the sentence were to be considered separately (cf. § 55). We can see in this context that the two -ing forms are expressed as predicatives of the object, as are the past participles profaned, slighted and disdained in the three preceding lines. The successive constructions here are symmetrically paralleled with one another, so that the whole forms a concrete, cumulative style.

§ 21. After the nineteenth century onwards, the number of verbs used with the "accusative and participle" construction has remarkably increased. Below it would be sufficient to mention one example for each verb.

a. (1) He had walked about half an hour when he saw Cornelius coming along the path.—Hardy, Life's Little Ironies, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" iv.
   (2) While we were disputing about the ring, I heard a mournful voice calling "Ántonia, Ántonia!"—Cather, My Antonia I. iii.
   (3) When, one day, from the top of Talfound Hill, he beheld the sea lying open to his view,...—Conrad, Amy Foster.
   (4) After all she had said of Mrs. Driffield it must seem strange to me that I should find them sitting there together chattering away and laughing. ²⁹—Maugham, Cakes and Ale vii.
   (5) One...got nearer and nearer the sea, felt the cold and wet and discomfort growing on one, and...—Belloc, On Nothing, "On Railways and Things."
   (6) As she spoke, she observed him looking at her earnestly.—Austen, Pride and Prejudice.
   (7) She just watched her only friend eating it.—Galsworthy, Caravan, "The Bright Side."
   (8) Winterbourne perceived at some distance a little man standing with folded arms nursing his cane.—H. James, Daisy Miller ii.
   (9) One day, climbing on Great Gable, he noticed a girl waving excitedly from a dangerous-looking ledge.—Hilton, Good-Bye, Mr. Chips iv.
   (10) As he chuckled he noted the numbness creeping into the exposed fingers. ³⁰—London, To Build a Fire.
   (11) Ashurst eyed her laying them (=the dresses) against her own modish

²⁹ The participles chattering and laughing in this example, though functioning as predicate appositive in relation to the object them, are dependent on sitting, and so cannot be considered to be in the same status as the latter. That is also the case with example (8).

³⁰ In the same context the sentence immediately following this contains a that-clause as object of noted, as follows:

Also, he noted that the stinging which had first come to his toes when he sat down was already passing away.

Though the verb note more usually introduces a subordinate clause and the construction is required especially when we intend to express some longer and more intricate content of fact as in this quotation, yet we see that the expression of the participle-construction in example (10) above can adequately form part of a simple, straightforward style. Cf. also §21

(12) I *detected* myself staring more frequently at the open doorway and blank window than I could find warrant for doing.—Bierce, *Can Such Things Be?*, "The Secret of Macarger's Gulch."

(13) Though celebrated for the amount of work he got through, she *never caught* him *doing* any in this house of theirs.—Galsworthy, *The Dark Flower*, "Spring" ii.

Many of the verbs in these examples are indeed used with the "accusative and infinitive" construction as well, but it is noteworthy that some are incapable of introducing the infinitive-construction. It would be difficult to find any instance where *eye* or *detect*, as in example(11) or (12), is accompanied by its object and an infinitive instead of a present participle. As to *catch*, as in the last example, Curme (*Syntax* p. 125) affirms that it is the participle, not the infinitive, that is regularly used after it.

These verbs, from their semantic implication, usually require the objects that refer to some concrete persons or things; and if the writer wants to add some further complementary expressions denoting manners or circumstances of actions, they will naturally assume the nature of adjectival or even adverbial adjuncts. Especially *catch* in the sense "come upon suddenly or unexpectedly" is also construed with "a person in or at some action" (OED s.v. CATCH v. 9). This informs us that the use of a participle is more suited than that of an infinitive in the context where the complementary addition to the object is more in the adjunctive nature.

§ 22. In order to reveal the intrinsic nature of the participle-construction more manifestly, we shall quote some instances where the participles are added to the objects with apparently looser combination.

(1) And suddenly he *saw* her at her window, *looking* out.—Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* iv.

(2) And he *heard* a voice—Alicia’s—*speaking*. “The lovely, lovely world!”—Id, *Caravan*, "Spindleberries."

(3) Very early that morning two brothers...*found* a good way from Brenzett, an ordinary ship's hencoop, *lying* high and dry on the shore, with eleven drowned ducks inside.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.


When we compare example (2) above with example (2) under the previous section, we can discern that common characteristic of the participles after the noun "voice" which is fundamentally adjunctive rather than predicative. It would be instructive further to compare the following example.

(5) I was still occupied with my idle fancies when I *heard* a taxi *stop* at the door, the bell *ring*, and in a moment Alroy Kear's booming voice *telling* the butler that he had an appointment with me.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xi.
Apart from the difference in the aspects denoted by the verbals, we must observe that the combination between Kear's...voice and telling is looser and less nexal than that between a taxi and stop and the bell and ring.

Again with the verb see, the participle performs an evidently characteristic function of adding a concrete perceptive description to the object. But when the verb implies a more abstract or figurative sense and has to be accompanied as its object by the expression of some visual or mental content comparable to an abstract fact, the resultant construction is “see+a subordinate clause”"^{31}. The transition from the one construction to the other is sometimes delicate, and moreover much depends upon contextual restraints and rhetorical technique. Nevertheless we can see the distinct stylistic features in the respective constructions. The following passage quoted from the last part of the Tale of Two Cities describes what Sydney Carton is supposed to see in his mind's eye just before his execution.

(6) I see the lives for which I lay down my life...in that England which I shall see no more....I see the good old man, so long their friend, in ten years' time enriching them with all he has, and passing tranquilly to his reward. I see that I hold a sanctuary in their hearts, and in the hearts of their descendants hence.—Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities III. xv.

Here the three different constructions appear side by side with the same verb see. First it is followed by a single substantive object, next by a participle-construction, and then by a that-clause. In the last construction the abstract implication of the verb is structurally symbolized to the highest degree, while the two others are still suggestive of the concreteness in its literal sense.

§ 23. b. Among the group of verbs which imply or involve a durative state and which have been used with the construction during the last two centuries, leave and keep should be first mentioned. Compare examples (10) and (11) under § 20.

(1) She gave me an uncertain look and, saying she would go and see, left me standing in the passage.—Maugham, Cakes and Ale viii.

(2) They (=Railways) keep the small towns going.—Belloc, On Nothing, "On Railways and Things."

Besides these, what specially attracts our attention is the use of have. Have, construed with an object and a predicative, may mean "get (something) into a specified condition" (OED s.v. HAVE v. 17a); but it is only recently^{32} that the present participle has come to appear as predicative of the object. The rise of this new usage is apparently due to the analogy of the well-established construction "have+object+bare infinitive" as in “I will have him come.” Below some actual examples will be given.

^{31} OED s.v. SEE v. 3, 4.

^{32} OED does not record this use of have. It may be inferred from Poutsma (Gram. xx. 21a) that Jane Austen is the first to use have in this construction, as follows:

I am sure, from his manner, that you will have him calling here soon.—Persuasion ((1818)).
(3) “You know we have an author living here,” he said.—Maugham, _Cakes and Ale_ viii.

(4) When the day comes, they make off by motor-car, and as likely as not have a steam-yacht waiting for them on the coast.—Milne, _If I May_, “The Etiquette of Escape.”

We can see that the intrinsic meaning of _have_ in this use is neutral and colourless, and so the complementary participle displays a good deal of predicative force, often, as in the examples above, expressing the durative aspect. Herein lies the stylistic value of the participle as contrasted with that of the infinitive, though the constructions are parallel. It is but natural, however, that _have_ is made to imply a causative or passive sense by the context, just as when it is accompanied by an infinitive-construction.

(5) I won’t _have_ you swearing in front of the boy.—Greene, _The Basement Room_ i.

(6) He’ll hate _having_ a lot of strangers barging in on him like this.—Maugham, _Cakes and Ale_ iv.

At any rate the present participle is more descriptive and so seems to be more favoured in modern colloquialism than the bare infinitive in the same use.

With respect to this use of _have_ we must next consider the parallel use of _get_.

(7) A pretty girl like Darlin’ Jill has _got_ everything coming her way, anyhow, and she knows it.—Caldwell, _God’s Little Acre_ ii.

(8) I ache all over, an’ I _got_ it coming.—Steinbeck, _The Grapes of Wrath_.

The usage seems to be popular in modern American colloquialism. _Has got_ in example (7) might be interpreted as colloquial variant of _has_, but we must observe the difference of expressiveness between _has got_ and _has_. _Has got_ expresses an active sense of securing something for oneself, while _simple has_ suggests a somewhat passive, neutral idea. In _has got_ we can recognize the active force of the verb _get_, which has invested the collocation “get+object+-ing” with a more factitive sense, as compared with “_have_+object+-ing.” “Get it coming,” as in example (8), is also the variant of the idiomatic expression “_have it coming_ (to one),” which means “deserve something,” as for instance in:

(9) You _had_ it coming to you.—Paine, _Comrades of the Rolling Ocean_ [D.A.].

Here also we can feel that _have_ implies the neutral sense of experience, while _get_ is more expressive in itself and so fitter to lively colloquialism.

Next we shall mention some more examples with similar expressions where the main verbs are more active in their sense and are more liable to imply a causative force.

(10) To alarm him would but _send_ him dashing to his camp with his fatal

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33 In the following example the free position of the participle should be noticed; for such inversion would be felt awkward in the case of the infinitive. One day we went to tea at Mrs. Greencurt’s, who _had_ staying with her a cousin, the wife of an Oxford don,...—Maugham, _Cakes and Ale_ viii.
news.—Bierce, *In the Midst of Life*, “A Horseman in the Sky.”

(11) But in the light, porous soil of my garden on the chalk hills jiggling goes with a swing and a rhythm that *set* the thoughts *singing* like the birds. —Gardiner, “On a Distant View of a Pig.”

(12) The private member...*started* the ball *rolling* by attacking the government.—*Daily Express* ((1901)) [OED].

The *-ing* forms used after these verbs *send, set* and *start* may be interpreted to be originally gerunds. In the expression “*send* a person *packing,*” which means “dismiss him summarily,” *packing* may have been corrupted from *on packing, a-packing.* Indeed, as to the idiomatic expression “*set a thing going,*” OED (s.v. Set v. 114 b, c, d) illustrates that *going* has come from *on (to, or obs. in) going, a-going.* The similar expression “*start an engine running*” is analogous to “*start an engine to run*”; and from its ingressive nature *running* had better be explained as a gerund.

All these unprepositional *-ing* forms, however, express the durative aspect of some resultant action or movement so descriptively that, from the PE point of view, we can safely affirm they are now felt as participles. The reality is that the simple *-ing* form has been favoured in PE more than the prepositional *-ileg* form: “That set me *thinking*” is now much commoner than “That set me *to thinking.*” In the diachronical process from the gerund to the participle here perceived, there is represented a characteristic tendency in English syntax.

§ 24. c. Most verbs of mentality have newly come to be used with the “accusative and participle” construction from the nineteenth century onwards. The question arises here whether the *-ing* forms may be gerunds, not participles (cf. § 55). But from what has been observed about example (12) under § 20, we can infer that they are genetically participles. Moreover, in the following examples, we should notice the rather loose combination of the *-ing* forms with the preceding nouns or pronouns, to which they have added some descriptive predication with their durative or imperfective aspect.

(1) Imagine yourself in the dock, on whatever charge it may be, and *imagine* this and that *friend coming* forward to speak for you.—Milne, *If I May*, “Not Guilty.”

(2) But *fancy* Caroline *travelling* across the continent of Europe with a chit of a girl, who will be more of a charge than an assistance.—Hardy, *Alicia’s Diary* vii.

(3) He *pictured* the saturnine Gottlieb not at all *enjoying* the triumph but, with locked door, *abusing* the papers for their exaggerative reports of his

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34 Compare the third footnote (28) under § 20. OED (s.v. Pack v.1 10b), however, records no instance where the prepositional gerund is used. The first quotation with this construction is exemplified from as early as the sixteenth century:

I would...*send* him *packing.*—Nashe, *The Unfortwate Traveller* ((1594)).

