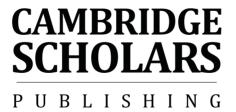# Periphrasis, Replacement and Renewal:
Studies in English Historical Linguistics

Periphrasis, Replacement and Renewal: Studies in English Historical Linguistics

Edited by

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P U B L I S H I N G

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume carries the peer-reviewed, revised version of selected papers from the *16th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics* held in Pécs, Hungary in 2010. That year was special both for the city and for its university because Pécs enjoyed the title and status of "European Capital of Culture", and to celebrate this, the University of Pécs hosted numerous academic events, among them the 16th ICEHL. Since this conference was integrated into the academic programme specially designed by the University of Pécs to mark the year of "European Capital of Culture", organizing the conference was greatly facilitated by the generous financial grant from the University of Pécs, which is gratefully acknowledged here. Furthermore, the organizers wish to express their gratitude to Professor Ferenc Fischer, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pécs for the moral and logistic support provided in the phase of conference preparations.

There were ca. 130 papers presented at the 16th ICEHL; the abstracts are available at the Pécs website of the 16th ICEHL (http://www.icehl-16.pte.hu). Only 15 papers appear in the present selection but other papers have also been published; their publication details are also available at the above website.

The editors wish to thank the following experts for their participation in the arduous process of paper selection: József Andor, Michael Benskin, Charlotte Brewer, Tamás Eitler, Alexandra Fodor, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, László Kristó, Ursula Lenker, Bettelou Los, Gabriella Mazzon, and Stefan Thim. Their suggestions, corrections have helped not only the editors' tasks but were also appreciated by the contributors to the present volume.

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The editors are indebted to the contributors not only for their kind cooperation but also for a variety of comments and corrections that they made in connection with the introductory chapter written by the editors. Last but not least we want to thank Carol Koulikourdi, Amanda Millar and Emily Surrey at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for the assistance they gave us during the preparation of the manuscript for publishing.

Pécs, October 2012   The Editors

INTRODUCTION

PERIPHRASIS, REPLACEMENT AND RENEWAL: LESSONS FOR AND FROM THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

IRÉN HEGEDŰS AND DÓRA PŐDÖR

In the infinite process of language change various factors can lead to the loss of lexical elements or grammatical features. Parallel with this, the solutions to remedy such losses and to renew the affected part of the linguistic system can also be multifarious. Synchronic theory and diachronic investigations smoothly blend in research inquiring into the question of how the language system is renewed after loss or how a defective paradigm is amended. A major device for gap-filling in the structure of languages is periphrasis, a mechanism that has both morphological and syntactic properties. This Janus-faced nature of periphrasis poses a problem for linguists working with any linguistic model when they try to formulate the criteria for labelling a certain construction as an instance of periphrasis. Attempts have been made to achieve a better understanding of periphrasis in the framework of various grammatical theories, as for example in a lexical grammatical approach (Kiparsky 2005), or in canonical typology (Brown et al. 2012), to mention only a couple. Growing interest in periphrasis has motivated the publication of in-depth studies of this phenomenon: a recent collection of studies (Chumakina & Corbett 2012) focuses on typological variation of periphrastic constructions observable in languages of diverse language families, while John Anderson (2011), in his trilogy on the substance of language, devoted the second half of volume 2 to the discussion of periphrasis.

Analytic constructions, thus periphrasis, are known to have gained increasing significance in the history of the English language. With the decline of inflectional endings in the Late Old English period it is not an unexpected development that the subjunctive, which was marked by

suffixes, gradually lost its importance against periphrastic forms conveying modal distinctions: the optative subjunctive was replaced by *may*-periphrasis, while the hortative subjunctive by the *let*-construction. Replacement of the hortative seems to have spread faster, so much so that by the end of the 16th century it became more frequent than the subjunctive but optative periphrasis did not develop that fast (see Rissanen 1999: 229). As opposed to mood, aspect in Old English was expressed with the help of prefixes (e.g. Old English perfective *ge-* or *be-*), so the spread of periphrastic replacement – as, for example, in the case of the perfect – is connected not only with the formal and functional weakening of prefixes but also with the gradual intrusion of the once exclusively possessive *have* into the domain of the perfect aspect. This typologically widespread expansion and grammaticalization of *have* may have to do with Scandinavian influence (see McWhorter 2002: 236f).

The phenomenon of linguistic replacement is closely connected to periphrasis; in the examples cited above, a periphrastic structure eventually replaced a synthetic one. One of the most exciting tasks of historical linguists is to discover and uncover the possible reasons and causes behind the development of periphrastic constructions and the replacement of older linguistic forms by these. As some of the papers in this volume show, replacement is always preceded by synchronic variation, and for the study of this phenomenon the use of digitized corpora provides great help. This relatively recent aid for historical linguistic research has been exploited by most authors in the present volume.

