Current Developments
in English Historical Linguistics

Studies in Honour of
Rafał Molencki

Current Developments
in English Historical Linguistics

Studies in Honour of Rafał Molencki

50 lat
Uniwersytetu
Śląskiego
w Katowicach

Current Developments in English Historical Linguistics

Studies in Honour of Rafał Molencki

Edited by
Artur Kijak, Andrzej M. Łęcki, and Jerzy Nykiel

Preface

With this volume we would like to honour our mentor and friend – Professor Rafał Molencki on his sixtieth birthday. Born in Gliwice, on 23 October 1957, Rafał Molencki has tied his career within linguistics to Katowice and Sosnowiec, that is, two cities where the Faculty of Philology of the University of Silesia is based. Rafał Molencki received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1988 from the University of Silesia based on a dissertation entitled *Complementation in Old English*. The book *A history of English counterfactuals* was the basis for achieving the title of Doctor of Letters in English Linguistics (habilitation). Upon publishing the book *Causal conjunctions in mediaeval English. A corpus-based study of grammaticalization* in 2012, Rafał was granted the title Professor of Humanities by the President of Poland.

Professor Rafał Molencki's work, as he frequently admits, has been influenced by eminent scholars, such as the late Professor Kazimierz Polański (Jagiellonian University in Kraków, University of Silesia), who was Rafał Molencki's first teacher of linguistics, the late Professor Ruta Nagucka (Jagiellonian University in Kraków), who was a supervisor of his PhD dissertation, and Professor Emerita Elizabeth Closs Traugott (Stanford University), who was his host and advisor when he was a visiting researcher at the Stanford University after being awarded the Fulbright Advanced Research Grant by the Polish-American Fulbright Foundation.

Rafał Molencki's earliest linguistic research was set within the generative framework. In his important work at that time (Molencki 1991) he offered an analysis of verbal complement options in Old English. Afterwards his research took a functionalist bent which has been indelibly etched on his prolific linguistic output ever since. This new inclination shines through in the next important work by Professor Molencki, that is, his take on the history of English counterfactual constructions (Molencki 1999). At the further stages of his career, we can see Rafał Molencki dividing his attention mostly between the history

of modal verbs (Molencki 2002, 2003, 2005) and that of adverbs and adverbial subordinators. His research at this stage has been driven by an interest in grammaticalization and manuscript studies (Molencki 2012). Professor Molencki's profound influence is reflected in the number of distinguished scholars who have contributed to this volume.

His interests go far beyond English historical linguistics and they include Indo-European studies, early Germanic languages, Old Norse, Anglo-Norman, multilingualism in medieval England, manuscript studies, varieties of English, syntactic theories, contrastive studies and machine translation.

On top of being a researcher, Rafał Molencki has also, if not most of all, been a teacher and a lecturer. He has taught courses in linguistics which are, for obvious reasons, far too numerous and too variegated to mention here. He has been the supervisor of dozens of BA and MA theses and thirteen doctoral dissertations. The editors of this commemorative volume have each had the pleasure to be students of Rafał Molencki's at one point in time.

Over the years, Professor Rafał Molencki has also held a number of administrative positions at the Faculty, including that of Dean of the Faculty of Philology (2008–2016). He has also been active serving and shaping the academic community outside the University of Silesia itself. He is the Head of the Katowice Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Editor-in-Chief of *Linguistica Silesiana*.

We would also like to thank all the contributors to this volume, referees, and the Institute of English, University of Silesia.

Artur Kijak, *Andrzej M. Łęcki*, *Jerzy Nykiel*

List of publications by Rafał Molencki

A. Books, journals

1. *Complementation in Old English*. 1991. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
2. *Papers in linguistics and language acquisition* (co-edited with Janusz Arabski). 1994. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
3. *A history of English counterfactuals.* 1999. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
4. *Kazimierz Polański. Doctor honoris causa Universitatis Silesiae.* 2008. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego – editor.
5. *W kręgu teorii. Studia językoznawcze dedykowane Profesorowi Kazimierzowi Polańskiemu in memoriam* (co-edited with Henryk Fontański and Olga Wolińska). 2009. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
6. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 31. 2010. – editor.
7. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 32. 2011. – editor.
8. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 33. 2012. – editor.
9. *Causal conjunctions in mediaeval English. A corpus-based study of grammaticalization.* 2012. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski–Oficyna Wydawnicza WW.
10. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 34. 2013. – editor
11. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 35. 2014. – editor
12. *Tomas Tranströmer. Doctor honoris causa Universitatis Silesiensis* (co-edited with Marian Kisiel). 2014. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
13. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 36. 2015 – editor
14. *Linguistica Silesiana* vol. 37. 2016 – editor

B. Articles

1. The accusative and infinitive construction in Old English: A transformational approach. 1987. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 34(1): 41–56.
2. Some observations on relative clauses in the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. 1988. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 20: 83–99.
3. Early medieval manuscripts in the Durham Cathedral library. 1988. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 35(1): 85–89.
4. *Hw*-clauses in Old English. 1990. *Linguistica Silesiana* 12: 24–48.
5. On extraposition in Old English. *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP Opole. Filologia Angielska* 5: 51–66.
6. On syntactic variation in Alfredian manuscripts. 1991. *Linguistica Silesiana* 13: 99–106.
7. Participial complementation in Old English. 1991. *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 46: 91–96.
8. The reflex of Old English *þeah* in a Chaucer manuscript. 1992. *Linguistica Silesiana* 14: 79–83.
9. A history of English counterfactual constructions. 1995. *Center for the Study of Language and Information Research & Activities Bulletin*. July–August 1995. Stanford, California.
10. Concessive clauses in Chaucer's prose. 1997. In Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Studies in Middle English linguistics. Trends in linguistics. Studies and monographs* 103: 351–371. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
11. *Albeit* a conjunction, yet it is a clause: A counterexample to the unidirectionality hypothesis? 1997. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 31: 163–178.
12. Dlaczego polszczyzna nie może być politycznie poprawna. 1997. In Janusz Arabski (ed.), *Materiały z konferencji Języki specjalistyczne – język biznesu*, 137–147. Katowice: Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania Marketingowego i Języków Obcych.
13. Rozwój kontrfaktycznych zdań warunkowych w języku angielskim. 1997. *Prace naukowe Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Oddział w Katowicach* 21: 13–15.
14. Surface word order in subordinate clauses in early West Saxon prose. 1997. *Linguistica Silesiana* 18: 21–30
15. Modals in past counterfactual conditional protasis. 1998. In Jacek Fisiak & Marcin Krygier (eds.), *Advances in English historical linguistics* (1996). (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 112), 241–251. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
16. Brains versus software: New possibilities and limitations of computer assisted historical studies of English syntax, 280–284. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

17. A plea for English historical grammar. 1999. In Maria Wysocka (ed.), *On language theory and practice. In honour of Janusz Arabski on the occasion of his 60th birthday.*

18. A history of the English perfect infinitive. 1999. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 34: 91–121.

19. Parallelism vs. asymmetry: The case of English counterfactual conditionals. 2000. In Olga Fischer, Anette Rosenbach & Dieter Stein (eds.), *Pathways of change: Grammaticalization in English*, 311–328. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

20. Counterfactual constructions in the different manuscripts of the *Cursor Mundi*. 2001. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 102(1): 11–22. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

21. Middle English wishful thinking. 2002. In Peter J. Lucas & Angela M. Lucas (eds.), *Middle English from tongue to text*, 83–99. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

22. Rozwój diachroniczny konstrukcji kontrfaktycznych w języku angielskim. 2002. *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 5: 91–106.

23. The status of *dear* and *þearf* in Old English. 2002. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 38: 363–380.

24. Tryb łączący a czasowniki modalne w języku angielskim: spojrzenie diachroniczne. 2003. In Krystyna Kleszczowa & Joanna Sobczykowa (eds.), *Śląskie studia lingwistyczne – tom dedykowany Profesor Jadwidze Zieniukowej na 70-lecie Jej urodzin*, 66–71. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

25. Proscriptive prescriptivists: On the loss of the 'pleonastic' perfect infinitive in Late Modern English. 2003. In Charles Jones, Marina Dossena & Maurizio Gotti (eds.), *Insights into Late Modern English* (Linguistic Insights), 44–69. Bern: Peter Lang.

26. The etymology and development of the conjunction *as* in Middle English. 2003. *Linguistica Silesiana* 24: 25–39.

27. What must needs be explained about *must needs*. 2003. In David Hart (ed.), *English modality in context: Diachronic perspectives*, 71–87. Bern: Peter Lang.

28. Grammaticalization as a multicomponential language change. 2004. In Ewa Borkowska, Andrzej Łyda (eds.), *Wor(l)ds in transition*, 11–21. Katowice: Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania Marketingowego i Języków Obcych.

29. The use of the pluperfect tense in Early Middle English. 2004. In Marcin Krygier & Liliana Sikorska (eds.), *For the Loue of Inglis Lede.* (Medieval English Mirror 1), 41–54. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

30. On the demise of the subjunctive mood in English. 2004. In Radosław Dylewski & Piotr Cap (eds.), *History and present-day pragmatics of*

the English llanguage, 49–60. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Humanistyczno-Ekonomicznej.

31. The confusion between *thurven* and *durren* in Middle English. 2005. In Nikolas Ritt & Herbert Schendl (eds.), *Rethinking Middle English*: *Linguistic and literary approaches*, 147–160. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

32. On the syntactic and semantic development of *after* in medieval English. 2005. In Marcin Krygier & Liliana Sikorska (eds.), *Naked wordes in Englissh.* (Medieval English Mirror 2), 47–67. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

33. Czy istnieje czas przeszły? 2005. In Ewa Borkowska & Andrzej Łyda (eds.), *Czas w języku i kulturze*, 121–127. Katowice: Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania Marketingowego i Języków Obcych.

34. The evolution of *since* in medieval English. 2007. In Ursula Lenker & Anneli Meurman-Solin (eds.), *Connectives in the history of English*, 97–113. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

35. Rozwój diachroniczny *before* i *after* w języku angielskim. 2007. In Andrzej Łyda (ed.), *Przestrzenie języka*, 10–24. Katowice: Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania Marketingowego i Języków Obcych.

36. On the rise of the temporal preposition/conjunction *before*. 2007. In Marcin Krygier & Liliana Sikorska (eds.), *To make his Englissh sweete upon his tonge* (Medieval English Mirror 3), 37–54. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

37. The use of the pluperfect in the corpus of early English correspondence. 2007. *Linguistica Silesiana* 28: 133–146.

38. The rise of *because* in Middle English. 2008. In Masachiyo Amano, Michiko Ogura & Masayuki Ohkado (eds.), *Historical Englishes in varieties of texts and contests*, 201–216. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

39. The semantic shift in the adjective *ill*. 2009. In Maria Wysocka (ed.), *On Language Structure, Acquisition and Teaching*, 78–83. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

40. The grammaticalization of *body* in Middle English. 2009. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 46(3): 247–260.

41. New prepositions and subordinating conjunctions of Romance origin in Middle English. 2011. In Jacek Fisiak & Magdalena Bator (eds.), *Foreign influences on medieval English*. 9–24. Frankfurt am Main-New York: Peter Lang.

42. The evolution of *forward* in mediaeval English. 2011. In Renate Bauer & Ulrike Krischke (eds.), *More than words. English lexicography past and present*, 225–244. Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang.

43. Old English syntax. 2012. In Alex Bergs & Laurel Brinton (eds.), *Historical linguistics of English: An international handbook*. Vol. 2, 294–313. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

44. *Providing/provided that*: Grammaticalization or loan translation? 2012. In Irén Hegedűs & Alexandra Fodor (eds.), *English Historical Linguistics 2010. Selected Papers From The Sixteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics* (*ICEHL 16*), *Pécs, 22–27 August 2010*, 197–214. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

45. Some woolly remarks about wool. 2012. In Joanna Esquibel & Anna Wojtyś (eds.), *Explorations in the English language: Middle Ages and beyond*, 37–46. Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang.

46. The constructionalization of *ago i*n Middle English. 2014. In Michael Bilynsky (ed.), *Studies in Middle English. Words, forms, senses and texts*. 253–270. Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang.

47. The constructionalization of *because* in Late Middle English. 2014. In Alicja Witalisz (ed.), *From sound to meaning in context*, 225–238. Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang.

48. English and German: The two sisters that each went her own way. 2014. In Aleksandra Łyp-Bielecka (ed.), *Mehr als Worte. Sprachwissenschaftliche Studien*, 235–244. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

49. Pochodzenie spójników przyczynowych w języku angielskim. 2014. In Krystyna Kleszczowa & Anna Szczepanek (eds.), *Wyrażenia funkcyjne w perspektywie diachronicznej, synchronicznej i porównawczej*, 51–66. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

50. Spuścizna myśli naukowej Kazimierza Polańskiego w polskim językoznawstwie. 2014. In Maciej Grochowski, Zofia Zaron (eds.), *Znaki pamięci. Spuścizna językoznawców polskich drugiej połowy XX wieku*, 105–110. Warszawa: Komitet Językoznawstwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

51. The competition between *purveyen* and *providen* in Late Middle English. In Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre & Javier Calle-Martín (eds.), 2015. *Approaches to Middle English. Variation, contact and change*, 67–82. Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang.

52. On the rise of the ordinal number *first* in medieval English. 2016. *Linguistica Silesiana* 37: 25–36.

53. From *sicker* to *sure*: The contact-induced lexical layering within the medieval English adjectives of certainty. (forthcoming).

54. On the rise of the ordinal number *second* in Middle English. (forthcoming).

55. Why did *people* oust *folk* and *lede*? (forthcoming).

C. Reviews

1. Marian Bean. 1983. *Word order patterns in Old English*. London: Croom Helm. *Linguistica Silesiana* 10: 107–108. 1989.

2. Matsuji Tajima. 1985. *The syntactic development of gerund in Middle English*. Tokyo: Nan'un-do. *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP Opole. Filologia Angielska* 4: 131–132. 1989.

3. Ans van Kemenade. 1987. *The morphological and syntactic case in the history of English*. Dordrecht: Foris. *English Studies* 71(4): 383–384. 1990.

4. Ralph Elliott. 1989. *Runes: An introduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 37(4): 355–357. 1991.

5. Ursula Lenker. 2010. *Argument and rhetoric: Adverbial connectors in the history of English* (Topics in English Linguistics 64). Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter. *Anglia* 129(1): 2011.

6. Matti Rissanen, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Marianna Hintikka & Rod McConchie (eds.), 2007. *Change in meaning and the meaning of change: Studies in semantics and grammar from Old to Present-Day English.* Helsinki: Société Néophilologique. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 47. 2011.