35 According to OED, the use of the type *in going* is first exemplified from c. 1440, that of the type *a-going* from 1530, and that of *going* from 1577, the quotation of which is:

The...Gadarits *set packing* the stoutest of them.—M. Hanmer, *The Auncient Ecclesiasti-cal Histories.*
work.—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith* XXIV. i.

(4) I recollect my old governor *caning* me in that little room.—Thackeray, *Pendennis* [Jespersen].

(5) Wilcox expedited the deed, and I remember him *telling* me he had a great pleasure in making it ready.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(6) I can *understand* the landlord *deciding* to throw in the walls and the roof.—Milne, *If I May,* "Fixtures and Fittings."

(7) I don't quite *like* my children *going* away from home.—Hardy, *Tess* vi.

(8) I don't *want* you *bumping* around in a wagon much.—Cather, *Observe Destinies,* "Neighbour Rosicky" i.

In example (1), we should notice the parallel constructions: "imagine+object +*in the dock*" and "imagine+object+*coming*." Here *coming* is apparently placed in the same syntactic position as the prepositional phrase *in the dock,* and therefore should be interpreted as a participle that functions as predicatival adjunct of the object. The same cumulative style of expression can be especially remarkable in example (3). The two participles *enjoying* and *abusing* introduce the vivid supplementary description about the object which is in itself concrete enough. The patterns "*like*+object+*ing*" and "*want*+object+*ing*" as in examples (7) and (8) are modern substitutes for the older "*like or want*+object +*to*-infinitive." The newer expression is felt more descriptive and so seems fitter to the vivid colloquial style, as is the case with "*have*+object+*ing*" described in the previous section.\(^3\) It is the function of the participle, not the gerund, that is corresponding to that of the infinitive in this kind of construction. It would be instructive now to notice that as to the verb *like* OED (s. v. LIKE v.1 6c) records an example of a concrete construction with a past participle dated 1805\(^3\) earlier than examples with *to*-infinitives which are quoted from 1849 and 1887, apart from a much earlier example (1534) of an abstract construction with a *that*-clause as object.

It must be admitted that there are some instances in ModE where some of the verbs here exemplified also introduce the construction that is distinctly gerundial. The phenomenon will be afresh observed in § 55.

8. "Preposition+Object+Participle" in ModE

§ 25. The use of the construction governed by the preposition has been remarkably expanded in the ModE period. First after *with* the construction has grown more and more popular. Cf. §§ 17, 18.

(1) I stood like a man at a mark, *with* a whole army *shooting* at me.—Shakespeare, *Much Ado* ii. i. 254.

\(^3\) Speaking particularly, we perceive another difference. In most instances the participle-construction follows the negative forms of the main verbs, while there is no such restriction with the infinitive-construction.

\(^3\) The quotation is:

"Would he *like* the subject discussed in newspapers?—J. H. Newman, *Letters and Correspondence."
They are to be fish'd for there, with your hook alwaies touching the
ground.—Walton, The Compleat Angler [Jespersen].

It's a gloomy thing...to talk about one's own past, with the day break-
ing.—Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities II. v.

A man all in a heap in the bows of the boat, slept with both arms em-
bracing the stem-head and his cheek laid on the gunwale.—Conrad, Youth.

It was a soft grey outside, with heavy clouds working across the sky,
and occasional squalls of snow.—Cather, My Antonia xii.

This expression with a noun or pronoun as its nucleus accompanied by a com-
plementary participle is so well suited to the vivid, concrete style of PE that the
examples would be too numerous to be here mentioned. In example (4) a phrase
containing a present participle is co-ordinated with a parallel one containing a
past participle. Example (5) is especially noteworthy in that as object of the
preposition with the combination of noun and participle “(heavy) clouds
working...” runs parallel with a nominal expression followed by a prepositional
adjunct “(occasional) squalls of snow.” Here we can see the nature of the part-
iciple as predicatival adjunct revealed externally.

§ 26. Before inquiring into the instances introduced by other prepositions,
we shall observe those where look at and listen to introduce their objects followed
by participles. This is apparently a new construction developed on the analogy
of the older expression “see or hear+object+participle.”

The general looked stolidly at a distant regiment swarming slowly
up the hill through rough undergrowth.—Bierce, In the Midst of Life, “The
Affair at Coulter’s Notch.”

It is nice to...listen to the school bell sounding dinner, call-over, prep.,
and lights out.—Hilton, Good-Bye, Mr. Chips i.

In these examples the adjunctive nature of the participles seems more apparent,
for look at or listen to expresses more distinctly a physical action that requires some
concrete person or thing as its object, so that the attendant participle can be inter-
preted as more adjunctive or complementary than in the construction introduced
by see or hear. In the following example we can perceive still more clearly the
adjunctive nature of the participles that conduces to form a concrete, descriptive
style.

He got up painfully, looked at the flames, at the sea sparkling round
the ship, and black, as ink farther away; he looked at the stars shining dim
through a thin veil of smoke in a sky black, black as Erebus.—Conrad,
Youth.38

38 The corresponding infinitive-construction after look at or listen to is found mainly in
modern American English.

Look at that horse jump.—[Zandvoort].
I've got a religion of my own, and if it's good enough for me, listening to a Universalist
preacher preach would only make me dissatisfied with what I've got.—Caldwell, Georgia
Boy, “The Day We Rang the Bell.”

This is stylistically more compact but less descriptive than the participle-construction that
we have described here.
§ 27. Similar modern phenomena are seen when the sight of, the sound of
and other synonymous expressions precede the combinations "object and par-
ticiple." They participate in the formation of the same concrete and cumulative
style as verbs of perception, see, hear, etc., are liable to form with the cor-
responding construction.

(1) He dreaded the sight of Mrs. Baines waiting in the hall.—Greene, The
Basement Room v.

(2) All I know is that at the end of three weeks I caught sight of Smith’s
lunatic digging in Swaffer’s kitchen garden.—Conrad, Amy Foster.

(3) We become optimists at sight of the first crocus in the garden pushing
its way into the light.—Lynd, "It’s a Fine World."

(4) He felt the glance of the policeman running over him like a chilly
insect.—Galsworthy, Caravan, "Virtue."

(5) Here she was, making him positively look forward to the glimpse
of her safety bicycle careering along the lakeside road.—Hilton, Good-Bye,
Mr. Chips iv.

(6) The spectacle of a bevy of girls dancing without male partners seemed
to amuse the third (i. e. of the brothers).—Hardy, Tess ii.

(7) All of a sudden, I was startled by the sound of the full organ pealing
on the ear, accompanied by rustic voices and the willing quire of village-
maids and children.—Hazlitt, Table Talk, "Why Distant Objects Please."

(8) Sounds are heard of a cell door being closed and locked, and approach-
 ing footsteps.—Galsworthy, Justice III. ii.

(9) Then I sat up right into the night, thinking that every movement
of the wind outside or of the drip of water was the little pad of his step com ing
up the flagstones to the door.—Belloc, On Nothing, "On a Dog and a Man
Also."

(10) As I entered the kitchen, I sniffed a pleasant smell of gingerbread
baking.—Cather, My Antonia I. ii.

Examples (1) to (6) contain nouns of visual sense and examples (7) to (9)
nouns of auditory sense. In example (10) the noun denotes olfactory sense,
another kind of sensuous perception. In such contexts these nouns first require
the addition of the expression for some concrete persons or things to which they
refer, and then presuppose that it may be followed by some further complementa-
tory expression of action or state concerning the concrete objects. In the
process of expression, therefore, "sight or sound + of + object + -ing" may be
regarded as just analogous to "see or hear + object + -ing." It is true that the
participles in the examples above are adjuncts rather than predicatives in their
syntactic relation to the preceding nouns. But generally speaking, the predicatival
nature is inherent in the adjunct when expressed after the head-word. This intrinsic
nature as predicatival adjunct should be equally observed in the participle of the
well-established pattern "I saw (or heard) him coming," described in §§7,14,20.

In this respect it would be instructive to notice that there appears in example
(8) above an instance of a preposed participle "approaching footsteps." Stylisti-
ally *approaching* here has brought about a compact, though less dynamic, effect, while "footsteps *approaching*" would become more suggestive of a progressive sensuous impression, the participle turning looser and more predicatival.

§ 28. We shall next enumerate some other examples that contain similar expressions where a noun or an adjective denotes some phase of mentality.

(1) And he always would come to an end, with many emphatic shakes of his head, upon that awful *sensation* of his heart melting within him directly he set foot on board that ship.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(2) In uttering those words, he was conscious of a girl *coming down* from the common just above them.—Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* i.

(3) He...died, the old dilettante, sixty years later with nothing to show rather than preserve the *memory of* Mrs. Baines's malicious voice saying good night, her soft determined footfalls on the stairs to the basement, going down, *going down*.—Greene, *The Basement Room* ii.

The last is an instance of impressionistic style where the writer goes on noting down the impressions along with the stream of consciousness in the character described. The present participles, especially the latter reiterated ones, are effective as important constituents of such style, with their durative or liquid aspect. Again, the expression "the memory of...*saying*" should be compared with the expression "remember...*saying*" as in example (5) under § 24.

§ 29. In PE there are other instances belonging to the type "noun + of + noun + -ing," where the -ing form should also be interpreted as a participle. Here the first noun does not express any kind of perception, but is the one which makes us anticipate the addition of some concrete description by means of the following of-phrase. The complementary participle, with its descriptive force, performs the function of making an expatiatory predication about the second noun. To perceive the same stylistic characteristic as has hitherto been described, we should only have to observe the actual quotations.

(1) I told my poor great master Haydon...that he ought to send in a *cartoon of* King John dying of a surfeit of lampreys for the frescoes in the new Houses of Parliament.—A. Huxley, *Rotunda*, “The Tillotson Banquet” iii.

(2) But if you can actually take a *snapshot of* the squire *kicking* the poacher, you can prove the practical *occurrence* of a banker *bashing* a beggar on the head—then you explode the whole generous fiction on which the popularity of a gentry reposes.—Chesterton, *As I Was Saying*, “About Political Creeds.”

(3) ...the domestic scene I beheld in the most Moslem part of Palestine, *the episode of* a Moslem woman *shouting* and *yelling* abuse of her husband across the breadth of a small lake, while the husband stood helpless and evidently...

\[\text{The following example of the same type is noteworthy, because the participle is more loosely connected with the preceding pronoun, so as better to manifest the concreteness of the cumulative style.}\]

\[\text{While Martin stood at his bench he was *conscious of* her, *humming* at a table in the corner.}\]

——S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith* XXI. iv.
unable to think of any repartee.—Ibid., "About Loving Germans."

It must be noticed that in example (1) "a cartoon of King John dying" is not exactly equivalent to "a cartoon of King John who was dying." To King John the attachment of dying is more direct or intuitive than that of the relative clause. Dying, though expressed as an adjunct, is suggestive of some potential nature as predicative. In example (3) "a Moslem woman shouting and yelling..." is in a parallel manner followed by the clausal construction "the husband stood....".

§ 30. When a word-group as object of a preposition expresses some abstract content of a fact or information, we are liable to have recourse to a gerund as sense-predicate of the group (cf. §§ 46, 47, 54). In reality, however, it is sometimes difficult for the writer, in his linguistic sense, to decide whether he is going to express some idea as an abstract synthetic content or resort to a concrete, analytic style of expression. Accordingly there are occasional manifestations of his psychological fluctuation as to the use of the -ing form. In the modern Globe Edition, we see:

(1) Clown Good madonna, why mournest thou?
Olivia Good fool, for my brother's death.
Clo. I think his soul is in hell, madonna.
Oli. I know his soul is in heaven, fool.
Clo. The more fool, madonna, to mourn for your brother's soul being in heaven.