The replacement of an older linguistic item (be it a morpheme, a lexical element or a more complex structure) will often affect some of the sub-systems, or sometimes even the whole linguistic system of a language, thus it may lead to the renewal and restructuring of some of these (to mention just one well-known example, the gradual loss of final inflectional endings in Middle English triggered off significant changes in syntax). One can thus view the phenomena of periphrasis, replacement and renewal as constantly recurring processes in the cycle of language change.

Patterns and Models of Replacement

Periphrasis is a phenomenon often neglected or incorrectly treated by handbooks and textbooks. In this volume John Anderson points out unfortunate aspects in the terminological tradition and significantly refines the theoretical distinction between the notions of 'grammatical periphrasis' and 'lexico-grammatical periphrasis', which is equally relevant for general

linguistics and for historical linguistic considerations. Taking the expression of the Latin perfect passive as a prototype for the central notion of the term 'grammatical periphrasis', the author examines several potential cases of grammatical periphrasis in English – such as the progressive, perfect, and passive constructions, as well as expressions with *used (to)*. He finds that modal constructions that interact with the morphological subjunctives are closer to the prototype than other instances of modals, which turn out not to qualify as instances of periphrasis.

The loss and replacement of the Old English preterite-present verb *þurfan* – an unsolved mystery in the history of English – is investigated by Lucía Loureiro-Porto. In an earlier work (Loureiro-Porto 2010), she already discussed the competition between verbo-nominal constructions with the nouns *þearf* and *need*, and rejected the earlier assumptions ascribing the loss of *þurfan* to phonological confusion with *durren* in Middle English (see Visser 1963−1973, Molencki 2005) because the noun *neod* had replaced the noun *þearf* more than two centuries earlier. Loureiro-Porto's study in the present volume approaches the question why *neod* ousted *þearf* from a psycholinguistic perspective and evaluates the role of morphological productivity in a quantitative analysis. The author concludes that the Old English form *neod* had a high resting activation, and the circumstance that it was easily retrievable from the mental lexicon in the process of speech production secured its productivity, which led to the substitution of *þearf* by *neod* in the contexts where originally they used to be in free variation.

Aspectual loss and renewal in the history of some ingressive markers is investigated by Lynn Sims, who analyses how the increasing degree of grammaticalization of Old English *onginnan* contributes to its decline and replacement by Old English *beginnan*. In the Middle English period the occurrence of {*begin* + bare infinitive} gradually disappeared, and a new *-ing* complement appeared. But then the distribution pattern of the {*begin* + *-ing*} structure was challenged and – by the beginning of the 20th century – suppressed by a new competitor: {*start* + *-ing*}. The introduction of the new ingressive marker *start* in early Middle English may have been facilitated by some semantic restrictions on the use of *begin*. The evolution of ingressive markers and their complements exemplify how history sometimes repeats itself because the cyclic mechanism of loss and renewal by replacement tends to recur.

Justyna Rogos investigates the intricate network of "multivocal relationships in the mapping of sound to symbol" (Laing & Lass 2009: 2) in seven manuscripts of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Man of Law's Tale*. Based on the views of Laing & Lass 2003, her paper makes use of the

medieval doctrine of the *littera*, which conceives of the letter as a unit of both writing and speech, in order to show the multivalent relation between spelling and sound in the manuscripts examined. She sets out several Litteral Substitution Sets (LSS) – that is, when a number of *litterae* can represent in variation the same *potestas* (sound value) – used in the manuscripts. She comes to the conclusion that the LSS attested in the manuscripts under examination indicate that the scribes in question worked within the framework of conventionalized spelling, which admitted little variability. She also argues that an examination of Potestatic Substitution Sets (PSS) is necessary for a thorough analysis of the spelling systems in the 15th-century manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Syntactic and Semantic Variation and Change

The loss and replacement of some causative verbs is investigated by Brian Lowrey, who looks at syntactic and semantic variation in Middle English causatives and complement types. He argues that up to now too little attention has been paid to their variation, and that is why the explanations for the distribution of Middle English complement types in causative structures have only been partially successful. He examines five different complement structures in his corpus within the framework of a dynamic model of variation and change proposed by Smith (1996). On the basis of his findings concerning the distribution of causers/causees by thematic role in each of the texts examined, the author argues that the agentivity of the causer and that of the causee are very important factors to be considered, as they affect the variational spaces (i.e. all the contexts in which a given linguistic item may appear) of both causative verbs and complement types. He also discusses the case of *make*, *do*, *gar*, *let* and *cause* in detail and demonstrates that the shift in their respective variational spaces in Middle English was heavily influenced by the factor of agentivity.