Tabula gratulatoria

Elżbieta Adamczyk
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Wiesław Banyś
University of Silesia, Katowice

Artur Bartnik
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

Magdalena Bator
Jan Długosz University, Częstochowa

Rafał Borysławski
University of Silesia, Katowice

Laurel Brinton
University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Michael Bylinsky
Ivan Franko National University in Lviv

Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

Jan Čermák
Charles University, Prague

Bożena Cetnarowska
University of Silesia, Katowice

Anna Cichosz
University of Łódź

Grzegorz Drożdż
University of Silesia, Katowice

Radosław Dylewski
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Marcin Grygiel
University of Rzeszów

Piotr Kakietek
University of Silesia, Katowice

Ireneusz Kida
University of Silesia, Katowice

Artur Kijak
University of Silesia, Katowice

Ewa Ciszek-Kiliszewska
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky
University of Vienna

Teresa Fanego
University of Santiago de Compostela

Olga Fischer
University of Amsterdam

Jacek Fisiak
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Piotr Gąsiorowski
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Monika Grotek
University of Silesia, Katowice

Anna Hebda
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Alina Jackiewicz
University of Silesia, Katowice

Krzysztof Jarosz
University of Silesia, Katowice

Leena Kahlas-Tarkka
University of Helsinki

Aleksandra Kalaga
University of Silesia, Katowice

Matti Kilpiö
University of Helsinki

Grzegorz Kleparski
University of Rzeszów

Krystyna Kleszczowa
University of Silesia, Katowice

Joanna Kopaczyk
University of Glasgow

Elżbieta Krawczyk-Neifar
University of Occupational Safety
Management in Katowice

Marcin Krygier
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Andrzej Kuropatnicki
Pedagogical University of Cracow

Roger Lass
University of Edinburgh

Ursula Lenker
University of Munich

María José López-Couso
University of Santiago de Compostela

Bettelou Los
University of Edinburgh

Andrzej M. Łęcki
Pedagogical University of Cracow

Sylwester Łodej
Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce

Andrzej Łyda
University of Silesia, Katowice

Janusz Malak
Opole University

Łukasz Matusz
University of Silesia, Katowice

Donka Minkova
University of California, Los Angeles

Izabela Mrochen
University of Silesia, Katowice

John G. Newman
University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley

Jerzy Nykiel
University of Bergen

Joanna Nykiel
University of Silesia, Katowice

Michiko Ogura
Chiba University, Tokyo

Adam Palka
University of Silesia, Katowice

Adam Pluszczyk
University of Silesia, Katowice

Andrzej Porzuczek
University of Silesia, Katowice

Matti Rissanen
University of Helsinki

Arkadiusz Rojczyk
University of Silesia, Katowice

Céline Roméro
University of Reims Champagne Ardenne

Piotr Ruszkiewicz
Pedagogical University of Cracow

Hanna Rutkowska
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Hans Sauer
University of Munich

Kinga Sądej-Sobolewska
University of Social Sciences, Warsaw

Marta Sylwanowicz
University of Social Sciences, Warsaw

Konrad Szcześniak
University of Silesia, Katowice

Jacob Thaisen
University of Oslo

Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Stanford University

Anna Turula
Pedagogical University of Cracow

Krystyna Warchał
University of Silesia, Katowice

Jerzy Wełna
University of Warsaw

Ilse Wischer
University of Potsdam

Alicja Witalisz
Pedagogical University of Cracow

Władysław Witalisz
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

Matylda Włodarczyk
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Adam Wojtaszek
University of Silesia, Katowice

Anna Wojtyś
University of Warsaw

Ryszard Wolny
University of Opole

Laura Wright
University of Cambridge

Maria Wysocka
University of Silesia, Katowice

From Raphael to Rafał, or a partly linguistic potpourri: An anniversary essay

Jerzy Wełna

University of Warsaw

1. Introduction

A few years ago, Rafał Molencki, my friend and colleague from the University of Silesia, contributed a paper to my anniversary volume in which he outlined the evolution from Proto-Indo-European to modern languages of a common noun perfectly corresponding in both its graphic shape (Polish version) and semantic shape (Polish and English versions) to my surname (see Molencki 2012). In view of the forthcoming celebrations of his 60th anniversary I decided to reciprocate his contribution and write a brief essay with reference to the surname of the distinguished celebrator of the event. However, almost from the beginning the task appeared hopeless. A major handicap proved to be the structure of Rafał's surname which attaches the historical suffix *-cki*, a variant of *-ski*, being an original adjectival marker popularized quite long ago in the Polish tradition of surname assignment.

On consulting the Internet I found a file in which the etymology of surnames was to be supplied, however, on choosing the surname *Molencki* I found the following discouraging info:

(1)   Molencki Meaning: The meaning of Molencki has not been submitted. If you have the meaning of Molencki, please submit it along with any reference pages referring to the meaning of Molencki.

More informative seemed to be another online source Moi Krewni ('my relatives') which seemed to prompt more precisely where the surname Molencki could be found on the territory of Poland. The unexpected outcome of the research was as shown under (2a). The volume of Molencki names increases twofold when we consider the feminine form Molencka referring to the respec-

tive females, some being members of Rafał's family. According to the same
source, the following result is obtained (2b).

(2) a.   W Polsce jest **9 osób o nazwisku Molencki**. Zamieszkują oni [sic] w **5
         różnych powiatach i miastach.** Najwięcej zameldowanych jest w **m. Opole**,
         a dokładnie 2. Dalsze powiaty/miasta ze szczególnie dużą liczbą osób o tym
         nazwisku **Myszków** (2), **Bytom** (2), **Katowice** (2) i **Częstochowa** z liczbą
         wpisów 1.
         [Nine persons named Molencki live in Poland. They live in 5 different districts
         and towns. Their majority, precisely 2, are registered in the town of Opole.
         Other districts/towns with particularly numerous persons of that surname in-
         clude Myszków (2), Bytom (2), Katowice (2) and Częstochowa (1)]
    b.   W Polsce jest **11 osób o nazwisku Molencka**. Zamieszkują oni [sic] w **7
         różnych powiatach i miastach**. Najwięcej zameldowanych jest w **Brzeg**,
         a dokładnie 2. Dalsze powiaty/miasta ze szczególnie dużą liczbą osób o tym
         nazwisku Myszków (2), Bytom (2), **Katowice** (2), **Częstochowa** (1), m. **Opole**
         (1) i **Opole** z liczbą wpisów 1.
         [Eleven persons named Molencka live in Poland. They live in 7 different
         districts and towns. Their majority, precisely 2, are registered in the town of
         Brzeg. Other districts/towns with particularly numerous persons of that surname
         include Myszków (2), Bytom (2), Katowice (2), Częstochowa (1), Opole town
         (1) and region (1)]

When reading that info I was surprised twice. Surprise number one con-
cerned a dramatically low number of people with the surname in question.
On consulting a complete list I was also amazed to find out that it was Opole
which was considered to be particularly populated with the Molenckis, because
Myszków, Bytom, and Katowice enjoyed an equivalent number of inhabitants
carrying the same surname, namely two. My suggestion was that particularly
privileged in this respect should be Katowice, the place of residence of our
Rafał and his family. Equally surprising was the privileged position of Molencka
females in Brzeg.

Finally, I made an effort to verify whether such a noble surname had really
so few living designations in our country. In order to determine its overall fre-
quency in Poland I consulted the futrega.org list of surnames, which confirmed
the above data, revealing only 23 persons (males and females) carrying the
surname Molencki/-a, as confirmed by PESEL (Personal Identification Number)
statistics. Thus, Rafał's surname must be regarded as really unique when we
consider 1,260 personalized numbers referring to the peculiar surname of the
author of the present contribution.

However, putting statistics aside, the most demanding task was to establish
the etymology of Rafał's surname. There were, for instance, suggestions that the
name referred to the place name *Molendy* or other similarly looking names, but

this was not supported by any convincing evidence. As a last effort I found the file (authored by Janusz Stankiewicz) which contained a long list of etymologies of Polish surnames. Unfortunately this really imposing list lacked the form *Molencki*, offering instead its two spelling variants corresponding phonetically to Rafał's name, with the following etymologies:

(3)   Molendzki – od łacińskiego *molendinator* 'młynarz' lub od *molić* 'molestować' [from Lat. *molendinator* 'miller' or from *molić* 'to molest']

As an identical etymology was submitted to explain the origin of *Molędzki* so for reasons of political correctness I immediately abandoned Stankiewicz's file fully convinced that the etymology of Rafał's last name should be sought elsewhere.

My last try to reveal the etymology of the surname was to dig deeply in linguistic history in an effort to find its Proto-Indo-European root. In the list of the relevant roots in Mallory and Adams (2006: 347) the one resembling most the stem *Molen-* was *mld-us 'soft' (with syllabic [l] and *d reflected in the variant form *Molendzki*). But I came to the conclusion that this etymology would be difficult to defend and completely gave up the idea of further etymological search to discover the origin of Rafał's surname. As a consequence, instead of following that path, I decided to change the object of investigation and concentrate on Professor Molencki's first name, that is, *Rafał*.

2. Raphael

Rafał enjoys having a name of a very long tradition in both Polish and English. Its official form in English, *Raphael*, ultimately comes from the area of the Mediterranean Basin where the Hebrew source name *Rafael* was formed from the root *rofe* 'healer, physician' and the suffix *-el* 'God, Lord', also attached in other more or less popular names, like *Michael*, *Saul*, etc. The intended sense of the name *Raphael* was probably 'God healed'.

Indo-European languages show a variety of forms derived from the Latin version of the name *Raphael*, such as *Rafael* (Albanian, Czech, Finnish, Portuguese, Spanish), *Raphael* (English, French, German), *Raffaele, Raffaello* (Italian) or Russian *Rafaił* (in the Bible; otherwise *Rafael*). In all these languages the morpheme *-el* 'God' is more transparent graphically than in Polish where it is represented by the single grapheme <ł>.

In the biblical tradition Archangel Raphael 'healer' cooperated with three other messengers from heaven: Michael (warrior), Gabriel (herald), and Uriel

(giver of light). Of the four, Raphael became a perfect guardian angel of apoth-ecaries, physicians, pilgrims, travellers, fugitives, sailors, and youngsters in general. The name *Raphael* appears in *The Book of Tobias* where the archangel is a heavenly messenger sent to relieve the holy man Tobias, whom he finally cures from blindness and also performs other noble works (cf. Kopaliński 2001: 959–960).

Apart from the biblical context *Raphael* is chiefly associated with the name of a famous and versatile painter and architect of the Italian Renaissance, Raphael Santi (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, 1483–1520), who, together with two other giants, Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, determined the future course of the development of Italian and European art. While practically all references in Old English literature are to biblical Raphael, Late Middle and Early New English quotations chiefly refer to the Italian master. Curiously, *Raphael* was not frequently found among famous people, as apart from Raphael Santi the only person more widely known who carried this name was Rafael Trujillo (1891–1961), the ill-famed president of the Dominican Republic. In Polish classical literature, probably the most famous literary character having the name *Rafał* appears in Stefan Żeromski's *Popioły* (Ashes). Among the real personages of Polish cultural, political, and scholarly life perhaps the best known are Rafał Blechacz, a pianist, and Rafał Wojaczek, a poet. To these two we can add the name of our eminent linguist, Rafał Molencki.

The sections which follow contain an account of the use of the name *Raphael* (cf. its diminutive variants *Raf*, *Raff*, *Rafe*) in English (note also the conservative pronunciation of *Ralph*, i.e., [reif]). But one should very care-fully distinguish these short forms from those of the popular name *Ralph* with Scandinavian roots (*Rathulfr*), which also developed the diminutive *Raf(e)*, also subject to merging with the descendants of the name *Raphael*, so that in many cases one is unable to correctly identify the source form (cf. Rybakin 1973: 296–297). Curiously, the name *Raphael* gave rise to the identically sounded and written surname *Raphael* and to its anglicized variants *Raffel*, *Raffle* (Rybakin 1986: 377).

3. Archangel

This section cumulates the literary and cultural evidence related to the name *Raphael* and its variants in early English literature. Practically all references to Raphael in Old and Middle English texts are to one of the archangels. In the materials cited, the archangel is very frequently associated with Tobias, a poor blind Jew whom he offers assistance and helps to be cured.

According to the controversial *Wikipedia* (the entry "Raphael (archangel)"):

(4)   Raphael is an archangel whom God sends to warn Adam about Satan's infil-
        tration of Eden and to warn him that Satan is going to try to curse Adam and
        Eve. He also has a lengthy discussion with the curious Adam regarding creation
        and events which transpired in Heaven.

An interesting instruction how to pronounce Raphael's name is offered by
Ælfric in his *Grammar* (5). The writer uses his specific language which can be
called "Latinglish." As opposed to *Daniel*, *Raphael* remains here uninflected:

(5)   *Ælfrics grammatik und Glossar* on langne *el* synd agene naman *masculini*: *hic
        Daniel, huius Danielis*; *Michael, Gabriel, Raphael*. ðas habbað langne **e** on
        eallum casum and hi geendiað heaora ablatiuum on scortne **e**, swa swa ealle
        mæst þissere declinunge.

                          ÆGram. 38.13: Grammar Zupitza 1880: 1–296

The above is followed by a transparently formulated definition of the func-
tion of Raphael in the passage from the *Letter to Sigeweard* (6):

(6)   God hine hælde æft þurh his heahengel, **Raphael** ihaten, swa swa ðeo race us
        sægð on his agene bec, þe he sylf wrat.

                          c1175 (OE) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 343 Aelfric,
                          Letter to Sigeweard 48/761

As said earlier, in biblical texts *Raphael* very frequently appears in the
company of *Tobias*, this time entertaining him with a conversation (7a) or in
a passage from Chaucer (*The Parson's Tale*) where he converses on the topic of
the forces of evil (7b) and (according to John Trevisa) offers him medications
(7c) and heals his knee (7d):

(7) a. witodlice hit is geræd þæt Raphahel se heahengel were to Tobie sprecende,
        æfter þæra eagena forlætnysse (cf. Tb 2: 11).
                          LS 23 Mary of Egypt, Aelfric's Lives of Saints 6
    b. But in swich folk hath the devel power, as seyde the aungel **Raphael** to
        Thobie

                          ParsT 906
    c. **Raphael**..dide medicines to tobies eiȝen.
                          a1398 * Trev. *Barth.*(Add 27944) 17a/b:
    d. How aungel **Raphael** helyd his kne.

                          c1450 St. Cuthbert (Surtees) 1066

In the following passage we see how the archangel (with Tobias, of course) fell victim to the scribe's aversion to capitalize personal names:

(8)   Ðe him nan þing digle ne sy. swa swa se heahengel **raphahel** cwæð to\þam godes menn tobian.

<div align="right">OE.Ascension: Text from Clemoes 1955–1956: 299–314</div>

That Raphael was also acquainted with other members of Tobias's family, his son in particular, who became his fellow-traveller on a trip to Gabel with a letter from old Tobias in which he postulated a return of the money borrowed, is depicted in the *Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament* (9a). That the mission ended with a success we learn from Wyclif's Bible (9b):

(9) a.   Now leue we **Raphaell**, þat ȝong Thoby furth lede, And of old Thoby tell.

<div align="right">c1450(a1425) *MOTest.*(SeldSup 52) 15670</div>

   b.   Þanne **raphael**..fynding gabel ȝaf to hym his writ.

