The Progressive in Jane Austen's Works
The Progressive in Jane Austen's Works

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by

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Abstract

The progressive is one of many unique grammatical features of English, which dates back to the Old English period, but has fully developed and established itself in Modern English, especially in Late Modern English. Historically, the rules of the use of the progressive were not set before 1600, and after 1700 the systematic rules of the progressive were established. Around 1800, there was a sudden rise in the frequency of the progressive. The progressive was common in spoken language around 1800, but it was not fully accepted in the conventions of publishing (Denison 1998), because the progressive was looked down on as a feature of the English in Ireland and Scotland and the formality of the eighteenth-century England kept its distance from the use of the progressive in public (Arnaud: 1998).

Jane Austen is known for her fondness of the progressive, the 'be + Ving' construction. Austen created six major works, Sense and Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice, Northanger Abbey (earlier works), Mansfield Park, Emma, and Persuasion (later works), when the progressive saw the sudden surge in use. Her early works existed in some form by 1797, and her later works were written between 1811 and 1816. Even though Austen's contemporary writers controlled the use of the progressive, Austen never hesitated and was even always ready to use the progressive. Austen's use of the progressive is worth an investigation for two reasons: 1) the age of her writing is of particular interest for the study of the progressive; 2) the progressive is said to be an essential part of her artistic development.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate Austen's use of the progressive quantitatively and qualitatively by studying her works chronologically, and to examine the ongoing change of the progressive. I also would like to examine
the relationship between the grammatical form of the ‘be + Ving’ construction and Austen's style of narrative, i.e. ‘free indirect speech.’

The method of the investigation is to examine Austen's progressives in her six works in terms of: 1) occurrences and frequencies; 2) clausal distribution; 3) subject-types; 4) verb-types; 5) meanings and functions. I have examined the instances separately in dialogue and in narrative. The former will give us a good picture of the spoken language of that period. The latter will show us some aspects of narration in Austen's works.

The progressive under examination in this study includes the present and past progressives, the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries (counted as in finite verbal position), progressive infinitive, progressive gerund, and progressive participle (counted as in non-finite verbal position). The ‘be going to + Ving’ construction denoting futurity, the present and past perfect progressives (have/ has/ had + been + Ving) are excluded.

Occurrences of the progressive both in finite and non-finite verbal positions increase in the later works. The numbers of the past progressive, the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries, and the progressive infinitive greatly increase. As for frequency of the progressive per 30,000 words, the figures in the later works both in finite and non-finite verbal positions more than double. The frequencies in the later works are 90 to 95 per 30,000 words. Compared with the frequencies of the progressive used by other writers, Austen's frequent use of the progressive is innovative, and it can be said that the use of the progressive is one of her stylistic features.

As for the clausal distribution (i.e. subordinate or non-subordinate use) of the progressive, Austen's use of it is salient, given the fact that in the narrative prose in
the first half of the eighteenth century, non-subordinate use of the progressive is very rare, and that non-subordinate use is found only in dialogue. In narrative, Austen's non-subordinate use of the progressive has become a majority over subordinate use of the progressive in the later works. Furthermore, Austen's non-subordinate use of the progressive in narrative surpasses that in dialogue. This fact shows two important points: 1) Austen's narrative has a feature of dialogue; 2) the form of Austen's novels in terms of narrative is new. The second point is closely related to her employment of 'free indirect speech' in narrative, which also explains the great number of the occurrences of the past progressive to some extent.

With respect to the subject-types (i.e. animate or inanimate subject) of the progressive, there have been quantitative and qualitative changes. The number of the inanimate subjects of the progressive increases in the later works. The proportion of the inanimate subjects of the progressive in the later works accounts for some 15 percent of all the subjects of the progressive, compared with some 10 percent in the earlier works. Generally the word-count of the noun phrases of the inanimate subjects of the progressive in the later works is larger than that in the earlier works. With the expansion of the use of the progressive with inanimate subjects, certain types of ambiguity emerge that affect the ongoing change of the progressive itself.

Verb-types used with the progressive in Austen's works have changed, compared with the verb-types in the eighteenth-century novels before Austen, in which only verbs of action were used. In Austen's works, stative verbs are introduced. They are verbs of perception, cognition, and emotion such as think, suppose, wish, feel, intend, want and like. There seems to be no restriction on the verbs used with the progressive. From this fact, I found that the functions of the progressive in Austen's days are different from those of Present-day English.
As for the meanings of the progressive, iterative (repetitive) meaning is removed from that of Present-day English in that it does not express emotional colouring from irritation or annoyance. Terminative meaning is expressed by the use of the progressive unlike in Present-day English. Length of duration expressed by the progressive is relatively longer than that in Present-day English, covering habits and professions.

By the introduction of the stative verbs of perception and emotion, the inner (mental) activities of the characters are described. Pragmatically, the primary function of the progressive in Austen's works is modal, while temporal, durative aspectual function is secondary. This is verified by the following facts: 1) the stative verbs of perception, cognition, and emotion are used with the progressive; 2) the progressive co-occurs with verbs of thinking (e.g. think, suppose, imagine, fancy, etc.) as its verbal object, and with modal adverbials and adjectives (e.g. probably, perhaps, evidently, sure, certain, etc.); 3) the instances of the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries increase; 4) the increased instances of the progressive infinitive are concerned with modal expressions.

Austen's use of the progressive is something that was not seen in novels in the first half of the eighteenth century in terms of frequencies, clausal distribution, subject-types, verb-types, and meanings and functions derived from the ongoing changes of the progressive itself. I would like to assert that Austen's choice of writing by using the progressive with higher frequency is closely related to modal function of the progressive, and that Austen manipulated the modal progressive in 'free indirect speech' to represent the inner activities of the characters with the intended literary effect of the reader's involvement in the novels.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The progressive, the ‘be + Ving’ construction, is one of the many unique grammatical features in English, which dates back to the Old English period, but has fully developed and established itself in Modern English, especially in Late Modern English. In the years around 1800, the use of the progressive rapidly grew.

Jane Austen, who was born in 1775, created her works at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth century, and is known for her fondness of the progressive. Through her use of the progressive, we will be able to obtain the picture of the ongoing change of the progressive and clues as to the factors which caused the sudden growth of the construction.

1.1 Previous studies

According to Strang (1982: 429), the rules for the use of the progressive were established in the eighteenth century. She classifies “the pre-1600 period as one of unsystematic use, and the post-1700 period as one of systematic or grammatically-required use.” By citing Dennis (1940), she claims that the progressive has been doubling approximately every century since 1500, with a level-off in the eighteenth century, and a spurt at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Working on a corpus comprised of samples of narrative prose from the early eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, Strang identifies the time around 1800 as a ‘critical period’ of the progressive. Strang's view is supported by Hunst (2004) that before or around 1800 the relative frequency of the progressive
with agentive and nonagentive subjects began to change. The claim by Hunst is based on the findings from a corpus of various registers of texts from the nineteenth century.

According to Denison (1998), the progressive was common in speech around 1800, but it was not fully accepted in the conventions of publishing. But Jane Austen, as Raybould (1957: 175-6) points out, did not hesitate to use the construction, though her contemporary female writers did not allow their characters over the age of eight years old, who were considered to be adults in those days, to use it. Raybould claims that Austen was undoubtedly fond of it, though the formality and archaising tendencies of the eighteenth-century English required canons of propriety and decorum in the name of elegance and delicacy.

Arnaud (1998) explains that the progressive was “looked down on as a feature of the English of Celtic areas, especially Ireland and Scotland,” in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was viewed by educated people as a vulgar language most likely due to the close association with dialect. He gives special remarks about Austen's fondness of the construction. He notes that one might have expected her not to use the progressive, considering its historical spread from Celtic areas down towards the whole of England between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries explained by Mossé (1938), and her social background of clerical family circles in which she was raised in the southern part of England. Arnaud ascribes her taste for the progressive to some personal reasons.

Arnaud's survey of private letters of famous writers for about a century dating from 1787 to 1880 reveals a clear correlation between two factors: gender and intimacy. Frequencies of the progressive are higher for women, and increase with the degree of intimacy. He notes that intimacy is connected both with sociological and
psychological conditionings, so the use of the progressive is strongly related to speakers and situations, and is also affected by feelings and moods.

Strang (1982:448-51) suggests that around 1800, novelists, including Austen, experimented with the use of the progressive, even though they may have experienced some difficulty in coming to terms with the powerful new resource. Strang states that they rapidly improved with practice. Raybould (1957: 176) asserts that Austen's use of the progressive is an integral part of her artistic development and that she was a pioneer in the field of literary techniques on the use of the progressive.

1.2 The purpose of the present study

The purpose of the present study is to investigate Austen's use of the progressive quantitatively and qualitatively by studying her works chronologically in order to examine the ongoing change of the progressive through her use. I also would like to examine the effect of Austen's use of the progressive on her novels.

Austen was raised in the midst of the grammatical prescriptism in English in the second half of the eighteenth century and she had a high standard of her own grammar (Phillipps: 1970). She lived in a ‘critical period’ of the progressive. By studying her grammar and her use of the relevant construction, we will be able to see the aspects of change in the progressive.

Austen's psychology in breaking away from the social conventions and choosing to write her novels by using the progressive unlike her contemporary writers is of keen interest. What psychological factors drove her to use the progressive? Strang (1982: 430) and Arnaud (1998: 128) suggest that to use it in literature in those days carried a risk of colloquialism, informality and even vulgarism. Did she have some conviction that the construction would produce more than what she might lose
at least in terms of attempting to defy the status quo?

1.3 Data and method

I have examined the progressive in Austen's six works, i.e. *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Northanger Abbey* (1818), *Mansfield Park* (1814), *Emma* (1815), and *Persuasion* (1818). Henceforth each piece of literature will be abbreviated as SS, PP, NA, MP, E and P in the order mentioned in the preceding sentence. SS, PP and NA existed in some form by 1797 (her early works), and MP, E and P were written between 1811 and 1816 (her later works).