Syntactic variation is examined by Anna Cichosz from another vantage point. In a comparative study of Old English and Old High German translations of Latin texts she investigates how far the Latin source may have syntactically influenced these translations, especially with respect to the relative position of the finite verb and its subject in main and subordinate clauses. Her results show that the verb-first pattern of Latin is closely followed in the Old High German translation, while in the Old English translation the verb-first structure rarely occurs, and even if it does, the original Latin word order is slightly modified. When the subject is expressed in the Latin text, Old High German faithfully reflects this

order but the Old English translation consistently moves the verb from initial position (V-1) to V-2, V-3 or even to final position. So Old English seems to have been less dependent on the syntactic structure of the source, while Old High German closely follows the pattern of the Latin original. When word order in the translations is the same as that in the Latin text, it is difficult to decide whether the structure used in the target languages can be considered a Latin syntactic calque or a native structure, i.e. the structural correspondence may only be coincidental.

The most recent trend in generative grammar, the Minimalist Program is used as a theoretical framework in Víctor Parra-Guinaldo's study, which examines the grammaticalization of Old English *whether*. In the first part of his article the author sets out the basic principles of the Minimalist Program, laying emphasis on the concept of economy, and arguing for the relevance of van Gelderen's Complementizer Phrase Cycle model based on her two economy principles – Head Preference and Late Merge (Gelderen 2004: 18, 28) – for examining and interpreting the grammaticalization of Old English *whether*. The article discusses the different functions of Old English *whether* (including, among others, *whether* as a declinable and an indeclinable pronoun, and as a conjunction in various contexts) based on Ukaji 1997, and provides illustrative examples for each function. The author argues that the descriptive work done by Ukaji on *whether* should be revised applying the Minimalist Program and van Gelderen's economy principles.

The Minimalist Program, however, cannot provide an explanation for all aspects of the history of English, as case in Present-Day English is considered uninterpretable in the Minimalist framework. In the present volume Fuyo Osawa proposes a different viewpoint of case interpretability on the basis of investigating transitivation in earlier periods of the history of English. She shows that uninterpretability in English emerged as a result of the separation of case from thematic roles, thus new syntactic constructions could emerge and 'deviant' transitive constructions (i.e. constructions that have few transitive properties) could become productive. Transitivity in Old English was easily expressed by internal vowel contrast or by prefixation, since a form–meaning correspondence obtained to some extent in Old English. But later, due to phonological coalescence and morphological simplification, the situation changed, and this had an effect on transitivity as well. The author purports that a shift from a lexical-thematic stage to a functional one took place in the history of English and she proposes a new case hierarchy in which the instrumental case is ordered below the genitive, while the genitive is

below the dative (as opposed to earlier interpretations expressed, for example, in Calabrese 1998 or Blake 2001).

Octav Eugen DeLazero uses the theoretical framework of formal semantics – among others, the views put forward by Zucchi (1993), Larson (1998) and Gentner (2005) – to make several valuable observations in connection with the development of modal adjectives (e.g. *likely, probable*, *possible*, *virtual*, *potential*) in the history of English. The author points out that all of these adjectives are borrowings in English, almost exclusively from French or Latin. These adjectives in English have certain selectional restrictions that were inherited from the languages from which they were borrowed: namely that originally they could only stand with nouns which described situations, and they started to be used with nouns denoting physical entities only in the 18th–19th centuries. The reader is introduced to the concept of modal adjectives and some diachronic data are provided about them; furthermore, a cross-linguistic analysis of this class is given with examples from Ancient Greek, Latin, Old Icelandic, Old Church Slavonic, Gothic and Sanskrit. DeLazero also gives an outline of the status of these adjectives in Present-Day English, and then proceeds to analyze the denotations of the modal adjectives and those of the nouns they can combine with. The author's conclusion is that 'proper' modal adjectives are only those that can combine both with situational and relational nouns, and he also argues that languages that do not allow such combinations (of which English was one up to the end of the 18th century) are not able to express modality at determiner phrase level.

Adverbials and Particles

The methods of corpus linguistics have facilitated research into the smaller building blocks of language like adverbials, particles and conjunctions. Thus the changes that occurred in these areas can be traced fairly accurately, and detailed analyses can be provided about the phenomena connected to these developments.

Artur Bartnik examines the development and distribution of adverbial *before* in Old and Middle English. In order to provide a clearer picture, he also carries out a parallel investigation of Old English *ær*, Middle English *er* ('before'), and demonstrates that there are a number of differences in the use of *before* and *ær*. One of these is a quantitative difference, as their number of occurrences in the examined corpora shows considerable variation. These differences can also be semantic, as these adverbials do not quite carry the same meanings (while *before* can have both temporal and locative meaning, *aer* carries only temporal meaning). Furthermore,

the use of *before* and *ær* can also be grammatically different, as they do not always occur with the same type of modification (see also Molencki 2007). Apart from discussing these differences, Bartnik also shows what changes occurred in the use of these two adverbials with respect to the differences mentioned above during the Old and Middle English periods; moreover, he also gives a comprehensive list of all the possible Middle English variant forms of *before*. The author convincingly illustrates all of his points with examples from his corpora.

