

Categoriality in Language Change

OXFORD STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

General Editor

Terttu Nevalainen, University of Helsinki

Editorial Board

Laurel Brinton, University of British Columbia

Donka Minkova, University of California, Los Angeles

Thomas Kohnen, University of Cologne

Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, University of Leiden

The Early English Impersonal Construction

Ruth Möhlig-Falke

Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English

Edited by Anneli Meurman-Solin, María José López-Couso, and Bettelou Los

Spreading Patterns

Hendrik De Smet

Constructions and Environments

Peter Petré

Middle English Verbs of Emotion and Impersonal Constructions

Ayumi Miura

Language Between Description and Prescription

Lieselotte Anderwald

Motion and the English Verb

Judith Huber

Categoriality in Language Change

Lauren Fonteyn

Categoriality
in Language Change
The Case of the English Gerund

LAUREN FONTEYN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

© Oxford University Press 2019

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization. Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Fonteyn, Lauren, author.

Title: Categoriality in language change : the case of the English gerund /
Lauren Fonteyn.

Description: New York, NY : Oxford University Press, [2019] | Revision of
author's thesis (doctoral)—Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, 2016. |
Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018032481 | ISBN (cloth : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780190917586 (updf) |
ISBN 9780190917593 (epub) | ISBN 9780190917609 (online content)

Subjects: LCSH: English language—Gerund.

Classification: LCC PE1313 .F66 2019 | DDC 425/.6—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018032481>

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc., United States of America

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi

CHAPTER 1	Introduction	1
1.1	Theoretical Aim: Modeling and Measuring What It “Means” to Nominalize/Verbalize	3
1.2	Methodological Aim: Operationalizing the Model	5
1.3	Chapter Overview	7

PART I

CHAPTER 2	Transcategorical Shift	13
2.1	Terminological Matters	13
2.2	Morphosyntactic Properties	16
2.2.1	Grammatical Categories as Formal Feature Bundles	16
2.2.2	Categorial Gradience	17
2.2.3	Decategorization and Recategorization	21
2.3	Iconicity and Categoriality	22
2.3.1	Schematic Constructions as Abstract Form-Meaning Pairings	23
2.3.2	Diagrammatic Iconicity	24
2.4	Functional Properties	26
2.4.1	Langacker’s “Notional” Definition	28
2.4.2	Hopper and Thompson’s Discourse-Functional Definition	31

2.4.3	Croft's Semantic Maps	33
2.4.4	The Multidimensional Functional Profile of Grammatical Categories	35
2.5	A Functional-Semantic Model of Categoriality	38
CHAPTER 3	The English Gerund	41
3.1	Historical Developments	42
3.1.1	Morphosyntactic Verbalization	42
3.1.2	Morphosyntactic Nominalization	44
3.2	Potential Sources of the Verbal Gerund	47
3.2.1	Infinitives, the <i>Gérondif</i> , and the Present Participle	47
3.2.2	Reanalysis	49
3.3	Functional Motivations	51
3.3.1	Competition, Substitution, and Retention	52
3.3.2	New Perspectives on Functional Overlap	55
3.4	The English Gerund as an Instance of Functional-Semantic Category Change	58

PART II

CHAPTER 4	Reference Types	65
4.1	Denotation, Conceptualization, and Reference	66
4.1.1	Reference as Nominal/Clausal Epistemic Grounding	66
4.1.2	Reference and Epistemic Grounding of English Gerunds	68
4.2	Data and Methodology	72
4.3	A Referential Typology	75
4.3.1	Referential Subtypes and Mental Spaces	80
4.3.2	Nominal Gerunds	84
4.3.3	Verbal Gerunds	90
4.3.4	Summary	92
4.4	Reference Types of Modern English Gerunds	94
4.4.1	The Relation between Formal and Functional Clausality	98
4.5	Conclusion	99

CHAPTER 5	Discourse Function	102
5.1	Manipulability and Accessibility of Referents	102
5.2	Data and Methodology	106
5.3	Analysis	108
5.3.1	Gerunds Functioning as Manipulable Participants	108
5.3.2	Attention Phenomena	113
5.3.3	Gerunds Functioning as Relators between Manipulable Participants	115
5.4	Conclusion	118
CHAPTER 6	Aspect	120
6.1	Aspect and Its Complications	122
6.2	An Aspectual Classification of Nominalizations	127
6.3	Data and Methodology	131
6.3.1	Corpora	131
6.3.2	Aspectual Classification of Gerunds	132
6.4	Analysis	141
6.5	Conclusion	146
CHAPTER 7	Conceptual (In)Dependence and the Diachronic Nominalization of <i>ing</i> -Forms	149
7.1	Diachronic Lexicalization or “Semantic Drift”	151
7.2	Eventive vs. Non-Eventive <i>ing</i> -Nominals	154
7.3	Data	157
7.4	Lexical Preferences of Verbal vs. Nominal <i>ing</i> -Forms	157
7.5	Semantic Drift of <i>ing</i> -Nominals	163
7.6	Conceptual (In)Dependence Scales	172
7.7	Conclusion	175
PART III		
CHAPTER 8	Conclusions	179
8.1	Functional-Semantic Categoriality Empirically Tested	180
8.2	The Functional-Semantic Development of Nominal and Verbal Gerunds	181

8.2.1	From Hybridity to a (Partial) Division of Labor	181
8.2.2	Attraction in Competition	185
8.3	An Outlook to Future Research	186
	<i>References</i>	189
	<i>Index</i>	209

ABBREVIATIONS

ϕ	phi-coefficient (indicating effect size)
a	ante (preceding a date)
acc	accusative
AIC	Akaike Information Criterion
amb	ambiguous
BNC	British National Corpus (Davies 2004–)
c	circa (preceding a date)
cf.	compare (preceding a reference)
CLMET _{3,1}	Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, Version 3.1 (De Smet et al. 2015)
CNP	complex noun phrase
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008–)
DCA	Distinctive Collexeme Analysis
DDCA	Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis
EModE	Early Modern English
HC	Helsinki component (of PPCEME)
HG	hybrid gerund
LEON _{0,3}	Leuven English Old to New corpus (Version 0.3)
LModE	Late Modern English
ME	Middle English
N	noun
NG	nominal gerund
NOM	(<i>ing</i> -)nominal
NP	noun phrase
OE	Old English
p	p-value
PDE	Present-day English
poss	possessive
PPCEME	Penn Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (Kroch et al. 2004)
PPCMBE	Penn parsed Corpus of Modern British English (Kroch et al. 2010)

PPCME2	Penn Parsed Corpus of Middle English (Second Edition) (Kroch et al. 2000)
proto	prototype
<i>t</i> _bound(ed)	temporally bounded
<i>t</i> _neutral	neutral contexts in terms of temporal boundedness
<i>t</i> _unbound(ed)	temporally unbounded
V	verb
VG	verbal gerund