—Shakespeare, Twel. N. i. v. 72-77

In the last sentence above the object of mourn for may be interpreted as the whole synthetic group "your brother's soul being in heaven," of which being is a gerund. But there is an interesting proof. In the Folio edition the same sentence runs as follows: "The more foole (Madonna) to mourn for your brothers soule, being in heauen," with a comma before being. Indeed, if we turn to the whole context above quoted, we shall see that it would not only be suited to this simple remark but also, in a better way, enlighten its meaning to understand your brother's soul as the primary object of mourn for, and being in heaven as a supplementary adjunct that has a peculiar prominence of its own. According to this interpretation being in heaven will mean "now that it is in heaven" or "even if it is in heaven," and so invest this statement of Clown's with a new sense of lively humour.

In this way the presence of a pause between the noun or pronoun and the -ing form often makes it clear that the form has been used as a participle in this kind of construction.

(2) Think, for example, of the woman she admired most, Lady Bexborough, opening the bazaar.—Woolf, Mrs. Dalloway.

(3) Every now and then he still heard of her, living down there, spending her days out in the woods and fields,...and steadily growing poorer and thinner and more eccentric; becoming, in short, impossibly difficult, as only English women can.—Galsworthy, Caravan, "Sprinkleberries."
We shall later (in § 54) deal with the gerund-construction introduced by *think of* or *hear of*; but in the examples above it is out of question that each *-ing* form is a participle. In the characteristically cumulative style revealed in example (2), the loose participle after the pause evidently plays an essential part. In example (3) the feature of the style is more striking. The succession of the participial phrases has displayed a climactic descriptive force.

§ 31. The expression "*think of*+object+participle," as exemplified by (2) under the previous section, is a fairly common type of emotional, and chiefly interrogative, sentence whose tone is decidedly colloquial. In meaning and use it is approximately correspondent to the expression "*fancy or imagine*+object+participle," which we have dealt with in § 24. For an example of the type, let us now take "*Think of my brother doing it.*" In this sentence, what the speaker intends to convey as object of "*think of*" is not the abstract fact that his brother does it, but primarily the concrete agent "*my brother,*" to which he goes on to add a secondary expression of the agent's action by means of the participial phrase "*doing it.*" We shall cite two more instances.

(1) *Think of me ever being rich!*—Pycroft, *Agony Point* ((1861)) [OED].

(2) *Think of years to come, and children being born to us, and this past matter getting known—for it must get known.*—Hardy, *Tess* xxxvi.

In example (1) the use of the accusative *me* externally demonstrates that *being* is a present participle. In example (2) we may perceive synthetic entireties in "*children being born to us*" and "*this past matter getting known.*" Yet it must be observed that the two groups are preceded by "*years to come,*" the more immediate object of *think of*. In these parallel groups we should be allowed to interpret *to come, being and getting* as adjuncts to "*years,*" "*children*" and "*this past matter*" respectively. It is not that "*children being...*" and "*this past matter getting...*" can be paraphrased into "*children who will be...*" and "*this matter that will get...*". The original stylistic value, both concrete and descriptive, can only be well displayed by the use of the simple participles.

The expression is not, however, confined to this type of emotional utterance. We can add the examples of general statements.

(3) Suddenly even the upper part of the house became unbearable to him as he *thought of* Mrs. Baines *moving* round shrouding the sofas, laying out the dust-sheets.—Greene, *The Basement Room* i.

(4) *I thought of her with her white body, her chin so milky, in the arms of that old fat gross man and his thick loose lips kissing hers.*—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xvii.

Example (4) is of special interest. It illustrates the adaptability of the participle in the loose and cumulative style.

Associated with "*think of*+object+participle" should be considered "*the thought of*+object+participle." Here again we must observe the same characteristic of the style.

(5) Do not send any more of my books home. I have a great pleasure
in the thought of you looking on them.—Keats, "The Complete Works" [Curme; Jespersen].

(6) Once he slowed down to a walk, but the thought of the freezing extending itself made him run again.—London, To Build a Fire.

As to example (5), it is indeed absurd to interpret "you" alone as object of "(the thought) of." But it will help us to appreciate the descriptive force of this expression if we regard looking as a participle. The participle is better suited than the gerund for the vivid description in the poet's mind that his friend is looking on the books, perhaps fondly taking them in his hands. In example (6), again, what is meant by the writer as subject of "made him run again" is not surely the thought of the abstract fact that the freezing extends itself, the sense which would be expected if extending here were to be understood as a gerund. As it is, the description is more concrete, with "the feeling," as primary object of "(the thought) of," considerably intensified and the participle extending supplemented as a predicative adjunct.

§ 32. In this chapter we have hitherto traced forward the general process of how the "accusative and participle" construction has been developed since the OE period. It is really surprising to see the tremendous expansion of the construction in the ModE period, especially after the beginning of the nineteenth century. The primary origin in OE was a limited range of usage where only some verbs of perception introduced this construction (cf. §7). As an OE instance of the construction introduced by a preposition, we have observed a variety of "dative absolute" construction, be him ligurem (cf. §§ 10—11), which, however, has not survived till the later period. Nevertheless, the stylistic feature of the idiom was in common with that of the main construction that has been preserved and expanded. Indeed the matter is often complicated by the confusion, both morphologic and syntactic, between the participle and the gerund; but it is the stylistic feature—concrete, cumulative and descriptive—as well as the syntactic function that has enabled us to trace the obscure way of the participle-construction. In the next chapter, we are going to proceed on the other parallel way of the gerund-construction, which we hope will serve, if subsidiarily, to elucidate the participle-construction in more detail.

CHAPTER III

The Development of the "Genitive and Gerund" Construction

1. The Morphological Origin of the Gerund

§ 33. Before dealing with the construction in question, it will be proper for us to survey the general process of how the -ing form as gerund has been de-
veloped in the English language. In OE the endings -ung and, less usually, -ing were suffixes chiefly used to derive abstract nouns from verbs. Both the endings were mostly attached to weak verbs to form abstract nouns: e.g. bletsung (=blessing), geendung (=ending, end), reading (=reading) (respectively from the verbs bletsian, geendian, radan). The derivatives from strong verbs were rare, but they generally preferred the ending -ung.

At the end of the tenth century the formations in -ung were prevalent, but then set in the tendency of -ung being displaced by -ing. The causes for this transition may be considered in the three respects. (1) The first is phonological. In the point of articulation the palatal consonant-combination -1eg is in more affinity to the high front vowel -i-- than to the rounded back vowel -u-, which in its less stressed position was ready to be modified in the direction of -i- (cf. § 13). It is assumed, besides, that according to the vowel-shift that took place in the late OE period, the dative plural ending -ulegum changed into -engum and -ingum. The last influenced the other case-forms, till they all came to be levelled into -ing.

(2) The second cause is functional. In OE the suffixes -ing and -uleg were used to form concrete nouns from both verbs and nouns, as well as to form abstract nouns here considered. In such comprehensive use -ua~g come to appear less adaptable than -ing. The nouns ending in -ing were either feminine or masculine, or sometimes neuter, while those ending in -ung were almost invariably of the feminine gender. In other words, -ing was more multivocal than -ung in its original nature. This greater elasticity of -ing was in favour of the further advance of the same ending, so that it became established as the common form of the gerund as well.

(3) Lastly the Scandinavian influence is to be taken into account. In Old Norse the corresponding suffix was almost unexceptionally *-ingo. Brought into English at the end of the OE period, it furthered the generalization of the form -ing as a comprehensive suffix for both a substantival derivative and a verbal one, abstract and concrete.

§ 34. For the causes above remarked, the use of -ung had gradually declined, till at the beginning of the thirteenth century the old trace of the form was only barely retained in those dialects which correspond to West Saxon in OE. For example, in Ancrun Riwale the ratio between -ing and -ung was already four to one. There we find the indication of hesitation in the occasional indifferent use of the two forms: biginninge, bireousinge (=repenting), gederinge (=gathering), lokinge, niminge (=taking), redinge, scheauinge (=showing) and toinge (=peeping) were seen by the side of the corresponding forms that end in -ulege. Finally,

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41 Langenhove, *The Origin of the Gerund* §1.2.3. By the way, the same section of the work describes the transition in more comprehensive details mainly from the phonological point of view.

42 Brunner, *Die englische Sprache* II. p. 320.

43 Mossé, *F. P.* II. §144.


about 1250, -ing entirely disappeared, with the universal establishment of -ing as the ending of the verbal substantive or gerund.

It must here be remembered that the predominance of the gerundial form -ing has a great significance, in view of the identical form -ing as the present participle which had displaced -end in the ME period (cf. §§ 14, 15). The morphological convergency of the two categories was surely an advantageous condition under which the gerundial syntax was to attain a surprising development in the later period.

2. The Syntactic Development of the Gerund

§ 35. As remarked in the previous section, the gerund or verbal substantive was originally an abstract noun. It is true that it was derived from a verb and so semantically had a verbal sense, but it primarily belonged to the syntactic category of nouns, just as did OE words in -nes (=ness), e.g. rihtwisnes (=righteousness), gerecedess (=narrative), etc. The substantival nature of the gerund is evident when we compare the corresponding form -ung in German. There the forms ending in -ung have remained unquestionably nouns; e.g. Belehrung (=teaching), Führung (=leading), Lesung (=reading), Schaffung (=creation), respectively derived from the verbs belehren, führen, lesen, schaffen (=create).

In OE, the verbal substantive in -ung or -ing, as a genuine noun, was naturally accompanied by some restrictive noun or pronoun in the genitive case, when it was required to express the idea of subject or object for the sense of the verb from which the substantive had been derived.

(1) Elisabeth gehyrde Marian gretinge.—Luke i. 41 [Koch]. (Elisabeth heard Mary's greeting.)

(2) Hit is fiswylle and fugowylle, and mere on huntunge heort and ra. —Bede I. i. (It, i.e. Ireland, is rich in fish and fowl, and famous for hunting harts and roes.)

Marian in example (1) is the genitive of Maria (=Mary), and heort and ra in example (2) are the genitive plurals of heort (=hart) and ra (=roe). In the former the semantic relation of the genitive to the gerund is that of subject, while in the latter the two genitives are in the relation of objects to the verbal sense of huntunge (=hunting). In respect of the substantival construction, it is instructive to notice that as the German translation of the passage cited as example (2), Brunner (Die englische Sprache II. p. 320) gives: “Es ist ...berühmt durch die Jagd (=the hunt) auf Hirsche und Rentiere.” In the German expression, the original English gerund has been rendered into the genuine noun.

45 Our use of the term “gerund” should be strictly distinguished from what is commonly adopted by philologists of early English, who take the “gerund” as identical with the inflected infinitive that originally ended in -eune, -anne. Indeed there are instances in OE and ME where -enne was confused with -end(e), -ing(e), and still in ModE the -ing form sometimes performs the function of a datival infinitive (e.g. “He went hunting”). But we should like to regard these as merely temporary or subsidiary phenomena.
§ 36. In that early period the word-order was much freer than today. When a genitive noun was in the objective relation to a gerund, the former was often placed before the latter so as to form a closely attributive construction.

(1) Swiþpost he for ðider, to-eacan þæs landes sceawunge, for þæm hors-hwælum.—Alfred’s Orosius [Mossé]. (Especially he went there, besides seeing the land, to get the walrus.)

In the same period there was another way of expression, where the preposed noun has no formal sign of the oblique case and is combined with the gerund so as to form one compound. Here we may say that the closeness of the combination as observed in example (1) has been heightened to the utmost extent.

(2) Siððan ongann godspelbodung.—Ælfric, Homilies [A.-S. D.]. (Then began gospel-preaching, i.e. the Christian dispensation.)

This is the most primitive way of expressing the complex idea. In the compound godspelbodung, bodung (=preaching) reveals its static substantival character. Though this kind of expression continued till late ME and its correspodent is found in ModE, its tradition must be regarded as distinct from that of the gerundial syntax in general. We can say that the English gerund began to go on its way of syntactic progress when it had left the stage of substantival stability, proceeding towards that of verbal flexibility.

