THE SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC RANGE OF OLD ENGLISH NOMINALISATIONS WITH ASPECTUAL VERBS

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ABSTRACT. This article analyses the complementation of Old English verbs of aspect by means of nominalisations. Three types of derived nominals are distinguised: deverbal nominals that entail a verbal predication but do not take complements of their own; direct nominalisations (with Actor or Undergoer genitive); and oblique nominalisations. The main conclusion of the article is that, to the sources of the English gerund identified by Lass (1992), others should be added, including suffixes (such as *-ung*, *-ness* and *-t*) and affixless derivation from strong and weak verbs. It is also a conclusion of this study that Old English already provides evidence of the acquisition of verbal properties by deverbal nominalisations, such as nominalisations with direct objects and voice distinctions.

Keywords: Nominalisation, Role and Reference Grammar, Old English, aspectual verbs, morphology, semantic-syntactic perspective.

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NOMINALIZACIONES CON VERBOS ASPECTUALES EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO. ÁNALISIS SEMÁNTICO Y SINTÁCTICO

RESUMEN. Este artículo analiza la complementación de los verbos aspectuales en inglés antiguo a partir de nominalizaciones. Se distinguen tres tipos de derivados nominales: nominales deverbales que implican una predicación verbal pero que no toman complementos propios; nominalizaciones directas (con un Actor o un Padecedor flexionados en genitivo); y nominalizaciones oblicuas. La conclusión principal del artículo es que, a las fuentes del gerundio en inglés identificadas por Lass (1992), se pueden añadir otras más, incluyendo los sufijos (como *-ung*, *-ness* y *-t*) y la derivación sin afijos basada en verbos fuertes y débiles. Este estudio también llega a la conclusión de que el inglés antiguo ya ofrece evidencia de la adquisición de propiedades verbales a partir de las nominalizaciones deverbales, tales como las nominalizaciones que toman objetos directos y distinciones de voz.

Palabras clave: Nominalización, Gramática del Papel y la Referencia, inglés antiguo, verbos aspectuales, morfología, perspectiva semántico-sintáctica.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article deals with noun phrases headed by deverbal nominals that perform the function of complements of verbs of aspect in Old English. Its aim is to determine the semantic and syntactic range of these nominalisations with a view to contributing to the discussion of the changes to the verbal complementation of English and of the development of the gerund. Verbs of aspect have been selected because they necessarily take verbal complementation. Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) provides the theoretical basis of this study because this linguistic theory is concerned with the semantic motivation of syntactic projection and because it assigns parallel syntactic structures to units that entail the same semantics, even though they belong to different levels of complexity, as is the case with nominalisations and the associated clausal units.

The structure of the article is as follows. Section 2 reviews previous work in the competition of infinitival and finite clauses and in the major complement shifts throughout the history of English. Section 3 discusses the relevant aspects of the theoretical model and applies them to the lexical representation of Old English aspectual verbs. Section 4 presents the sources and data of the study. Section 5 discusses the semantics and syntax of the nominalisation with the verbs under analysis. Section 6 presents the results of the study and addresses the question of

the acquisition of verbal properties by deverbal nominalisations. Section 7 summarises the main findings of the article.

2. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS WORK

The question of the complementation of verbs that require clausal complements with finite or non-finite verbs has been addressed both in classical works in the syntax of Old English (Visser 1963-73; Mitchell 1985) and in studies in verbal syntax (Molencki 1991; Denison 1993; Los 2005; Fischer et al. 2011; Ringe and Taylor 2014).

Denison (1993: 172) distinguishes three types of Verb+Object/Subject+Infinitive (VOSI) constructions: VOSI with causatives, as in [ChronE (Irvine) 066600 (963.22)] *& leot him locon þa gewrite þe ær wæron gefunden* 'and had him look at the writs which had been found'; VOSI with two-place verbs (different from causatives and perception verbs), as in [ÆColl 013300 (203)] *ic habbe afandod þe habban gode geferan* 'I have proved you to have good companions'; and VOSI with three-place verbs, as in [Bede 5 053200 (20.472.4)] *þara þinga, ðe he oðre lærde to donne* 'those things that he taught others to do' (own translation).