I have dealt with the occurrences of the progressive in Austen's works in terms of: 1) occurrences and frequency; 2) clausal distribution; 3) subject-types; 4) verb-types; 5) meanings and functions, by following Strang's approach to a certain extent. I have identified the instances separately in both dialogue and narrative. The instances in dialogue will help to form a cohesive picture of the spoken language. Those in narrative will demonstrate Austen's technique of narration.

In addition, I have surveyed meanings and functions of the instances of Austen's use of the progressive from two dimensions. The first one is to sort the lexical verbs into four groups of meanings (i.e. futurity, iteration, termination, and the others). Another one is to classify lexical verbs according to four verb-classes by Vendler (1967), that is, what he calls Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and States.

For the present study, I have used *Oxford Illustrated Jane Austen* series reprinted in 1988. I also have utilized the electronic texts provided by Project Gutenberg (http://www.promo.net/pg) to make a thorough investigation.
1.4 Count of the progressive

In the present study, I have identified the present and past progressives, the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries (in finite verbal position), and the infinitival, participal, and gerundial progressives (in non-finite verbal position). The progressive combined with modal auxiliaries (modal auxiliaries plus bare infinitive) is treated as the instance in finite verbal position for consideration of clausal distribution.

I have excluded the ‘Ving’ of adjectival force, and nominal force from my count. The ‘be going to + V’ construction, which is considered to be a part of the progressive and expresses the immediate future, is omitted as well. This construction was grammaticalized in the seventeenth century and is seen extensively in Austen's texts. I do not count present or past perfect progressive, i.e. the ‘have ( has )/ had been +V ing’ construction, either.
Chapter 2

Occurrences and Frequencies

2.1 Occurrences

Table 1 below shows the overall count of the occurrences of the progressive in Austen's works. In finite verbal position, the total number of occurrences of the present and past progressives, and the progressive with modal auxiliaries is shown, while in non-finite verbal position, that of the progressive infinitive, progressive participle and progressive gerund is shown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>finite verbal position</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-finite verbal position</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8.3%)</td>
<td>(5.2%)</td>
<td>(10.8%)</td>
<td>(10.7%)</td>
<td>(9.9%)</td>
<td>(13.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total occurrences</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 1 shows, the total occurrences in the later three works more than double, compared with those in the early three. The occurrences of the progressive both in finite and non-finite verbal positions increase, especially the number of progressives in non-finite verbal position, which grows sharply.

The occurrences of the progressive in finite and non-finite verbal positions are classified in Table 2 below. Table 3 shows the occurrences and the proportion of the present and past progressives and the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries.
Table 2: Classification of the progressive in finite and non-finite verbal positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finite verbal position</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>were</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combination with modal auxiliaries</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-finite verbal position</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitival</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerundial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Occurrences and proportion of the present, past progressives and the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25.0%)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(64.6%)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive with modal auxiliaries</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentages in parentheses)
Table 2 and 3 show the number of occurrences of the present progressive, or the present participle combined with *am, is* or *are*, which demonstrates more or less that it does not change. In the later three works, the proportion of the present progressive to the total occurrences in finite verbal position shrinks to less than 20 percent. Looking at the past progressive, the proportion of the past progressive to the total number does not vary as much, hovering around the 65 percent line, though the instances themselves grow in later novels. The space is filled by the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries from about 9 percent, to some 15 percent. According to Strang (1982: 440), the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries is very rare in novels dating before the nineteenth century. As for the progressive infinitive in non-finite verbal position, the number of the instances triples in later works.

As to the lineup of the modal auxiliaries, the earlier three novels (SS, PP and NA) have, *will, shall, can, may, must, would, should, could, might*, and *ought to*. In the later novels (MP, E and P) the new inventory of modal auxiliaries are *would rather, used to* and *cannot*.

### 2.2 Frequencies

Table 4 below shows frequency of each work, that is, the total number of the progressive per 30,000 words.
Table 4: Frequency of the progressive per 30,000 words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>finite verbal position</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finite and non-finite verbal position</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>95.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a whole, the frequencies of the later works increase about 200 percent both for those in finite verbal position (the present and past progressives, and the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries), and those in finite and non-finite verbal positions combined. According to the data by previous studies, the frequencies in later works is on par with those (with the rate of 80 to 100 per 30,000 words) of novels reached in the middle of the nineteenth century. The data obtained from previous studies includes present and past perfect progressives, and the ‘be going to + v’ construction, though my data excludes them. My figures are lower because of the difference in the contents of the data.

Strang (1982: 437) notes that Austen's frequency is worth noting compared with her contemporary writers all except for Maria Edgeworth, who wrote as an Irish writer creating an atmosphere of the region by using Irishisms.

Strang discusses style, or a certain way an author writes. She explains that “as the [progressive] construction establishes itself it will reach a level of frequency so high that variations must be considered purely stylistic, i.e. dependent on the way the novelist is writing a particular novel, and not at all on the historical development of the language” (1982: 432). She asserts that this level is reached at the rate of 80 to 100 per 30,000 words, and she calls it the maturity of the progressive. She states that this stage is reached by the mid-nineteenth century as far as what is roughly
labeled “standard literary English” is concerned (1982: 432).

Arnaud (1998: 134), surveying the progressive in the letters of famous writers in the nineteenth century, notes that “the two champions of the progressive are Thackeray and Mrs. Gaskell.” The frequency of the former is about 104 per 30,000 words, while that of the latter is about 108, including the progressives that I have excluded. The rate of my data of Austen’s progressives perhaps may be bloated. Thackeray was born in 1811 and wrote novels toward the middle of the century. Mrs. Gaskell, born in 1810, wrote about the same time.

Strang’s maturity level reached in novels and Arnaud’s culmination in letters overlap in time, and both took place in the middle of the nineteenth century. From this, one can say that Austen’s use of the progressive is very characteristic and innovative. Phillipps (1970: 111) calls it idiosyncratic use.
Chapter 3

Clausal distribution

3.1 Clausal distribution in finite verbal position

3.1.1 Subordinate use or non-subordinate use

The distribution of the progressive, i.e. whether the occurrence of the progressive in finite clauses is distributed in subordinate clause or in non-subordinate clause, is treated here.

Strang notes that in narrative prose in the first half of the eighteenth century, the progressive occurs only in certain types of subordinate clauses, especially temporal, relative or local clauses. In non-subordinate clauses (in coordination and independent main clauses) and in other types of subordinate clauses, the use of the progressive is rare. The environment for the progressive to occur in narrative is very limited. In dialogue, main clause use (non-subordinate clause use) is accepted (1982: 441-42).

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, main clause use in narrative begins to rise, and the proportion begins to change. But still subordinate use is dominant, or seen the other way around, non-subordinate use is in a minority. Taking the nineteenth century as a whole, “the distribution has shifted so that there are slightly more subordinate than non-subordinate uses” (Strang 1982: 442). Austen's novels were written at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth century, which was a transition period in terms of the clausal distribution of the progressive in novels.

Table 5 below shows the clausal distribution in each of Austen's works in terms of dialogue and narrative. In order to examine the changes of the clausal distribution
concretely, I have subdivided subordinate clauses into: 1) temporal, local or relative clauses, which Strang refers to as types of subordinate clauses used in the novels in the first half of the eighteenth century; 2) other types of adverbial clauses denoting reason, condition, concession, etc., starting with conjunctions such as because, as, if, though, etc.; 3) non-restrictive relative clauses; 4) nominal clauses functioning as subject, object, adjectival object, etc. in some higher clauses. Subordinate clauses subdivided into 2), 3), and 4) are the ones that are rare in the novels in the first half of the eighteenth century. I have also subdivided non-subordinate clauses into: 1) main clauses in complex sentence; 2) coordinate or simple clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite verbal position</th>
<th>SS dialog</th>
<th>SS narrative</th>
<th>PP dialog</th>
<th>PP narrative</th>
<th>RA dialog</th>
<th>RA narrative</th>
<th>letter dialog</th>
<th>letter narrative</th>
<th>letter</th>
<th>E dialog</th>
<th>E narrative</th>
<th>P dialog</th>
<th>P narrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temporal, local, or relative clause</td>
<td>9 23 15 30 1 6 14 22 56 2 28 45 1 11 28 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>other types of adverbial clause</td>
<td>1 5 4 1 3 9 9 10 6 3 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>non-restrictive relative clause</td>
<td>2 7 3 10 3 1 27 4 19 15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nominal clause</td>
<td>20 17 14 23 1 10 14 35 42 1 48 32 1 16 23 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>* main clause</td>
<td>13 7 8 15 9 4 14 25 14 28 3 12 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* coordinate or simple</td>
<td>32 13 43 61 2 38 22 61 130 2 89 117 1 38 77 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>76 68 88 143 4 64 66 142 289 5 193 267 2 71 158 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-finite verbal position</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infinitival</td>
<td>3 10 6 6 3 7 19 31 23 24 16 18</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>participal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerundial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>3 10 6 7 0 3 12 20 32 1 23 27 0 17 20 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: non-subordinate clause (finite clauses with *)
non-subordinate clause (finite clauses without *)

Austen includes the letters written by the characters in the narration, which I have identified as such.

The findings from the data are:

1) non-subordinate use of the progressive both in dialogue and narrative
outnumbers subordinate use except in SS (in SS total subordinate use is 79, non-subordinate use is 65, in PP 106 and 129, in NA 51 and 73, in MP 204 and 232, in E 213 and 249, and in P 101 and 132);

2) the use of the progressive occurs more in narrative than in dialogue except in SS and NA (in SS 68 in narrative and 76 in dialogue, in PP 143 and 88, in NA 60 and 64, in MP 289 and 142, in E 267 and 193, and in P 158 and 71);

3) in narrative the non-subordinate use of the progressive outnumber the subordinate use except in SS and NA (in SS non-subordinate use is 20 and subordinate use is 48, in PP 76 and 67, in NA 26 and 34, in MP 155 and 134, in E 145 and 122, and in P 89 and 69).