Let us now see the process by means of the representative types. The first type is boc(-)reading (=book-reading), and the second reading boc (=reading a book). The former represents the synthetic stage where the element of object boc is expressed as the first component of the fixed compound, while the latter represents the analytic stage where the object is freely expressed as a syntactically independent unit after the governing verbal reading. The transition from the old synthetic stage to the new analytic stage is dated at the end of the twelfth century.47

§ 37. We are now in a position to inquire into the old stage of boc(-)reading in more detail. The following is the quotation from early ME.

(1) Man þær ne ge spædde butan man myrringe and feoh spillinge.—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E) 1096 ((1121—2)). (There was spread nothing but the injury of men and the loss of money.)

Here it would seem that man and feoh in man myrringe and feoh spillinge were merely the first components of the compounds, which happened to appear in two separate words in consequence of the scribal habit. It is also conceivable, however, that there had dawned the potentiality of the first elements, sooner or later, being felt to be accusative objects, as syntactic units, of the second.48

46 In ModE there is a somewhat free kind of compound-nouns belonging to the same type. As to their origin, however, none can be traced back to the OE usage here remarked. In the following instances the dates given after the respective words denote those of their earliest uses according to OED: bell-ringing (c. 1315), child-bearing (1388), bear-baiting (c. 1475), housekeeping (1550), haymaking (1588), fox-hunting (1674), glass-blowing (c. 1829), etc.

47 Mossé, F. P. II. § 172.

48 Curme, "History of the English Gerund." Englische Studien XLV.
About the same time we find another type *boces readding*, which is composed of an objective genitive and a gerund. This has already been exemplified by example (1) under § 35. The following is noticeable, for it is quoted from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, just as example (1) above.

(2) *Ne be heold hit nan þing seo scip fyrding buton folces ge swinc and feos spilling and heora feonda forþbylding.*—*Ibid.* 999. (The naval expedition saw nothing but the people’s toil, wasting money and emboldening their enemy.)

It is true that *scip fyrding* should be interpreted as a close compound, where *scip (=ship)* is rather attributively attached to *fyrding (=expedition)*, so that the definite article *seo* agrees in the feminine case with the whole compound *scip-fyrding*. But *feos spilling* and *heora feonda forþbylding* are evidently free combinations that consist of the objective genitives and the verbal substantives. Now that we compare this with example (1), we can see the remarkable parallelism of the two types: *feoh spillinge* and *feos spilling*. Of these the former enjoyed a longer life, though finally, we might say, they both come to be supplanted by the newer one.

Now, at that transitional period the morphological distinction was generally becoming obliterated, and at the end of the twelfth century the noun or nominal group preceding the gerund appeared in the accusative case. The following may be cited as one of the earliest examples of the type “accusative object and gerund.”

(3) *Ich bide þe...bi his side openunge, bi his blodi þet ron inne monie studen...erest in his one hond and seoöen in his oðer, olast in his side purlunge.*—*Lofsong of ure Lofed* (c. 1200) [Van der Gaaf; Mossé]. (I pray you...by opening his side, by the issue of his blood that ran in many places...in piercing first his one hand and then his other, at last his side.)

Here the gerunds *openunge (=opening)* and *purlunge (=piercing)* have displayed, to a certain extent, the syntactic force as verbs, though the prepositions *bi (=by)* and *in* would be more naturally understood as governing the whole following groups than as governing the gerunds alone. Especially we should observe the free use of *his one hond (=hand)*, *his oðer (=other)*, and *his side* as object of *purlunge*, as contrasted with the fixed nature of the component or genitive object as seen in examples (1) and (2).

Though the last type, in turn, began to be superseded by the newer one of *readding boc* about the same period, the general character of the construction was still in the substantival stage. We see that in example (2) above the two “genitive and gerund” phrases *feos spilling* and *heora feonda forþbylding* are co-ordinated by the “genitive and noun” *folces ge-swinc (=people’s toil)*. Though the functional relation denoted by the genitive in the latter is subjective, as opposed to

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49 The old type, however, kept remaining through the ME period. The following example, illustrating a modern remnant as late as the sixteenth century, is noteworthy in containing another synonymous construction with an of-phrase, which will be remarked in § 38.

*Ther was brybes (=bribes) walking, money makynge, makynge of handes (=hands).*—*Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI* (1549) [Mossé].
the objective relation in the former, yet the exact parallelism shows that the -ing forms were felt as syntactically genuine nouns. In example (3), again, the "accusative and gerund" phrase (bi) his side openunge is followed almost appositionally by the group with a noun as its head-word; but the adjective blodi here is in the subjective relation to the verbal idea expressed by the noun rune, just as in his side openunge the noun side is in the objective relation to the verbal idea of openunge. The gerund openunge remarkably corresponds to the noun rune in the syntactic status.

§ 38. The substantival nature of the gerund in its early stage can be observed in another construction. Besides that the old objective genitive was supplanted by the accusative object in consequence of the inflectional decay, the function of the genitive was sometimes handed down to a periphrastic expression with the preposition of. This analytic way of expression also made its appearance at the beginning of the thirteenth century and became considerably usual in ME, but presently it was predominated by the more verbal construction with the simple object following the gerund. The following example is of particular interest, since it manifests a transitional phenomenon where we have both an of-phrase and an accusative pronoun as objects of the successive gerunds.

(1) Afterward, in getinge of your richeses and in usinge hem (=them), ye shul (=shall) alwey have three thinges in your herte (=heart).—Chaucer, C. T., "The Tale of Melibeus" § 52.

It was in the fourteenth century that the verbal force of the gerund was conspicuously developed. This was illustrated by the new use of adverbs as modifiers of gerunds, as well as the use of objects after them. We shall here cite from Mossé (F. P. II. § 174) the interesting remark that Dan Michel of Northgate, whose Azenbite of Inwyte was completed in 1340, was just in the transitional stage in the use of adverbs with gerunds and that we find there at first going in (= at first going in) and uallyng doun (=falling down) by the side of inguoyng (= ingoing), and at his doun commynyg (at his down coming) as well as his first commynyg doun. As to his remarkably frequent use of gerunds, we may assume that it was in many cases due to the use of the gerondis in -ant that had appeared in the Old French originals. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Dan Michel made a considerable contribution to the syntactic development of the English gerund.

Another contributor in the fourteenth century is Wyclif. In his version of the Bible published in 1382, according to OED (s. v. -ING 2), he regularly uses the gerund with verbal force in translating the Latin gerundium, while

59 The use of an adverb with a gerund, however, did not start at that time in the fourteenth century, as is often alleged, but much earlier—indeed, in the twelfth century (cf. Mossé, Op. cit. § 174).

51 The Old French form in -ant, in turn, was due to the convergency of the Vulgar Latin present participle in -antem and "gerundium" in -ando. In Vulgar Latin the ablative "gerundium" in -ando performed the same function as the present participle. This functional confusion was kept on in Old French, and, what is worse, facilitated by the morphological identity. The source of the modern indistinctness is very far to seek.
he retains the original substantival construction where an abstract noun has been used in the Latin text. Thus we find “the thridde moneth of the goyng of Yrael out (egressionis) of the loond of Egipte” (Exod. xix. 1) (the third month when Israel went out of the land of Egypt); but “power of heelynge (curandi) sicknesses, and of castynge out (ejiciendi) fends” (Mark iii. 15) (power of healing sicknesses, and of casting out fiends). In the former goyng, together with out, corresponds to the Latin noun egressioleis, genitive of egressio. It is therefore used like a noun, preceded by the definite article and followed by the of-phrase that is in the relation of subject to its verbal sense. In the latter, on the other hand, (of) heelynge and (of) castynge out, which correspond to the Latin genitive gerundiums curandi and ejiciendi, immediately precede their objects just as genuine verbs do.

From these instances we may judge that the Latin influence, as well as the Old French, was a factor in helping the English gerund to be developed in verbal constructions. The new gerundial construction was also favoured by some other writers such as Maundeville and Chaucer. It is upon the current of this development in the fourteenth century that we see the “subject and gerund” construction starting to make a steady advance.

3. to-janes po sunne risindde

§ 39. As has been observed above, the transposition of the object after the gerund represents a marked step in the verbalization of the gerund whose nature is originally substantival. The gerund has now developed as much verbal capability as an ordinary transitive verb in freely preceding its object according to the common word-order in English syntax. At the same time it may be concluded that the older order “(pro)noun+gerund” has become reserved for another important purpose, that is, to express the relation of the subject to the gerund. Morphologically, too, a correspondent phenomenon has taken place. As the means of expressing the objective relation to the gerund the genitive case began to be supplanted by the accusative at the end of the twelfth century. In the same way, the old genitive that had denoted the relation of subject to the verbal idea of the gerund came to be replaced by the new accusative about two centuries later. This has undoubtedly enhanced the flexibility of the gerundial expression, marking a further step in its development.

Now we must remark a special phenomenon that had appeared much earlier than the general transition to the new “subject and gerund” construction. The following might be recognized as the earliest example where the gerund is preceded by a subjective common case, instead of a genitive case.

(1) Si sterre...apierede te po prie kinges of hepenesse to-janes po sunne risindde.—Kentish Sermons ((a. 1250)) [Morris & Skeat]. (The star... appeared to the three kings of heathendom towards the sun rising.)

In interpreting the phrase to-janes po sunne risindde in this quotation written in the Kentish dialect in the thirteenth century, there are two points to be con-
considered. The first is the question whether risindde may not be a present participle, instead of a gerund. It is true that the form ending in -inde is that of a present participle as distinguished from a gerund which ends in -inge, and that in Kentish the distinction between the two categories was well preserved in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But the morphological confusion of the two forms was a fairly common phenomenon in those times. The participial form was sometimes meant for a gerund, and vice versa. From this fact it can be judged that risindde in the example above is used as a gerund in spite of its form.52

Secondly there is a question of how to interpret this compact expression to-janes po sunne risindde. We can see that the context allows it to be interpreted in the two different ways. (1) If the preposition to-janes, whose original sense is "against," is here understood to imply a temporal relation, meaning "against the time of, near," the whole phrase will come to mean "near or at the time when the sun rose, i.e. near or at sunrise." (2) If, on the other hand, we take to-janes here as denoting the relation of local direction with the sense of "towards", then the whole phrase will be interpreted as meaning "towards the point where the sun rises, i.e. towards the east." The second interpretation has been adopted by, among others, Morris53 and Einenkel,54 but we should like to resort to the first one with OED and others, on the grounds that will be described in the following section.

§ 40. If we admit that to-janes po sunne risindde implies the idea of direction and means "towards the east," risindde may as well be regarded as a present participle which is adjunctively subjoined to po sunne. Then the whole expression will appear to form a concrete style, very characteristic of the early syntax. Even so, the combination has too much connotation for us to justify this construing. The fact is that risindde is a gerund as has been verified in the previous section, and moreover there is an important piece of corroboration. The Kentish Sermons are English translations from the French originals. According to OED (s.v. Sun-RISING), the French corresponding to the part "to-janes po sunne risindde" is "vers le solail (=soleil) levant." It is inferred, therefore, that the French gérondif levant was the prototype of the English risindde. Though the French gérondif itself had already been indistinguishable from the present participle from the morphological point of view, we should now be reminded that modern French has fairly established idioms of a similar construction, au soleil levant and au soleil couchant. These correspond in English to "at sunrise" and "at sunset" respectively; and it would be difficult for us to perceive in these French phrases the dynamic expressiveness that can be displayed by the absolute participial phrase. In the same way, vers le soleil levant and its translation to-janes po sunne risindde are such fixedly constructed expressions that we may even feel soleil levant and sunne risindde as compounds. We may say that the elements here

52 Mossé, F. P. II. § 154; Bøgholm, English Speech from an Historical Point of View p. 217.
53 Specimens of Early English I. p. 332.
54 Historische Syntax, Nachträge (§ 3 ε).
are so closely combined to each other that the groups have come to imply the fused meaning of a temporal noun “sunrise” (G “Sonnenaufgang”).