The loss of the adverbial status of the *no sooner … than* construction is examined by Daisuke Suzuki. Although in Present-Day English this construction correlates with *than*, earlier it used to combine with *but* as well. Following a period of competitive coexistence between the two correlatives, the use of *than* became established. On the basis of corpus evidence the author shows that the *no sooner* construction gradually lost its status as an adverb in a process of grammaticalization, and became a conjunction. Suzuki also investigates other factors connected to the development of this construction. One of these is the frequency of the occurrence of inversion and the position of *no sooner* in the construction. Another factor is the use of different tenses in the *no sooner* clause. The third factor under scrutiny is the co-occurrence of *no sooner* with synonymous expressions like *immediately, instantly, at once, presently.* The author also examines the semantic change which led to the present-day meaning of *no sooner*, and he argues that this change was heavily influenced by the co-existence of *but* and *than*. Furthermore, he also points out that it is justified to use the framework of grammaticalization when analyzing the development of the *no sooner* construction.

English phrasal verbs or verb-particle combinations have always received considerable attention from scholars. They are generally grouped into five semantic categories: literal, reiterative, aspectual/*aktionsart*, figurative, and non-compositional. A relatively large number of phrasal verbs or verb-particle combinations, however, cannot be easily fitted into these categories. Paula Rodríguez-Puente, in a study focusing on the combinations of verbs with the particle *up*, offers to refine this categorization by distinguishing a sixth group, that of emphatic phrasal verbs, which are likely to have emerged in the Middle English period. The corpus evidence she examined allows for a tentative explanation: Latinate verbs started to be combined with the particle *up* by way of analogy with native verbs in reiterative combinations. This process, probably also fuelled by the increasing analyticity in the history of English, must have facilitated the naturalization of the foreign elements.

Functional and Regional Variation in Discourse and Vocabulary

Discussing discourse strategies in early texts has enjoyed a strengthening popularity over the past two decades. In her study of Early Modern English travelogues, Virtanen (1995) introduced three discourse strategies, namely temporal, locative, and participant-/topic-oriented, and since then these strategies have served as bases for subsequent work dealing with historical discourse analysis. The use of these three discourse strategies in *Margery Kempe* and in Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* were compared by Fumiko Yoshikawa (2008). Her paper in this volume extends the earlier investigation and offers a comparative study of the discourse strategies used in *The Book of Margery Kempe* (the chapters describing Margery Kempe's pilgrimage) with the discourse strategies applied in *Mandeville's Travels* and *The Stacions of Rome*. The comparative analysis focuses on examining adverbials of time and place in sentence-/clause-initial position, as well as references to the author or to participants in the above-mentioned texts. The analysis reveals that discourse strategies used in travelogues differ from those in pilgrimage stories inasmuch as the latter tend to combine locative and participant-oriented strategies. Illuminating the differences between *Mandeville's Travels* and *Margery Kempe*, Yoshikawa argues that while the former can be considered descriptive, the latter is rather narrative. This can be concluded from Yoshikawa's observation that the way coherence is maintained in the two texts is not alike: in *Margery Kempe* coherence is achieved by temporal discourse strategy, while in *Mandeville's Travels* by locative discourse strategy. The author also calls attention to the use of participant-oriented strategy, which is consistently used in *Margery Kempe* but not in *Mandeville's Travels*.

Earlier discourse models, however, are found inadequate for explaining a discrepancy revealed in a corpus study carried out by Lilo Moessner, in which she used a corpus of ca. 90,000 words from the fields of medicine and natural science from the period ranging between the middle of the 17th and the middle of the 18th century. The author applied a modified version of multidimensional analysis for highlighting characteristic register properties of these early texts, and she found that – contrary to earlier long-term discourse studies – the registers of medicine and science began to diverge with respect to the properties informativeness, narrative concerns, overt expression of persuasion, and degree of abstractness in the hundred-year period examined by her. To explain the discrepancy between earlier studies and her findings, she proposes a new and more powerful

discourse model that integrates extralinguistic aspects (such as format, purpose, audience, etc.) in the linguistic investigation.

A so far undeservedly neglected source for the study of regional vocabulary in 17th-century England is analyzed by Javier Ruano-García. He surveys the unpublished manuscript of Bishop White Kennett's *Etymological Collections of English Words and Provincial Expressions*, which was compiled most likely in the late 1690s and the early 18th century. Ruano-García provides an extensive lexical survey of the unique material contained in this manuscript: he discusses the Northern words, the Midland words and the Southern words, and emphasizes the importance of the fact the Kennett very often provides a precise location for the lexeme listed: thus we get information about the vocabulary used in 38 counties in England, and some further information concerning the Isle of Man, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. Although information provided about the Northern counties of England is the most extensive, still, in comparison with other contemporary lexicographical works, one of the greatest merits of Kennett's work is that it documents the lexical history of the Midland and southern counties, and thus provides valuable information for the study of hitherto unknown aspects of historical regional variation.