From these findings, I would like to assert two points: 1) the form of Austen's novels is very new in that she uses the progressive in non-subordinate clauses in narrative; 2) her narrative itself has a feature of dialogue, given the fact that in the novels in the first half of the eighteenth century main clause (non-subordinate) use was accepted in dialogue.

The explanation for the first point is that Austen is one of the first writers that use 'free indirect speech.' It is basically a form of indirect speech. In 'free indirect speech,' speech or the stream of thought is reported by omitting the reporting clause and retaining the potentialities of the direct-speech sentence structure. As a result, there are signals left to show that the works are being reported, rather than being in direct speech: 1) the backshift of the verb; 2) the equivalent shifts in personal pronouns, demonstratives, and time and place references (deictic signs) (Quirk, et al. 1985: 1032).

In 'free indirect speech,' the omission of the reporting clause leaves the bare part of speech or the stream of thought. Syntactically, in 'free indirect speech', the
corresponding reporting clause in indirect speech, which is usually main clause, is deleted. Then the reported speech or thought, which is in originally subordinate nominal clause in corresponding indirect speech, emerges as main clause. The clause has backshifted tense and deictic signs, as is seen in (henceforth the occurrence of the progressive in dialogue shown as (d.), and that in narrative shown as (n.)): 

(1) Time passed on. A few more to-morrows, and the party from London would be arriving. It was an alarming change; and Emma was thinking of it one morning as what must bring a great deal to agitate and grieve her, when Mr. Knightly came in, and distressing thoughts were put by. (n.) (E, p. 470)

Austen's extensive use of 'free indirect speech' will explain non-subordinate use of the progressive. To a certain degree, instances of the past progressive in non-subordinate clauses, which are backshifted to the past progressive (from the original present progressive), can be explained in this line. Thus, a certain part of the occurrences of the past progressive shown in Table 3 can be explained. In other words, the occurrences of the past progressive in 'free indirect speech' raise the overall number of the occurrences.

The second point that Austen's narrative itself has a feature of dialogue can be interpreted, as that, in 'free indirect speech' the direct-speech sentence structure is retained. Of course the progressives in non-subordinate clauses in narrative include other uses than in 'free indirect speech'. To clarify this point, I would like to look at the non-subordinate use in dialogue as well.

In SS, as for the occurrences of the progressive in non-subordinate clauses in dialogue, the numbers are 13 and 32, and the total accounts for 59 percent of all the
progressives in dialogue. The figures in the rest of the works are 58 percent in P, 73 percent in NA, 53 percent in both MP and E, and 58 percent in P. Dialogue shows some features of spoken language. The anatomy of dialogue in Austen's works reveals that the non-subordinate use of the progressive roughly makes up 50 to 60 percent of all the uses in dialogue. If these figures are a feature for dialogue, the percentage of non-subordinate clause use in narrative, is very close to that in dialogue, all except for SS and NA. To me it seems that Austen was experimenting with the use of the progressive in narrative as a beginning novelist, as the change in the figures demonstrates.

From the data, in her later novels, or chronologically, I claim that her narrative is settled to partake of more touch or feel of dialogue, as far as syntactic structures (non-subordinate use) are concerned. My claim is supported by Raybould's (1957: 176) statement that Austen, being a realist, made written language more and more like spoken language by reproducing the language she heard around her. Raybould further suggests that Austen's use of the progressive is based on accurate observation as well as her own need for stylistic self-expression (1957: 190).

As summaries of the findings of the clausal distribution, I would like to assert two points again: 1) as the results of the clausal distribution of the progressive show, Austen has created a new form of narrative that had never been seen in earlier novels; 2) besides a feature that the progressive itself is colloquial and conversational, Austen makes her narrative carry a feature of dialogue, in that non-subordinate use comprises more than 50 percent of the total uses of the progressive in narrative.
3.1.2 Further findings from the observation of clausal distribution

This section examines the uses of the progressive in certain clauses minutely: 1) coordinate or simple clauses; 2) temporal, local or relative clauses; 3) non-restrictive relative clauses; 4) main clauses in complex sentence.

1) The occurrences of the progressive in coordinate or simple clauses show striking growth in chronological terms according to Table 5. The total occurrences in the later three works are two and a half times more than those in the earlier three works. In the earlier works, the total number in dialogue, 113, is a majority compared with that in narrative, 96. The later three novels reverse the ratio, 1 to 1.7. In the later three works, the number in narrative grows about 330 percent compared with that in the earlier three, while the number in dialogue grows about 160 percent.

2) The occurrences in temporal, local, or relative clauses, do not change. This use is already seen in the novels in the first half of the eighteenth century, as suggested by Strang. But in terms of the proportion, the use decreases chronologically with the figures starting from 17 percent in SS, running through 12 percent in PP, and settling down to 7 to 8 percent in the later novels.

3) The occurrences of the progressive in non-restrictive relative clause are more seen in narrative than in dialogue. The total occurrences in dialogue are very small in number, while those in narrative are contrastingly large enough to show some tendency. In Austen's earlier novels the use is already exploited as a technique for narration in contrast with the cases in dialogue. This technique is more employed in her later three novels.

Quirk et al. explains that the non-restrictive relationship is often semantically very similar to coordination (1985: 1258). The practical functional equation to coordination clauses means that the progressive used in this type of clauses makes
narrative more partake of spoken language.

4) The occurrences of the progressive in main clauses in complex sentence show the change both in number and domain. The total number grows in the later three works. In Austen's earlier works, the use in dialogue is the majority by a small margin. In the later three works, the use in narrative increases and dominates, though the total number of the occurrences in dialogue is about the same as that of its counterpart in the earlier works. There are about twice as many occurrences as in dialogue.

Furthermore, I find that Austen attempts to expand the use of the progressive in a different environment especially in the later works. For example, in MA and in E, Austen uses the progressive in the second clause of a cleft sentence, or in the ‘It is ... that S V’ construction in (2). In (3), Austen combines the progressive with the ‘... not more .... when ...’ type of construction:

(2) it was a voice that Fanny was just turning pale about,... (n.) (MP, p. 399)
(3) Mary and Ann were not more than beginning breakfast when Charles came in ...
    (n.) (P, p. 59)

3.2 Clausal distribution in non-finite verbal position

3.2.1 Progressive infinitive

Progressive infinitive, mostly the syntagm of ‘to be + Ving’ and some the syntagm of ‘be + Ving’, are seen throughout all the works. As Table 5 shows, in the later three works, the total occurrences grow about 365 percent when compared with those in earlier three works. The detailed distribution of progressive infinitive is shown in Table 6.
Table 6: List of Progressive infinitives in dialogue and narrative (both to-infinitive and bare infinitive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense and Sensibility</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d.) seem to be ...ing 2</td>
<td>(n.) seem to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happen to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>happen to be ...ing 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>believe O to be ...ing type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hope to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be impatient to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pride and Prejudice</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d.) believe O to be ...ing type 2</td>
<td>(n.) seem to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>suppose O to be ...ing type 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (adverbial force) 2</td>
<td>too late to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as to be ...ing 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northanger Abbey</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d.) happen to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>(n.) seem to be ...ing 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 1</td>
<td>suppose O to be ...ing type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>long to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* to be ...ing (adjectival) 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subtotal of progressive infinitive --- 35 (subtotal of 'to be ...ing' --- 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mansfield Park</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d.) chance to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>(n.) seem to be ...ing 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want to be ...ing type 2</td>
<td>know O to be ...ing type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish O to be ...ing type 2</td>
<td>be eager to be ...ing type 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (adjectival force) 3</td>
<td>hope to be ...ing 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 5</td>
<td>intend to be ...ing type 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be + to be ...ing 3</td>
<td>be glad to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not be ...ing 2</td>
<td>apt to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** (negative imperative)</td>
<td>* to be ...ing (exclamatory) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let us be ...ing ** (imperative) 1</td>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* to be ...ing (adjectival force) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* to be ...ing (adverbial force) 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emma</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d.) seem to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>(n.) seem to be ...ing 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know O to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>want to be ...ing type 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want to be ...ing type 2</td>
<td>know O to be ...ing type 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish O to be ...ing type 2</td>
<td>allow O to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>be + to be ...ing 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be + to be ...ing 3</td>
<td>* to be ...ing (exclamatory) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 12</td>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (adverbial force) 2</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persuasion</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d.) want to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>(n.) seem to be ...ing 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hate to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>try to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>believe O to be ...ing type 3</td>
<td>want O to be ...ing 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be supposed to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>be eager to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>persuade O to be ...ing 1</td>
<td>consider O to be ...ing type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 6</td>
<td>announce oneself to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (adjectival force) 1</td>
<td>be pronounced to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* to be ...ing (adverbial force) 2</td>
<td>be obligated to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enough not to be ...ing 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>too much engaged ...to be walking 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* to be ...ing (nominal force) 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subtotal of progressive infinitive --- 131 (subtotal of 'to be ...ing' --- 58)

Notes: 1) O is object.
2) 'Type' means that the instance appears in the same pattern with a verb or an adjective which has a similar lexical meaning.
3) be + to be ...ing is the progressive of 'be + to -infinitive' which means plan, obligation or necessity.
As Table 6 shows, the patterns with which progressive infinitive occurs change. The patterns in the earlier three works and those in the later works differ dramatically.

In SS, among the patterns are 'seem to be Ving' and 'happen to be Ving'. The function of progressive infinitive in this pattern is subject complement. The function of that in 'believe O to be Ving' is object complement. The function of that in 'hope to be Ving' is verbal object. Those of be impatient to be and as to be Ving function as adjectival or prepositional complement non-finite clause. The progressive infinitives in SS are related closely with the verbs, adjectives or prepositions like seem, happen, hope, impatient, and as.