Los (2005) classifies the Old English verbs that select infinitives as complements into three types: AcI (*accusativus cum infinitivo*) verbs, monotransitive subject control verbs and ditransitive object control verbs. In AcI verb constructions, the subject of the matrix clause is different from the subject of the infinitive clause. For Ringe and Taylor (2014: 484), these are verbs of perception and causation that take a bare infinitive clause, as in [GDPref and 3 (C) 017900 (11.194.17)] *Þa het he þisne biscop beon gelæded to þære stowe* 'then he ordered this bishop to be led to the place' (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 485). In constructions with monotransitive subject control verbs, the subject of the matrix clause is shared by the infinitive clause. Among monotransitive subject control verbs we can find verbs of intention, aspectualisers and the pre-modal verbs. The verbs of intention and the aspectualisers (but not the pre-modals, which can exclusively be followed by a bare infinitive) may select a bare infinitive or a *to*-infinitive, as in [LS 34 (SevenSleepers) 021000 (750)] *And sona swa hi him on besawon eall heora nebwlite ongann to scinenne swilce seo þurhbeorhte sunne* 'and as soon as they looked on him, all of their faces began to shine like the very bright sun' (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 486). In constructions with ditransitive object control verbs (typically verbs of commanding, persuading and permitting), the object of the matrix clause is shared with the subject of the infinitive clause. Ditransitive object control verbs may be complemented by an inflected infinitive, as in [Æ Hom 11 001500 (103)] *And his bebod tobræc þe he him bebead to healdenne* 'and he broke his command, which he ordered him to keep' (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 489).

Los (2005) excludes the choice of the inflected vs. the bare infinitive (Callaway 1913) as the main source of competition involving the infinitive. Ringe and Taylor (2014: 484) concur with Los (2005) on the importance of the finite vs. non-finite

competition and remark that the competition between the bare and the *to*-infinitive as complement in Old English is restricted to verbs of intention.

The discussion reviewed above, however, has not considered the complementation of aspectual or control verbs by nominal phrases whose head is a verbal derivative, in such a way that the syntax of the phrase resembles the syntax of the associated verbal clause. This aspect is relevant for the historical evolution of complementation from Old English and for the development of the gerund in English.

According to Rohdenburg (1995: 374), the competition between *that*-clauses and *to*-infinitives as complements of verbs of aspect and control continued for several centuries, in such a way that the present situation was not reached until 1800. This author describes the Great Complement Shift as consisting of the development of the gerund, on the one hand, and the decline of *to*-infinitives and *that*-clauses, on the other hand (Rohdenburg 2006: 159). Iyeiri (2010: 5) draws a further distinction between the First Complement Shift and the Second Complement Shift, which leads from *to*-infinitives to gerunds. As Iyieri (2010: 7) puts it, *where the first shift produces a sufficient number of to-infinitives, they can later on lead to the second stage or the second complement shift, producing gerunds with or without prepositions.*

Lass (1992: 145) remarks that the English gerund develops from three Old English sources: the present participle, the inflected infinitive and the suffix *-ung / -ing*, which forms deverbal nouns. The historical development of the gerund depends on the acquisition of verbal properties by deverbal nominalisations with the suffix *-ing/-ung*, including the ability to take a direct object realized by a noun phrase and to be modified by an adverb (Fischer 1992: 252) as well as to select a predicative, to show tense and voice distinctions and to occur with a subject in a case different from the genitive (Fanego 1996: 33). Visser (1963-1973: §1009) dates the first instances of the verbal gerund to the beginning of the 14th century.

3. THE LEXICAL REPRESENTATION OF ASPECTUAL VERBS

In Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005), the projection-realization apparatus is called *linking*. Linking is the correspondence between syntax and semantics, which operates from semantics to syntax (production) and from syntax to semantics (comprehension). In this theory, the different roles played by verbal arguments in the linking semantics-syntax are explained on the basis of hierarchies that rank the different candidates for a function. This includes relations so central to the theory as priviledged syntactic arguments (around which syntactic constructions revolve), juncture-nexus types (which distinguish between the level of structure and the relation involved in complex sentences) and macroroles. The sematic interpretation of verbal arguments is based on the macroroles Actor and Undergoer, which constitute generalised semantic roles. The assignment of macrorole requires the projection of the lexical

representation of a verbal predicate onto a logical structure. This takes two steps, namely, the assignment of *Aktionsart* type and the unfolding of a logical structure.