No matter whether the processes of periphrasis, replacement or renewal are at work, the linguistic changes analyzed by the studies collected in this volume testify to the intricate relationship between the cognitive needs of the speakers and their concrete representations at the level of language, as well as to the immense human creativity in the changes affecting the linguistic system. Several papers combine various aspects of theoretical linguistics with historical linguistic research, and they testify to the beneficial results of 'cross-fertilization' between these two areas. Thus the papers in this volume also show that there are still important lessons to be learnt both for and from the history of English.

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PART I

PATTERNS AND MODELS OF REPLACEMENT

WHAT ARE 'GRAMMATICAL PERIPHRASES'?

JOHN ANDERSON

For some little time I've been interested in the development of what I've thought of to myself as 'subjunctive periphrases' (see e.g. Anderson 2004). What I have in mind are constructions such as those in the second clauses of each of (1) and (2):

(1) *If it rained, I would be happy*

(2) *I wish that it would rain*

Historically, the two-word verbal construction involving *would* in the apodosis of (1) has replaced the synthetic subjunctive that is retained in the protasis, in the form of *rained*. And the *would-rain*-construction in the subordinate clause in (2) is apparently in contrast with the synthetic subjunctive *rained* that we find in (3):

(3) *I wish that it rained occasionally*

The expression in (2) normally involves future reference; (3) does not.

My use here of the term 'subjunctive periphrasis', or more generally, 'grammatical periphrasis', appeals to a traditional usage in grammatical studies. A more recent exemplar of the Greek tradition is provided in Triantafyllidis et al. (1941/1991: §812, β), for example. But it is also a term that is not uncontroversial in how precisely it is to be interpreted, and even as to its usefulness. Does it denote some consistent significant grammatical phenomenon distinct from, say, 'analytic expression'?

It is a term inherited in my case from one tradition that I was familiar with. The tradition is illustrated by Mustanoja's (1960: 453) remark on developments in Middle English: "the subjunctive mood begins to be indicated periphrastically by means of modal auxiliaries". Warner (1993: 171-172) comments that "the equivalence implied here is, however, misleading". And he suggests (1993: 172) "rather, some of the particular functions discharged by the inflectional subjunctive begin to be discharged by modal verbs, without any simple replacement or equivalence". Also, Yawamoto (2010), for instance, observes that any bleaching of the Old

English modals did not always lead to subjunctive periphrases. And in Modern English it seems clear that only some modal constructions might be described as 'periphrastic', and only in some of their bleached senses; and these senses often co-exist with use of the subjunctive for related senses.

Nevertheless, the interaction in (1)-(3) between modal+verb and the subjunctive of the same verb invites inquiry into whether this interaction might legitimately be described as involving 'grammatical periphrasis'. If it does, my usage in describing the phenomena discussed in Anderson (2004) as "the development of subjunctive periphrases" is appropriate. But are these constructions 'grammatical periphrases'?

In interpreting such statements as Mustanoja's I had always thought that 'periphrasis' was not just a label for a diachronic development, but that it was synchronically relevant to our understanding of an important element in the relationship between morphology and syntax. This is why I want to spend some time here trying to establish what might be a reasonable characterization of 'grammatical periphrasis', given established usages, and with a view to trying to make more explicit this particular interaction between morphology and syntax. This is not merely a terminological question – if anything is ever 'merely terminological'. It's a question of clarifying what kind of link between morphology and syntax is implied by the use of the term 'grammatical periphrasis'.

Understanding what periphrasis involves is crucial to understanding how it develops. My impression is that, as historical grammarians, we too often fail to examine closely enough the concepts that are crucial to understanding the developments that we're interested in. Here I'd at least like to try to clarify how my understanding relates to others. Then I can maybe start to get back to worrying about developments.

Let's see if we can get a sense of what people have meant by 'grammatical periphrasis'. The 'ordinary-language' sense of periphrasis is "a roundabout way of speaking" or "a roundabout expression", as the *Macquarie Dictionary* of 1981 has it. And that's not too remote from the etymology. But that dictionary also has a definition of "periphrastic" as used in grammar: "denoting a construction of two or more words with a class meaning which in other languages or in other forms of the same language is expressed by the inflectional modification of a single word". This seems to reduce 'grammatical periphrasis' to the analytic term in an analytic vs. synthetic distinction between different language systems (if "other forms of the same language" is taken to denote 'other varieties'). And this interlinguistic sense doesn't seem to adequately reflect my impression of current usage among grammarians – and in particular my

own. As implied above, I take 'grammatical periphrasis' to involve a relationship with inflection that is true of a particular language system or sub-system. Let me spell this out before examining the usage of others.