It seems to be significant from the standpoint of syntactic history that the earliest type of the “subject and gerund” construction, even if it was the imitation of the Old French expression, was in the nature of a compound. The stage of compounds represents that of close and static structure, which later proceeds to the stage of open and dynamic structure. In §§ 36, 37 we have described how the primitive type of compound *boc(-)reading* has grown into the free syntactic type *reading boc* in respect of the development of the “gerund and object” construction. Now, as to the “subject and gerund” construction, we see a parallel tendency. The compound-like (the) *sun rising* represents the primitive type of the construction. It makes us anticipate the later development of freer and more general types, where any kind of noun or pronoun can be used before a gerund as sense-subject of the latter.

§ 41. The type “the sun rising,” “the sun going down,” or suchlike, especially preceded by a preposition, began to be found more than half a century later than the instance in the Kentish Sermons dealt with in the previous sections. The type of expression was pretty common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In every instance it had the function of temporal determination, and there should be observed the static substantival nature which is alien to the participle-construction. The following are some of the examples.  

(1) Mury hit is in sonne rising.—King Alisaundre ((c. 1300)). (It is merry about sunrise.)
(2) At morn yn the sonne rysynge Brutus led Pandras...Until his castel.—Robert of Brunne, Chronicle ((1338)). (At sunrise in the morning Brutus led Pandras...to his castle.)
(3) And pat sal last fra pe son rysynge Till pe tyme of pe son doungang-yng.—Rolle of Hampole, The Pricke of Conscie,cce ((c. 1340)). (And that shall last from sunrise till sunset.)
(4) He wolde rest in it after the sunlee goyng down.—Wyclif, Gen. xxvii. 11 ((c. 1382)). (He would rest in it after sunset.)

It is now interesting to see that this type of “common case and gerund” was liable to be superseded by the more usual one that contains a genitive noun or its equivalent of-phrase. Example (1), for instance, appears in the other text (Laud MS) as: “Mury hit is in somes risynge.” By the side of “fra pe son rysynge,” as in example (3), Richard Rolle uses in another place (The Psalter ((a. 1340))), “fra the rysynge of the sun.” Again “after the sunne goyng down” in the biblical passage quoted in example (4) has been altered in Purvey’s revision ((a. 1388)) into “aftir the goyng down of the sonne.” This may indicate that the type “(the) sun rising” was not altogether felt as a close compound but was likely to be

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55 The examples mentioned in this section have been quoted chiefly from Van der Gaaf, “The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case” §§27–29; Kellner, Historical Outlines of English Syntax §148; and Brunner, Die englische Sprache II. p. 324.
understood as a free combination as if "the sun" were equivalent to the subjective genitive "the sun's" or the genitive-phrase "of the sun". But the fact is that the type has failed to be established as a permanent one; it is rather a special or limited expression which implies the abstract idea in its concrete outer form. *pe sunne rysynge* does not mean "that the sun rises (rose) or is (was) rising" but "the time when the sun rises (rose)." Such a condensed and connotative expression was too special to be felt as a typical construction of "subject and gerund." There is good reason for OED (s. v. SUN I~. 13) to have recorded this kind of "special compounds," *sun-arising, sun-going-down and sun-sitting*, all marked obsolete and first exemplified from c. 1440. The dictionary also treats *sunrising* and *sunsetting* under independent headings, and marking them both as "now rare or archaic," notes that they have been superseded by *sunrise* and *sunset* respectively. As to their origin, it explains that they have been formed "partly after F soleil levant" and "F soleil couchant." In conclusion, we may say that the type "sun rising" appeared chiefly from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century on the analogy of F *soleil levant*, that it assumed the nature of a fixed compound where the first component *sun* was juxtaposed with the gerund *rising*, as it were, in the caseless status, and that it was destined to be displaced by the new noun *sunrise*. In view of the general trend of the gerund-construction, it was surely a transitory phenomenon; and yet it is significant in representing the earliest stage in the development of the "genitive and gerund" construction.

4. "Subjective Genitive+Gerund" in ME

§ 42. In the ME period, apart from the special phenomenon "sun(-)rising," the usual way of expressing the subject of the gerund, or more strictly, what would be the subject of the corresponding verb, was to place the genitive case of a noun or pronoun before the gerund. This is nothing but a traditional way kept on since the OE period, but it was only in the course of ME that the freedom and flexibility of the verbal construction was being gradually developed. Below some examples will be quoted from the works in ME.

1. *(Saint John's baptizing was wholesome and good to receive.)*
   - *Sanct Johaness fullhtninng wass Halsumm and god to fanngenn.—The Ormulum* ((c. 1200)) [OED].

2. *(Of the king's crowning in the twenty-fourth year...)*
   - *(pe kynges crownyng in four and twentye gere....—Robert of Gloucester, Chronicle* ((c. 1298)) [Koch].

3. *(Her pardon is very small at her parting)*
   - *Langland, Piers Plowman* (B) vii. 57 ((c.1377)).

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*In the following ME instance, *kochis crowynge* is of a similar type, composed of the genitive and the gerund. It also connotes a temporal idea, though it seems a still more isolated phenomenon than *pe sunne rysynge* (cf. OED, s. v. Cock-crowing).

*Whanne the lord of the hous cometh...in the mydny3t, or kochis crowynge....—Wyclif, Mark xiii. 35. (When the lord of the house comes...at midnight, or cock-crowing.)*

*For an OE instance, see example (1) under §35.*
hence, *i.e.* death.)

(4) Who coude telle yow...Swich subtil loking and dissimulinges For drede of *jalouse mennes apercwyvinges*?—Chaucer, C. T., "The Squieres Tale" 283-6 (c. 1386). (Who could tell you... such subtle looking and dissimulations for fear of jealous men's perceivings?)

(5) Thus Achillis achevit his awne choyse frendes, Thurgh *his prokuryng* prestly all the pure Troiens.—*The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (c. 1400) [Koziol]. (Thus Achilles gained his own choice friends through readily instigating all the simple Trojans.)

(6) At *his againe comyng* he semed blewe.—Malory, *Morte D'Arthure* ((1470-85)) [Visser]. (At his coming again he looked blue.)

These examples, except the last two, show that the gerunds still remain in the status of nouns and their combinations with the preceding genitives are structurally substantival rather than verbal, though in example (3) the gerund is accompanied by the adverb hemces (=hence). Especially in example (4) the -ing form appears in the plural *aperceyvinges* (=perceivings), which is placed so as to form an antithesis with *dissimulinges* (=dissimulatinges) in the preceding line. The substantival nature of the -ing forms is apparent both morphologically and semantically. In example (5), on the other hand, the prepositional phrase introduced by *thurgh* (=though) reveals fairly verbal features, though the genitive pronoun *his* would be superfluous here if the passage were to be expressed in PE. Example (6) has much of the modern pithy gerundial expression. It should be observed that the gerund *coming* is immediately determined by the adverb *againe* (=again).

At any rate the supple and forceful gerund-construction that is commonly found today had not been fully developed till the beginning of the ModE period, while the original substantival nature had been, more or less, preserved all the time.

§ 43. In ME a genitive personal pronoun was in more general use than a genitive noun as sense-subject of a gerund. Such a pronoun is expressed rather subsidiarily with a gerund which conveys the primary idea in the context. In this respect this kind of construction may be contrasted with the participle-construction, where an accusative noun or pronoun is primarily expressed and a participle is added only complementally.

The prominent type with the genitive pronoun preceding the gerund is "*in-* *my (thy, his, etc.)*+gerund." It first appeared about the end of the thirteenth century, probably through the imitation of the Old French "*en-* *mon (ton, son, etc.)*+gérondif."58

(1) Guo in-to helle ilee *pine bibbende* pet *pou ne guo ine *pine sterwinge*.
—Dan Michel, *Azenbite of Inwyte* ((1340)) [Mossé]. (Go into hell while you are alive that you may not go when you die.)

58 Einenkel, *Historische Syntax* § 3. ζ.
(2) Me thought a nyght in my sleping, that....—Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose ((a. 1366)) [Einenkel]. (It seemed to me one night while sleeping that....)

The original French for example (1) is "Va en enfer en ton vivant, que tu n'i voises en ton morant." For the morphological confusion seen in libbende and steruine, §§ 12, 13, 39 should be referred to. The French that corresponds to example (2) is "Ce m'iert avis en mon dormant...." Since the type "in my sleeping" began to be found in English about the same time as the type "in sleeping"59, whose prototype was, in turn, the Old French "en dormant," we can safely conjecture that both the types were felt parallel so that, in the writer's linguistic consciousness, the genitive pronoun in the former was merely secondary in the process of expression.

This type of expression also failed to be naturalized into the general usage of English syntax, for it hardly survived till after the ME period60. After all it only serves to indicate that the Romanic influence should be subsidiarily taken into account in the present survey.

5. "Common or Accusative Case+Gerund" in ME

§ 44. When the sense-subject of the gerund was a noun, its form as genitive case was often obscured so that the noun came to appear in the form suitably called "common case." This phenomenon first became apparent about the end of the thirteenth century in works written in the Northern dialect, so far as this construction is concerned. It usually occurred after a preposition.

(1) At pe appostell biding sone Pai went. —The North-English Legelidary ((1275)) [Van der Gaaf; Poutsma]. (At the apostles' bidding they soon went.)

(2) Bot son quen he had seised Pe land, Pat in Pan fel a hunger strang Thoru corn wantyng or thoru were....—Cursor Mundis ((c. 1300)) [Van der Gaaf; Curme]. (But soon when he had seized the land upon which a great famine had fallen through corn wanting or through war....)

(3) For the quene comynge he was fol glad.—Robert of Brunne, Chronicle ((1338)) [Van der Gaaf]. (For the queen's coming he was very glad.)

(4) And what es mare uncertayn thyng, Pan es Pe tyme of the dede comyng.—Rolle of Hampole, The Pricke of Conscience ((c. 1340)) [Van der Gaaf; Mossé] (And what is a more uncertain thing than is the time of death coming?)

(5) And Pat was showet apertly by iemples aud images fallileg down in Rome.—The Stenzaic Life of Christ ((a. 1400)) [Van der Gaaf]. (And that was shown partly by temples and images falling down in Rome.)


40 As one ModE instance Einenkel (Ibid.) mentions the following, which evidently reflects the author's syntactic Latinism.

He rose, and in his rising seemed A pillar of state.—Milton, Paradise Lost.
(6) Sone uppon the chef baronet comyng I schall send you a lettre.—The Paston Letters ((1461)) [Van der Gaaf]. (Soon upon the chief baron coming I shall send you a letter.)

First it should be observed that the -ing forms in these example are gerunds, not present participles. Apart from the morphological consideration of the preceding nouns, it was usual in the Northern or East Midland dialects, as illustrated by these examples, that the -ing forms as gerunds were fairly distinguished from the -ande forms as participles (cf. §12). In example (1) appostell is an un-inflected form for the genitive plural, as is often the case with Northern Middle English. Corn, in example (2), is another uninflected genitive; it would have been cornes in older or Southern English.

In example (3) it would be possible to regard quene as accusative and comynge as a participle. Indeed in this East-Midland work the forms -ande and -ynge were sometimes used indiscriminately as present participles. But the meaning of the quene comynge here seems to express the idea of an action or occurrence rather than a concrete description of the person. Morphologically, besides, the genitive singular of the feminine noun quene (<OE cwene) originally had the same form as the nominative singular, and the old usage was still occasionally found as elsewhere in ME. For these reasons we judge comynge as a gerund preceded by the outwardly common case quene.

Hampole shows a good deal of hesitation in using dede (=death) as in example (4), for in similar contexts in the same work he uses "pe dedes comyng" and "pe comynge of pe dede. Such hesitation, probably due to the fact that the sense of the noun is abstract and inanimate, is the proof that dede in the quotation is meant for the genitive.

Example (4) has been quoted so that we may illustrate that the plural noun as sense-subject naturally fails to be formally distinct whether it is genitive or accusative (cf. §49 c). The common cases temples and images here are of course meant for the genitives. By the way, let us note that this example presents a good deal of verbal character that is seen in instances of the same construction in the later periods.