In the specific area of Old English aspectual verbs, the *Aktionsart* class of *End* verbs is the Achievement, which corresponds to a dynamic, telic and punctual event. The lexical representation of *End* verbs shows that the ongoing activity has a punctual endpoint. This turns out the logical structure presented in Figure 1.

INGR **do**′ (x, [**stop**′ (x, y)])

Figure 1. The lexical representation and logical structure of *End* verbs.

In the logical structure shown in Figure 1, the first participant, coded as the argument x, puts an end to an activity that necessarily involves the argument x itself. For this reason, *End* verbs as defined as macrorole-intransitive, that is to say, they take one macrorole only. In an expression like [ÆCHom II, 5 003400 (43.50)] *He ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas* 'he does not cease to send messengers', the argument x (*he* 'he') plays the thematic role Effector and receives the macrorole Actor. The argument y in the logical structure is a linked clause, *to asendenne bydelas* 'to send messengers'. The argument y does not get macrorole. The argument x is the priviledged syntactic argument of the construction because it is shared by the matrix clause and the linked clause, so that there is dependent coordination between the two structural levels.

The *Aktionsart* type of *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs is the Accomplishment, which can be defined as a dynamic, telic and durative event. The lexical representation of *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs expresses an event in which the first participant is not successful in doing something. In the logical structure of *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs, the argument x performs the thematic role Experiencer and receives the macrorole Undergoer. The argument x is the priviledged syntactic argument of the construction because it controls the agreement with the finite form of the verb. *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs are macrorole-intransitive. The argument y is a linked clause that has the status of a non-macrorole argument. The logical structure of *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs is given in Figure 2.

BECOME (NOT **successful**′ (x, y))

Figure 2. The logical structure of *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs.

In the logical structure of *Fail* verbs and *Try* verbs, the first participant, coded as the argument x, is shared by the matrix and the linked clause. In an expression involving a *Fail* verb like [ÆCHom I, 17 (App) 002700 (537.83)] *Se goda hyrde ne*

wandað þe godes scep lufað þæt he ða dweliendan scep for his drihtnes ege geornlice ne sece 'The good shepherd who loves the lamb of God will not fail to eagerly seek the wondering sheep for fear of his lord', the argument x gets the macrorole Undergoer while the argument y is a linked clause (*þæt he ða dweliendan scep for his drihtnes ege geornlice ne sece* 'to eagerly seek the wondering sheep for fear of his lord') enjoying the status of non-macrorole argument. The argument x, which controls the agreement with the finite verb of the matrix predication, is the priviledged syntactic argument of the construction. In an expression with a *Try* verb such as [HomS 44 (Baz-Cr) 005900 (121)] *Of þysum tintregum [...] tiligen we us to gescildenne and us to gewarnigenne þa hwile þe we lifes leoht habban* 'from these torments [...] we should try to shield and to protect ourselves, while we have the light of life', the argument x (*we* 'we') receives the macrorole Undergoer and the linked clause (*us to gescildenne and us to gewarnigenne þa hwile þe we lifes leoht habban* 'to shield and to protect ourselves, while we have the light of life') is a non-macrorole argument. The matrix and the linked clause share the first argument, which results in dependent coordination.

4. SOURCES AND DATA

The inventory of the aspectual verbs of Old English has been gathered with the help of the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts et al. 2000), which has been searched for the lexical dimension 'not doing something' (Faber and Mairal 1999) and, more specifically, for the lexical subdimensions "13.2. To not do something [*fail*]: fail; neglect, omit; give up"; "13.2.1. To stop doing something [*end*]: end, finish; cease, stop; desist, relinquish"; and "13.2.2. To make an effort in order to be able to do something [*try*]: try, attempt; strive, struggle, endeavour". The sets of verbs have been considered verbal classes, as in Levin (1993), when the verbs in the inventory share meaning components and grammatical behaviour. For meaning components, this inventory of verbs has been checked with the Clark Hall-Meritt (1996) and Bosworth-Toller (1973) Old English dictionaries, as well as the *Dictionary of Old English* (Healey 2018) for the letters A-I. For the verbs beginning with the letters A-I, the data have been extracted from the *Dictionary of Old English*. The data for the remaining verbs have been drawn from *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor et al. 2003), which has also provided the syntactic parsing of the selected textual fragments. Figure 3 shows the inventory of verbs selected for this study.