<div align="right">(a1382) *WBible(1)* (Bod 959) Tob.9.6:</div>

Apart from healing Tobias's body, Raphael's another goal was to heal his soul:

(10)   for þe archangel **raphael** tauȝte tobie þat þe deuyl haþ power ouer siche men þat þus defoulen þe ordre of matrimonye

<div align="right">a1425 English Works of Wyclif Oxford, Bodley 788; 201</div>

A curious truncated variant of Raphael's name is recorded in the Old English version of the original Latin text in the *Durham Ritual* (11a), while another fragment of the same text also contains a fuller form of the name (11b):

(11) a. adiuro te creatura panis ut sis ignis ardens aduersus insidias diaboli et uolatilia sicut fugit Asmadeus demon qui fugitiuus est a felle piscis per **Raphahelem** archangelum ic halsigo ðec gescæft hlafes þæt ðv sie fyr bernende við onset-tnvngo divbles & flegendo svæ gefleg ðe wiDirworda god diul se De gefleme is from galla fisces Derh **Ra'** Done hehengel.
         (DurRitGl 2 147.6: Liturgical Texts, Durham Ritual: Thompson and Lindelöf 1927: 125–126, 145–147, 166–184; Thompson, A.H. and Lindelöf, U., *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society 140 Durham)
   b.   aflemed is from galle fisces ðerh **Raphæl'** ðone hehengel.

<div align="right">(DurRitGl 2 146.20)</div>

References to Raphael, the archangel, although not very frequent, can also be found in Middle English texts, especially in Trevisa, who reminds the reader that archangels also carry names of their own (12) and simultaneously emphasizes the medical talents of the archangel (13):

(12)   Þese Archangelis beþ ofte I-knowe by here propir names..gabriel..**Raphael**.

(a1398) * Trev. *Barth.*(Add 27944) 17a/b:

(13)   **Raphael** is to menynge the medicine of god [L medicina dei].

1398 Trevisa Barth. De P.R. ii. xvii. (1495) 41

In Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwit* Raphael appears in the company of his fellow angels (14), while in a later version of the Bible Raphael is introduced as follows (15):

(14)   Holy archan[g]le Michael, Saynt gabriel, and **Raphael**, Ye brenge me to þo castel Þer alle zaulen vareþ wel.

(1340) *Ayenb.*(Arun 57) 1/8

(15)   Now here we how þis Angell.. Of whom þe ryȝt name is **raphaell**, [etc.].

c1450(a1425) *MOTest.* (SeldSup 52) *A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament,* 16179

A more precise explanation of Raphael's mission can be found in Wyclif's Bible, which was written around 100 years earlier than *The Metrical Paraphrases* (see 15 above) where it is suggested that only those praying may expect the archangel's assistance in curing the disease:

(16)   Þer is sent an aungil of þe lord, þe holy **raphael**, þat he shulde curyn hem boþe whose orysouns oon tyme in þe siȝte of þe lord ben rehersid.

a(1382) *WBible* (1) (Bod 959) Tob.3.25

A curious debate is recorded in Wyclif's another text, *Elucidarium of Honorius of Autun*, where the three archangels' names are claimed to be cognomens (*tonames*) rather than true names. It should be recalled that the status of their names was not questioned by John Trevisa (see (12)):

(17)   'So moche science is in aungels þat hem needen no names'..'Mighel, gabriel, **raphael**, ben þese no names?' 'It ben raþer tonames þan propre names, for þese names casuel alle men putt.'

c1450(?c1400) *Wycl.Elucid.*(StJ-C G.25) 7

With the coming of the Renaissance, English poets and other writers became less interested in heavenly life, concentrating on earthly affairs. Unfortunately, the most famous of them, William Shakespeare, completely ignored our archangel. The only character in his dramas who carried that name was Rafe (Ralph) Mouldy (Henry IV, Pt. 2, 3.2.99). But, as said earlier, *Rafe* can also be a form of Scandinavian origin.

But in 1667, half a century after Shakespeare's death, another great poet John Milton, could not ignore Raphael when he wrote his famous poem *Paradise lost* (quoted in (18)). The very title of the poem suggested that Raphael's role was crucial in the story of a struggle between the good and the evil, in which our hero represented the forces of God combatting the army of Satan. Milton (1667) characterizes Raphael in the various lines of his poem as follows:

(18)   **Raphaël**, The affable archangel (vii. 42), … [b]enevolent and facil … (viii. 65), the sociable Spirit, that deign'd To travel with Tobias, and secured His marriage with the seventimes-wedded maid (v. 221–223), had forewarned Adam by dire example to beware Apostasie (vii. 44).

In the post-medieval literature and culture the name of Raphael is more frequently associated with the name of the master of art, Raffaello Santi, one of the most famous representatives of Italian Renaissance, a period also known as the Cinquecento. This trend established new vistas in the domain of culture, first Italian and then European painting, sculpture, music, architecture, and literature.

4. Artist

A great artist, Raphael Santi failed to enjoy a long life and never turned 60, unlike our celebrant from Silesia. His premature death at the age of 37 (!) in 1520 caused that world culture lost one of the greatest masters of art of all times. It is curious that his contemporaries initiated the tradition of referring to him by using not the surname Santi but rather his first name, which in those days testified to the high prestige of men of art and science (note Michelangelo or Galileo). This tradition was picked by the subsequent generations and is still alive nowadays.

In the opening lines to the biography of Raphael Santi, in his famous book *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors & architects*, Giorgio Vasari wrote the following words of praise in honour of Raffaello:

(19)   How bountiful and benign Heaven sometimes shows itself in showering upon one single person the infinite riches of its treasures, and all those graces and rarest gifts that it is wont to distribute among many individuals, over a long space of time, could be clearly seen in the no less excellent than gracious Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, who was endowed by nature with all that modesty and goodness which are seen at times in those who, beyond all other men, have added to their natural sweetness and gentleness the beautiful adornment of

courtesy and grace, by reason of which they always show themselves agreeable and pleasant to every sort of person and in all their actions.

(Vol. 4; translated by Gaston Du C. De Vere; London: Macmillan & Co.; qtd. after the Project Guttenberg version)

Waldemar Łysiak, a Polish writer, essayist, and historian of art, in the chapter on Raffaello in his comprehensive account of West European painting (Łysiak 2010: 275) recalls words of Eugene Delacroix, a French Romantic painter, who called Raphael "a genius" and "the greatest painter." However, Raphael's contemporaries, especially Michelangelo, criticized his work as being "academic," "eclectic," or even "too perfect."

If one examines Raphael's path of life an inevitable comparison with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who lived more than 200 years later, comes to one's mind. Both masters originally cultivated the classical style modifying it towards the trends of Renaissance (Raphael) and Romanticism (Mozart), both demonstrated unusual fertility and facility for creating art (Raphael) and music (Mozart), and the work of both was evidently inspired by Christianity (Raphael's *Pietà*, *Transfiguration*, etc.) and Mozart's numerous masses or the famous *Requiem* in D minor. Last but not least, they both unexpectedly died at the age of around 35 at the peak of their careers.

The reflection of Raphael's life and work in English literary tradition is evidenced by materials cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, although quotations there do not come from first-class writers, but mostly from different periodicals, epistles, or diaries of rather anonymous contributors. These references concern Raphael's activities in the area of arts or things and ideas associated with the Italian master.

Some statements characterize Raphael's skill in art and the impact his works exerted on the development of the styles of painting:

(20)   Braue **Raphæl**, whose only touch of a finger could, Midas like, turne gally pots into gold.

1670 R. Lassels Voy. Italy II. 350

But ye sight best pleased me was ye cartoons by **Raphael**,

1697 C. Hatton Corr. (1878) II. 229

That admirable paynting of **Raphael** … preserv'd in shutters of wainscott.

a1700 Evelyn Diary 8 Feb. 1645

[**Raphael's**] Flight thro' the Choirs of Angels is finely imaged.

1712 Addison Spect. No. 327 6

We..Match **Raphael's** grace with thy lov'd Guido's air,..Paulo's free stroke, and Titian's warmth divine.

1717 Pope Ep. to Mr. Jervas 38

Some admirable design sketched out only with a black pencil, though by the hand of **Raphael**.

<div align="right">1725 Watts Logic (J.)</div>

On the sight of the Capella Sistina, he [sc. **Raphael**] immediately..assumed that grand style of painting.]

<div align="right">1769 Reynolds Discourse delivered at Opening of Royal Academy 5</div>

Raphael's feeling for expression was probably the most intense feeling ever bestowed on a human being.

<div align="right">1816 J. Scott Vis. Paris 253</div>

Of the grace of **Raphael**, and of the Correggiosity of Correggio.

<div align="right">1848 A. Jameson Sacr. & Leg. Art (1850) 5</div>

Who painted these things? Why, Titian..**Raphael** — none other than the world's idols, the 'old masters.'

<div align="right">1869 'Mark Twain' Innoc. Abr. 260</div>

Raphael paints wisdom: Handel sings it,..Shakspeare writes it,..Watt mechanizes it.

<div align="right">1870 Emerson Soc. & Solit., Art. Wks. (Bohn) III. 21</div>

The..criticism..concludes with a reaffirmation of the great influence of the antique on **Raphael**.

<div align="right">1885 Athenæum 14 Nov. 642/2</div>

San Sisto..lost its chief attraction when **Raphael's** Sistine Madonna (now in Dresden) was sold by the monks.

<div align="right">1885 Encycl. Brit. XIX. 64/1</div>

That branch of the Umbrian school which we may term the 'Perugian,' was developed at a later period..it culminated in **Raphael**.

<div align="right">1887 A. H. Layard Kugler's Handbk. Painting:
Italian Schools (ed. 5) I. vii. 212</div>

There was still a survival of classical mannerism, based on Michelangelo and **Raphael**.

<div align="right">1938 Times 1 Jan. 13/6</div>

Among this chorus of admiration only a few critical voices, although rather mild, could be identified, although they need not have had a distinct negative connotation:

(21)   Die..**Raphael's** Pencil never chuse to fall? Say, are his Works Transfigurations all?

<div align="right">1712 Blackmore Creation iii. 123</div>

His [Raphael's] women in general are either charged and heavy..or dry and petite.

<div align="right">1784 J. Barry in Lect. Paint. iii. (1848) 132</div>

The first thing they do with one of **Raphael's** pictures is to repaint it

<div align="right">1815 J. Scott Vis. Paris Pref. 9</div>

St. John..was wholly unlike the effeminate pietist of Titian's or of **Raphael's** pictures.

<div align="right">1882 Farrar Early Chr. II. 142</div>

Finally, we cannot overlook the fact that Raphael's name contributed to the formation of derivatives related to his artistic activity, such as *Raffaelesque*, *Raphaelhood* (a nonce word), *Raphaeli(ti)sm*, *Raphaelite*, and perhaps the most popular, *Pre-Raphaelite*, which referred to 19th-century artists who followed the tradition of the early painting models from the pre-Raphael times:

(22)   Pre-**Raphaelites**, a school of modern artists, who profess to follow the mode of study and expression adopted by the early painters who flourished before the time of Raphael, and whose principal theory of action is a rigid adherence to natural forms and effects.

<div align="right">1854 Fairholt Dict. Terms Art</div>

I reverence – indeed almost idolize – what I have seen of the Pre-**Raphael** painters.

<div align="right">1850 W. M. Rossetti The P.R.B. Jrnl. July
in Præraphaelite Diaries & Lett. (1900) 275</div>

Mediæval, or pre-**Raffaele** art is seen in his youthful timid darings.

<div align="right">1850 Germ May 158</div>

Raphael also gave name to products of ceramics (Italian majolica) "whose pictorial designs were heavily influenced by (and once attributed to) Raphael" (*OED*; entry "Raffaelle ware")

(23)   Very fine old **Raphael's** ware bottle curiously painted.

<div align="right">1773 in A. V. B. Norman Wallace Collection: Catal. Ceramics (1976) I. 25</div>

A salver of **Raphael** fayence; story of the prodigal son.

<div align="right">1774 Descr. Villa of H. Walpole 107</div>

A magnificent specimen of the rare old faenza or **Raphael's** ware, the design most masterly.

<div align="right">1842 Valuable Contents of Strawberry Hill xii. 127</div>

Having discussed the fates of a mythical character of Archangel Raphael and those of the real character, Raphael Santi, we shall now say a few words about a contemporary man of science, Rafał, whose company I have enjoyed for many years.

5. Dean

A tired traveller visiting Sosnowiec, a town in the south-central coal basin, who sometimes directs their steps to Grota-Roweckiego Street 5, a monumental building which is a seat of the Faculty of Philology of the University of Silesia, may have the luck to encounter there a handsome gentleman with a black (partly grey) beard, modest hair, wearing extravagant garment as if put on just before going on a fishing expedition. Only a few people would have guessed that they stand face to face with the (former) Dean of the Faculty of Philology, a person who created a local linguistic school of historical English, educated numerous PhDs, MAs, and BAs, and an author of almost one hundred scholarly texts.

Professor Rafał Molencki, whose identity is thus disclosed, has become a true institution in the area of English historical (and not only historical) linguistics, himself a member of several linguistic organizations in Poland and abroad. His scholarly and organizational talents made him one of the genuine authorities in his discipline.

Because the data concerning Rafał's linguistic activity is presented in a separate section of the present volume, in what follows attention is focused on the different areas of his mainly organizational activities or scholarly activities rather distant from his field of linguistics, concentrating on the period of his greatest successes after he obtained D.Litt. degree and was elected Dean of the Faculty of Philology, that is, years 2008–2016. Those years symbolize the extraordinary energy of Rafał as an organizer and participant of various cultural and scholarly events taking place at or close to the University of Silesia.

Rafał became the dean in 2008 and already at the end of that year (4 October) he was seen as a member of the University of Silesia Senate's football team playing against the team of the Republic of Poland's Senate whose coach was famous Antoni Piechniczek. The game was a charity event on behalf of children with disabilities in Child Health Center in Warsaw. One of his fellow players on the team was Rafał's son, Jakub, then a student at the university.

A few months later (20 January 2009) Rafał was interviewed by the local television about winter hardships in the faculty building. Rafał explained in a business-like manner that low temperature in the building was caused by the inefficient heating system which required improvement. A good effect of the interview was that the administration decided to close all the entrance doors in the building, an event whose consequences seem to require a closer inspection. Whether the heating system was fixed the Internet does not betray.

The winter and spring over, we can move to July, when Rafał, as the dean, welcomed Olexander Motsyk, Ukraine Ambassador to Poland (21 July 2009). On 28 October Rafał inaugurated the conference *The Borders of the Freedom of Expression* at the Faculty of Law and Administration.

In the spring of 2010 (28 May) Rafał opened the *6th All-Polish Speech Therapy Conference* in Katowice. In autumn (16 October) he was again seen playing football in Bytom on the side of the University Senate in the charity game for children with disabilities. The conference on *Rehabilitation of the Blind*, which started two days later (18 October), was again organized under the honorary auspices of Dean Molencki. A week later (25 October) Rafał, as one of the organizers, opened yet another conference *The World That Understands Stuttering*.

The spring of 2011 saw Rafał full of initiative. On 28 April he delivered a speech inaugurating the Day of Arab Culture and at the same event was watching with interest a belly dance show. Two weeks later (12 May) he delivered opening remarks inaugurating the Day of Canadian Culture. But after three days (15 May) he was seen on the other side of the Atlantic in Bogota (Columbia) where, in the capacity of the strategic representative of the Conference of Rectors of Academic Schools in Poland (KRASP), he held the function of a moderator on behalf of Central American countries (sic!).