What is it, in such terms, that distinguishes a periphrasis as 'grammatical'? In relation to individual language systems we can begin crudely to differentiate between 'lexical' and 'grammatical periphrasis' as in (4) vs. (5):

(4) LEXICAL PERIPHRASIS: a sequence of words 'equivalent to' a single word or lexeme), as in *take/have a bath* vs. *bathe*

(5) GRAMMATICAL PERIPHRASIS: a sequence of words 'equivalent to' a word form

We have different interpretations of 'equivalence' here: in (4) the equivalence is a rough equivalence in meaning; in (5) we have an equivalence in function. Specifically, the sequence referred to in (5) has a paradigmatic function equivalent to that of an inflected form. And typically the sequence, or periphrasis, is extending the paradigm in some way. We can be more specific still, but before I plunge into that, I want to compare what I'm suggesting with the usage of grammars.

A survey of familiar grammars and histories of English reveals a variety of usage, and much non-usage, concerning the term 'grammatical periphrasis'. And in general, where the term is invoked at all, there is not much explicitness about its nature. I'll come back to the kind of definition that does emerge from those works that attempt one. However, a rather different picture emerges, perhaps unsurprisingly, from typological studies devoted, at least in part, to phenomena related to some notion of 'grammatical periphrasis'. 'Periphrasis' does seem to have been regarded as a useful distinctive term in talking about the relation between syntax and morphology. But again there is often an absence of explicit characterization of the term. For instance, several contributors to Harris & Ramat (1987) employ the term. But it seems from them that the reader is assumed to understand this term without definition, or even prompting. Thus, in his important paper in this 1987 volume, Dik makes the claim "Copula Auxiliarization always originates in periphrastic constructions with an aspectual meaning" (Dik 1987: 59) without making it clear how "periphrastic constructions" is to be understood. I come back to an exception in this volume to the neglect of clarification.

This impression of the grammatical relevance of a concept, or at least a term, 'periphrasis', is confirmed in works that focus on the term – even more unsurprisingly. However, these also reveal the need to clarify usage.

For from the literature we don't gain an impression of a homogeneous concept, but at best a chain of related concepts conforming to different 'criteria'. This emerges very plainly from Haspelmath (2000), which surveys some of the general linguistic literature. What is involved in the works he considers seems to be more specific than simply 'analytic construction' (to the extent that that is simple), but it still remains uncertain exactly in what way, despite Haspelmath's efforts.

Haspelmath does identify three main usages concerning the term 'grammatical periphrasis'. And among these he distinguishes two recurrent concepts that he suggests agree with Hockett's (1958) definition. According to this latter, grammatical periphrasis "can be recognized only where there is a clear gap in the inflectional patterns, which the phrases serve to fill" (1958: 212). And this is not unlike what is suggested by a number of other grammarians. One of Haspelmath's conceptions that corresponds to Hockett's definition, what he calls "paradigm symmetry" (2000: §2), is also close to my own implicit idea of 'grammatical periphrasis'. Let's look at "paradigm symmetry".

The most commonly discussed and agreed example of the achievement of 'grammatical periphrasis' in the sense associated with its role in "paradigm symmetry" is the Latin perfect passive construction of (6).

(6) *Auditus est* 'S/he/it was heard' (*perfect passive*)

(7) *Audiebatur* 'S/he/it was/used to be heard' (*imperfect passive*)

(8) *Audivit* 'S/he/it heard' (*perfect active*)

(9) *Audiebat* 'S/he/it heard/used to hear' (*imperfect active*)

(7) to (9) illustrate combinations within a single word form of a term from the tense-aspect category with a term from the voice category. The sequence in (6) signifying 'perfect passive' seems to be in contrast with the synthetic imperfect passive of (7) and the synthetic perfect active and imperfect active of (8) and (9). And the corresponding forms in the present are all synthetic. The periphrasis in (6) is functionally equivalent to an inflected form. It 'fills a gap' where certain combinations of terms of finite verbal categories fail to have a morphological exponent – here the combination of perfect and passive. Compare Vincent (1987: 251) on such periphrases:

> ... certain constructions may exhibit properties of linear order, surface separability and perhaps even deleteability which suggest that they are

syntactic, while at the same time entering into contrastive opposition with elements more normally regarded as morphological.

The other conception that Haspelmath singles out as involving what he calls "periphrasis in the narrower sense" (2000: 656) is what he calls "inflectional generality" (2000: §3). Of this he says (ibid. 657):

> If a certain inflectional pattern is not applicable to some members of the word class, a periphrasis may fill this gap. An example of this type is the English periphrastic comparative ..., which allows adjectives that lack the bound comparative (*beautifuller*) to have a comparative form (*more beautiful*).