End: *āblinnan, ætstandan, blinnan, geblinnan, oðstillan, oflinnan.*

Fail: *forsittan, ofergiman, oferhealdan, oferhebban, (ge)trucian, wandian.*

Try: *(ge)cneordlǣcan, fandian, fundian, higian, (ge)tilian.*

Figure 3. Verbs in the corpus by class.

A total of 142 textual fragments have been processed, which can be broken down by verb as follows: *āblinnan* (17), *ætstandan* (15), *blinnan* (14), *(ge)cneordlǣcan* (3), *(ge)fandian* (2), *forsittan* (7), *fundian* (11), *geblinnan* (2), *hīgian* (21), *oferhealdan* (2), *ofergīman* (2), *oferhebban* (4), *oflinnan* (3), *oðstillan* (1), *(ge)tilian* (17), *wandian* (17), *(ge)trucian* (4). These verbs throw a total of 11 instances of nominalisation: *āblinnan* (5), *ætstandan* (1), *blinnan* (2), *forsittan* (1), *hīgian* (1), *(ge)tilian* (1).

5. THE NOMINALISATIONS WITH OLD ENGLISH ASPECTUAL VERBS

The discussion in this section is based on the semantic and syntactic relation between clauses and nominalisations acknowledged by Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005, 2007, 2014), which distinguishes several types of complex noun phrases, including noun phrases modified by relative clauses and nominalisations. Deverbal nominalisations are noun phrases headed by a derived noun that is morphologically related to a verb through a productive process of word-formation. Put differently, nominalisations are derived from a unit of the clausal level headed by the verb on which the nominalisation is based. For instance, *The arrest of John by FBI agents in New York City* has a clausal correlate *FBI agents arrested John in New York City*, in such a way that the noun *arrest* is converted (or zero-derived) from the verb *to arrest*. The existence of nominal correlates of elements of the clausal level is further demonstrated by the fact that the modifiers of the noun *arrest* correspond to the arguments and periphery of the clause: *of John < John* and *in New York City < in New York City* (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 186). Given this theoretical framework, the semantic relations and syntactic configurations of Old English nominalisations are discussed by aspectual verb.

Āblinnan can partake in configurations in which the argument-adjunct case-marked dative entails a nominalisation based on a verb. For example, in (1) the dative noun *gewinne* 'task' is morphologically related to the strong verb *gewinnan* 'to fight, to contend'.

> (1) [BedeHead 1.10.1]
>
> *And swylce mid trymmendlice ærendgewrite hi gestrangode, þæt hi ne ablunnen fram þam gewinne.*
>
> 'And also encouraged them with comforting letters not to give up their task.' (Miller 1999: 6)

While (1) contains a nominalised noun whose relation with the matrix clause is mediated by prepositional government, the nominalised noun in (2a) directly performs a function of the matrix clause. In (2a), the noun *æhtan* 'pursuit' is a deverbal derivative of the preterite-present verb *āgan* 'to own'. The genitive personal pronoun *his* 'his' is semantically agentive with respect to the verbal base of the derivation, agrees in case and number with *æhtan* 'pursuit' and shows agreement

in person and number with the first argument *Placidas* 'Placidas'. This is an instance of nominalisation with Actor genitive. Through such a nominalisation, a phrasal configuration is preferred over a clausal configuration for the same event and semantic participants, in such a way that a semantic parallelism holds between the clausal and the phrasal realisations: an activity is performed by an agentive participant. From the syntactic point of view, the first argument of the linked element is shared with the matrix, both in the clausal and in the phrasal configuration. This phenomenon is known in traditional grammar as *subjective genitive*.