In PP, the patterns in general are much the same. The new addition is 'to be Ving', which is an adverbial phrase denoting the reason of the judgement (4). In NA, the further instances of 'to be Ving' appear, which work as a nominal or an adjectival phrase (5). The instances of them are as follows:

(4) Are you out of your senses, to be accepting this man? (d.) (PP, p. 376)
(5) to be labouring only for the torment of little boys and girls, always struck me as a hard fate. (d.) (NA, p. 109)

In MP, the types of the patterns with which progressive infinitive occurs expand with the increase of the instances. Among new additions are the 'wish O to be Ving' type (6) and the 'intend to to be Ving' type (7):

(6) and I do beseech and intreat you not to be putting yourself forward...
(d.) (MP, p. 221)
(7) Sir Thomas meant to be giving Mr. Rushworth's opinion in better words than he
could find himself. (n.) (MP, p. 186)

In E and in P, more new types are added: the ‘allow O to be Ving’ type, the ‘persuade O to be Ving’ type, the ‘announce oneself to be Ving’ type, the ‘try to be Ving’ type, etc. In P, ‘be supposed to be Ving’, ‘be pronounced to be Ving’, ‘be obligated to be Ving’, etc. are added.

Further patterns include the construction of the ‘be + to be Ving’ in later works:

(8) He was to be describing and recommending matrimony to me. (d.) (MP, p. 358)

(9) The intelligence, which had been so anxiously announced to her, she was now to be anxiously announcing to another. (n.) (E, p.404)

Another rare progressive is the use in the imperative. The occurrences are only 3 throughout the six novels and they all appear in MP. One is the ‘let us be Ving’ construction (10). The other two are the negative imperatives (11):

(10) Let us be doing something. Be it only half a play--an act--a scene; what should prevent us? (d.) (MP, p. 123)

(11) do not be dawdling any longer, or the dance will be over. (d.) (MP, p.119)

In the later three works, the phrase, ‘to be Ving’, increases in number and expands in functions. For example in (12), the phrase, ‘to be Ving’ functions as subject, and in (13) as verbal object:

(12) To be losing such pleasures was no trifle... (n.) (MP, p. 432)
(13) I think it rather unnecessary in you to be advising me. (d.) (P, p. 35)

The phrase, 'to be Ving' may appear as a nominal, an adjectival, or an adverbial phrase. In the case of an exclamatory type, it alone makes up an utterance. Further examples are as follows:

(14) Such sensations, however, were too near a kin to resentment to be long guiding Fanny's soliloquies. (n.) (MP, p. 424-5)

(15) But, could you be comfortable yourself, to be spending the whole evening away from the poor boy? (d.) (P, p. 56)

(16) Mr. Knightley to be no longer coming there for his evening comfort!
(n.) (E, p. 422)

As Table 6 shows, the total number of the phrase, 'to be Ving' (with * in Table 6) in the dialogues of MP, E and P, is 31 out of all the 58 occurrences of the progressive infinitive, that is, in proportion, about 53 percent. The same count in narrative is 27 out of all the 73 occurrences, or, in proportion, about 37 percent. The total occurrences in both dialogue and narrative is 58, and account for about 44 percent, while in the earlier three works the total occurrences is 4 out of all the instances of 35. The proportion is quite large, and should be scrutinized further. It is analyzed below in consideration of meanings and functions in Chapter 6 again.

3.2.2 Progressive participle

There are 9 occurrences of progressive participle in six of Austen's works. They all appear in narrative. The examples are as follows:
(17) The younger Miss Thorpes being also dancing, Catherine was left to the mercy of Mrs. Thorpe and Mrs. Allen... (N.A, pp. 52-3)

(18) and being now almost facing the house where the Bateses lodged, Emma recollected his intended visit the day before, and asked him... (n.) (E, p. 198)

(19) and the concert being just opening, she must consent for a time to be happy in a humbler way. (n.) (P, p. 186)

(20) Her attention was now claimed by Mr. Woodhouse, who being, according to his custom on such occasions, making the circle of his guests, and paying his particular compliments to the ladies, was ending... (n.) (E, p. 294)

In (20), the progressive participle clause has the relative pronoun who as its subject and works just like a non-restrictive relative clause.

Denison (1998: 203-05) states that ‘double -ing’, or ‘being + Ving’, which pertains to progressive participle and gerund (cf. section 3.2.3), were common from the mid-sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century. But ‘double -ing’ almost disappeared after that period. Denison notes that Austen is one of “the last exponents” of the use of the ‘double -ing’ type.

3.2.3 Progressive gerund

As mentioned in the preceding section, Austen, who is one of “the last exponents” of the use of the ‘double -ing’ type, produces 8 occurrences of progressive gerund. This may be related to Austen's fondness for the gerund as a typical English writer suggested by Phillipps (1970: 132). Some of the examples are as follows:
(21) she could hardly suppress a smile, at his being now seeking the acquaintance of some of those very people, against whom ... (n.) (PP, pp. 254-5)

(22) To be driven by him, next to being dancing with him, was certainly the greatest happiness in the world. (n.) (NA, p. 157)

(23) business called him to Everingham ten days ago, or perhaps he only pretended the call, for the sake of being travelling at the same time that you were. 
(letter) (MP, p. 393)

(24) I must say it is very unfeeling of him, to be running away from his poor little boy; talks of his being going on so well! (d.) (P, p. 56)
Chapter 4

Subject-types

4.1 Subject-types

Types of subjects of the progressive, animate or inanimate, is treated in the present chapter. The data of the subject-types of the progressive in Austen's works are shown in Table 7 below. The subjects of the progressive only in finite clauses, or the subjects of the present and past progressives and the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries are surveyed.

| Table 7: Subject-types of the progressive in finite verbal position |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                  | SS    | PP    | NA    | MP    | E     | P     |
| animate subject  | 132   | 209   | 111   | 363   | 391   | 204   |
| inanimate subject| 12    | 26    | 13    | 73    | 71    | 29    |
|                  | (8.3%)| (11.1%)| (10.5%)| (16.7%)| (15.4%)| (12.4%)|

The proportion of inanimate subjects changes from work to work. But the general tendency is that the proportions in the earlier three works are lower than those in the later three works. There may be two factors for this difference: 1) the ongoing change in the subject-types of the progressive in the period; 2) Austen's own development of the usage.

Strang's (1982: 443-45) corpus of novels from 1726 to 1760 produces no inanimate subjects among the 199 instances of the progressive. Further explanation goes that the progressive should be generally confined to use with subjects, which are either human or capable of activity, and with verbs of action. The rule of
subject-selection is observed with great strictness in the eighteenth century except with the use in passives.

Strang also explicates that the first instances of the use of inanimate subjects of the progressive in her corpus are attested in a novel from 1786. From her further survey of inanimate subjects in novels up to the year 1818, Strang identifies the period around 1800 as a ‘critical period’ concerning the use of the progressive.

Austen's earlier works, *SS*, *PP* and *NA* existed in some form by 1798, and the later works *MP*, *E* and *P* were written between 1811 and 1816. The times of creation coincide with what Strang calls the ‘critical period’.

4.1.1 Inanimate subject-types in earlier works

4.1.1.1 Inanimate subject-types in *SS* and *NA*

Of the earlier three works, *SS* is most likely to have been written earliest. In the book, there are 16 occurrences of the ‘inanimate subject + be + *V*ing’ construction:

(25) as the clouds were then dispersing across the sky... (n.) (*SS*, p. 63)
(26) without claiming a share in what was passing. (n.) (*SS*, p. 121)
(27) tell at what coachmaker's the new carriage was building... (n.) (*SS*, p. 215)
(28) It will only be sending Betty by the coach... (d.) (*SS*, p. 153)

(italicized mine)

The constructions from (25) to (27) are the progressive, while that in (28) is not. The phrase in (28) which has ‘*V*ing’ as the head has nominal force, considering the context.
As far as the grammar of the 'be + Ving' type in SS is concerned, Austen seems to have distinguished the progressive from the 'be + Ving' type, in which 'Ving' functions as the head with nominal force. For the latter type, pronouns such as this, that or it are used as the subject. Demonstrative pronouns can be substituted by relative pronoun which, in Austen's data. As inanimate subjects of the progressive, Austen includes relative pronouns, but does not use pronouns such as this, that or it. The distinction of the use is maintained throughout the six works. 

SS contains 4 constructions with 'Ving' of nominal force, and the rest of the 12 constructions are the progressive.

To consider the distinctions more in detail, we need to look at the historical development of gerund. Historically, gerund has been behaving in two ways: 1) nominal gerund as in (the) reading of the book; 2) verbal gerund as in reading the book. Nominal gerund originated in Old English, and began to coexist with verbal gerund in the fourteenth century. The verbal behaviour of gerund was becoming dominant over nominal behaviour, at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth century (Suematu 2004: 137-8). Denison describes the nominal functions of verbal gerund, i.e. subject, object, and prepositional object in some higher clauses, by giving examples except the function of complement in English in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Denison 1998: 268-72).

As far as the corpus of Austen's 'be + Ving' type is concerned, I speculate that verbal gerund, like the example (28), is an earlier example to be used as complement after copula be. The usage seems to be always with the pronoun subject such as this, that, it or which (relative pronoun). This type of gerundial construction, 'This, That, or It + be + Ving' not only bears formal resemblance to the progressive, but also in some way affects the ongoing change of the progressive, as far as the data of Austen's
English is concerned.

Now coming back to the inanimate subjects of the progressive in _SS_, out of 12 progressives that have inanimate subjects, 6 are relative pronouns. The others are mostly the ‘determiner (the) + noun.’ Five of six relative pronouns are followed by lexical verbs, _pass_ and _go on_, which have identical meaning and all form a set phrase like _every thing that was passing_ and _what was going on_. Strang (1982: 445) notes that “at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries pronouns have formed a transition to the use of the (progressive) construction with inanimate subjects.” Austen's use of relative pronouns as the inanimate subjects of the progressive fits Strang's view. In _SS_, only relative pronouns, not other types of pronouns, are used.