This other conception of periphrasis seems to me a rather different kind of animal from what is illustrated in (6) to (9). I would prefer to think of it as involving what one might call 'lexico-grammatical periphrasis'. It is like the "paradigm symmetry" illustrated by the Latin forms in 'filling a gap', but the gap is associated with particular lexical items, not with the general absence in the morphology of a particular combination of terms of categories. And the relationship between *more* and the comparative seems to be rather different from that between the function verb in (6) and the inflected forms in (7)-(9): not only does (6) contrast with these inflected forms, unlike the 'comparative periphrasis' and the comparative form, but *more* itself is a comparative form.

I am going to pursue the former conception of periphrasis here since, on a personal basis, it seems best adapted to helping me to sort out what I might have meant by calling the modal constructions in (1) to (3) "subjunctive periphrases". But it is also the sense that has most occupied work in linguistics that is specifically concerned with grammatical periphrasis, work in which the Latin example has played an important role.

But before proceeding with this I must first acknowledge the other main usage of 'periphrasis' that Haspelmath identifies – though it doesn't involve "periphrasis in the narrower sense" (Haspelmath 2000: 656). It is, however, relevant to evaluating to what extent the constructions in (1)-(2) that I've been concerned with are themselves "periphrases in the narrower sense", and specifically examples of "paradigm symmetry". Haspelmath calls this third type "categorial periphrasis". And he comments (ibid. 660):

> Examples of categorial periphrasis are the English *have*-perfect ..., the French *aller*-future ..., and the Spanish *estar*-progressive ... There exists no monolectal form of any of these categories in the languages in which they occur, so these forms do not fill a gap defined by a system of monolectal forms, i.e. "real" inflectional forms.

Haspelmath concludes that these do not seem to be "'circumlocutions' for anything" (ibid).

I suggest that we can say, however, that what he describes are analytic expressions for a category that is expressed in another language synthetically. Analysis and synthesis are comparative terms. And this resolves in principle another problem Haspelmath sees with this third kind of 'periphrasis'. He raises the question of how we decide when such a potential periphrasis is expressing a grammatical meaning: what is a 'grammatical meaning'? This is resolved comparatively. A multi-word expression may be said to be analytic if the meaning it expresses is elsewhere expressed synthetically. Sure, there can be problems in cross-identifying meanings. But often a cross-linguistic analytic vs. synthetic parallel is establishable. So what I'm suggesting here is that we do not have to do with periphrases at all in the last situation described by Haspelmath, but simply analytic expression. But I shall also suggest, later, that not all the expressions he cites in the above quotation necessarily conform, even in his own terms, to what he describes as "categorial periphrasis" (i.e. analytic forms as I interpret this notion), but that they are much closer to "periphrasis in the narrower sense".

It is Haspelmath's last, least specific, of the three applications of the term 'periphrasis' that is pervasive in those works on the history of English that attempt to characterize and not just invoke – or, more commonly ignore – the term. Consider, for example, the definition offered by Brinton & Arnovick (2006: 499): "A construction employing function words in place of inflectional endings to express grammatical meaning". This does not explicitly distinguish between constructions and inflections in the same language system and an analytic construction in one language or epoch and a synthetic one elsewhere. It seems to me that this terminological tradition – in so far as there is one – is unfortunate, particularly given that the analytic vs. synthetic distinction is well-established in designating the latter situation. And it is at odds with much general-linguistic work on 'grammatical periphrasis'.

All this is why I decided to concentrate here on the first kind of 'grammatical periphrasis' distinguished by Haspelmath, the one illustrated by (6). It's not just that it seems most relevant to understanding the constructions in (1) and (2) that started me off. This conception also seems to me, as I've said, an attempt to capture an important relationship between syntax and morphology, involving the interaction of the two. It recognizes the paradigmaticity of certain syntactic constructions, in their filling a gap in what is otherwise realized as a set of systematically

contrasting inflections. And it offers the most articulated and detailed concept of periphrasis.

I'm going to take the construction in (6) as a prototype, and its various properties (e.g. finiteness, functional head, paradigmaticity) as prototypical for a grammatical periphrasis. This reflects the centrality of this Latin construction in theoretical discussions of grammatical periphrasis. But this choice also embodies an anticipation that we might be able to range potential periphrases in English in terms of which and how many of the properties of (6) are missing in each case. It offers a helpful template in talking about the extent to which potential periphrases conform to the complex concept exemplified by (6), and a useful taxonomy might eventually emerge from such a procedure. As a basis for what is minimally necessary for a grammatical periphrasis, I propose that, at the very least, a verbal periphrasis, to qualify as such, should enhance the resources of the finite paradigm. But there may be intermediate cases differing from (6) in various ways – sometimes extensively – but nevertheless contributing to paradigmaticity. For the historical linguist, such comparisons and such a potential taxonomy should also eventually throw some light on how grammatical periphrases develop.