Examples (2b) and (2c) also constitute nominalisations with Actor genitive. In (2b), the genitive *rynes* 'pursuit' is a derivative of the strong verb *yrnan* 'to run'. The demonstrative-article in the genitive *þæs* 'of that' is agentive with respect to *rynes* 'pursuit'. In (2c), the nominalisation involves the genitive noun *tintregena* 'of those torments' and the weak verb *tintregian* 'to torment', with which it is morphologically related. The Actor of the nominalisation is the genitive demonstrative-article *þæra* 'of those'.

(2)

a. [LS 8 (Eust) 001600 (38)]

Placidas (...) *ablan his æhtan.*

'Placidas (...) ceased his pursuit.' (Skeat 1996: 193)

b. [Æ LS (Martin) 025900 (1060)]

Ða ofhreow þam halgan þæs haran frecednyss, and þam hundum bebead þæt hi ablunnon þæs rynes.

'Then the saint rued the hare's peril, and commanded the hounds to cease from running.' (based on Skeat 1996: 291)

c. [ÆCHom I, 29 021100 (428.273)]

Ic halsie þe laurentius. ablin hwæthwega þæra tintregena.

'I beseech thee, Lawrence, cease somewhat of those torments.' (Thorpe 1844: 435)

Ætstandan can also be found in instances like (3), in which the derived noun *flēwsa* is related to the strong verb *flōwan* 'to flow'. The deverbal nominal entails a verbal predication but does not take complements of its own that are based on the parallelism between clausal and phrasal predications that explains nominalisations.

(3) [Lch I (Herb) 059200 (60.1)]

Sona se flewsa ætstandeþ.

'Soon the flowing stops.' (based on Cockayne 1984; own translation)

Example (4), unlike (3), presents a full nominalisation, that is to say, a noun phrase comprised of a deverbal noun (*ryne* 'flow') that is morphologically related to a strong verb (*yrnan* 'to run') and a genitive, in such a way that the genitive noun is semantically agentive with respect to the verbal base of the derivation. From the syntactic point of view, the first argument of the linked element is shared with the matrix. This is an instance of nominalisation with Actor genitive.

(4) [Lk (WSCp) 034000 (8.44)]

Ða ætstod sona þæs blodes ryne.

'Then her bleeding stopped immediately.' (own translation)

Blinnan can be found with argument-adjuncts in the dative governed by the preposition *fram* 'from', as in *blinnan fram ehtnysse cristenra manna* 'to cease from the persecution of Christians' in (5a). The same can be said of *blin from eorre* 'cease from anger' in (5b); and of *hit blonn from unhalum styrenessum þara leoma* 'it ceased to move its limbs in suffering' in (5c). The dative nouns are deverbal derivatives, thus *āgan* 'to own' > *ehtnysse* 'from persecution' in (5a) and *styrian* 'to steer > *styrenessum* 'from movements' in (5c); or, at least, are morphologically related to verbs, as is the case with *eorre* 'from anger' with respect to *eorsian* 'to be angry'. The nominalisations in (5a) (*ehtnysse cristenra manna* 'persecution of Christians') and (5b) present genitive modifiers that in the derived syntax amount to verbal complements like *ehtnysse cristenra manna* 'persecution of Christians' in (5a) and *styrenessum þara leoma* 'movements of the limbs' in (5b). Although (5a)-(5c) constitute nominalisations, their linking in the core is oblique, as they are governed by prepositions and perform the function of argument-adjunct.

(5)

a. [Bede 1 010600 (7.40.16)]

Het þa sona blinnan fram ehtnysse cristenra manna.

'He ordered them to cease from the persecution of Christians.' (Miller 1999: 20)

b. [PsGlA (Kuhn) 052100 (36.8)]

Blin from eorre & forlet hatheortnisse.

'Cease from anger and leave rage.' (own translation)

c. [Bede 3 017900 (7.178.26)]

& hit blonn from unhalum styrenessum þara leoma.