The progressive in (27) is the covert passive or ‘passival’, in which the surface subject is inanimate or at least nonagentive and the deep subject would have been human if expressed (Denison: 1998: 149, Strang: 1982: 443).

In _NA_, there are 13 instances of the progressive with inanimate subjects. They are mostly the ‘determiner + noun’ type subject, two cases of the relative pronoun _what_, and two abstract nouns, ‘society’ and ‘appearances’. The two cases are subjects of ‘passivals.’

As mentioned, inanimate subjects of the progressive in _SS_ and _NA_ are: 1) relative pronouns; 2) the ‘determiner + noun’ type subject, which composes a majority of inanimate subjects; 3) some abstract nouns.

### 4.1.1.2 Inanimate subject-types in _PP_

There are 26 instances of the progressive with inanimate subjects and most of them are relative pronouns and the ‘determiner + noun’ type subject. New additions of relative pronouns are, _that_ and _whose_, the latter of which is combined with a noun
and becomes the subject of the progressive.

Of great importance is the introduction of the demonstrative pronoun *it*. Austen uses *it* three times as the subject of the progressive, for instance:

(29) In describing to her all the grandeur of Lady Catherine and her mansion, with occasional digressions in praise of his own humble abode, and the improvements *it* was receiving, he was happily employed until the gentlemen joined them; ...

(n.) (*PP*, p. 75) (italicized mine)

(30) Elizabeth, construing all this into a wish of hearing her speak of her sister, was pleased; and on this account, as well as some others, found herself, when their visitors left them, capable of considering the last half hour with some satisfaction, though while *it* was passing, the enjoyment of it had been little.

(n.) (*PP*, p. 264) (italicized mine)

As is shown in (29) and (30), the clauses the progressive forms with inanimate subject *it* are short, and the pronoun *it* and its antecedent are most close to each other. It seems that Austen contrived to introduce the pronoun *it* by purposely designing a way to avoid a certain kind of ambiguity in the interpretation of the 'Ving' form.

With the introduction of the inanimate pronoun subject *it* in the progressive, ambiguity increased from the formal resemblance. The above mentioned coexistence of the progressive and the 'This, That or *It* + *be* + Ving' construction is likely to cause the ambiguity. The formal resemblance of the progressive which has the pronoun *it* as its subject, and the 'This, That or *It* + *be* + Ving' construction is a subtle problem, but it seems to be significant. This problem continues to exist at least during Austen's period of writing. In *PP*, there is another example of the use of
it as the subject of the progressive, for instance:

(31) for it is provoking me to retaliate, and such things may come out, ...

(d.) (PP, p. 174)

In (31), the subject of the progressive, ‘to retaliate’, is extraposed by introducing the dummy subject it. The referent of the pronoun it is to retaliate, and the referent and the pronoun subject it are close to each other.

4.1.2 Inanimate subject-types in later works

There are 73 instances of the progressive with inanimate subjects in MP, 71 in E, and 29 in P (cf. Table 7). Not only are the numbers larger than those in the earlier works, but also in general, inanimate subjects themselves seem to have become very different from those seen in the earlier works. As for the qualitative change, I would like to suggest that the pronoun it mediated the process, in that, unlike the above-mentioned three cases of the use of it (section. 4.1.1.2), the pronoun subject it and the antecedent of it are not close within the same sentence in later works. The antecedent may be a clause or a phrase as in:

(32) if he get his daughter away, it will be destroying the chief hold. (d.)(MP, p. 457)

(33) you will not object to my reading the charade to him. It will be giving him so much pleasure! (d.) (E, p. 77)

In (32), the antecedent is a preceding clause, though still within the same sentence. In (33), the antecedent is in the preceding sentence. These cases are a few. The rest
of the 13 instances of the progressive with inanimate subject *it*, in *MP* and *E* have their antecedents in the relevant context, not necessarily close to the subject *it*.

Therefore, the establishment of the use of the pronoun *it* means that anything, i.e. a notion, an idea, an event or whatever can be the subject of the progressive. The 'determiner + noun' type subjects which are a majority in the earlier works are still used, but they are quite scarce. In later works, 'adjectivals + noun' types of subjects have become the majority. Adjectivals in this case include the optional determiner, adjective and the adjectival phrase or clause. In terms of the word-count of the noun phrase of the inanimate subject of the progressive, the number in the later works is larger than that in the earlier works. Various types of the inanimate subject of the progressive are shown:

(34) and the really good feelings by which she was almost purely governed, were rapidly restoring her to all the little she had lost in Edmund's favour.
    (n.) (*MP*, p. 147)

(35) the possibility of Mr. and Miss Crawford's having applied to her uncle and obtained his permission, was giving her ease. (n.) (*MP*, p. 437)

(36) But now, another occupation and solicitude of mind was beginning to be added to these. (n.) (*P*, p. 9)

Phrases made up of gerund or even progressive infinitive are the subjects of the progressive as in:

(37) Harriet's staying away so long was beginning to make her uneasy.
    (n.) (*E*, p. 67)
(38) just at that time to be giving her such an indulgence, was exciting even painful gratitude. (n.) (MP, p.322)

There is another usage of the pronoun it introduced in the later works. The impersonal construction denoting weather, time or ambience is also used as in:

(39) It was beginning to look brighter, ... (n.) (MP, p. 206)
(40) By that time, it was beginning to hold up... (d.) (E. p. 179)
(41) It was growing late, and Miss Bates became anxious to get home...
   (n.) (E, p. 230)

In E, an inanimate plural pronoun, ‘they’, is used as an inanimate subject of the progressive three times, for example:

(42) as for Harriet's feelings, they were visibly forming themselves into as strong and steady an attachment... (n.) (E, p. 69)

As shown so far in the present section, there has been a quantitative and qualitative change of the inanimate subject of the progressive. As a result, the change has entailed alteration in meaning and function of the progressive, even within a limited period of about twenty years. I would like to suggest that the change has not only caused alteration in meaning and function but has also produced greater ambiguity that was created by the coexistence of the ‘passival’ and the ‘This, That or It + be + Ving’ constructions mentioned above. The three constructions have the same form, ‘be + Ving’ and the inanimate subjects in common. In the sections
below, the ‘passival’ and the ‘This, That, or It + be + Ving’ constructions are discussed.

4.2 ‘Passival’

‘Passival’ is passive progressive as in ‘The house is building’ meaning ‘The house is being built.’ It has an inanimate and nonagentive subject, and is, in form or on the surface level, identical to the progressive. It is associated with a human deep subject. According to Mossé (1938:section 234), ‘passival’ began to rise in frequency in the sixteenth century, culminated in the eighteenth century, and began to decline in the nineteenth century. Verbs of certain semantic groups denoting ‘to make’, ‘to build’, ‘to prepare’, etc. tended to be used.

In six of Austen's works, there are 17 instances of the ‘passival’. Seventeen of them occur in finite verbal position, and one in non-finite verbal position. Fifteen different verbs are used in the construction: act, blind, bring, build, carry, carry on, clear, display, endure, form, give, make, offer, play and plot. Several of the Examples are as follows:

(43) The side of the quadrangle, in which she supposed the guilty scene to be acting, being, according to her belief, just opposite her own,... (n.) (NA, pp. 188-9)
(44) the proposal of dancing ... was so effectually promoted by Mr. and Mrs. Cole, that every thing was rapidly clearing away, to give proper space. (n.) (E, p. 229)
(45) The younger boy,... went straight to the sofa to see what was going on, and put in his claim to any thing good that might be giving away. (n.) (P, p. 79)
(46) cried Tom Bertram, from the other table, where the conference was eagerly carrying on, and the conversation incessant,... (n.) (MP, p. 145)
(47) how much might at that moment, and at a little distance, be enduring by the feelings which she had led astray herself. (n.) (E, p. 451)

(48) Composure with a witness! to look on, while repeated attentions were offering to another woman, before her face, and not resent it. (d.) (E, p. 397)

The distribution of the 'passival' and the numbers of the inanimate subjects of the progressive from work to work are shown in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Instances of the 'passival' and the number of inanimate subjects of the progressive</th>
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<td>passival</td>
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<td>inanimate subjects</td>
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In the earlier works, in which the number of inanimate subjects of the progressive is not so large, it would have been with less difficulty to distinguish the progressive with inanimate subjects from the 'passival', though it must have been more difficult to do so than in the days before 1786 in the eighteenth century because subject selection in preference for animate subjects was strictly observed. In those days the progressive largely had animate subjects, and the progressive with inanimate subject would naturally be interpreted as the passive progressive. Because of this rule of subject selection, the progressive was able to be used to denote both active and passive meanings with only one identical form of 'be + Ving.' Denison notes that there was little real danger of ambiguity at least until about 1800 (1998: 149). My data from Austen's earlier works written in 1795-98, fits this view.

However, in the later works, in which the number of inanimate subjects of the progressive is large, it is more difficult to tell whether the progressive is passive or
not. Denison gives two reasons for the decline of the 'passival' (1998: 150). One is that it presumably began to carry a greater risk of ambiguity, as the progressive began to have more and more inanimate subjects. The second is that the new progressive passive, the 'be + being + Ving' construction, began to be more and more acceptable. Denison further notes that Austen is virtually the last person of letters that regularly used this construction (1998: 155).

4.3 The 'This, That or It + be + Ving' type of construction

The type of the construction treated here is not the progressive but gerundial, and yet has formal resemblance to the progressive. Be used in the construction is copula. The phrase starting with Ving has a nominal function and works as subjective complement. The subject of the sentence is mostly this, that or it, and sometimes which, the relative pronoun. The antecedent of the pronouns are mostly anaphoric in the context.