Given my startingpoint, i.e. the analytic constructions in (1) and (2), I have decided to examine various potential 'grammatical periphrases' in English apart from these, to determine to what extent they each conform to this prototype, to what extent they merit the label 'periphrastic'. What I report on are thus some preliminary results of research on periphrases in general, before finally taking up (1) and (2) for the same examination. Another somewhat fuller attempt at progress in this area is made in Anderson (2011: chapters 3-4), which also addresses some of the issues neglected here that are mentioned at the end.

Firstly, let me list what I see as relevant properties of the prototype of specifically verbal periphrasis. This is presented in what follows:

The Prototypical Verbal Periphrasis
a) it consists of a finite function verb plus a non-finite lexical verb
b) the function verb governs the lexical verb
c) the construction enhances the paradigmatic resources of verbs, particularly the finite paradigm; specifically:
   i) the function verb requires its complement to express certain terms of morphological categories
   ii) the combination of terms in (i) is one missing from the potential maximal paradigm of the finite lexical verb
d) the function verb is otherwise categorially empty.

In terms of (a) and (b), the function verb takes the lexical verb as complement. In the case of (6), the missing combination alluded to in (c(ii)) is that of perfect and passive. This combination is manifested by the form of the non-finite verb, the perfect participle, that, as in (c(i)), complements the function verb. This form occurs independently of the periphrasis in (10), with the ablative absolute construction:

(10) *Xerxe victo*   'Xerxes having been defeated'

In (10) the name and the participle are both in the ablative and the construction functions as equivalent to an adverbial clause or phrase. In (8) and (9) active combines with perfect and imperfect respectively, and in (7) passive combines with imperfect, but among finites there is no synthetic expression combining perfect and passive. The terms perfect and passive are associated with the non-finite participle in (6), not the finite function verb. The specifications in (c) are crucial in our characterization, as it is they that introduce paradigmaticity. As regards (d), in content the *est* in (6) is categorially minimal compared with other verbs.

Concerning this Latin periphrasis Kiparsky (2005) argues that it is a "last resort", appealed to on account of the gap in the paradigm. Synthetic expression is preferred to periphrastic on grounds of "economy". He also suggests that this gap in the Latin finite conjugation is associated with the complexity of the Latin perfect. Specifically, the perfect can be interpreted as either a perfective past – contrasting with the imperfect – or a relative past, like the English perfect. But I won't pursue this here, since I want to, finally, address our attention to English. The confronting of my own terminological usage becomes more urgent in the light of denials of periphrastic status to any English verbal construction.

There are certainly no two-word verbal sequences in English that exactly conform to this prototype. But some come very close. And some resemble the constructions rejected in the above quotation, from Haspelmath, as periphrases "in the narrower sense". Consider first of all the progressive in (11):

(11) *She was leaving*

Here we have a function verb, apparently empty of content except the requirement that it takes as a complement a non-finite verb form that signals progressiveness. Progressive seems to be a feature of this non-finite form. The progressive form appears independently of the function verb in (11), as in (12):

(12) *I saw her leaving*

(12) is in contrast with the non-progressive in (13):

(13) *I saw her leave*

We find a similar contrast with (11) vs. (14):

(14) *She left*

This is beginning to look rather like the Latin situation in (6)-(9).

The contrast in (12) vs. (13) is of course not to be confused with what's happening in a pair like (15) and (16):

(15) *Leaving the house is forbidden*

(16) *To leave the house is forbidden*

The first word in (15) is a simple nominalization. Whatever the distinction between it and the *to*-infinitive in (16) might be, it does not involve progressiveness and its absence. The historical basis for the ambivalence of -*ing* is well-known, if not yet, in my impression, well understood.

Example (11) seems to conform to all of the properties associated with the prototype – except in one respect: there is only one category involved. As in specification (a), it consists of a finite function verb plus a non-finite lexical verb, and, as in (b), the function verb governs the lexical verb. (11) conforms to (c(i)) in that the function verb takes a complement which bears certain terms of morphological categories – except that there is only one term involved. And the same is true of (c(ii)) which requires that the combination of terms in (c(i)) is the set missing from the potential maximal paradigm of the finite lexical verb. And, indeed, (11) satisfies (d): the function verb is otherwise categorially empty.

The Latin paradigm in (6) to (9) involves more than one dimension: it involves tense-aspect and voice – and, indeed, the former can be split into tense and aspect (perfective vs. imperfective). The English non-finite paradigm in (12) vs. (13) is unidimensional and is expressed privatively: progressive vs. non-progressive. The same is true of (11) vs. (14). So that the introduction of the analytic form in (11) might be said to 'create' the finite paradigm rather than filling a gap in an existing one. Haspelmath seems to regard this as crucial in relegating similar expressions to merely "categorial periphrases". I suggested indeed that in his description of them these were simply 'analytic expressions'; in his terms they did not warrant the name 'periphrasis'. But Haspelmath is wrong concerning some of the