'And it ceased to move its limbs in suffering.' (Miller 1999: 82)

Blinnan also takes part in constructions of nominalisation with Undergoer genitive. By means of such a nominalisation, a phrasal configuration is preferred over a clausal configuration so that a semantic parallelism holds between the clausal and the phrasal realisations: an activity is undergone by a patient-like participant. From the syntactic point of view, the first argument of the linked element and the first argument of the matrix are shared in the clausal configuration and in the nominalisation. In morphological terms, there is relatedness between the verbal base and the deverbal derivative. The other genitive is objective. For this reason, this phenomenon is known in traditional grammar as *objective genitive*. In (6), the genitive noun *cossetunges* 'of kissing' is morphologically related to the weak verb *cossian* 'to kiss'. The matrix verb and the nominalisation share the first argument, in such a way that the genitive phrase *foeta mine* 'my feet' is Undergoer. Whereas the linking of the nominalisations in (5) is oblique, it is direct in (6) because the noun phrase *cossetunges ł foeta mine* 'of kissing my feet' is a macrorole argument of the verb.

(6) [LkGl (Li) 7.45]

Ne blann cossetunges ł foeta mine.

'[This woman] (...) has not stopped kissing my feet.' (based on Skeat 1874: 81; own translation)

Oflinnan can also be found with nominalised noun phrases, as in (7). These are nominalisations with Actor genitive. In (7a), *metta* 'of feastings' is morphologically related to the weak verb *metian* 'to supply with food'; *gestreona* 'of acquisitions' is related to the weak verb *gestrēonan* 'to acquire'; symla 'of banquets' is related to the weak verb *sȳman* 'to load'; and *unrihthæmeda* to the weak verb *unrihthǣman* 'to fornicate'. The demonstrative in genitive *þara* 'your' is coreferential with the first argument of the matrix verb. Therefore, the genitive is the Actor of the the matrix and the linked predications. The adjectives *unārīmed* 'uncountable', *gescyndend* 'shameful' and *oftrǣd* 'frequent', which could translate as adverbs in this context, are precursors of adverbial modification in nominalisations like *desist from acquiring hurriedly*. In (7b), the deverbal noun *tǣlnessa* 'of slanders' is morphologically related to the weak verb *tǣlan* 'to slander'. The genitive demonstrative-article *þara* 'your' is agentive with respect to the deverbal nominal.

(7)

a. [HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) 012200 (201)]

& for ðan uton oflinnan þara unarimedra metta & þara gescyndendra gestreona & þara oftrædra symla & þara unrihthæmeda.

'And, therefore, let us desist from those innumerable feasts, and those hurrying acquisitions, and those frequent banquets, and those fornications.' (Nicholson 1991: 152)

b.　[HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) 012300 (203)]

Utan eac oflinnan þara tælnessa, & uton us on gebedu gelomlæcan.

'Let us also desist from those slanders, and let us be frequent in prayers.' (Nicholson 1991: 152)

In simplex configurations in which *forsittan* takes a second argument case-marked accusative, a nominalisation can also be identified, as can be seen in (8a), where the accusative noun *fulwihðe* 'baptism' is morphologically related to *fulwian* 'to baptise', while the genitive *untrumes* 'of the sick man' is objective with respect to *fulwihðe*. This is a nominalisation with Undergoer genitive. The genitive *ðegnunga* 'of his ministrations' is derived from the weak verb *ðegnian* 'to serve' and agrees with the genitive personal pronoun *his* 'his', which qualifies as an Actor genitive with respect to the deverbal noun *ðegnunga*. In (8b), *bote* 'amend' derives from the strong verb *bētan* 'to mend', while *fare* 'journey' is a derivative of the strong verb *faran* 'to go'. These nouns occur in compounds in which the first element is agentive, such as *fyrdfare* 'march of the army', or objective, like *burhbote* 'reparation of fortification' and *brycgbote* 'reparation of bridge'. In (8c), the accusative noun *gemot* 'assembly' is morphologically related to the strong verb *mētan* 'to meet'.

(8)

a.　[LawWi 000600 (6)]

Gif priost læfe unrihthæmed oþþe fulwihðe untrumes forsitte oþþe to þon druncen sie þæt he ne mæge, sio he stille his ðegnunga, oþ biscopes dom.