I found that this construction gives crucial influence on the development of the progressive, although no previous studies have discussed this type with the exception of Denison (1998), who treats only the 'be + being' as in:

(49) I ought to have paid my respects to her if possible. It was being very deficient. 
(d.) (E, p.280)

(50) Nay, my sweetest Catherine, this is being quite absurd! (d.) (NA, p. 144)

According to him, some studies consider this a type of the progressive. Denison claims that the verb be is copula linking an inanimate pronoun subject to a gerundial phrase. The relevant examples from my data agree with his claim. I would like to
extend this view to cover verbs other than that of the verb be.

There are two reasons for this. One is that the usage of ‘be + being’ is the same as ‘be + Ving (other than be),’ in that the antecedent of the pronouns are mostly anaphoric in context. The other is that in SS and NA, where Austen did not use the inanimate pronoun subject it of the progressive, the ‘This, That, or It + be + Ving’ construction occurs with various types of verbs. The construction occurs all through the six books with various types of verbs. In (51), (57) and (58), the construction is combined with modal auxiliaries:

(51) that would be saying too much, for certainly you have been one of the most fortunate young women in the world, as it is. (d.) (SS, p. 375)

(52) Elizabeth thought this was going prettey far;... (n.) (PP, p. 248)

(53) I could have spoken to Miss Tilney myself. This is only doing it in a ruder way;... (d.) (NA, p. 101)

(54) I have no idea of being so overstrained! It is fishing for compliments. (d.) (NA, p. 144)

(55) However, she will not find her grandmama at all deafer than she was two years ago; which is saying a great deal at my mothers time of life... (d.) (E, p. 158)

(56) This is breaking a head and giving a plaister truly!. (d.) (P, p. 127)

(57) I feel quite stupid. It must be sitting up so late last night. (d.) (MP, p. 283)

(58) Now, it would be really having Frank in their neighbourhood. (n.) (E, p. 317)

This type of construction is different from the progressive. As I have pointed out, this construction has affected the development of the progressive in later works. To be more specific, because of the formal resemblance coming from containing ‘be
+ Ving,' it is not easy to distinguish the constructions especially in MP and E.

The numbers of the 'This, That, or It + be + Ving' construction in each of the earlier three works are 4 in SS, 3 in PP and 6 in N.A.. Of them, the cases which have the pronoun it as subject are one or two respectively. In contrast, as for the number of the inanimate pronoun subject it of the progressive, there are no cases in SS or NA as mentioned above. There are three such cases in PP. In SS, PP and NA, it is almost safe to say that the distinction between the two types of the constructions is kept clear.

However, in later works, the case is not so. The numbers of this construction in each of the later works are, 10 in MP, 16 in E, and 4 in P. Of them, the cases that have the pronoun it as subject are 8 in MP and 9 in E. In P, there is no relevant case. As for the number of the inanimate pronoun subject it of the progressive, there are 6 cases in MP, and 7 cases in E, excluding the cases of the impersonal it. Again in P, there is no case, i.e. no pronoun subject it of the progressive.

In increased ambiguity coming from the formal resemblance in MP and E, the different constructions (i.e. the progressive and the gerundial constructions) which are starting with 'It + be + Ving' coexist and merge. The examples are as follows:

(59) and I think a theatre ought not to be attempted. -- It would be taking liberties with my father's house in his absence... (d.) (MP, p. 127)

(60) I have said nothing about it to any body. It would only be giving trouble and distress. (d.) (E, p.362)

(61) to assure her that the carriage would be at her service... ; for I thought it would be making her comfortable at once. (d.) (E, p. 223)
All of the three examples are combined with modal auxiliaries and this combination makes the distinction between the two constructions all the more difficult.

The mergence of the two constructions and the entailed ambiguity in MP and E led me to speculate that the no uses of pronoun it for the subject of the progressive or the gerundial construction in P mentioned above is probably not from Austen's way of writing alone. With the change in usages of the two constructions, the pronoun it seems to have been avoided as the subject in P.

In this section, the progressive which has the pronoun it as the subject has been dealt with in comparison with the construction which contains a gerundial phrase. Phillipps (1970: 113) mentions the mergence of the progressive and the adjectival Ving, like disgusting, in Austen's works. The mergence I worked at is the phrases starting with Ving of the progressive and the gerund. Thus the situations concerning the syntagm of Ving seem to be very delicate and subtle in the English of Austen's days.
Chapter 5

Verb-types

Strang (1982: 445-56) points out that, while about 65 verbs are used in eighteenth-century novels, and that they are all activity verbs, there is a change in verb-types that took place in early nineteenth-century novels. In Austen's novels, the range of verb-types used with the progressive increases, as the occurrences of the progressive grew. In later novels it can be said that verbs of any kind, even the verbs that are thought to be incompatible with the progressive in Present-day English, are used.

5.1 Verb-types in earlier works

In SS, there are 157 occurrences of the progressive and the number of the types of verbs are 79. The verbs that are used more than four times are (the number in parentheses is that of occurrences):

\[\text{go (13), do (12), come (8), sit (8), stay (7), talk (6), pass (5)}\]

Though low in frequency, non-activity verbs, i.e. stative verbs are used with the progressive: consider, dwell on, expect, feel, think and wish.

In PP, there are 248 occurrences of the progressive and the number of the types of verbs are 125. The verbs that are used more than four times are:

\[\text{go (18), come (14), talk (11), sit (9), speak (8), think (7), walk (7)}\]
approach (6), dance (6), pass (5), stand (5), wish (5).

Apart from the verbs with high frequency, new additions of non-activity verbs are delight, despond, distress, provoke and gratify, which all denote psychological or emotional states. The additions of the verbs of perception are conjecture, intend and hope as in:

(62) They were of course intending to be surprised. 〈n.〉〈PP, p. 351〉

(63) and Elizabeth was then hoping to be soon joined by him,... 〈n.〉〈PP, p. 342〉

Besides, mutative verbs denoting the changing process, grow, get, become, increase are added.

In NA, there are 139 instances of the progressive and the number of the types of verbs are 77. The verbs that are used more than four times are:

go (13), come (7), talk (6), begin (5), sit (5), think (5).

Want is used with the progressive, which is one of the verbs thought to be most incompatible with the progressive in Present-day English as in:

(64) do not think me such a simpleton as to be always wanting to confine him to my elbow? 〈d.〉〈NA, p. 143〉

Throughout the early works, stance verbs like sit and stand, were often found used with the progressive, though they are stative verbs. Other verbs of this class are
lean and lie as in:

(65) they found only Willoughby, who was leaning against the mantle-piece...
(n.) (SS, p. 75)

(66) and then walked towards a table where a few books were lying.
(n.) (PP, p. 37)

Strang (1982: 446) points out the growth of the progressive in newly introduced idioms in the years around 1800. Austen combines idioms with the progressive. The examples of the idioms are: pay a visit, set one's cap at, take a walk, take liberty with, give it a turn, fall in love with, find fault with, give way to, do wrong, pay attention, laugh at, look at, look for, call on, depend on, go on, set off, etc...

5.2 Verb-types in later works

The tendency of the verb-types with high frequency in the later three works are summarised as follows: 1) stative verbs of perception or emotion such as think, want, wish, expect, and feel are more often used with the progressive; 2) stance verbs, a type of stative verbs, like sit and stand, continue to occur with the progressive with high frequency; 3) verbs of mutation denoting a changing process such as become, get and grow occur more often with the progressive with new varieties such as recover, ripen and redden.

In MP, there are 488 occurrences of the progressive and the number of the types of verbs are 229. Verbs of high frequencies that are used more than four times are:
go (25), begin (19), give (16), do (15), think (14), come (12), try (11),
talk (10), walk (10), make (9), act (8), sit (8), take (8), grow (7),
pass (7), wait (6), want (6), say (5), speak (5), suffer (5), wish (5).

Of them, give is used in idioms such as, to give an invitation, to give support, to give indulgence, to give opinion, to give pain or to give vent to something, all of which do not denote concrete action of giving something. One of the usages of make is the 'make + object + objective complement' type. The other usage or causative use is the 'make + object + bare infinitive' type:

(67) attending to her with the utmost politeness and propriety, at the same time with a
degree of friendliness--of interest at least--which was making his manner perfect.
(n.) (MP, p. 400)

(68) saying every thing she could think of to obviate the scruples which were making
Fanny start back at first with a look of horror at the proposal. (n.) (MP, p. 258)

In E, there are 513 occurrences of the progressive and the number of the types of verbs are 222. Verbs of high frequencies that are used more than four times are:

go (29), think (21), come (20), talk (20), give (19), speak (16), stand (14)
begin (12), sit (11), do (10), want (10), tell (9), walk (8), grow (8),
extpect (7), say (6), feel (6), receive (5).

As for the high frequency of give, most of them are used in idiomatic expressions such as give an account of something, give refusal, give offence, give a glance, and
give a ball (a dance).

In P, there are 270 occurrences of the progressive and the number of the types of verbs are 144. Verbs of high frequencies that are used more than four times are:

- go (16), grow (10), begin (9), think (8), go on (8), come (7), do (7),
- live (7), talk (7), feel (5), speak (5), walk (5).