The end of 2011 was also rich in events. The Conference of Rectors (with Rafał, of course) met in Brussels (20 October), where they summed up the progress international cooperation between universities. In the meantime, Rafał managed to send invitations to prospective participants in the 4th edition of the conference *The World That Understands Stuttering* due to start on 21 October 2011. The year ended in a pleasant Christmas atmosphere when on 14 December foreign students from the University of Silesia performed their nativity plays (*jasełka*). During the event Dean Molencki wished everybody Merry Christmas.

In the new year 2012 (18 February), Rafał assumed the honorary patronage over *The Ball of Philologists* organized by the local students, although it is not clear whether he himself participated in the event. But we know that in the following month (March) he participated in an international conference in Santiago de Chile, where he read a paper on the mobility of doctoral students in Europe and chaired a relevant discussion panel. At the end of March (29th), Rafał assumed another patronage, this time over the *Conference on Pupils Requiring Special Educational Needs*. Rafał's patronage also embraced *The Exhibition of Slovene Designers of Urban Fashion* (Richard Johnson's photos; 2 April) in the Silesian Library, Katowice. A month later Rafał welcomed the participants of the conference of All-Polish Student Research Groups *Utile Dulci* and soon he became patron over the "New Muse Filo" project, culminating in a song competition. The final concert took place on 31 May. The year packed with events ended with the conference *Middle East Encounters in Sosnowiec* (12–13 December) organized, as can be easily guessed, under the patronage of Dean Molencki, who delivered an opening speech.

The year 2013 promised to be eventful. An impressive start was a conference devoted to the consolidation and promotion of academic mobility at the

Universidad Nacional de Cuyo (province of Mendoza, Argentina; 5–6 March 2013), where Rafał, as you recall, an expert on the mobility issue, delivered a lecture on "Movilidad internacional de estudiantes y empleabilidad: perspectiva polaca y europea." A day later (7 March) Rafał moved to Buenos Aires, where he shared Polish experiences in a discussion on cooperation between universities.

On his return to Poland, Rafał Molencki received Professor's title from the then President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski (the ceremony took place on 14 March 2013).

Because the organizers of the charity game Senate vs. Senate found October not satisfactory as a period of the game (cold, dark, wet pitch) they rightly decided to choose June as a better date. After a press conference on 10 June, the game was announced on 14 June. One of the players was Rafał.

In the middle of November Rafał disappeared from Sosnowiec but soon he materialized in Montevideo (Uruguay), delivering yet another paper on "mobility" (the "Alfa Puentes" project): "The problem of trust in recognizing foreign academic credentials: the European perspective." And two weeks later (4–5 December) he took part in the discussions of Second Bi-regional Conference *A Europe-Latin America Partnership for Innovative, Responsive and Sustainable Universities* in Cartagena de las Indias (Columbia). Unfortunately the source used (Google) does not make it clear whether Rafał's stay in South America was extended over the period between the visits in Uruguay and Columbia or whether he was compelled to return for a few days to Sosnowiec and fly to America again (!). Thus, his potential stay in the Western hemisphere for two weeks requires a thorough investigation what he was doing there. When staying in Columbia Rafał enjoyed his another patronage over a simultaneous event "2nd Middle East Encounters in Sosnowiec" (also 4–5 December).

The latter half of December 2013 saw the annual celebrations of the day of Santa Lucia in the presence of Dean Molencki. The menu included *pepparkakor* (food) and *glögg* (drink), whatever it was.

In 2014 the focus of interest in international scientific communication seemed to be shifting from South America to Asia, and notably China. The harbinger of this new trend was the meeting with Rafał (24 January) at which the situation of the Polish language course in Northeastern University at Shanyang was debated. The news of the meeting must have reached China because on 20 February the Liaoning University sent a special delegation whose goal was to meet people from the University of Silesia headed by Dean Molencki. The Internet says nothing about the effect of the debate.

On 8 March a very important event took place during the jubilee 10th Student's Festival of Science when the passengers of the renovated railway station in Katowice had a rare opportunity to listen to Rafał's lecture on the spread of English in the world. Unfortunately, the video recording only shows

the speaker but not the audience, which leaves the impression as if the speaker was talking to himself or to a few organizers, although modest applause seems to testify to the presence of some unidentified non-University listeners in the hall. The most intriguing thing in the event is, however, not a bunch of flowers but a suspicious-looking paper or plastic bag given to Rafał at the conclusion of the lecture by one of the organizers, whose content remained undisclosed as the bag was taken home by the lecturer. In order to find what could be inside all inquisitive researchers should view the Internet (https://www.youtube.com /watch?v=yPd06pfV0-s).

Early in autumn, a University delegation went to Stockholm to take part in the ceremony of conferring Doctor Honoris Causa degree from Jagiellonian University and the University of Silesia to Swedish poet Tomas Tranströmer, Nobel laureate in literature. Because the Swedish poet detested traveling abroad, Rafał, as the dean, was compelled to join the delegation. His activities in Sweden are veiled in mystery.

Little is known about the non-linguistic life of Rafał in 2015. In all probability he concentrated on purely linguistic work (writing papers, conferences). The only info concerning his activities was yet another patronage, this time over *Festival of Ethnographic Films* and a corresponding conference organized by Faculty of Philology (26–28 March). But a major success in his scholarly life was his becoming member of the Linguistic Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN).

The following year 2016, the last one in his career of the dean, saw his intensive work in the spring. It started with his patronage over the conference *Languages & Emotions* in Katowice (2–4 April). A week later (9 April) he opened the 6th edition of *The Ball of Philologists*, soon (13 April) he participated in the inauguration of the Congress of Language Historians and, after seven days (20 April), he could be seen at the ceremony of naming the Institute of the Polish Language after Professor Irena Bajerowa. In the last registered event at the University, Rafał met with the representatives of Centro Universitário de União da Vitória, Parana, Brasil.

* * *

This brings us to the end of an account of the lives of three famous characters, one a mythological creation, one a historical artist, and one a contemporary scholar. The characters are hardly comparable but the common element of their careers was the name *Raphael*. I wish the surviving Polish Raphael, that is, Rafał, many new successes as there are still many honours which can be won by a scholar with so many talents.

References

Esquibel, Joanna & Anna Wojtyś (eds.). 2012. *Explorations in the English language: Middle Ages and beyond. Festschrift for Professor Jerzy Wełna on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Kopaliński, Władysław. 2001. *Słownik mitów i tradycji kultury* [A dictionary of myths and traditions of culture]. 7th edn. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Kôkeritz, Helge. 1959. *Shakespeare's names: A pronouncing dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Łysiak, Waldemar. 2000. Piękny Santi [Beautiful Santi]. In *Malarstwo białego człowieka* [The painting art of the white man]. Vol. 2. 2nd expanded edn, 273–312. Warszawa: Nobilis. .

Mallory, J. P. & D.Q. Adams. 2006. *The Oxford introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Middle English Dictionary. Ann Arbor, MI. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med.

Molencki, Rafał. 2012. Some woolly remarks about wool. In Joanna Esquibel & Anna Wojtyś (eds.), 37–44.

Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rybakin, Anatolij I. 1973. *Dictionary of English personal names*. Moscow: Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House.

Rybakin, Anatolij I. 1986. *A dictionary of English surnames*. Moscow: Russky Yazyk Publishers.

Part One

Medieval English Syntax

Resumptive pronouns
and asymmetric coordination in Old English

Artur Bartnik

John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

1. Introduction

Asymmetric coordination is a type of coordination in which there is a linear or structural difference between the conjuncts. This concept is often contrasted with symmetric coordination, which is governed by one of the most robust principles in the syntax of coordination, Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). The principle makes sure that in a typical coordinate structure extraction must apply across-the-board (ATB), affecting all the conjuncts. This observation formalized by Ross (1967: 161) in (1) is illustrated in (2) below:

(1)   Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC)
         In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

(2)   Which book$_i$ does Peter love to read t_i and (does) Andrew love to illustrate t_i?

CSC, however, can be violated in a number of asymmetrical coordinate structures found in many languages (see an excellent overview of unbalanced coordination in Johannessen 1998: 7–51). For instance, extraction applies from one conjunct in the examples in (3):

(3) a.   That's the stuff$_i$ the guys in Caucasus drink t_i and live to be a hundred.
    b.   Who$_i$ did he pick up the phone and call t_i?
    c.   How much$_i$ can you drink t_i and still stay sober?

                                                            (Weisser 2014: 1)

Note, however, that the examples above differ in a number of ways from the one in (2). First, the conjuncts cannot be swapped around without changing

the meaning because they express different semantic relations between the conjuncts. Thus in (3a) the clauses are related in a causative way (cause-result); the semantic relation in (3b) can be paraphrased by means of *in order to/so that*; in (3c) the non-initial conjunct conveys adversative/argumentative information. Second, all the conjuncts must have the same subject and tense. Third, asymmetric coordination structures have an obligatory "one-event" interpretation (cf. Weisser 2014).

Another type of asymmetric coordination frequently found in various studies is the one in which one of the conjuncts contains a resumptive pronoun. This is exemplified by an Early Modern English example in (4) below. Its Modern English equivalent would normally have a gap instead of a resumptive pronoun:

(4)   The two great Streets which run cross and divide it into four Quarters, are five Foot wide. The Lanes and Alleys which [I could not enter, but only viewed **them** as I passed], are from Twelve to Eighteen Inches.

                      (*Gulliver's Travels*, Book 1, Chapter 4: 32; Roberts 1999: 324)

This type of asymmetric coordination is found in many languages which make free use of resumption. A small sample of such languages is given below[1]:

(5)   *haiş   şe   Rina roca ve   ohevet **oto**   yoter   mikulam*
         the-man   that Rina wants and loves   him   more-than   anyone
         'the man that Rina wants and loves more than anyone.'

                                                     (Sells 1984: 78, Hebrew)

(6)   *de Lehrer,   wo   de   Hans verehrt und   d   Susi über **en**   fluecht*
         the teacher   that the   John adores and   the Susi about him   swears
         'the teacher that John adores and Susi swears about (him).'

(7)   *de Lehrer,   wo   de   Hans von **em** schwärmt   und d   Susi hasst*
         the teacher   that the   John of   him is-excited   and the Susi hates
         'the teacher that John is excited about (him) and Susi hates.'

                                          (Salzmann 2012: 355, Zurich German)

In the case of resumptive coordinate structures swapping around the conjuncts is limited because resumptive elements have to appear in the second conjunct, as evidenced by (5). However, as shown in (6)–(7), this is not true in Zurich German, as the resumptive pronouns *em* and *en* can be used in both conjuncts. The causative, argumentative, and temporal relations in asymmetric coordinate structures and the constraint on the same subject in both conjuncts do not seem to be relevant in (5)–(7).

----

[1] In the article only in non-English examples we provide glosses for easier analysis.

In this paper we would like to examine asymmetric coordination with resumption in Old English. Since Old English is a language in which resumption is present, we would expect that resumptive pronouns can also appear in coordination just like in other languages. Before we carry out a corpus analysis (Section 3), let us see what other sources reveal about resumptive pronouns and coordination in Old English.

2. Previous studies

Old English sources say very little about resumptive pronouns in coordinate structures. If resumption is discussed, it is normally limited to relative clauses (see, e.g., Traugott 1992; Visser 1963–1973). Coordination, on the other hand, is discussed in the context of split constituents, parataxis, and gapping, to mention but a few. Of the more recent studies, Taylor and Ringe (2014: 471–472) briefly mention the two phenomena jointly. They remark that many resumptives appear in the second (or later conjunct), in a complicated structure (8), sometimes with a change in the role of the pronoun (9):

(8) *Se þe   his synnen adilgað   &   heo   scuneð, &   he heo,*
     he who his sins   blots-out and them avoids   and he them

     halewendlice andetteð God se   þe hire   byð nu   gewite, he
     salutarily   confesses God who that to-them is now torment he

     heora byð eft   werigend.
     of-them is afterwards protector

     'he who blots out his sins, and shuns them and he salutarily confesses them, God, who is now their torment, he is afterwards their protector.'

                                   (coalcuin,Alc_[Warn_35]:348.253; Taylor et al. 2014: 471–472)

(9) *Soðlice se ðe ealle þa gebytlu hylt   and hine nan ne   berð*
     Truly   he who all   the buildings holds and him none NEG carry

     se is hælend Crist þe   us ealle gehylt.
     he is saviour Christ who us all   holds

     'Truly he who holds all the buildings and no one carries him, he is the Saviour Christ who holds us all.'

                                   (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_45:339.129.7609; Taylor et al. 2014: 472)

Of the more traditional studies, the most reliable syntactic study is Mitchell (1985). Mitchell (1985: § 2188) notes that a resumptive[2] element can appear

---

[2] Mitchell (1985) of course does not use the term "resumption."

in the first conjunct, though his structure actually involves the repetition of the nominal head, as in (10) below, very different from example (7) in Zurich German:

(10)   *Þu   eart   Crist,   ðæs   lifigendan   Godes   Sunu,   þu   þe   be   ðines   Fæder*
        you   are   Christ   the   living   God's   Son   you   who   by   your   Father

        hæse   middangeard   gehældest,   and   us   ðone   Halgan   Gast   asendest.
        behest   world   has-saved   and   us   the   Holy   Ghost   has-sent

        'you are Christ, Son of the living God, who, at your Father's behest, has saved
        the world and has sent us the Holy Ghost.'

                                                                        (ÆCHom i. 76.4; Mitchell 1985: § 2183)

Mitchell (1985: § 2189) also adds that a change of case can appear in the first, in the second, or in both (or more) conjuncts. The case change in the second conjunct is shown in (9) above. The other two cases are illustrated below.

(11)   *þæt   bið   eadig   mann,   þe   þu   hine,   ece   god,   on   þinre   soðre   æ   sylfa*
        that   is   blessed   man   that   you   him   eternal   god   on   your   true   law   self

        getyhtest   and   hine   þeodscipe   ðinne   lærest   and   him   yfele
        shall-instruct   and   him   instruction   your   shall-teach   and   him   evil

        dagas   ealle   gebeorgest
        days   all   shall-save

        'Blessed is the man whom you shall instruct, Eternal Lord, in your true law and
        whom shall teach your instruction and whom (you) all shall save from evil days'

                                                                        (PPs 93.11; Mitchell 1985: § 2189)

(12)   *Secgað   Israhela   bearnum,   ðæt   hi   eton   þa   nytenu   ðe   heora*
        tell   Israel's   children   that   they   may-eat   the   animals   that   their

        clawa   todælede   beoð   &   ceowað.
        hoofs   dividing   are   and   chew

        'Tell children of Israel that they may eat the animals whose hoofs are dividing
        and (who) chew.'

                                                                        (cootest,Lev:11.1.3771; Mitchell 1985: § 2189)

The picture that emerges from Old English studies is that there are three important factors in the distribution of resumptives in asymmetric coordinate structures in Old English: a syntactic change in the role of resumptive, their presence in one (or more) conjunct(s) and the degree of complexity of a co-ordinate structure. Let us discuss each of those factors, in turn, against the corpus data.