The last example includes as sense-subject of the gerund the use of the common case the chef (=chief baron, where it is not so easy to explain the disappearance of the genitive ending, for the text Paston Letters was written in Norfolk, East Midland, and baron, which denotes a person, would have been readily inflected as barones. Here the temporal phrase "upon the chef baron comyng," though such is a quite common kind of expression in ModE, may probably be interpreted as an explicit expression for the absolute participial phrase "the chef baron comyng", the preposition upon having been added to express more clearly the relation of temporal determination implied by the absolute construction. We may assume, therefore, that such an expression, apparently in imitation of the Latin usage, was first limited to literary style in that early period.

— Curme, Syntax p. 489.
— Mossé, F. P. II. §134.
Later on, especially after the end of the seventeenth century, it became popularized and came into colloquial use as well. With this transition we may conclude that a parallel change took place in the nature of the construction. The original participial construction gradually came to be felt as gerundial. Here we can see an aspect where the participle-construction has contributed to the modern extension of the gerund-construction.

§ 45. The failure in the case-distinction was also observable when the personal pronoun *her* was used as sense-subject of the gerund.

(1) *I am ful gladde of here comynge.*—*The Sowdone of Babylone* ((c. 1400))
[Van der Gaaf]. (I am very glad of her coming.)

(2) *Of here pedyrgoyng his was the entent.*—*Bokenam, Legends* ((1446))
[Van der Gaaf]. (This was the intention of her going there.)

That *here* (=*her*) in either of these examples is genitive, not accusative, is clear from the strikingly substantival nature of the collocation. For the construction in example (1), example (3) under the previous section should be compared.

In example (2) *pedyrgoyng*, which literally means "thither-going," remained in the early stage of the compound-construction, where the adverb is prefixed to the gerund so that the components may form one noun (cf. § 38).

6. "Preposition+Genitive+Gerund" in ModE

§ 46. In the greatest number of the ME examples quoted in the preceding sections 39—45, the "subject and gerund" construction is introduced by some preposition. This is only natural, because the gerundial construction can most effectively display its syntactic utility with the stylistic value of supple compactness, when it is freely used as object of a preposition. In this way the idea of various relations can be explicitly denoted by the prepositions; while if we were to use a subordinate clause instead, it would be awkward or, from the ModE point of view, impossible to express any preposition at all. For instance, the German "*dadurch dass er kommt*" cannot be translated into "through that he comes" in ModE, but instead, briefly and yet expressively, into "through his coming." It would be unnecessary here to mention that this syntactic facility of the construction has been greatly enhanced since the perfect and passive forms of the gerund (e.g. *by his having come, for my being taken*, etc.) were developed about the end of the sixteenth century.

In the ModE period, the more the verbal force of the gerund came to be developed, the more popular the construction became in use. Of the innumerable examples in ModE that illustrate the "preposition+genitive+gerund" construction, we shall first quote those with personal pronouns as gerundial subjects. Also compare §§ 55, 56, 57.

(1) *At their risynge* in the dawnyng of the day, thei sent about priuily to their servantes.—*T. More, The History of Kyng Richard the Third* [Visser].

(2) (She) Had made provision for her following me And soon and safe
arrived where I was.—Shakespeare, *Com. Err.* i. i. 48-49.

(3) Whether this might not partly arise from my opening my Mouth much seldomer than other People...I am not at leisure to determine.—Steele, *The Spectator* No. 17.

(4) She made not the smallest objection to his joining in the society of the neighbourhood, nor to his leaving his parish occasionally for a week or two to visit his relations.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* xiv.

(5) Mrs. Driffield is very keen on my doing it.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xi.

It is no doubt that *her* in example (2) should be understood as genitive. Though the general tendency is that this sort of gerund-construction, as well as those dealt with in the following sections 47—50, became conspicuously more verbal from the eighteenth century onwards, it would not be irrelevant here to mention such a PE instance as follows, where the -ling form remains quite substantival though it appears in the same syntactic position.

(6) And he need not have been so much afraid about his dancing. Truly, it was not polished, but it could not spoil hers, so light, firm, buoyant!—Galsworthy, *The Dark Flower*, "Spring" viii.

Dancing here does not denote any person's dynamic act performed on a particular occasion, but a purely static and abstract idea meaning "mode or manner of dancing." It thus remains in the old stage as a verbal substantive. This is, indeed, the intrinsic feature, more or less, perceivable in any gerund that characterizes its use as distinct from that of the participle.

§ 47. The use of a genitive noun as sense-subj ect of the gerund has also been fairly common, though not so frequent as that of a genitive personal pronoun. The first of the following examples shows a phenomenon where the genitive noun stands parallel with the genitive pronoun.

(1) They are all couched...with obscured lights; which, at the very instant of Falstaff’s and our meeting, they will at once display to the night.—Shakespeare, *Merry W.* v. iii. 14ff.

(2) There is a very different story from that of the earth's moving round the axis.—Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* [Koch].

(3) I hear nothing of Lord Mountjoy's coming for Ireland.—Swift, *The Journal to Stella* [Jespersen].

(4) Winterbourne felt a superior indignation at his own lovely fellow-country woman's not knowing the difference between a spurious gentleman and a real one.—H. James, *Daisy Miller* ii.

(5) Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the whole thing may have been due to a young gentleman's celebrating his twenty-first birthday near Oxford...?—Lynd, "The Earthquake."

It is observable that the "genitive and gerund" construction is rarer when

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43 Poutsma, *Gram.* lvi § 37 h).
the sense-subject is a noun than when it is a personal pronoun. But when the gerundial subject is in the common or accusative case, the general proportion of the usage is reversed. The latter construction is more usual with a noun than with a personal pronoun, for the reasons that will be remarked in § 49. It would be of some interest here to notice that the use of the genitive noun is commoner in the eighteenth (or early nineteenth) century. For example, in (2) above, earth's would sound awkward and probably be replaced by earth in PE, since in modern prose style it is unusual to use the genitive form for a noun that denotes an impersonal thing.

Opposite to this general tendency, however, there is another which should be taken into account. Even in late ModE the genitive noun (as well as the genitive pronoun) is liable to be used when the semantic or syntactic nature of the gerund that follows it is decidedly substantival rather than verbal. We should like to add an example which illustrates such tendency.

(6) During the interval of the cottager's going and coming, she had said to her husband....—Hardy, Tess xxxv.

Here the use of the genitive cottager's is quite appropriate, since going and coming is almost synonymous with "departure and arrival or return." This is also an important point we should consider in contrasting the gerund-construction with the participle-construction.

The following PE example should now be observed, for it has revealed the substantival nature of the gerund more explicitly, though the sense-subject is expressed in a different outer form.

(7) He...resolved to curse them all in the morning and go off with Leora, but with the coming of the three-o'clock depression he perceived that with him she would probably starve....—S. Lewis, Arrowsmith IX. iii.

Such expression of the gerundial subject by a periphrastic phrase should be compared with the parallel expression of the gerundial object that is found in the older stage of the development (cf. § 38).

7. "Preposition+Common or Accusative Case+Gerund" in ModE

§ 48. It may be considered that such a modern construction as "...to a young gentleman's celebrating his twenty-first birthday..." (in example (5) under the previous section) reveals the double nature—the substantival nature on one hand and the verbal nature on the other. First it is substantival in that the gerund celebrating is defined by the genitive gentleman's and, together with the latter, governed by the preposition to. Secondly it is also verbal in that celebrating precedes its object birthday. The use of the genitive is, therefore, an old characteristic that has tenaciously remained in the verbal construction, which should be the ultimate goal of the development. According to the general trend, therefore, the gerundial subject is to be changed from the genitive case, the old substantival remnant, to the common case, which appears as the grammatical subject preceding the predicate verb, just as the genitive case as sense-object of the
gerund was formerly replaced by the accusative case. The result of the new transition is to appear in the ordinary word-order: the subject and the verb. We have seen in §44 that some sporadic instances of this transition were already found at the end of the fourteenth century when the case-endings of nouns had been levelled in certain positions. But we might agree with Jespersen (M.E.G. V. §9. 4.) in affirming that not till 1700, or somewhat earlier than that, was the intrinsic change universally observed.

It is not the main purpose of the present study to make elaborate inquiries into the various reasons why the common or accusative case has been substituted for the genitive as sense-subject of the gerund. Below we are going to remark only briefly the main circumstances that have brought about the change.64

§49. a. Sometimes it seems to be practically immaterial to the general meaning whether an -ing form is interpreted as a gerund or a participle. The use of an accusative before an apparent gerund can often be attributed to the psychological fact that it may also be considered a participle. This circumstance directly concerns the present study, and so will be observed more fully later, especially in §53.

b. There has for centuries been a strong disinclination in English to make the genitive form in -s of a noun that denotes an impersonal or lifeless thing. This accounts for the abundance of instances where the gerundial subjects in the common case do not denote persons or living creatures (cf. §44 and example (2) under §47).

(1) No man ever heard of opium leading into delirium tremens.—De Quincey, Confessions of an Opium-Eater [Jespersen].

(2) Cornelius...re-read as he walked the curt note which had led to this journey being undertaken.—Hardy, Life's Little Ironies, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" iv.

(3) There is no possibility of my suspicions being wrong.—Id., Alicia's Diary v.

(4) Even the mere senses...attest to this truth about vivacity going with differentiation.—Chesterton, As I Was Saying, "About Shamelessness."

To example (3) the circumstance remarked under c below may also be applied.

Next c down to e concerns the morphological restraints that are inherent in the English language.

c. The common case and the genitive are formally identical in most plural nouns, as well as in the personal pronoun her (cf. §45). Phonologically there is no distinction between the two categories in ModE. Even the modern orthographic device of writing kings for the common case plural and kings' for the genitive plural, as well as king's for the genitive singular, had not been estab-
lished till the eighteenth century. This formal identity has certainly contributed to the feeling that a common case may be used as sense-subject of a gerund.

(5) Mrs. Bennet...had calculated on his daughters remaining at Netherfield till the following Tuesday.—Austen, Pride and Prejudice vii.

(6) The objection to female juries never was an objection to juries being female.—Chesterton, As I Was Saying, “About Shamelessness.”

The use in example (5) is especially remarkable, because it is seen in the work by Jane Austen, who is so conspicuous in favouring the “genitive and gerund” construction.

d. It is impossible to form genitives of some pronouns, such as all, both, each, this, that, himself, etc., or some adjectives used as nouns, such as (the) rich, (the) English, etc. So these words naturally precede gerunds in the caseless forms, though the phenomena are of rather rare occurrence.

(7) He wouldn’t hear of that being possible.—Dickens, Dombey and Son [Jespersen].

(8) But, Mr. Morris, ain’t you clear forgot about this being my day off? —Caldwell, Georgia Boy, “Handsome Brown’s Day Off.”

(9) I’m for us English sticking together when we’re abroad.—Maugham, Cosmopolitans, “Mr. Know-All.”

In the last example English can be interpreted as apposition to us, and so the instance might have to be dealt with under e below. Anyhow it is a striking case where the use of the genitive is unavailable.

We may be allowed to mention the following example of the special collocation under this heading.

(10) I remember a fine thing by the Poet Laureate, something about there being more faith in honest doubt.…—A. Huxley, Rotunda, “The Tillotson Banquet” iii.

Of this expression “there+gerund” Jespersen (M. E. G. V. 9.79) remarks that there are only two quotations to be cited before the nineteenth century, one from Defoe ((1722)) and the other from Joseph Butler ((1736)).

e. We have some difficulty in forming genitives of word-groups. As sense-subject of the gerund, such a word-group only naturally stands before it in the caseless form, though this is also rather a special phenomenon.

(11) He would not hear of Mrs. Mackenzie and her daughter quitting his house.—Thackeray, The Newcomes [Jespersen].

(12) A note posted by her in Budmouth Regis at daybreak has reached me this afternoon—thanks to the fortunate chance of one of the servants calling for letters in town to-day.—Hardy, Alicia’s Diary vii.