5.3 Some characteristics of verb-types in Austen’s works

There are several characteristics of verb-types in Austen's works. These characteristics are more outstanding in her later three works. Most of them concern the types of the verbs that are thought to be incompatible with the progressive in Present-day English: 1) stative verbs of emotion such as want, hate, like and prefer occur with the progressive; 2) stative verbs of cognition such as see and hear occur with the progressive; 3) stative verbs of perception, attitude or evaluation such as agree, approve, consent, determine, forget, regret, repent, behave, deserve and owe occur with the progressive; 4) the verb of permission, to let, and the catenative use of have, or the ‘have + object + past participle’ type occur with the progressive:

(69) Mrs. Elton was wanting notice, which nobody had inclination to pay...
   (n.) (E, p. 311)

(70) and Sir Thomas was liking him already. (n.) (MP, p. 179)

(71) the next moment she was hating herself for the folly...
   (n.) (P, p. 60)

(72) had she been sure that she was seeing clearly, and judging candidly...
   (n) (MP, p. 115)
(73) I am every instant hearing something which overpowers me. (letter) (P, p. 237)

(74) Yes, she was agreeing exactly with her sister. (d.) (MP, p.352)

(75) she ... was determining that she would dislike her no longer. (n.) (E, p. 167)

(76) when I found how excessively he was regretting that he should miss my father this morning... (d.) (P, p. 213)

(77) having never believed Frank Churchill to be at all deserving Emma...

   (n.) (E, p. 433)

(78) I, who am owing all my happiness to you, would not ... ? (d.) (E, p. 461)

(79) But mama ...was always letting Betsey get hold of it ... (d.) (MP, p.386)

(80) They ... still were perpetually having cards left by people of whom they knew nothing. (n.) (P, p. 138)

Denison (1998:148-9) points out that the catenative use of have or ‘have + object + past participle’ occurs with the progressive for the first time somewhere around the middle of the nineteenth century. Austen's example in (80) is an earlier attestation of the catenative use of have.

As revealed so far, there is virtually no restriction on the lexical verbs used with the progressive in Austen's works unlike in Present-day English. From this, I would like to assert that the functions of the progressive in Austen's days are different from those of Present-day English. This matter is to be treated in the next chapter.
Chapter 6

Meanings and functions

The meanings and functions of the progressive in Jane Austen's works are, in general, different from those of Present-day English. The verb-types used with the progressive are different, as revealed in Chapter 5. This chapter discusses the meanings of the progressive, the verb-types according to Vendler's classification (henceforth, 'verb-classes' for the term to distinguish the verb-types treated in Chapter 5) and its interpretation, and the functions of the progressive.

6.1 Meanings of the progressive in Austen's works

The meanings of the progressive are derived from the grammatical form and the combinations of the context, adverbials, and semantics of the verbal phrases. Table 9 shows the classifications of the meanings that are analysed from the context, or from adverbials. The data here contains the present and past progressives only. By this classification, an overall view of semantic characteristics of the progressive in Austen's works are obtained. The meanings are grouped into the four: 1) iteration, 2) futurity, 3) termination, and 4) the others. Iteration is removed from that of Present-day English. Termination cannot be expressed by the progressive in Present-day English:
The iterative meaning of the progressive is seen in all the works. In Present-day English, the combination of the progressive and the adverbials denoting higher frequency gives an emotional colouring from irritation or annoyance to the sentence (Jespersen 1924: 192-3). However, in Austen's works, many of progressives combined with the adverbials or adjectives, express iteration without emotional colouring. The adverbials and adjectives include always, often, continually, usually, sometimes, perpetually, occasionally, every day, for ever, week after week and frequent as in:

(81) our acquaintance begun, for my sister and me was often staying with my uncle... (d.) (SS, p. 130)

(82) they were receiving frequent accounts from Edmund ... (n.) (MP, p. 427)

Future arising from present arrangement, plan, or program is expressed by the progressive in all of Austen's works. The verbs used with the progressive in the meaning of futurity include go, come, enter, bring, stay, stir, give, make, introduce, take leave, pay a visit and sacrifice, of which go and come are most frequently used. Most of the future progressives occur in dialogue, where the present situation or context leading to futurity is more shared by the speaker and the listener than in narrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>futurity</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iteration</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>termination</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the others</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The rare meaning of the progressive in Austen's works is termination as in:

(83) I heard it yesterday by chance, and was coming to you on purpose to inquire after about it. (d.) (SS, p. 294)

(84) she shewed me over ... on Saturday ... and we were coming here to these rooms ... (d.) (NA, p. 195)

(85) till Sir Walter and Elizabeth were walking Mary into the other drawing-room, ...
Anne could not draw upon Charle's brain... (n.) (P, p. 216)

In (83), 'was coming' means 'have come,' and in (84), 'were coming' denotes 'came.' In (85), 'were walking' denotes 'walked' or semantically 'finished walking.'

Under the group of 'the others' in Table 9 comes the progressive expressing duration of the action or the state denoted by the verbal phrases. Duration is implied by the simple tense, present or past as well. Why is the progressive used instead of the simple tense? Jespersen (1924: 178) explains that "the notion of shorter or longer duration enters into the theory" of the progressive, but that the length of the duration alone does not decide the choice, pointing out that "element of incompletion (at that time) is very important." Incompletion mentioned is not the period of time, but "the action or state indicated by the verb itself."

In general, the progressive in Austen's works expresses duration of relatively longer than that in Present-day English. Some instances express habit and even profession:

(86) At fifteen, appearances were mending; she began to curl her hair ... her eyes gained more animation, and her figure more consequence. (n.) (NA, pp.14-5)
6.2 Vendler's classification of verbs

Vendler (1967) classified verbs into four categories, i.e. 'Activities,' 'Accomplishments,' 'Achievements,' and 'States.' The notion of time is incorporated into the classification, that is, the time element inherent in the lexical meaning of the verb. According to Vendler (1967: 99 - 108), Activities indicate "processes going on in time" homogenously without a set terminal point, like running, walking, swimming, and pushing something. Accomplishments indicate "processes going on in time with set terminal point," like writing a novel, painting a picture, giving or attending a class, growing up, and recovering from illness. Achievements imply occurrences "at a single moment" like recognizing, realizing, spotting something, losing or finding an object, reaching the summit, starting, stopping, and dying. States indicate states "lasting for a period of time" like having, desiring, loving, ruling, knowing and believing something.

Table 10 shows the classification of the verbs, according to Vendler's verb-classes, both in finite and nonfinite forms combined with the progressive. The figures show the proportion of the verb-classes in finite and non-ninite verbal positions.
From the table it is clear that the proportion of States is high. There is no restriction on the verbs to be used with the progressive. The high proportion of States results from high frequencies of: 1) the stative verbs of emotion or perception such as think, expect, feel, want, wish, hope and intend; 2) the stance verbs such as sit, stand, lean, hang and lie. (cf. Chapter 5)

The relative proportion of Accomplishments is above the 40 percent line except in E. In the later works, verbs of Accomplishments such as the ‘grow (become, get) + adjective’ type, increase, lessen and ripen occur with the progressive higher in frequency. As for Achievements, the proportion rises higher in the later works. For example, begin rises higher in frequency in later works, and the variety of verbs such as lose, enter, and end are added. The proportion of Activities decreases in later works, though the relative proportion of Activities are high after Accomplishments.

Next, I would like to look at the differences in the verb-classes in dialogue and in narrative. Table 11 shows the differences in the proportion of verb-classes in dialogue and in narrative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10: Proportion of Vendler's verb-classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11: Proportion of Vendler’s verb-classes in dialogue and narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>MP</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>total proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishments</td>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements</td>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comparison of the verb-classes shows that the average proportion of Activities in dialogue (31.7%) is higher than that in narrative (24.5%). As for Accomplishments, the average proportion in dialogue (39.0%) is lower than that in narrative (45.1%). Average proportion of Achievements in dialogue (6.5%) is lower than that in the narrative (10.1%). As for States, the average proportion in dialogue (22.8%) is slightly higher than that in the narrative (20.3%). Activities used with the progressive, generally, denote ongoing action. Accomplishments used with the progressive denote ongoing or changing process or event. Achievements denote a process leading to a starting or ending point that the lexical verbs express. The progressive in Austen’s works denotes activities or events in progress combined with the three types of verbs, i.e., Activities, Accomplishments or Achievements.

Most of States used with the progressive are verbs of perception, cognition, emotion or attitude: think, suppose, imagine, feel, want, wish, expect, like, hate and agree. States combined with the progressive express inner states, emotions or thoughts. I interpret that, with the introduction of States to the progressive, the progressive is used to express what is going on in psychology, or the mind of the character in the novel. In Strang’s corpus of the novels in the eighteenth century before Austen, the verbs combined with the progressive are all verbs of action. On
this point Austen's progressive is different. The character's inner states or emotions are expressed and stressed by the verb-class of States combined with the progressive.

For all four types of verbs, the progressive expresses action, event, or state going on in progress, i.e., durative aspect. But in Austen's novels, the focus on durative aspect seems to be a secondary element on the pragmatic level. But rather, I claim that the primary function of the progressive is modal. Pragmatically, the progressive is used to express what the speaker or the character judges, interprets or perceives by: 1) introducing the stative verbs of perception and emotion; 2) using Activities, Accomplishments, and Achievements. In the eighteenth-century novels written before Austen, under the strict rule of the use of animate subjects and verbs of action, the ongoing overt activities or events were expressed in most examples of the progressive. In the next section I will show the modal functions of the progressive in Austen's works.