'If a priest consents to an illicit union, or if he neglects the baptism of a sick man because he is too drunk to do this duty, he shall abstain from his ministrations until the judgement of the bishop'. (Attenborough 1922: 27)

b.　[LawIICn 015100 (65)]

Gif hwa burhbote oððe brycgbote oððe fyrdfare forsitte, gebete mid cxx scyllingum þam cingce on Engla lage, & on Dena lage swa hit ær stod.

'If anyone neglects the repair of fortifications or of bridges or military service, he shall pay 120 shillings as compensation to the king in districts under English law, and in the Danelaw the amount fixed by existing regulations.' (Robertson 1925: 207)

c.　[LawIIAs 005200 (20)]

Gif hwa gemot forsitte þriwa, gilde ðæs cynges oferhyrnesse.

'And if anyone fails to attend an assembly three times, he shall pay the fine due to the king for insubordination.' (Attenborough 1922: 137)

Two types of nominalisation turn up in simplex configurations with *hīgian*. In (9), the accusative noun *īerfe* 'inheritance' is morphologically related to the weak verb *irfan* 'to inherit'. The derived nominal entails a verbal predication but does not take complements of its own. The same goes for *bledsunge* 'of a blessing', derived from the weak verb *bletsian* 'to bless'.

(9) [CP 162900 (44.331.21)]

Đæt ierfe ðæt ge ærest æfter hiegiað, æt siðesðan hit bið bedæled ælcre bledsunge.

'The inheritance that you first aspire to, will at the end be deprived of every blessing.' (Sweet 1871: 331)

In (10), the deverbal noun in the genitive *gestrēona* 'of acquisitions' is morphologically related to the weak verb *gestrēonan* 'to acquire'. This is a verb of transfer of possession, in which the first argument undergoes a change of state whereby they get to own the transferred item (Lacalle Palacios 2022). For this reason, the nominalisation cannot belong either to the Actor type or to the Undergoer type. The genitive *þara eorþlicra* 'of wordly' is objetive with respect to *gestrēonan*, although in a stative predication the first argument cannot get the macrorole Agent but Undergoer; and, furthermore, in a macrorole-intransitive predication the second argument cannot receive macrorole.

(10) [GD 4 (C) 27.297.21]

Þæt we witan, Petrus, þæt se ylca wer wæs gebunden mid woruldlicum scirum & higode aa þara eorþlicra gestreona.

'We know, Peter, that the same man was bound with worldly matters and would always aspire to earthly acquisitions.' (based on Gardner 1911; own translation)

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the corpus compiled for this study, the verbs *āblinnan, ætstandan, blinnan, forsittan, hīgian* and *(ge)tilian* have been found with nominalisations as complements. These results can be discussed from the morphological and from the semantic-syntactic point of view. On the semantic-syntactic side, the question of the acquisition of verbal properties by nominalisations is addressed.

From the morphological point of view, approximately one half of the nominalisations analysed in this study are headed by a deverbal noun that does not present a derivational suffix. Instead, the derivative is morphologically related to a verb by means of affixless derivation, thus, for instance, *gewinn* 'task', derived from the strong verb *gewinnan* 'to fight, to contend'; *rynes* 'pursuit', derived from the

strong verb *yrnan* 'to run'; *æht* 'pursuit', derived from the preterite-present verb *āgan* 'to own'; *flēwsa*, derived from the strong verb *flōwan* 'to flow'; *ryne* 'pursuit', derived from the strong verb *yrnan* 'to run'; *īerfe* 'inheritance'derived from the weak verb *irfan* 'to inherit'; *fare* 'journey', derived from the strong verb *faran* 'to go'; *bote* 'amend', derived from the strong verb *bētan* 'to mend'; and *gemot* 'assembly', derived from the strong verb *mētan* 'to meet'. Instances of morphological relatedness between nouns and weak verbs without explicit derivational morpheme include *tintregena* 'of those torments' and the weak verb *tintregian* 'to torment'; as well as *gestrēon* 'acquisition' and the weak verb *gestrēonan* 'to acquire' and *eorre* 'from anger' with respect to the weak verb *eorsian* 'to be angry'. Deverbal nominals derived by means of derivational morphemes (suffixes) include *ehtnyss* 'persecution', derived from the preterite-present verb *āgan* 'to own'; *styrenes* 'movement', derived from the weak verb *styrian* 'to steer'; *tǣlnes* 'of slander', derived from the weak verb *tǣlan* 'to slander'; *cossetung* 'kissing', derived from the weak verb *cossian* 'to kiss'; *gescyndend* 'corrupt', derived from the weak verb *gescendan* 'to shame'; *ðegnung* 'ministration', derived from the weak verb *ðegnian* 'to serve'; and *fulwiht* 'baptism', derived from the weak verb *fulwian* 'to baptise'. The derivation of nouns from verbs, as evidenced in the corpus, is largely dependent on affixless formations, as put forward by Martín Arista (2012, 2013, 2019), and typically selects a strong verb base, as remarked by Kastovsky (1992).