§ 50. When the sense-subject of the gerund is a personal pronoun, the use of the accusative form as distinct from the genitive comes to be questioned. As has been mentioned in § 47, a personal pronoun has preserved the use of the old genitive better than a noun. This is because the personal pronouns are more distinct and complete in their morphological system and, unlike nouns,
have the genitive singulars distinguished from the genitive plurals, except in
the case of your.

Nevertheless, the accusative case of a personal pronoun came to be used
before a gerund, generally in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The
new use is suited to colloquial, or sometimes vulgar or dialectal, style. The
pronoun has occasionally acquired the capability of being emphasized according
to the demand of the context. Before making further inquiries, we shall see
some examples.

1. There could be no harm in them walking together.—Hazlitt, Liber
Amoris [Jespersen].

2. What's the use o' you lookin' at it?—G. Eliot, The Mill on the Floss
V. ii.

3. Papa did not care about them learning.—Thackeray, Henry Esmond
[Poutsma].

4. Instead of me talking to you, you ought to be talking to me.—Bennett,
How to Live on 24 Hours [Jespersen].

It may be admitted that such use is generally found in colloquial style. In-
deed the accusative pronouns in these contexts are liable to be emphasized and
pronounced with a simple, vivid tone. The sentence quoted as example (2) is
spoken by an uneducated person and so has a vulgar and dialectal tone. The
last example is of special interest, for me before talking is clearly contrasted with
you and has been given a strong stress.

Now let us consider what psychological factor has induced the speaker or
writer to use such expression. Suppose that the genitive their, instead of them,
were to be used in example (1). In the sentence “There could be no harm in
their walking together,” we might feel the combination between their and walk-
ing so close as to produce the sense of fairly compact unity. On the contrary,
the original combination “in them walking” is not so close. We can even read
it putting a slight pause between them and walking. What is really meant by
the sentence is inferred to be something like “There could be no harm if they
were to walk together,” though the resultant expression is more straightforward.

Generally speaking, the combination between the accusative pronoun and the
-ing form is rather loose, and consequently has less of the synthetic sense which
is usually felt in an ordinary gerundial phrase. We might proceed a step farther
to conclude that the writer has expressed the -ing form after the pronoun with
some vague sense that it is of the nature of a present participle. It seems pos-
sible to trace some influence of the participle in the subconsciousness of the speaker
who has used the -ing form in such a concrete and colloquial way of expression.

Jespersen (M.E.G. V. §9.7.) remarks that among the accusative pronouns it was isolatedly
the first to be found before a gerund. This is probably due to the particular circumstance
that the use of the form *its* was established much later than that of the other genitive pronouns.
It can be exemplified from as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, as follows:

I never had so much as one thought of it being the hand of God.—Defoe, Robinson Crusoe
[Jespersen].

Poutsma, Gram.: xix. § 6. I, VI; lvi. §36. II.
§ 51. The inference drawn in the previous section further leads us to consider the three examples that belong to much earlier periods. They have been quoted by Curme (Syntax p. 489) and Van der Gaaf (“The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case” § 17) as illustrating the earliest instances of the kind of gerund-construction which contains an accusative pronoun as sense-subject.

(1) Humbly requyryng...my sayd lord to take no displaysure (=displeasure) at me so presumyng.—Caxton, The Epilogue to Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers ((14_.)) [Kellner].

(2) I would have no mans honestye empayred (=impaired) by me tell-ing.—Latimer, Seven Sermons ((1549)) [Van der Gaa~.

(3) I trust they will beare with me writing in the vulgar speach (=speech).

In each of these quotations it would be possible to perceive some pause between $me$ and the following -ing form (in example (1), preceded by the adverb so), and so regard the latter as a present participle that is expressed cumulatively as predicative adjunct of the preceding pronoun. We can assume that this loose but concrete expression with the participle which had been found in the earlier period came to commingle with the “common case and gerund” construction which began to be popularized about the end of the seventeenth century. The result of this process we see revealed in such examples as have been mentioned in the preceding section. The reality of the expression must be inquired into from the psychologic or stylistic point of view.

CHAPTER IV

The Convergency of the Two Constructions

§ 52. In § 49 we have mentioned the influence of the participle-construction as the most important of the circumstances that have brought about the “common case and gerund” construction. Now we are in a position of investigating the individual cases where the sphere of the gerund-construction has been trespassed upon by that of the participle-construction or inversely the latter has been absorbed by the former. Hitherto we have endeavoured to trace some such phenomena diachronically. But so far as the modern usage is concerned, we cannot but recognize that the synchronic method has to be adopted. The process to the new construction did not take place till the modern gerund-construction had been universally established in the late ModE period.

We shall proceed with the observation, with special reference to the three types of syntactic combination. They are Type A: “preposition+(pro)noun+~ing,” Type B: “verb+preposition+(pro)noun+~ing,” and Type C: “verb+(pro)noun+~ing.” By the “verb+preposition” in Type B we mean a somewhat closely fixed group where the verb requires a certain preposition so that the two elements may semantically correspond to one transitive verb.
§ 53. Type A: "preposition+(pro)noun+−ing" has already been exemplified in §§ 49–51. Here we shall only consider those examples which involve some questionable respects. First let us compare the following couple of examples.

(1) Do you know the Jupiter's silly words, about the bug being of solid gold, had a remarkable effect upon my fancy?—Poe, The Gold-Bug.

(2) The theologian used the old quip about a philosopher being like a blind man, in a dark room, looking for a black cat—which wasn't there.—J. Huxley, Man Stands Alone, "Life Can Be Worth Living."

In example (1) the prepositional phrase introduced by about is parenthetically separated with the commas from the other part of the sentence and so there is felt a more or less unity of its own. Accordingly the combination between the bug and being is considered comparatively close, forming a nexusal relation where being is naturally interpreted as a gerund. In example (2), on the other hand, the preposition about is combined with the preceding "the old quip" nearly as closely as with the following "a philosopher." The next being is further combined to "a philosopher" with much the same closeness. The whole structure, therefore, is expressed in a cumulative style, and being is invested with some nature of a present participle. At least, we may suppose, the reason that the writer has not used "a philosopher's being" here is that he has not intended to have recourse to a synthetic expression by means of a gerund but to a looser but more concrete participial expression. At the same time he has subconsciously preferred the construction composed of the concrete determined and the abstract determiner to the one composed of the concrete determiner and the abstract determined. Although the latter may be more logical than the former, it is the meaning of the former that the reader is more readily accustomed to adjusting. It is thus upon a basis both stylistic and psychologic that being in example (2) had better be understood as a participle.

Another couple of examples should be compared.

(3) When the soprano soloist came in, Paul forgot even the nastiness of his teacher's being there.—Cather, Youth and the Bright Medusa, "Paul's Case."

(4) Winterbourne had now begun to think simply of the craziness, form a sanitary point of view, of a delicate young girl lounging away the evening in this nest of malaria.—H. James, Daisy Miller ii.

In example (3) we have the apparent gerundial construction with the genitive teacher's as sense-subject of the gerund being. It is inferred that the writer

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67 Jespersen (M.E.G. V. §9.6.) attributes the use of the common case in such an instance to the vague idea of the combination which is unfit to be expressed by means of the genitive case whose character is definite. There is some truth in this observation, in so far as the functional feature of the case is concerned.

68 Sandmann, Subject and Predicate p. 231.

69 According to the research by Fries (American English Grammar p. 761) concerning modern American usage, there are recorded 20 instances, including both standard and vulgar ones, with nouns in the common case, while only one standard instance with a genitive noun. It seems, however, that the range of the materials adopted is too limited to convey the real state of the usage.
has used the genitive here to clearly express the meaning that what was nasty to Paul was the fact that his teacher was there, not his teacher herself. The distinct gerundial construction here serves to get rid of any ambiguity that would be felt in the expression with the common case "the nastiness of his teacher being there." In example (4), indeed, the reader feels such ambiguity in the meaning of "the craziness...of a...girl lounging," or rather we should say that the whole sentence itself has been expressed in a rather indefinite style. Amid the general indefiniteness, however, we see the descriptive force displayed intensively in both "a delicate young girl" and "lounging." It may be admitted that the writer has expressed lounging in this context with the sense that it is rather a present participle. This also shows that the modern frequency of the common case in this kind of construction is largely due to the writer's psychology of intending to invest the following -ing form with some of the participial nature.

§ 54. Of examples that illustrate Type B: "verb+preposition+(pro)noun+-ing," some contain constructions unquestionably clear in their nential character as gerund-constructions. So in the well-quoted "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing" (Thackeray, Vanity Fair xi),70 "Miss Sharp appearing" is evidently equivalent to "that Miss Sharp will appear." But these are not all the cases. There are others where we feel more or less of the participial nature in the -ing forms used after the common cases.

(1) I must object to this witness being allowed to enter the box.—Haggard, Mr. Meeson's Will [Poutsma].
   Cf. : (2) He had no objection to your expecting a little humility of him.
   —H. James, Daisy Miller ii.
   (3) Have you ever heard of any important treasure being unearthed along the coast?—Poe, The Gold-Bug.
   Cf. : (4) Do not be alarmed if you should hear of his having been to me.
   —Austen, Pride and Prejudice vii.

When we read example (1) or (3), we naturally put a slight pause between the noun and the -ing form. We can feel that "this witness" and "any important treasure" are considerably emphasized and are loosely supplemented with "being allowed" and "being unearthed." Either being is therefore tinged with some of the participial character.71 By the way, the form witness, as against witness's, in example (1), may be explained phonologically to be due to the principle of euphony which has caused the speaker to avoid the double sibilant in [witnisis]. For the form treasure, as against treasure's, in example (3), compare § 49 b.

Now we may once again consider the pattern "think of+(pro)noun+-ing" that has been described in §§ 30, 31. It can be judged, indeed, that the -ing form here is genetically a participle. But the gerund-construction in analogous types has been universalized, so that the -ing form in that pattern has some-

70 Cf.: And when we saw this he absolutely insisted on my having it.—Maugham, Cakes and Ale xvii.
71 For example (3), furthermore, compare example (3) under §30.
times come to be felt as a gerund. This is a phenomenon especially seen in polite speech when the sense-subject is expressed by a personal pronoun. The following are some of the instances.

(5) And to think of your being up all night and then not able to get a decent breakfast!—Cather, Obscure Destinies, "Neighbour Rosicky" i.

(6) She never thought of his loving her; that would be—unnatural!—Galsworthy, The Dark Flower, "Spring" iii.

We may also mention an example of the synonymous pattern.

(7) I can't bear the thought of his staying on in that odious house by himself.—Maugham, Cakes and Ale xix.

In these examples the content of the thought has been expressed as a synthetic unity by means of the "genitive and gerund" construction. This is one of the cases where the sphere of the gerund-construction has, as it were, absorbed that of the participle-construction.

§ 55. As to Type C: "verb+(pro)noun+~ing," we must first observe instances where the use of the verbs is analogous to that of "think of" last mentioned in the previous section, that is, where we may see the same trace of transition from the participial to the gerundial construction. The use of the individual verbs in the following examples should be compared with the corresponding use exemplified in § 24.

(1) Fancy their askin' you to ride your bicycle with them.—Maugham, Cakes and Ale v.

(2) I do remember his boasting one day, at Netherfield, of the implacability of his resentments, of his having an unforgiving temper.—Austen, Pride and Prejudice xvi.

(3) I can hardly understand a young Frenchman's not entering the army.—Meredith, Lord Ormont and his Aminta [Poutsma].

(4) Mrs. Driffield didn't half like his coming here.—Maugham, Cakes and Ale xxiii.

(5) Tess, why do you always dislike my kissing you?—Hardy, Tess xi.