6.3 Functions of the progressive in Austen's works

On the level of pragmatics, the progressive of all four verb-classes in Austen's works is used to express mental, inner activities, i.e. the character's interpretation of what is going on in time, feeling, or perception. Even in the cases of Activities, Accomplishments or Achievements as well as States, the expression is not mainly for what is going on as an overt activity or event, but for what is going on in psychology, or in the mind of the character. To express the involvement of the speaker's or the character's “point of view,” the progressive is used. This is the modal use of the progressive employed by Austen. I would like to show this modal function of the progressive in Austen's works from the following points:

1) Stative verbs of perception, cognition, emotion or attitude are combined
with the progressive as mentioned (p. 42, p. 48)

2) In the subordinate nominal clauses as treated in the clausal distribution in Chapter 3, all four classes of verbs are used with the progressive. The nominal clauses are mostly verbal object of verbs of thinking, perception, judgement, attitude or emotion. Furthermore, the progressive in nominal clauses occurs with adjectives denoting modality such as sure, probable, confident, convinced, reasonable, and afraid:

(89) As Fanny could not doubt that her answer was conveying a real disappointment
... (n.) (MP, p. 437)
(90) she ...and ...was convinced that they were talking of the Longbourn estate ...
(n.) (PP, p.130)

3) The progressive occurs with modal adverbials such as perhaps, probably, maybe, evidently, apparently, ten to one, etc:

(91) This amiable, upright, perfect Jane Firfax was apparently cherishing very
reprehensible feelings. (n.) (E, p.243)

4) The character's interpretation of what is going on is expressed without any lexical support of modality. What is described by using the progressive is not overt activity, but the character's perceived sense of what is going on, especially, in case of the inanimate subject of the progressive (i.e. notion, ideas, events, etc.), where the subject cannot be the agent of some concrete action or event in an actual sense. For example, (92) is paraphrased as "I thought ( It seemed as if) these objects were
taking different positions...,” and (93) is paraphrased as “It seemed as if pilfering was housebreaking...” In both examples the progressive expresses the character's perception or modality:

(92) As they passed into other rooms, these objects were taking different positions;
... (n.) (PP, p. 246)

(93) Pilfering was housebreaking to Mr. Woodhouse's fears. (n.) (E, p.483)

(94) but every moment was quickening her perception of the horrible evil. (n.)
(MP, p.440)

5) The progressive combined with modal auxiliaries is directly concerned with modal expressions. In Austen's later works the instances increase, which shows that Austen expresses modality by using both modal auxiliaries and modal function of the progressive itself. The redundancy of modality produces more subtle and delicate effects. (cf. Tables 2 and 3)

6) The progressive infinitive which co-occurs with the verbs of thinking, or cognition listed in Table 6 such as know, seem, suppose and believe, is concerned with modal expressions. In Table 6, the progressive infinitive with * , or ‘to be ...ing’ with nominal, adjectival, or adverbial force expresses judgement, evaluation, or emotional colouring by the speaker or the character. Some of the progressive infinitives denote strong emotion and result in an exclamatory utterance. Emotional inclination is also expressed in ‘be + to be ... ing’. The instances of the progressive infinitive occur more and more in Austen's later works as treated in section 3.2.1:

(95) she concluded her to be anticipating the hour of possession...
(n.) (Pp, p. 130)

(96) who is Miss Anne Elliot to be visiting in Westgate-buildings? (d.) (P, p. 157)

(97) To be acting! After all his objections—objections so just and public. (n.)

(MP, p. 156)

(98) surely I was not to be teaching myself to like him only because he was
taking, what seemed, very idle notice of me. (d.) (MP, p.353)

From these points, I would like to assert that the progressive in Austen's works
is primarily concerned with the modal function on the pragmatic level. It is true that
some of the progressives in Austen's works serve durative or temporal aspectual
functions as the progressive in Present-day English mainly does. The progressive
serving modal function conveys the speaker's or character's thoughts, feelings,
emotions, emotional nuances (humour, irony, irritation, emphasis, exclamatory
utterance, etc.), and interpretation or evaluation of what is going on or what is talked
about. Wright refers to a certain type of the progressive which I treated in 1) as
"the experiential progressive" in the sense of "experiences that are cognitive or
emotional" (1995: 163), in contrast to "the aspectual progressive." So I have shown
that modality is more pervasive in the progressive than Wright indicated.
Chapter 7

Conclusion

So far revealed, the progressive in Austen's works changes chronologically in terms of frequency, clausal distribution, subject-types, verb-types, and meanings and functions. This is because Austen created works in the middle of a "critical period" for the progressive. The increased frequencies in later works possibly have come from 1) the less restriction on subject-types, i.e., the expansion of inanimate subjects of the progressive, and 2) no restriction on verbs unlike the progressive in novels in the first half of the eighteenth century. Introduction of inanimate subjects to the progressive seems to have changed the status of the present participle, i.e., in later works the V-ing is ambiguous and delicate in that nominal reading and verbal reading, are possible. Each phase of the changes in subject-types and verb-types caused the change of the progressive. I would like to summarize each of the factors here.

Occurrences of the progressive both in finite and non-finite verbal positions increase in later works. The numbers of the instances of the past progressive, the progressive combined with modal auxiliaries, and the progressive infinitive greatly increase. As for the frequency of the progressive per 30,000 words, the figures in later works both in finite and non-finite verbal positions more than double. The frequencies of the progressive in later works reach the 'maturity level' of 80 to 100 instances per 30,000 words that was hypothesized by Strang in the so-called 'standard English novels.' Considering Strang's claim that the period of the achievement is in the middle of the nineteenth century, Austen's use of the progressive is innovative. It can be said that Austen's use of the progressive is one of her stylistic features and
even idiosyncratic.

As for the clausal distribution (i.e., finite clause) of the progressive, Austen's use of the progressive is salient, given the fact that in narrative prose during the first half of the eighteenth century, non-subordinate use of the progressive is very rare, and that non-subordinate use is accepted in dialogue. In narrative Austen's non-subordinate use of the progressive has become a majority over the subordinate use of the progressive in her later works. Also Austen's non-subordinate use of the progressive in narrative surpasses that in dialogue. This fact shows two important points: 1) Austen's narrative has a feature of dialogue; 2) the form of Austen's novels in terms of narrative is new. The second point is closely related to her employment of 'free indirect speech' in narrative, which also explains the great number of instances of the past progressive to some extent.

As for the subject-types of the progressive, animate or inanimate, there have been quantitative and qualitative changes. Two factors are attributed to the changes: 1) the ongoing change in the subject-types of the progressive in the period; 2) Austen's own development of the use of the progressive. The number of the inanimate subjects of the progressive in the later three works increases. The proportion of the inanimate subjects of the progressive accounts for some 15 percent of all subjects of the progressive, compared with some 10 percent in earlier works. The word-count of the noun phrases of the inanimate subjects of the progressive in her later works is, in general, larger than that in her earlier works.

"Pronouns have formed a transition to the use of the construction with inanimate subjects" (Strang 1982, 445). Among pronouns, the pronoun *it* seems to have been important, in that anything that is referred to by this pronoun, i.e. a notion, an idea, action, event or whatever, can be used as the subject of the progressive. As
a result, the progressive with the inanimate pronoun subject it seems to have merged with the ‘*It + be + Ving*’ construction, which has gerundial Ving as predicate. The ambiguity coming from the formal resemblance makes it difficult to distinguish the progressive from the gerundial construction. The ambiguity does not come from the formal resemblance alone. The semantic status of Ving of the progressive somehow seems to have changed to be more nominal and less verbal.

Further the increase of the inanimate subjects of the progressive causes ambiguity coming from the formal resemblance to the ‘passival’ construction, or the ‘The house is building’ construction. These two kinds of ambiguity heighten in *MP* and *E*.

Verb-types used with the progressive in Austen's works have changed, compared with the verb-types in the eighteenth-century novels before Austen, in which only verbs of action were used. In Austen's works, stative verbs are introduced. They are verbs of perception, cognition, and emotion such as *think, suppose, wish, feel, intend, want, and like*. There seems to be no restriction on the verbs used with the progressive. From this, I speculate that the functions of the progressive in Austen's days are different from those of Present-day English to some extent.

As for the meanings of the progressive, iterative meaning is removed from that of Present-day English in that there seems to be no “emotional colouring” from irritation or annoyance. Terminative meaning is expressed by the progressive in Austen's works, though the instances are only a few. The length of duration expressed by the progressive is relatively longer than that in Present-day English, covering habits and professions.

By the introduction of the stative verbs (States) of perception and emotion,
inner (mental) activities of the characters are described. Activities, Accomplishments and Achievements used with the progressive express not only an overt activity but also inner (mental) activity. Pragmatically, the primary function of the progressive in Austen's works is modal, while temporal, durative aspectual function is secondary. This is verified by the following facts: 1) the stative verbs of perception, cognition and emotion are used with the progressive; 2) the progressive occurs with verbs of perception, cognition and emotion as verbal object, and with modal adverbials and adjectives; 3) the character's interpretation of what is going on is expressed without lexical support of modality; 4) the instances of the progressives combined with modal auxiliaries increase; 5) the increased instances of the progressive infinitive are concerned with modal expressions.

What were Austen's reasons for breaking away from the social conventions to write her novels by using the progressive unlike other writers of her time? I conclude that Austen found it suitable and fit to use the progressive, which has its modal function and colloquial conversational features, for expressing the character's stream of thoughts and inner activities. 'Free indirect speech' is a technique to convey speech or stream of thoughts retaining the potentialities of direct-speech sentence structure. The progressive and 'free indirect speech' is a natural combination. The reader and the characters become closer, i.e. the reader becomes involved in the novel because the reader has access to the characters' inner activities (thoughts, perceptions and emotions), which are described with the use of the progressive with modal function even conveying emotional nuances (humour, irony, irritation, emphasis and exclamatory utterance). For literary effect, the progressive in 'free indirect speech' is appropriate and is a realistic choice even though the use of the progressive carried a risk of colloquialism and informality.
Notes

1 For the number of the types of verbs, for example, I distinguished ‘make one's appearance’ and ‘make + Object + objective complement’, and counted 2, because the usages and meanings of make are different. However, as for ‘think ’ and ‘think of’, I counted 1, because though the usage is different, the meaning is the same.

2 The progressive is mainly used to express continuous or durative meaning in Present-day English. The progressive in Austen's works are mostly concerned with this durative meaning. But other meanings of futurity, iteration and termination are also expressed with the progressive. In this paper I use the term ‘aspect’ or ‘aspectual,’ in explaining the meanings of the progressive. Comrie (1976) explains that aspect is “presented essentially in semantic terms, with reference to the internal structure of a situation.” Duration, futurity, iteration or termination is an aspectual meaning referring to the internal structure of a situation expressed with the progressive, the context, adverbials, and semantics of the verbal phrases.
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