3. Corpus analysis

3.1 Corpus

We have conducted a more systematic examination of resumptive coordination structures in Old English. The data are drawn from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English (YCOE), with the assistance of a search engine to extract possibly the greatest number of constructions. Because the corpus includes 1.5 million words with a wide variety of different texts such as translations (Orosius and *Cura Pastoralis*), native works (*Ælfric's Homilies*, for example), long and short texts of different genres, such as religious treaties, homilies, fiction, historical, legal or philosophical works, it should give us a fairly representative picture of resumptive pronouns in coordination in Old English.

Although this is a corpus study, we will not provide exact numbers of resumptives in coordination, as their number is still too small (around one hundred examples, see the Appendix) against the total number of clauses in the corpus.

3.2 Syntactic role and case

In our collection of data we find a great number of coordinate structures in which resumptives do not change their syntactic role. Most of them, however, involve syndetic coordination with a nominative resumptive in the second conjunct. Consider some typical examples:

(13) *Warniað eow georne wið <u>lease witegan</u>, þa   ðe   cumað to eow on*
     Beware you carefully with false prophets those that come to you on

  sceape gelicnysse, and <u>hi</u>   synd wiþinnan reafigende wulfas.
  sheeps' semblance and they are within   ravening   wolves

  'Beware you carefully of false prophets who come to you in sheeps' semblance and within they are ravening wolves.'

  (coaelive, ÆLS_[Mark]:119.3282)

(14) *<u>Manige men</u> beoð þe beforan oþrum mannum hwæt hugu god*
     Many   men are that before other men   what little good

  begangaþ, &   raþe   <u>hie</u> hit anforlætaþ;
  perform   and quickly they it abandon

'Many men there are who, before other men, begin to do a little good and quickly abandon it;'

(coblick,HomS_17_[BlHom_5]:57.31.700)

These structures resemble left dislocated constructions found in Old English, in which a noun phrase modified by a relative or adverbial clause is resumed by a pronoun (see Traugott 2007 on Old English left dislocation). Our examples can be characterized as simple paratactic structures, involving no more than two conjuncts, in which resumptives are not used to change the role. Occasionally, there are non-nominative cases of the same type. Consider:

(15)   *ðæt is seo rihtwisnys,   þæt man   rihtlice gelyfe   on þone soðan*
        that is the righteousness that man rightly believes on the   true

        Hælend, þone   gesawon his folgeras, and on hine gelyfdon, and
        Saviour   whom saw   his disciples and on him believed   and

        mid   lufe wurðodon.
        with love worshipped

        'This is the righteousness that man rightly believes in the true Saviour whom his disciples saw and in whom believed and worshipped with love.'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_7:164.1138)

(16)   *&   ealle þa mynstru, þe he ær   gestaþelode &   geændebyrde*
        and all   the monastery that he before established and arranged

        &   gesette mid þam gegadredum broðrum, and heom   gesette
        and filled with the   gathered   brothers and to-them appointed

        gewisse   preostas &   reccendas.
        knowledgeable priests   and rulers

        'all the monastery that he before established and arranged and filled with the gathered brothers and to them appointed knowledgeable priests and rulers.'

(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:8.119.18.1420)

In (15) and (16) the resumptive pronouns in the second conjunct have the same case as the noun phrases they refer to. The same goes for the relative pronoun in (15). Note that the resumptive pronouns appear in the initial position in the second conjunct, performing the role of relative pronouns (see below).

Apart from no role changing resumptives, we have a number of examples in which cases between the conjuncts differ. By way of illustration, let us consider the first set of examples:

(17)   *Se ilca Moyses ðe   God self lærde, &   hine lædde ðurh   ðæt*
        The same Moses that God self taught and him led   through the

> *westen   mid ðy fyrenan   sweore on nieht*
> wilderness with the fiery   pillar   on night
>
> 'the same Moses whom God Himself taught and whom led through the wilderness with the fiery pillar by night.'
>
> <div align="right">(cocura,CP:41.304.6.2020)</div>

(18)   *hu   <u>manig esnewyrhtan</u> wæron in   mines fæder huse   &   þam hlaf*
      how   many   hirelings   were   in   my   father house and   them bread

      genihtsumað.
      abounds

      'how many hired servants were in my father's house and they abound with bread.'

<div align="right">(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:3.106.31.1233)</div>

(19)   *ðæm   upahæfenum is to cyðanne hwelc nawuht   <u>ðes woruldgielp</u>   is*
      to-the   proud   is to be-told   how   of-no value this   worldly-glory is

      ðe   hie   clyppað &   lufiað, &   <u>his</u>   nawuht habbað, ðeah   hie
      that they embrace and   love   and   of-it nothing have   though they

      wenen ðæt hie   hiene hæbben.
      think   that they it   have

      'the proud are to be told how worthless this worldly glory is which they embrace and love, and have nothing of it, although they think they have it.'

<div align="right">(cocura,CP:41.299.5.1965)</div>

As shown above, the underlined noun phrases are typically nominative and the resumptives can be accusative, dative or genitive. The resumptive pronouns are in the initial position, changing the syntactic role of the second conjunct. If the two relative clauses are conjoined, as in (17), and the relativizer is caseless, the pronoun is justified to signal the change of case. Sometimes, however, the noun phrase and the relativizer introducing the first conjunct are not nominative. Consider:

(20)   *he mid   weorcum   spræc to <u>sumum cnihte</u>,   swa swa us   kyð   seo racu,*
      he with   works   spoke to some   youth   just as   us   tells the story

      <u>ðone</u> _he lufode, &   <u>him</u> eac swa gelæste.
      whom he loved   and   him also   lost

      'he spoke with works to a certain young man, just as the story tells us, whom he loved and whom also lost.'

<div align="right">(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigeweardZ]:1015.449)</div>

(21)   *ac   his   dæda sind   awritene on <u>Drihtenes</u> godspelle, <u>þone</u>   he gefullode*
      but   his deeds are   written   on   Lord's   gospel   whom   he baptized

    &   <u>his</u> forerynel   wæs on life ge   on deaðe,
    and his forerunner was on life and on death

    'but his deeds are written in the Gospel of our Lord, whom he baptized and whose forerunner he was in life and death,'

                        (colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigeweardZ]:858.345)

In (20) and (21) the head noun is dative and genitive respectively, and the relativizers introducing the first conjunct are accusatives. Again the resumptive pronouns, which bear a different case from the relativizers, ensure the correct syntactic relation between the conjuncts. Note that in all the examples above, the resumptive pronoun is always a more marked (or at least the same) case-option.[3] It seems that it must be marked overtly, since more marked cases are more likely to be marked morphologically. However, when we have the reverse situation, the resumptive pronoun remains empty (marked by Ø in the example below). Consider example (12) repeated here as (22):

(22)   *Secgað Israhela bearnum, ðæt hi   eton   þa nytenu <u>ðe   heora</u>*
       tell   Isreal's children that they may-eat the animals that their

       clawa todælede beoð &   ceowað.
       hoofs dividing   are   and   chew

       'Tell children of Israel that they may eat the animals whose hoofs are dividing and who chew.'

                        (cootest,Lev:11.1.3771; Mitchell 1985: § 2189)

In (22) the first relative clause contains the more marked genitive *heora*, so it is translated as 'whose.' In the second conjunct, however, the relativizer should be changed into a less marked option, so it is not overtly marked. This is a rare situation; nevertheless, it shows that the case choice is an important parameter in coordinate structures.

    Another thing is that the case of the head noun when two relatives are conjoined does not influence the overt marking of the resumptive. In other words, the resumptive can be overt and less marked (nominative) even if the head is more marked (non-nominative). This is shown in (23):

(23)   *Swylce eac <u>be ðam micelum muntum &   dunum</u>, þa   þe   hyhst*
       Such   also by those great   mountains and hills   those that highest

       standaþ &   goriað ofer ealne middangeard, &   þeahhwæðere <u>hi</u>
       stand   and tower over all   earth   and nevertheless   they

---

    [3] We are assuming the Universal Case Markedness Hierarchy: nominative (least marked) < accusative < dative < genitive (most marked).

wite   habbað þæs   ealdordomes þæt hie bioð geneahhe mid
punishment have   of-that authority   that they are   often   with

hatum fyre geþread &   geþræsted, &   geslægen mid lige.
hot   fire afflicted and threatened and tormented with flame

'It is also so with those great mountains and heights, which stand highest
and tower over all the earth and, nevertheless, (they) have the penalty of that
pre-eminence in that they are often afflicted and threatened with hot fire and
tormented with flame.'

(coverhom,HomS_40.3_[ScraggVerc_10]:214.1545)

To sum up this section, we see that case does not have to change the role of
a pronoun. With nominative resumptives and a small number of non-nominative
resumptives, a change in the role of pronouns does not take place. However,
with non-nominative resumptives the syntactic role of the pronoun does change.
Case markedness plays an important function in the occurrence of resumptives
in coordinate structures. Now let us move on to another factor responsible for
the distribution of resumptives in asymmetric coordination – their presence in
the conjuncts.

3.3 The position of resumptives in the conjuncts

With respect to the placement of resumptives in asymmetric coordination, there
are two issues that must be dealt with. The first question concerns which con-
junct or conjuncts can contain resumptives. The other problem lies in their exact
position within the conjunct(s). As for the former issue, the evidence is equivo-
cal. Taylor and Ringe (2014) remark that resumptives appear in the second (or
later) conjunct. Mitchell (1985), on the other hand, points out that they can occur
in the first conjunct, but his examples are not convincing. Apparently, resump-
tives can surface in the first conjunct or in at least two conjuncts. Consider:

(24)   *þa   beoð eadge þe   heora wonnesse forlætne beoð &   þara*
        those are   happy that their wickedness forsaken is   and of-those

        þe synna bewrigene beoð.
        that sins concealed   are

        'those are happy whose wickedness is relinquished and whose sins are con-
        cealed.'

(cobede,Bede_5:14.442.5.4438)

(25)   *On ðone ðreo ond twentegðan dæg þæs   monðes bið Sancte*
        On   the   three and twenty   day of-the month   is Saint

Georgius tid <u>ðæs æþelan weres</u>, ðone   Datianus se casere seofan
George   time of-the holy   man   whom Datianus the caesar seven

gear mid unasecgendlicum witum <u>hine</u> þreade   þæt he Criste wiðsoce
years with unspeakable   tortures him impelled that he Christ repudiate

ond he nohwæþre   <u>hine</u> oferswiðan mihte.
and he no-however   him overpower could

'On the twenty-third day of the month is the feast of the noble man St George
who(m) emperor Datianus forced (him) for seven years with unspeakable tor-
tures to renounce Christ, but he could never overpower him.'

(comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]:Ap23,A.1.582)

(26)   *eadig   is <u>se wer</u>   þe on <u>his</u> forðsiðe halgena getel healice sang,*
blessed is the man that on his departure saints   group highly   sang

and engla werod blissode, and ealle heofonware   <u>him</u>
and angels group rejoiced and all   heavenly-inhabitants him

togeanes ferdon,
towards   went

'Blessed is the man on whose departure a number of saints sang beautifully
and a host of angles rejoiced and to whom all inhabitants of heaven went,'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:1430.6915)

In example (24) the resumptive appears in the first conjunct. Note that the
genitive is marked overtly in the second conjunct by means of a relativizer.
In examples (25) and (26) the resumptives are used in two conjuncts and they
have the same or different cases. Unfortunately, we found very few examples
of that sort so it is difficult to evaluate how common they were, especially in
the face of many examples with resumptives in the second conjunct. Thus we
should be cautious in saying that Old English was like Zurich German, which
allows resumptives in both conjuncts. What is certain, though, is that this op-
tion was available, especially in the face of the fact that the examples can be
found in native texts.

The other problem that we are faced with is the exact position of resump-
tives in the conjunct. In examples (13)–(14) and (17)–(19) we saw that they
can be first in the second conjunct. Yet, the initial position is not the only one
available for resumptives. Consider:

(27)   *buton hig   se ælmyhtyga God fram me ateo,   se ðe <u>Lazarum</u>*
except them the almighty   God from me should-take he that Lazarus

of   me genam <u>þone þe</u> ic heold deadne feower nyht fæste gebunden
from me took   who that I held dead   four   nights fast   bound

and ic <u>hyne</u> eft   cwycne ageaf þurh   hys bebodu.
and I him   again alive   gave   through his commands

'[…] unless omnipotent God take them from me, who took Lazarus from me, whom I held dead bound fast for four days; and I gave him up again alive because of his commands.'

(conicodA,Nic_[A]:20.3.3.463)

(28) *swa swa Aaron wæs, se arwurða bisceop, þone þe God sylf geceas,*
just like Aaron was   the venerable bishop   whom that God self   chose

and gesette him to bisceope on þa ealdan wisan. æfter Moyses æ
and appointed him to bishop   on the old   way   after Moses   law

'just like Aaron, the venerable bishop, whom God Himself chose, and appointed him as a bishop in the old way according to Moses' law'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_21:237.3197)

(29) *embe þa forewyrd þe ægelric worhte wið Eadsige arcebisceop æt*
about the   agreement that ægelric wrought with Eadsige archbishop   at

þam lande æt Cert þe Ceolnoð arcebisceop gebohte æt Hæleþan þam
the   land at Chart that Ceolnoth archbishop   bought at Hæletha   he

þegene mid his agenan sceatte & Aþelulf cing hit gebocode Ceolnoþe
thane   with his own   money and Aþelulf king   it chartered Ceolnoth

arcebisceope on ece yrfe.
archbishop   on eternal inheritance

'[…] concerning the compacts which Ægelric made with archbishop Eadsige respecting the land at Chart, which archbishop Ceolnoth bought of Hæletha the thane with his own money and king Aþelulf chartered it to archbishop Ceolnoth in perpetual heritage.'

(codocu3,Ch_1471_[Rob_101]:1.199)

(30) *Be þam sind awritene witodlice feower bec, þa sind gehatenne*
By   those are   written   indeed   four   books which are   called

Liber Regum on Leden, þæt ys cininga boc gecweden swa on an,
Liber Regum on Latin, that is kings' book called   so   on one

& Verba Dierum lið þærto geiced; seo ys seo fifte boc.
and Verba Dierum lies thereto placed it   is the   fifth   book

'[Kings] of whom are written four distinct books, which are called Liber Regum in Latin, that is the book of Kings, so-called all in one, and Verba dierum is placed next to it – this is the fifth book.'

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigeweardZ]:450.159)

As we can see in (27)–(30), the resumptives can sit in the middle of the conjunct, irrespective of whether or not they agree in case with the relativizer in the first conjunct (examples (27) and (28), respectively), or whether they are used with the caseless relativizer (example 29). Resumptives can also complement prepositions, as shown in (30). As a matter of fact, the examples above

are genuine violations of the CSC principle presented in the introduction and found in many languages making free use of resumption. They prove that Old English and probably later periods as well (see example (4)) are among languages in which resumption was not only limited to relative clauses and played an important role in other grammatical areas. Resumptives in non-initial position have also far-reaching consequences for the syntactic status of the two conjuncts. For instance, Roberts (1999) assumes a binary branching structure, with conjuncts merged differently (see also Johannessen (1998) for a more detailed description of this issue).