From the semantic-syntactic point of view, three types of derived nominals can be distinguised. Firstly, some deverbal nominals entail a verbal predication but do not take complements of their own. This is the case, for instance, with *þæt hi ne ablunnen fram þam gewinne* 'that they do not give up their task' in (1). Secondly, other deverbal nominals entail a verbal predication and take complements of their own. These, in turn, can be divided into two types: direct nominalisations (inflected for a direct case) and oblique nominalisations (inflected for an oblique case). Direct nominalisations, from the semantic point of view, can belong to the Actor genitive type or the the Undergoer genitive type. For example, *and ablan his æhtan* 'and ceased his pursuit' belongs to the Actor genitive type while *cossetunges ł foeta mine* 'kissing my feet' in (6) is a nominalisation of the Undergoer genitive type. Oblique nominalisations are marked by the dative case and take complements of their own, as happens in *blinnan fram ehtnysse cristenra manna* 'to cease from the persecution of Christians' in (5a).

Regarding the acquisition of verbal properties by deverbal nominalisations, the textual fragments displaying aspectual verbs cannot be modified by an adverb, in keeping with Fischer (1992: 252), but the adjectives *unārīmed* 'uncountable', *gescyndend* 'shameful' and *oftrǣd* 'frequent' in (7a) can be considered precursors of adverbial modification because they easily translate as adverbs. Moreover, some nominalisations can take a direct object realized by a noun phrase, as in *ehtnysse cristenra manna* 'the persecution of Christians' in (5a) and *fulwihðe untrumes* 'the baptism of a sick man' in (8a). No subject has been found in a case different from the genitive, in line with Fanego (1996: 33), but this is predictable in a linguistic

stage characterised by full nominal inflection, in which the nominal modifier is consistently case-marked genitive. As for the voice distinction also pointed out by Fanego (1996), in active constructions, like *sio he stille his ðegnunga* 'may he be away from his ministrations' in (8), the genitive marks a macrorole argument, either Actor or Undergoer, whereas in passive constructions, such as *hit bið bedæled ælcre bledsunge* 'it will be deprived of every blessing' in (9), the genitive is a non-macrorole argument.

7. CONCLUSION

This article has analysed the complementation of Old English verbs of aspect by means of noun phrases headed by a deverbal nominal, which represent a structure in competition with finite and non-finite clauses throughout the complement shift described by Rohdenburg (1995, 2006). The article has shown that a theoretical basis like Role and Reference Grammar is needed when it comes to identifying a relationship between verbal and nominal units that share a semantic core; and, moreover, when the links between word-formation in the lexicon and syntactic realization in the grammar need to be acknowledged. A typology has been proposed that requires a parallelism between clausal and phrasal predications in complementation whose morphological correlate is affixless or affixal derivation. Three types of deverbal nominalisations can be distinguished: (i) deverbal nominals that entail a verbal predication but do not take complements of their own; (ii) direct nominalisations (either with Actor or Undergoer genitive); and (iii) oblique nominalisations. To the sources of the English gerund identified by Lass (1992), which include the present participle, the inflected infinitive and the suffix *-ung / -ing*, which forms deverbal nouns, other sources should be added, for which this article has gathered evidence. Such evidence comprises other suffixes (*-ness*) and affixless derivation from both strong and weak verbs. As for the acquisition of verbal properties by deverbal nominalisations, Old English provides evidence of nominalisations with direct objects and voice distinctions. Some precursors of adverbial modification might be identified but this requires further research.

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