The verb fancy, as in example (1), semantically requires the predication of some descriptive action or behaviour about a person that is the object of mental picturing, and so we may assume that its proper construction should be participial. The use of their, instead of them, in the example, has made asking appear as a gerund. At the same time it ought to be noticed that the general tone of the sentence has turned rather intellectual, as compared with the emotional tone of example (2) under § 24.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{11} Poutsma, Gram. LVI § 37 b.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12} It is especially remarkable that both of the two constructions are found in the same work by Maugham. The following should be compared with example (1) above.}\]

\[\text{I heard she'd gone to service at the vicarage. Fancy her being there still!—Cakes and Ale vii.}\]

\[\text{Her here might be interpreted either as genitive or as accusative; but judging from the general tone of the quotation, we should like to regard it as accusative.}\]
intellectual state or activity, the nature of the construction is more likely to become gerundial. Indeed the use of the genitive noun in example (3) may be older than that of the corresponding common case, but it offers us a proof that such a verb as understand intrinsically requires the gerundial construction. Only as to the verb like, as in example (4), we may be able to judge upon the ground remarked in § 24 that the tendency is in favour of “like him coming” rather than “like his coming.” The antonym dislike, as in example (5), is not so frequent in this construction. In the quotation it is distinctly shown that the object of dislike is the action “(my) kissing (you),” not the person that would be expressed by “me.”

Like dislike the semantically analogous hate and mind are used with the same kind of construction. In the following examples it would be noticed that the -ing forms have been invested with some of the participial character.

(6) I hate anyone listening when I’m telephoning.—Christie in My Best Detective Story [Jespersen].

(7) I’m sure ’e wouldn’t mind you ’avin’ a look at them.—Maugham, Cakes and Ale xii.

With the latter, moreover, compare the following.

(8) I should not mind their talking about me.—Black, The Princes of Thule [Jespersen].

§ 56. An interesting case is observed in the variants of the construction after prevent. It can now be used in the three types of structure: a “I prevented him from going,” b “I prevented his going,” and c “I prevented him going.” Of them, OED (s.v. PREVENT v. 7b, 8b) explains that c appears to be short for a, perhaps influenced by b, as though to say that c has been developed through the blending of the two other types a and b. The strange fact is that the quotations given by OED itself fail to justify this assumption, though we must admit that the exemplification in this dictionary is not always based upon syntactic principles. The earliest quotation of c is dated 1689, while that of a is dated 1711 and that of b 1841. What is more, Van der Gaaf (“The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case” § 16) gives an example of c dated still earlier than 1689. That is:

(1) If wisdome and princely authority be not by you used to prevelet perilles appearing, we have cause to doubt of greater danger to follow.—Queen Elizabeth, Letters ((1592)).

In this quotation “prevent perilles” is understood to convey a complete sense, to which the sense of appearing is added only complementally. The combination between perilles and appearing is much as loose as that between “greater danger” and “to follow” in the same sentence. In spite of Van der Gaaf, therefore, appearing here should be regarded as a participle; and we can see that such a participle-construction after prevent made its appearance as early as the sixteenth century.

Now, in PE usage, the type “I prevented him going” is not so popular as the

\footnote{Also compare Poutsma, Gram. xix § 6 III, lvi § 35 a) 2).}
types "I prevented him from going" and "I prevented him going," and of the latter the type "I prevented him from going" seems the commoner. It is presumable that "I prevented him going" is felt too vague for such a matter-of-fact statement, and has come to be superseded by the more definite expression "I prevented him from going," which is also more analytic than "I prevented his going." The result is, we might say, that the analytic style of the old participial expression, that is c, has been turned into the more explicit form of the new gerundial expression, that is a. Below we shall exemplify each of the three types, arranging them in the developmental order of c, b and a.

c. (2) The tide prevented me going to the wreck.—Defoe, Robinson Crusoe [Jespersen].
(3) What can prevent us getting married?—G. Moore, Esther Waters [Poutsma].
(4) Mrs. Bennet was prevented replying by the entrance of the footman with a note for Miss Bennet.—Austen, Pride and Prejudice vii.

b. (5) You shall not know that, if I can prevent your knowing it.—Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities III. xiv.
(6) You must see how desirable a wife like Miss Halborough would be, to prevent my becoming a mere vegetable.—Hardy, Life's Little Ironies, “A Tragedy of Two Ambitions” iv.
(7) Thrift in itself is always a thirst to make all things thrive,...to prevent their being wasted, or, in other words, destroyed.—Chesterton, As I Was Saying, “About Bad Comparisons.”

a. (8) I wonder whether the memory of her compassion prevented him from cutting his throat.—Conrad, Amy Foster.
(9) I used all my determination to prevent the bitter jibes from passing my lips.—Maughan, Cakes and Ale xvii.
(10) Tramping, too, prevents the grass from getting coarse and rough.—J. Huxley, Man Stands Alone, “Climate and Human History.”

Example (4) contains a passive construction, where the -ing form replying appears as predicative of the subject "Mrs. Bennet," and thus shows that it is evidently a participle. This structural potentiality offers us another proof that the construction in c is participial. It is also perceivable that the use of b is most restricted, for the type is now only ready to be used when the sense-sub-
§ 57. We must next observe the three verbs whose syntactic features are fairly parallel with those of prevent: that is, excuse, forgive and pardon. These verbs, too, are often found introducing the “(pro)noun+-ing” construction. Only it is now not so usual; the commoner pattern is “excuse (forgive, pardon) +object+for+gerund.” They are also used with the construction where the sense-subject of the gerund is expressed by a genitive case. Neither is this use very usual now. Anyhow we have the three types: a “excuse etc.+accusative +-ing,” b “excuse etc.+genitive+-ing,” and c “excuse etc.+accusative+for +-ing.” Below will be given some instances of the respective types.

a. (1) I will therefore first shew that they had no such ignorance that could excuse them admitting that he was a superior.—The Archpriest Controversy ((1601)) [Van der Gaa]
(2) Would you excuse me asking for a cup more coffee?—Dickens, David Copperfield [Jespersen].
(3) I forgive him sinking my own poor truck?—Wycherley. The Plain-Dealer ((1616)) [Poutsma].
(4) Most humbly beseeching...the Kyng and also the Quene to pardon me so presumyng.—Caxton. The History of Jason ((c. 1477)) [Kellner].
(5) Pardon me saying it.—Tennyson. The Princess [Poutsma].

b. (6) He must excuse my being rather in a hurry.—Collins. The Woman in White [Jespersen].
(7) If you’ll forgive my saying so, sir,...your proposal seems to me very rough-and-ready justice.—Galsworthy, The White Monkey [Poutsma].
c. (8) The people may be excused for following tradition only.—Jowett, The Dialogues of Plato [OED].
(9) Forgive me for bringing you here.—Dickens. Martin Chuzzlewit [Poutsma].
(10) Pardon me for neglecting to profit by your advice.—Austen, Pride and Prejudice xviii.

It would be proper to infer that the a type is of the oldest origin and that the -ing form there is a present participle which is appended to the accusative object as predicativial adjunct. The decisive point lies in the semantic and pronunciational division. For example, in “excuse me asking...” we feel it possible to divide “asking...” from “excuse me” and interpret the whole group as meaning “excuse me if I ask...”. Such division is out of the question in the case of “excuse my asking...” of the b type, where my and asking have formed a synthetic unit. “Excuse my asking...” may be more logically constructed than “excuse me asking...”, and so probably be preferred by correct speakers. But after all “excuse me for asking...” of the c type has come to stay in standard PE as the most favoured construction. We should notice that the a type is naturally as much suited to the genius of English syntax in being as analytic as the c type; only the difference is that in the latter the analytic nature is explicitly displayed.
CHAPTER V

Conclusion

§ 58. It is needless to say that the range of words and word-groups hitherto taken up as materials for our study, not to speak of examples quoted, is far from exhaustive. Since it is our humble intention, however, to make an attempt to trace the most predominant tendencies in the development of the constructions, we shall be content for the present to make an end of the cursory observation.

Now, reviewing it in retrospect, we shall sum up the prominent features so as to clarify the main routes by which the constructions have attained to the modern stage. In OE the present participle had a distinct form of its own, ending in -ende, as against -ing or -ing, the form of the verbal substantive or gerund. The former had its syntactically verbal capacity developed much earlier than the latter. The participle was already able to function as predicatival adjunct of the object after some verbs of perception, when the gerund still remained a genuine noun. With this verbal capacity the participle had a particular stylistic value that has helped to keep the "accusative and participle" construction growing steadily ever since the earliest period. It has made the construction fit for concrete and expressive description as an essential factor for the formation of cumulative style—the style so characteristic of English syntax.

The morphological transition in later periods, however, was against the participle, whose proper form came to be absorbed by that of the gerund in -ing in the course of the ME period. In this respect the participle, at the cost of its own form, contributed to have the gerund develop its verbal force. This new syntactic capacity of the gerund was gradually displayed from the end of the twelfth century onwards. About two centuries after that the common case began to take the place of the genitive as a result of the general decay of inflexional endings. This indeed strengthened the verbal nature of the gerund, but its later progress was rather sluggish. Parallel with the earliest type of expressing "object + gerund," such as OE boc-ræding, there arose a temporal type of "subject+gerund," such as sun-rising. This phenomenon, mainly perceived from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, represents the early stage of the compound. The modern supple and efficient construction was not fully developed till about the end of the seventeenth century. But once established, it has succeeded in becoming a favourite construction in both literary and colloquial speech.

§ 59. Yet it is worth noticing once more that we still sometimes see the original synthetic nature of the gerund-construction fairly preserved in its modern outer form.

(1) This corner of the globe was predestined to be the cradle of the modern world—by its climate, by its great rivers, by the fact of its being the original home of wheat, by its being a natural meeting-place for different
streams of culture brought by different migrations of men, east and west as well as north and south.—J. Huxley, *Man Stands Alone*, "Climate and Human History."

As contrasted with the abstract, synthetic compactness of such gerundial phrases, we can see distinctly the loose, concrete force of participial phrases, as in the following example.

(2) He was just about to go down when the sight of the main-deck stirring, heaving up, and changing into splinters before his eyes, petrified him on the top step.—Conrad, *Youth*.

We may consider it possible to trace both diachronically and synchronically these different kinds of stylistic value representing the two constructions.

§ 60. After the time of Shakespeare, the use of the "accusative and participle" construction, whether introduced by a verb or a preposition, became suddenly more frequent than ever before. Somewhat later than that the gerund-construction began to make no less remarkable progress. It even grew so overwhelming that some earlier participial expressions have resulted in getting absorbed in the gerundial pattern. There are of course instances where the transition in the opposite direction has taken place. But we should like to add the two more examples, which show how naturally participles may come to appear gerundial in some particular contexts.

(1) The first thing I heard was Preacher Hawshaw saying that old Uncle Jeff Davis Fletcher...had gone over into the next country to visit some sick relations for a few days.—Caldwell, *Georgia Boy*, "The Day We Rang the Bell."

(2) The next thing he was conscious of was lying in Polly’s bed, and Polly bending over him wringing out bath towels in hot water and putting them on his chest.—Cather, *Obscure Destiny*, "Neighbour Rosicky" vi.

The expression in example (1) suggests as its psychological prototype the construction “I heard Preacher Hawshaw saying...”, and that in example (2) the construction “He was conscious of Polly bending...”. We would rather say that even in the actual expressions the -ing forms are participles. But in example (2) there is an external proof against this assertion. *Polly bending* is structurally parallel with *lying*, whose function is evidently substantival, not adjectival. As in this case, an apparent gerund is sometimes a participle in disguise, and this is also a fact that can be observed through the history of English syntax.

§ 61. In the course of the history we have seen some occasional expressions whose origin should be ascribed to the influence of foreign usage. For instance, the ablative absolute construction in Latin gave rise to some analogous expressions in English which were to expand the scope of the participial, or sometimes gerundial, construction. The appearance of some new idioms with gerunds was due to the imitation of the French gérondif in -ant, which no doubt stimulated the verbal development of the English gerund. But these were no more than
subsidiary phenomena. Without any such foreign influence, we dare to assume, the two English verbals would have had the potentiality of launching themselves upon the main currents. On a broad survey we should be allowed to conclude that the two constructions have been developed spontaneously in the native syntax.

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