In the next section we will discuss the last factor responsible for the distribution of resumptives in coordination, that is, structural complexity.

3.4 Structural complexity

One of the reasons why we use resumptives is the fact that they facilitate processing and improve the acceptability of complex structures with gaps, especially in speech (Ross 1967; McKee and McDaniel 2001 and many others). Therefore, it should not be surprising that in coordinate structures with resumptives the problem of structural complexity appears as well. By complex structures we mean constructions that contain more than two conjuncts. Let us illustrate them with appropriate examples:

(31) *Manige men beoð heardre heortan þe   þa godcundan lare   gehyraþ,*
      Many men are hard   hearts that the divine   instruction hear

      & him mon þa oft bodaþ & sægþ, & hi hi þonne
      and them one then often preaches and says and they that then

      agimeleasiað
      neglect

      'Many men there are whose hearts are hard, who hear the divine instruction and to whom one often preaches and speaks they then neglect that'

                                              (coblick,HomS_17_[BlHom_5]:57.48.709)

(32) *Soðlice se ðe ealle þa gebytlu hylt and hine nan ne berð se is*
      Truly   he who all the buildings holds and him none neg carry he is

      hælend Crist þe   us ealle gehylt.
      saviour Christ who us all   holds

      'Truly he who holds all the buildings and no one carries him, he is the Saviour Christ who holds us all.'

                                              (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_45:339.129.7609)

(33) *þætte seo æfeste Cristes þeowe Hild abbudisse þæs mynstres þe*
      when the pious Christ's servant Hild abbess of-the monastery that

      is cweden Streoneshealh, swa swa we beforan sægdon, æfter monegum
      is called Whitby just like we before said after many

      heofonlecum dædum, þe heo on eorðan dyde to onfonne þæs
      heavenly deeds that she on earth did to receive the

      heofonlecan lifes mede ond heo of eorðan alæded eorde þy
      heavenly life's meed and she from earth carried-off went the

      fifteogeþan dæge Kalendarum Decembrium, mid þy heo hæfde syx
      fiftieth day Kalendarum Decembrium when she had six

      & syxti wintra.
      and sixty years

      'when the pious servant of Christ, Hild, abbess of the monastery which is called Whitby, as already mentioned, after many heavenly deeds performed on earth, in order to receive the meed of heavenly life, (and) she was carried up from earth and departed on the seventeenth of November in her sixty sixth year.'

      (cobede,Bede_4:24.330.26.3325)

(34) *Wa þam þe witegað be heora agenre heortan, and farað æfter*
      Woe to-those that prophesy by their own heart and go after

      heora gaste, and cwæðaþ þæt hit God sæde þæt þæt hi secgað and
      their spirit and say that it God said that that they say and

      God hi ne sende.
      God them not sent

      'Woe to those who prophesy out of their own heart and go after their own spirit and say that God spoke what they say and God did not send them.'

      (coaelive,ÆLS_[Mark]:111.3281)

(35) *hwæt manna is þes, þam etendum ic æt stande & him candelle healde*
      what man is this whom eating I at stand and him candle hold

      & him þus swiðe þeowie?
      and him thus very serve

      'What is the man whom I thus wait upon at supper, and hold him the candle and do him thus any such service?'

      (cogregdH,GD_2_[H]:20.144.3.1404)

In examples (31)–(32) the complex structures are combined with case-switching: the first conjunct starts with the nominative phrase and comes back to the nominative case in the last conjunct. In (33) and (34) complexity is understood as a long distance between the (non)-nominative phrase and the resumptive linked to it in the last conjunct. In such cases resumptive pronouns seem to be justified. However, we also find cases, exemplified by (35), in which the use

of resumptives approached from the perspective of structural complexity is not justified, as the distance between the relevant elements is short and the same cases in the conjuncts are repeated.

Another striking finding is that complex structures with resumptives are not the most common option. In fact, simple structures with resumptives are more common. Of course this might be accounted for by a general rarity of complex structures in Old English, which had a clear preference for simple structures. On the other hand, multi-conjunct coordinate constructions look like paratactic structures that are so common in Old English. One way or another, if complexity was a factor in the choice of resumptives in coordinate structures, it was not the most important one.

3.5 Conclusions

In this paper, we have looked at one type of asymmetric coordination, namely, coordination with resumptive pronouns. We have identified three factors responsible for the distribution of resumptives in coordination, that is, the syntactic role of case, the placement of resumptives, and structural complexity, and tested them against the corpus data. An examination of extensive body of the data allowed us to draw a few conclusions. First, although all the factors have some justification in the distribution of resumptives in coordination, they do not seem to be of equal value. Structural complexity seems to be less important in this respect. Second, case changes the syntactic role of pronouns but only in the initial position with non-nominative resumptives; nominative resumptives do not perform this function. Third, resumptives in the middle of the conjunct are also adequately represented. They do not change the role but represent a violation of the CSC constraint found in many other languages with resumption. This allows us to subsume Old English under the same group as Hebrew and, perhaps, Zurich German. This fact in turn supports the view that resumption was an important syntactic phenomenon in the history of English. Finally, all the three factors contribute to the distribution of resumptives in coordination but in each case the role of resumptives differs. For example, not all resumptives change the syntactic role of pronouns, they do not have to appear only in the initial position in the second conjunct, they can appear in simple structures. This means that the factors should be considered jointly rather than separately.

Appendix

List of resumptive pronouns in asymmetric coordination in the corpus

Type	No changing role		Changing role	
	Simple	Complex	Simple	Complex
Nominative resumptives	25	5	6	10
Non-nominative resumptives	2	3	26* (initial)	6
			18*(middle)	
Other cases	7			
Total	108			

Notes:

Complex structures – the case of the last resumptives is taken into account;

Other cases – structures in which the first or both conjuncts are resumptivized;

* – indicates the number of resumptives in the initial and non-initial position.

References

Ackema, Peter, Rhona Alcorn, Caroline Heycock, Dany Jaspers, Jeroenvan Craenenbroeck & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd. (eds.). 2012. *Comparative Germanic syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hogg, Richard (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge history of the English language*, vol. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 168–289.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 1998. *Coordination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McKee, Cecile & Dana McDaniel. 2001. Resumptive pronouns in English relative clauses. *Language Acquisition* 9(2): 113–156.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Roberts, Taylor. 1999. Unbalanced coordination and resumptive pronouns. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 33: 323–341.

Ross, John Robert. 1967. Constraints on Variables in Syntax. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Salzmann, Martin. 2012. Deriving reconstruction asymmetries in Across The Board by means of asymmetric extraction + ellipsis. In Peter Ackema, Rhona Alcorn, Caroline Heycock, Dany Jaspers, Jeroen van Craenenbroeck & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd (eds.), 353–386.

Sells, Peter. 1984. Syntax and semantics of resumptive pronouns. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths. 2003. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*. York: University of York.

Taylor, Ann & Don Ringe. 2014. *The development of Old English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Traugott, Elizabeth. 2007. Old English left-dislocations: Their structure and information status. *Folia Linguistica* 41(3–4): 405–441.

Traugott, Elizabeth. Syntax. In Richard Hogg (ed.), 168–289.

Visser, Fredericus Theodorus. 1963–1973. *A historical syntax of the English language*. Leiden: Brill.

Weisser, Philipp. 2014. A derived coordination approach to asymmetric coordination. Paper presented at GGS 40, Konstanz, Germany, 31.03.2014. Available at: http://www.philippweisser.de/Handout%20GGS% 2040.pdf (accessed 16.05.2016).

"Once you see it, once you don't" – The case of null objects in Middle English culinary and medical recipes[*]

Magdalena Bator
Jan Długosz University, Częstochowa

Marta Sylwanowicz
University of Social Sciences, Warsaw

1. Introduction

The available publications devoted to the study of the recipe deal either with its structure or with the text type features (cf., e.g., Stannard 1982; Hunt 1990; Görlach 1992, 2004; Eggins 1994; Alonso Almeida 1998–1999, 2013; Carroll 1999, 2004, 2005–2006; Taavitsainen 2001a, b; Grund 2003; Mäkinen 2004, 2006; Marques-Aguado 2014; Marttila 2014; Cruz-Cabanillas (2017), Bator-Sylwanowicz (2017)). The latter involve the analysis of such aspects of the recipe as (i) the form of the heading, (ii) the degree of ellipsis in sentences, (iii) the form of verbs, (iv) the possessive pronoun, (v) the object, (vi) temporal sequence, (vii) lack of complex sentences, etc.

The present paper concentrates on one of the distinctive features of the recipe, that is, the use of the null object. This feature has already been dealt with by Massam and Roberge (1989), who briefly discuss contemporary English culinary recipes, Culy (1996), who offers a diachronic investigation of the culinary material, and Alonso Almeida (2009), who concentrates on a sample of Middle English medical texts.

This paper offers a comparative study of the use of the null object in two types of medieval recipes, that is, the medical and the culinary ones. The cor-

pus for the present study consists of a similar number of culinary and medical recipes from the 14th and 15th centuries.

2. Previous studies

Some attention has already been paid to the use of null objects in recipes. For instance, Massam and Roberge (1989), with reference to contemporary English culinary recipes, state that null objects are typical of certain discourse contexts, such as instructions, in which they are contextually defined (they call it "recipe context"). Massam (1992: 131) adds that null objects in "recipe context" are not allowed "after prepositions, in double-object constructions, long distance or with ECM verbs" and that they occur in structures with an empty subject.[1]

Culy (1996) offers a diachronic investigation of some culinary material from the 14th century until the present day. His sample includes ten recipes from ten cookbooks representing different periods. He points out that not every case of the lack of an object represents the use of a null object. And thus, he excludes extractions[2] and detransitivised verbs. Culy distinguishes five factors which contribute to the occurrence or lack of the object. These are: (i) source, that is, the cookbook in which the recipe is found; (ii) morphological verb form: the imperative, present participle, infinitive or inflected; (iii) type of object, that is, "finished product," which is the subject of the recipe, "almost done," which is when no more ingredients are to be added, "working on," which refers to the recipe up to the "almost done" stage, and "other," by which he means ingredients, pots, oven, etc.; (iv) lookback (after Givón 1983), which refers to the distance of the null object from its referent; and (v) grammatical function of the antecedent. His research, although conducted on a scarce and rather random sample of recipes, shows that "the use of zeros [null objects] in recipes has increased dramatically over time" (Culy 1996: 97). With reference to the historical material, Culy agrees with Sadock (1974) and concludes that null objects "occur only when there is no overt subject of the clause" (1996: 101), which in most cases is the imperative.

Following Bender (1999), zero realisations of noun phrases are not allowed in English, except for several syntactic contexts. She also allows some non-linguistic contexts to account for their occurrence. As Bender notices, the linguistic and social values of null objects are related, since "null objects only occur in certain contexts because, in some sense, they bring the context

---

[1] The subject calls for either a *pro* or an imperative operator in imperative clauses (Beukema and Coopmans 1989; Massam 1992).

[2] For example: questions, relative clauses, tough movement, purpose clauses with *be*.

with them" (1999: 60). The social value of null complementation as found in instructional writings can be three-dimensional, that is, it may reflect: (i) the social situation, (ii) the identity of the speaker, and (iii) the situation described (pp. 60–61).

Apart from the articles dealing with or referring to culinary recipes, Alonso Almeida (2009) investigates a sample of medical texts representing various genres (including recipes) from the Middle English period. The author groups (after Ohlander 1943) the possible factors triggering the use of null complementation into: (a) syntactic, (b) pragmatic, and (c) discursive. A particular verb may appear with or without an object, in which case it will be expressed by its semantics. Alonso Almeida quotes Fillmore (1986), who specifies the possible types of null complementation and distinguishes:

(i)   the Indefinite Null Complementation (INC), in which the object might be understood by the semantics of the verb. It might follow verbs such as *eat*, *drink*, *read*;
(ii)   the Definite Null Complementation (DNC), in which the object is understandable from the context. Verbs which might be followed by DNC are, for instance, *accept*, *wait*.[3]

In his article, Alonso Almeida (2009) looks at randomly selected medical texts (of various genres) taken from the corpus of Middle English Medical Texts (MEMT). He focuses on verbal phrases coordinated by the conjunction *and*, since, as he says, "[t]his structure gives the context for complementation and for the occurrence of zero anaphors and similar structures" (2009: 7). His research concentrates on eight verbal combinations in which the occurrence or lack of an object is context dependant.[4] Null objects are found only in 19% of cases, mostly in anaphoric combinations V + N & V, V + Pron. & V, and V & V + Pron.[5] However, it has to be borne in mind that his analysis is not restricted to recipes but deals with various medical genres.

To sum up the findings of the previous studies, the following conclusions can be enumerated:
– in English only a certain type of null objects occurs in certain discourse contexts, that is, for instance in instructional texts;
– the reference of null objects seems to be contextually defined, they are usually close to what they refer to;

---

[3] Some arguments for and against Fillmore's approach have been discussed by Alonso Almeida (2009).

[4] Not all of these eight combinations call for a null object. Alonso Almeida investigated also structures such as: V + N & V + Pron. (*take the apple and peel it*) or V + N & V + N (*take the medicine and drink the medicine*).

[5] This includes: zero anaphora found in 14% of cases, and zero cataphora in 5% of cases.

– null complementation may follow only certain types of verbs, which Massam and Roberge (1989) call affecting (e.g., *break*) and non-affecting (e.g., *put*, *watch*) verbs; on the other hand, null objects may not follow perception verbs (such as *see* or *hear*) or "psych" verbs (such as *like*);
– null objects require an empty subject (following Massam and Roberge (1989), such sentences are always imperative in English, but Culy reports them also after infinitives);
– null complementation cannot appear in double object constructions;
– null objects cannot be used after prepositions.

The available studies, even though they look at the null object from different perspectives, do not exhaust the subject. They either discuss only one type of recipes, be it culinary (e.g., Culy 1996) or medical (e.g., Alonso Almeida 2009), or concentrate on the Present-Day English (Massam and Roberge 1989; Bender 1999). Moreover, they seem to be drawing conclusions on randomly collected, and often scarce, samples of material. For instance, Culy (1996), for his analysis of the historical material, used only 20 Middle English recipes by arbitrarily choosing a few pages from different collections. Alonso Almeida (2009: 7) writes that "[t]he texts for this study have been randomly selected in a distribution of about one third for each tradition [= surgical, specialized, and remedies as well as materia medica texts]."

The aim of the present paper is to conduct a study which comprises a larger portion of material, both culinary and medical; and to offer a comparison of the use of null objects in the two types of recipes. The corpus for the present study consists of a similar number of culinary and medical recipes from the 14th and 15th centuries.

2. The corpus

The culinary corpus consists of recipes found in various culinary collections from the 14th and 15th centuries (the full list of the collections used is to be found in the Appendix). The medical database consists of recipes included in the part *Remedies and materia medica* found in the Middle English Medical Texts (MEMT). Additionally, the database has been supplemented with two collections dated back to ca. 1330 (First Corpus Compendium and Second Corpus Compendium), which are included in the Appendix to MEMT.

We tried to analyse a fairly proportional number of recipes from the culinary and medical collections. Altogether 800 culinary and 823 medical recipes have been analysed. Table 1 shows the number of recipes used, together with their length.

Table 1. The size of the corpus [CR = culinary recipes; MR = medical recipes]

Century	No. of CR	Length of CR (no. of words)	No. of MR	Length of MR (no. of words)
14th	360	22,112	303	14,744
15th	440	42,850	520	36,427
Total	800	64,962	823	51,171

3. Null object in the recipes

3.1 The distribution of null objects in the two types of recipes

Altogether we have found over a thousand instances of null objects in the analysed recipes. Table 2 and Figure 1 show their distribution in the two types of recipes. Due to a slight disproportion in the length of the examined material (14th- vs. 15th-century texts), the relative frequencies (RNF) of the occurrence of null objects are given in brackets. They have been normalised to 1,000 words.

Table 2. The number of null objects found in the analysed material (RNF per 1,000 words)

| Recipe	14th c.	15th c.	Total
Culinary	244 [11]	682 [16]	926 [14.2]
Medical	21 [1.4]	56 [1.5]	77 [1.5]
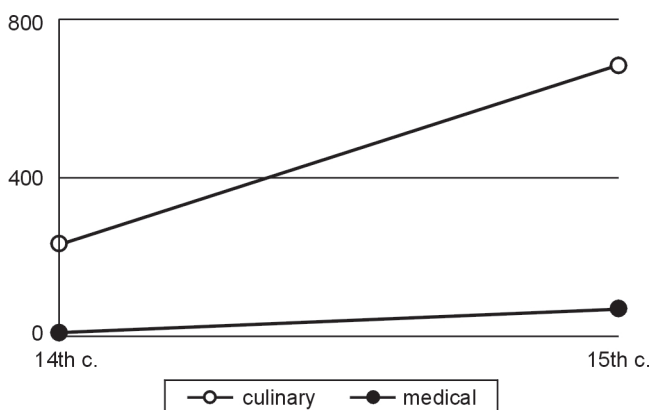
Figure 1. The distribution of null objects in the two types of recipes in the 14th and 15th centuries

The data reveal that the distribution of null objects in medical and culinary recipes varies considerably. In the medical material they are marginally represented, both in the 14th- and 15th-century samples (21 [RNF 1.4] and 56 records [RNF 1.5], respectively), whereas in the culinary material the null objects are much more frequent. Moreover, the later the culinary texts, the more instances of null objects can be found (244 records [RNF 11] in the 14th-century vs. 682 records [RNF 16] in the 15th-century recipes), which suggests that with time the tendency to avoid repeating the object in certain contexts was becoming more and more common. This agrees with Culy's view (1996) that in Modern English the use of null objects can be found on a regular basis.

A thorough reading of the examined material has also revealed that in the medieval material the omission of the object seems to have been irregular (both in the medical and culinary recipes). It was not author-specific (null objects do not prevail in any particular collection), within the same collection some recipes contain even a few instances of null objects, whilst others only single or none, see examples (1a–b) for the culinary material and (2a–b) for the medical one.

(1) a. *Nim amydon & **grind ø** in an morter, & **make ø boillen** wyþ alemauns, & soþþen nim þe alemaundes ihwyted & saffron & **make ø boillen** togederes in water. & soþþen **fryen ø** in oylee oþur in grecee, & vnder þe metee þat is ihwyted schulen beon iset alemauns icoloured, & abouen þe mete icoloured schulen beon iset alemauns iwyted & rys & penides.*

    'Take wheat starch & grind in a mortar, & make boil with almonds, & then take the almonds blanched & saffron & make boil together in water. & then fry in oil or in grease, & under the food that is blanched should be set almonds coloured, & above the food coloured should be set almonds blanched & rice & candy.'

                                         (*Diversa Cibaria_*Anoþour mete þat hatte amydon)

   b. *Flour of ris oþur of amydon, þe hwuch may best beon ivounden; þenne þoes colours of saundrez schullen beon wel ibrayed in an morter, & soþþen schal beon wel itempred wiþ milke of alemauns & wel ywrongen, & beo idon to poudre of kanel, galingal. 3ef hit is day of vische, do þerto peoren oþur chistenis oþur saumoun oþur luz oþur perche. 3ef vlehs day, do þerto vlehs of veel oþur cycchen &so þou schalt habben god mete & real.*

    'Flour of rice or of wheat starch, the best which may be found, then the colours of (red) sanders should be well brayed in a mortar, & then shall be well mixed with almond milk & well wrung & be added to powder of cinnamon, galingale. If it is a fish-day, do thereto pears or chestnuts or salmon or luce or perch. If meat-day, do thereto veal or chicken & so you shall have a good and royal meal.'

                                             (*Diversa Cibaria_* Murree)

(2) a. *For þis maladie tak aysil and **meng ø** wiþ oleum violaceum or elles wiþ oleum rosaceum and wete it in a lynnen cloute and **lege ø** to þe front and when it is*

*drie wete þe cloute anoþer tyme and **lege ø** anoþer tyme to þe front and þus do be feel tymes or elles tak populeon and tempre it wiþ oleum or elles wiþ oleum rosaceum or elles be þe iuse of þe nightshode.*

'For this malady take vinegar made of grapes and mingle with oleum violace or with oil of roses and moisten it in a linen cloth and lay to the front and when it is dry moisten the cloth another time and lay another time to the front or take ointment of poplar leaves and temper it with oil or rose oil…'

<div align="right">(Cophon, Experimentes_ Remedies, MEMT)</div>

b. *For gomes þat bien fulle of blode Take þe bark of þe poumegarnette or elles balausicum and seþe hem in eysil and holde þis eysil in þe mouþe.*

'For gums that are in blood. Take the bark of the pomegranate or the blossoms and seethe them in the vinegar of grapes and hold this vinegar in the mouth.'

<div align="right">(Cophon, Experimentes_ Remedies, MEMT)</div>

In what follows, the possible structures and the semantics of the null constructions, as found in the analysed material, will be discussed.

3.2 The structure

The majority of the null constructions found in the analysed corpus are anaphoric, to use Alonso Almeida's (2009) categorisation.[6] The combinations which have been found in the analysed material are as follows[7]:

(a) V + NP + and/then/comma + V + ø
(b) V + Pron. + and/then/comma + V + ø
(c) V + ø + and + V + Pron.

For instance,

(3) a. *FOR TO MAKE LAMPREYS IN BRUET, þey schulle be schaldyd & ysode & ybrulyd vpon a gredern, & grynd **peper & safroun** & **do ø** þerto, & boyle it & do þe lomprey þeryn & serue yt forth.*

'To make lampreys in broth, they should be scalded & boiled & broiled upon a griddle, & grind pepper & saffron & do thereto, & boil it & do the lamprey therein & serve it forth.'

<div align="right">(Diversa Servisa_For to make lampreys in bruet)</div>

---

[6] Alonso Almeida (2009) refers to such constructions as examples of *zero anaphora*.
[7] V = verb; NP = noun/nominal phrase; Pron. = pronoun; ø = null object.

[…] *take* **Eyroun, þe whyte & þe ȝolkys**, *& cast **ø** þorw a straynoure, & put hem in-to the broþe,*

'[…] take eggs, the white and the yolks, & cast through a strainer, & put them into the broth,'

(*Bake Metis*_Crustade)

FOR WORMYS IN ÐE ERYS. Take **þe iuce off leke and þe juce off centory** *and* **put ø** *into hys erys.*

'For worms in the ears. Take the juice of leek and the juice of centaury and put into his ears.'

(John of Burgundy, *Practica phisicalia*_Remedies, MEMT)

b.   *Take creme or mylke, & brede of paynemayn,* […] *and put **it** in-to a fayre potte, an sette it on þe fyre, an* **stere ø** *euermore*: […]

'Take cream or milk, & (the best quality white) bread, […] and put it into a fair pot, and set it on the fire, and stir evermore: […]'

(*Potage Diverse*_Creme Boylede)

[…] *take blaunchid* **Almaundys**, *& kerf hem long, smal, & scharpe, & frye hem in grece & sugre; take a litel prycke, & prykke þe yrchons, An putte in þe holes þe Almaundys, every hole half, & eche fro oþer; ley hem þen to þe fyre; when þey ben rostid, dore hem sum wyth Whete Flowre, & mylke of Almaundys, sum grene, sum blake with Blode, & lat **hem** nowt browne to moche, &* **serue ø forth**.

'[…] take blanched almonds, and carve them long, small, & sharp, & fry them in grease & sugar; take a little skewer, & prick the hedgehogs, and put the almonds in the holes, […]; then put them to the fire; when they are roasted, gild them with wheat flour, & almond milk, some green, some black with blood, & don't let them brown too much, & serve forth.'

(*Leche Viaundez*_Yrchouns)

[…] *Take* **the seed of henbane** *and seith **it** in wyne and* **lay ø** *on the brest* […]

'[…] Take the seed of henbane and seethe it in wine and lay on the breast […]'

(*Leechbook* 1_Remedies, MEMT)

c.   […] *þen take þe* **lampronys** *& skalde hem with [gap in MS] & hot watere,* **sethe ø** *& boyle* **hem** *in a dysshe*, […]

'[…] then take the lampreys & scald them with [gap in MS] & hot water, seethe & boil them in a dish, […]'

(*Potage Diverse*_Lampreys in galentyn)

Take **Venyson or Bef**, *& leche chargeaunt y-now;* **take ø** *& skeme **it** clene.*

'Take venison or beef, & cut it in slices thick enough; take & skim it clean.'

(*Leche Viaundez*_To make Stekys of venson or bef)

[…] *Tak* **brent lede litarge and þan mastic aloes fraunkensens ceruce and draguncea** *and* **stamp ø** *and meng* **hem** *wiþ oleum rosaceum* […]

'[…] Take burnt litharge and then mastic aloes frankincense and draguncea and stamp and mingle them with oil of roses […]'

(Cophon, *Experimentes*_Remedies, MEMT)

In the structures which involve the use of a pronoun, the nominal category always precedes, thus, the actual referent occurs prior to the pronoun and the empty category, for example (3b–c).

Additionally, the following combination has been found in the analysed recipes:

(d) V + ø + and + V + NP

According to Alonso Almeida (2009: 15–16), this structure is an example of zero cataphora because "the reader must go forward in the text to identify the object of the transitive verb." However, all such examples found in the analysed material are very simple, and it seems more likely that they illustrate single verbal units coordinated by *and*, used in order to avoid repetition of the object in close proximity, see (4a–b). Most of these constructions start with the imperative *take* or its synonym (i.e., all the recorded examples in the medical recipes and 94% in the culinary ones). Another characteristic of these combinations is that, unlike in Alonso Almeida's (2009: 16) study, all the examples are found in instructive fragments, rather than descriptive ones.[8]

(4) a.　***Take ø and pike*** *faire musculis*, […]
　　　'Take and pick fair mussels, […]'

(*Boke of Kokery*_ Muscules in Shelle)

　　　Take hym [= swine] vp and dresse hym, and do the leke in the broth; ***seeþ ø and do*** *the noumbles þerto.*
　　　'Take him (= swine) up and dress him, and do the leek into the broth; boil and add the organ meat (= heart, liver, kidney) thereto.'

(*Forme of Cury*_Bruce)

　b.　*Item:* ***Tac ø and bren*** *netles and ey-schellez and do þe puder in þe nose or in a wnde.*
　　　'Also: Take and burn nettles and egg shells and add the powder into the nose […]'

(*First Corpus Compendium*_Appendix, MEMT)

　　　[…] *Or* ***take ø and kut*** *a cattis ere and with þe blood a-noynt þe þer þe sore ys.*
　　　'[…] Or take and cut cat's ear and with the blood anoint the place that aches.'

(John of Burgundy, *Practica physicalia*_Remedies, MEMT)

---

[8] The material analysed in the present study did not contain any descriptive fragments.

A thorough reading of the analysed material has revealed that two of the structures prevail in the medieval recipes. These are:

V + NP + and/then/comma + V + ø
V + Pron. + and/then/comma + V + ø

What is more, their use tends to increase in the 15th-century material. The remaining two patterns are less common and in case of the medical recipes even underrepresented.

Figure 2 shows the ratio of occurrence of the particular null object combinations, as found in the culinary corpus. The records of the null objects in the medical recipes have not been illustrated graphically due to their marginal representation: V + NP + and/then/comma + V + ø was recorded 14 times in the 14th century and 25 times in the 15th century, whereas the second most frequent structure (V + Pron. + and/then/comma + V + ø) was recorded only once in the 14th century and 13 times in the 15th century. As regards the remaining structures (V + ø + V + Pron., & V + ø + V + NP), they were recorded three times (each) in the 14th and seven times (each) in the 15th century.
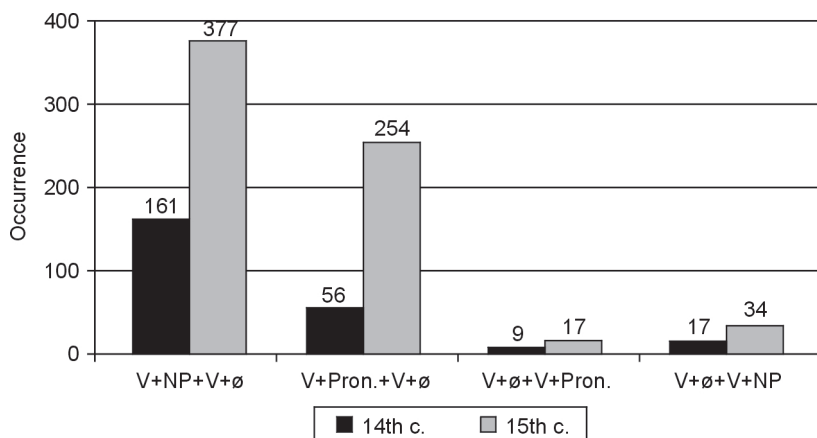
Figure 2. The ratio of occurrence of the null object constructions in the culinary material

The majority of null objects found in the analysed material are imperatives which occur as part of coordinated verbal phrases (joined by the conjunction *and*),[9] see (5a) and (5b) for culinary and medical examples respectively. However, in the culinary material, other contexts for the use of null objects can also be found (see (6)). Additionally, phrases such as: … *and let* + V… or … *make* + V… appear frequently, for example, in (7). The use of *let*-phrases

---

[9] Alonso Almeida (2009) in his study of null objects analyses only such structures.

increases significantly in the 15th century (from seven in the 14th century to 120 a century later). Phrases with *make* occur only in the 14th century (nine times).

(5) a.   *Couere it & fry it in grece, oþer **bake it** wel, and **serue ø** forth.*

'Cover it & fry it in grease, or bake it well, and serve forth.'

(*Forme of Cury*_ Chewetes on flesshe day)

*Take **ø** and **make** a faire rounde coffyn of paast,*

'Take and make a fair round coffin of paste,'

(*Boke of Kokery*_Lamprey i-bake)

*Take a Tenche, an steue hym in a potte with Wyne; when he is y-now, pyke owt þe bonys, **take ø** an **stampe** hem in a morter;*

'Take a tench, and stew it in a pot with wine; when it is (stewed) enough, pick out the bones, take and stamp them in a mortar;'

(*Leche Viaundez*_Vyaund leche)

b.   *Item for scabbe of body: **Gader** fimter and **stamp ø** wit ale and drynk it and it schaue þe fro iueles witinne.*

'Also for scabies: Gather fumitory and stamp with ale and drink it […]'

(*First Corpus Compendium*_Appendix, MEMT)

*[{For skallede heuedis.}] **Tak** pyche and wex and **menge ø** to gedere […]*

'[For scalp scabs] Take wood tar and wax and mingle together […]'

(*Leechbook* 2_Remedies, MEMT)

(6)   ***Wyn; braun of chapoun ipolled al to poudre**, & soþþen **do ø** þryn to boillen wiþ þe wyn;*

'Wine, capon meat chopped to powder, & then do therein to boil with the wine;'

(*Diversa Cibaria*_Maumenee)

*[…] & **qwen þou hast adressed ø**, streie þeron sucre.*

'[…] & when you have arranged for serving, strew sugar thereon.'

(*Diversa Cibaria*_Soupe mare)

(7)   *þan take it fro þe fyre, **an let ø kele**, an caste þer-to ʒolkys of Raw eyroun, tylle it be þikke; & caste*

'then take it from the fire, and let cool, and caste thereto yolks of raw eggs, till it is thick;'

(*Potage Diverse*_Chardewardon)

***Mak ø kasten** saffron, gilofre, vorta menden hit; & hwyt wyn mak mied wiþ bred, vor þe mete wol lyen þe grece of þe vische. **Make ø zeoþen**; make hit well to meddlen.*

'Make and cast saffron, cloves, in order to improve it; & white wine made crumbled with bread, for the food will mix the grease of the fish. Make boil.'

(*Diversa Cibaria*_Of vn galantine we schulen speken muchel)

In almost all cases the use of null objects is contextually justified – they are always close to the referent. Sporadically, in the culinary material, instead of the referent, some cross reference to another recipe may be included, as in (8).[10] Additionally, in a number of recipes, instead of the object it is the verb which was missing, for example, (9).

(8)   *Iusshell enforced. Take ø and do ø þerto **as to charlet yforced**, and serue it forth.*

        'Iusshell seasoned. Take and do thereto as to seasoned charlet, and serve it forth.'

                                                        (*Forme of Cury*_Iusshell enforced)

(9)   *Take pynes yfryed in oyle oþer in grece, **and ø þerto white powdour douce, sugur and salt**, & colour it wiþ alkenet a lytel.*

        'Take pines fried in oil or in grease, and thereto white powder douce (= mild mixture of ground spices), sugar and salt, & colour it with a little alkanet.'

                                                        (*Forme of Cury*_ Pynnonade)

3.3 The semantics

The verbs which are followed by a null object can be categorised into a number of semantic groups. Table 3 shows the range of verbs belonging to each category. The verbal groups have been adopted after Bator (2014). In the culinary corpus a much wider selection of verbal types has been found than in the medical material. Even though the number of verbal types is the largest within the verbs of cutting, the empty category appears mostly after verbs of adding/putting and verbs of serving (i.e., verbs referring to the preliminary and final cooking procedures). The former is mostly represented by general verbs whose meaning is usually specified by adding a particle, for example, *do thereto*, *cast thereon*, etc. In the latter group, the verb *serve* is the most prominent, see examples (10)–(11). In case of the medical recipes, due to insufficient representation of the null object, it is difficult to draw similar conclusions. In the 14th century the majority of verbs (*lay*, *melt*, *burn*, *seethe*, *drink*) followed by a null object were recorded only once, except for *take* (2 records), *temper* (3 records) and *stamp* (10 records). In the 15th-century texts we can notice a slight increase in the number of verbs followed by a null object. However, again most of these verbs were recorded only once or twice (*burn*, *drop*, *heat*, *meddle*, *meng*, *put*, *smear*, *wrap*). The remaining verbs had the following number of occurrences:

---

[10] This is the whole recipe as found in the collection.

boil (3), *do* (14), *lay* (8), *stamp* (5), *take* (5), *temper* (4). The only similarity with the culinary material is that in the medical recipes a null object is also most frequent after the verbs of adding/putting.

Table 3. The verbs followed by null object in the analysed material [CR = culinary recipes, MR = medical recipes]

Verb group	14th c., CR	15th c., CR	14th c., MR	15th c., MR
Verbs of adding/ putting	cast, couch, do, lay, plant, put, set, stick, straw	cast, couch, do, lay, pour, put, stick, tease, throw	lay	put, lay, do
Verbs of mixing	aly, meddle, meng, swing, temper	draw, mell, meng, stir, temper	melt (together), temper	meddle, meng, temper
Verbs of cooking	boil, flame, fry, roast, seethe	bake, boil, fry, par-boil, seethe	burn, seethe	boil, burn, heat, seethe
Verbs of cutting	bray, carve, cleave, grind, hack, hew, mince	beat, break, chop, cut, grind, hack, hew, leach, mince, pare, schere, shred, smite, stamp	stamp	stamp
Verbs of taking	nim, pick, take	pick, take	take	take
Verbs of serving	dress, mess, give, serve, set	dress, serve	–	–
Other	close, colour, cool, dry, hold, leave, paint, roll, wash	close, cover, cream, dry, endore, gather, roll, steep, wash	drink	wrap, drop, smear

(10)   *Take grewel and **do ø to the boil** […], and colour it wiþ safroun; and **serue ø forth**.*

'Take oatmeal porridge and do to boil […] and colour it with saffron; and serve forth.'

(*Forme of Cury*_For to make grewel forced)

*Drawe a lyour of brede and blode and broth and vyneger, and **do ø þerinne**;*

'Mix a thickening of bread and blood and broth and vinegar, and do therein;'

(*Forme of Cury*_ Fylettes in galyntyne)

*Wardonys in syrup. Take wardonys, an **caste ø on a potte**, an boyle […]*

'Pears in syrup. Take pears, and cast on a pot, and boil […]'

(*Potage Diverse*_Wardonys in syrup)

*[…] nym Vele, hew it & grynd it smal, & **caste ø þer-to**; nym gode Spycery an Sugre, & **caste ø þer-to**;*

'[…] take veal, cut it & grind it small, & cast thereto; take good spices and sugar, & cast thereto;'

(*Potage Diverse*_A rede Morreye)

(11)   […] *& þen putte it on a chargere tyl it be cold, & mace lechys, &* **serue ø** *with oþer metys*;

'[…] & then put it on a large dish till it is cold, & slices of mace, & serve with other meats;'

(*Leche Viaundez*_Pynade)

And qwen þus þinges beoþ ysoden, do þe on & þe oþur in an dyhs, & on þe qwyte do þe greyns of poume gernet oþur reysins yfassed, & soþþen **3ef ø vorþ**.

'And when these things are boiled, do the one & the other in a dish, & on the white do the grains of pomegranate or raisins, & then give forth.'

(*Diversa Cibaria*_To maken a mete þat is icleped halekaye)

4. Conclusions

The present paper is another contribution to the study of the use of null objects in medieval English recipes. Contrary to the earlier studies, however, this research compared the use of zero complementation in two types of texts, that is, Middle English culinary and medical recipes. The analysis was based on a similar number of recipes (800 culinary and 823 medical recipes, both of comparative length).

In the present study the null object prevailed in anaphoric constructions, especially in V + NP + and/then/comma + V + ø, and V + Pron. + and/then/comma + V + ø patterns, whose frequency increased in the 15th-century material. Apart from coordinated verbal phrases (mostly joined with the conjunction *and*), null objects were also found in other contexts (see examples (6)–(9)). These structures, as observed earlier, were found only in the culinary recipes.

Another observation is that there might have been a link between the semantic categories of verbs and the use of null objects. Although there was a large disproportion in the use of verbs in the culinary and medical recipes, in both of them the use of the null object prevailed after the verbs of adding/putting. However, this can be justified by the character of the analysed texts, which are instructions on what ingredients to use and in what order to put them.

The analysis has also shown that earlier assumptions concerning the use of a null object, especially in the historical context, are only partially true. For instance, Culy (1996: 102) claims that the use of zero objects is common for contemporary recipes but "there is not much deletion of object NP in older recipes" (by which he means Middle English). This statement could be fully supported by the results derived from the examination of the Middle English medical recipes where zero objects were underrepresented (77 records [RNF:

1.5]). But in the culinary material, the zero object was very frequent (926 records [RNF: 14.2]). Another overgeneralisation is the claim that null objects are typical of instructive texts, such as recipes (see, e.g., Massam and Roberge 1989). Although this observation might hold true of modern recipes, the present study has revealed that in case of Middle English medical instructions, the null object was marginally represented. This might be accounted for by the fact that some instructive texts have to be more precise in giving directions. In medical recipes the type of ingredients and the order of adding them is crucial in the preparation of the remedy/medicament, especially if the text is intended to be read not only by professional physicians but also by lay audience (as was the case with the analysed medical recipes). Therefore, medical recipes avoid using zero objects, as their lack might lead to a wrong understanding of the recipe and result even in a patient's death. Thus, the inclusion of a null object might have been conditioned by how precise a given instructive text was supposed to be.

Appendix

List of the culinary collections and editions used for the present study

Collection	Abbreviation	Date	No. of recipes	Length (no. of words)
Bake metis	BM	1435	41	4,462
Boke of kokery	BK	1450	182	18,464
Diversa cibaria	DC	1325	63	3,608
Diversa servisa	DS	1381	92	5,894
Forme of Cury	FC	1390	205	12,610
Leche viaundez	LV	1435	64	6,063
Potage diverse	PD	1435	153	13,861

References

Alonso Almeida, Francisco. 1998–1999. *Gyf hyr this medycyn*. Analysing the Middle English medical recipe discourse. *Revista de Lenguas para Fines Específicos* 5–6: 49–81.
Alonso Almeida, Francisco. 2009. Null object in Middle English medical texts. In Diaz Vera et al. (eds.), 1–27.

Alonso Almeida, Francisco. 2013. Genre conventions in English recipes (1600–1800). In Michelle DiMeo & Sara Pennel (eds.), 68–92.

Bator, Magdalena. 2014. *Culinary verbs in Middle English*. (Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 46). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Bator, Magdalena & Marta Sylwanowicz. 2017. The typology of medieval recipes – culinary vs. medical. In Jacek Fisiak et al. (eds.), 11–33.

Bender, Emily. 1999. Constituting context: Null objects in English recipes revisited. *Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium* 6(1): 53–68.

Beukema, Frits & Peter Coopmans. 1989. A Government-Binding perspective on the imperative in English. *Journal of Linguistics* 25: 417–436.

Carroll, Ruth. 1999. The Middle English recipe as a text-type. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 100: 27–42.

Carroll, Ruth. 2004. Middle English recipes: Vernacularization of a text-type. In Irma Taavitsainen & Päivi Pahta (eds.), 174–196.

Carroll, Ruth. 2005–2006. Assessing palaeographic evidence for discourse structuring in Middle English recipes. *Boletin Millares Carlo* 24–25: 305–325.

Cruz-Cabanillas, Isabel de la. 2017. Medical recipes in Glasgow University Library manuscript Ferguson 147. In Jacek Fisiak et al. (eds.), 77–94.

Culy, Christopher. 1996. Null objects in English recipes. *Language Variation and Change* 8(1): 91–124.

Diaz, Vera et al. (eds.). 2009. *Textual healing: Studies in Middle English medical and scientific texts and manuscripts* (Linguistic Insights 101). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

DiMeo, Michelle & Sara Pennel (eds.). 2013. *Reading and writing recipe books 1550–1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Eamon, William (ed.). 1982. *Studies on medieval Fachliteratur* (Scripta 6). Brussels: Omirel.

Eggins, Suzanne. 1994. *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. London: Pinter.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1986. Pragmatically-controlled zero anaphora. *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 95–107.

Fisiak, Jacek et al. (eds.). (2017). *Essays and studies in Middle English*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Givón, Talmy. 1983. Topic continuity in discourse: An introduction. In Talmy Givón (ed.), 5–41.

Givón, Talmy (ed.). 1983. *Topic continuity in discourse: A quantitative cross-language study*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Görlach, Manfred. 1992. Text types and language history: the cookery recipe. In Matti Rissanen et al. (eds.), 736–761.

Görlach, Manfred. 2004. *Text types and the history of English*. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Grund, Peter. 2003. The golden formulas: Genre conventions of alchemical recipes in the Middle English period. *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 104(4): 455–475.

Hunt, Tony. 1990. *Popular medicine in thirteenth-century England: Introduction and texts*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

La Galy, Michael W., Robert A. Fox & Anthony Bruck (eds.). 1974. *Papers from the Tenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Mäkinen, Martti. 2004. Herbal recipes and recipes in herbals – Intertextuality in early English medical writing. In Irma Taavitsainen & Päivi Pahta (eds.), 144–173.

Mäkinen, Martti. 2006. Between herbals et alia: Intertextuality in Medieval English herbals. PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki.

Marqués-Aguado, Teresa. 2014. The medical recipes in the *Antidotary* in GUL MS Hunter 513 (ff. 37v–96v). *Alicante Journal of English Studies* 27: 107–124.

Marttila, Ville. 2014. Creating digital editions for corpus linguistics. The case of *Potage Dyvers*, a family of six Middle English recipe collections. PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki.

Massam, Diane. 1992. Null objects and non-thematic subjects. *Journal of Linguistics* 28(1): 115–137.

Massam, Diane & Yves Roberge. 1989. Recipe context null objects in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20(1): 134–139.

MEMT: Taavitsainen, Irma, Päivi Pahta & Martti Mäkinen. (eds.). 2005. *Middle English medical texts* (CD-ROM with MEMT Presenter software by Raymond Hickey). Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ohlander, Urban. 1943. Omission of the object in English. *Studia Neophilologica* 16(1): 105–127.

Quintana-Toledo, Elena. 2009. Middle English medical recipes: A metadiscursive approach. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 45(2): 21–38.

Rissanen, Matti et al. (eds.). 1992. *History of Englishes. New methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sadock, Jerrold M. 1974. Read at your own risk: Syntactic and semantic horrors you can find in your medicine chest. In Michael W. La Galy, Robert A. Fox & Anthony Bruck (eds.), 599–607.

Stannard, Jerry. 1982. Rezeptliteratur as Fachliteratur. In William Eamon (ed.), 59–73.

Sylwanowicz, Marta. 2015. Ways of introducing specialised terminology in Middle English medical recipes. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 62(4): 585–594.

Taavitsainen, Irma. 2001a. Middle English recipes: Genre characteristics, text type features and underlying traditions of writing. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 2: 85–113.

Taavitsainen, Irma. 2001b. Changing conventions of writing: The dynamics of genres, text types, and text traditions. *European Journal of English Studies* 5(2): 139–150.

Taavitsainen, Irma & Päivi Pahta (eds.). 2004. *Medical and scientific writing in late medieval English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Verb-initial main clauses in Bede: A translation effect?

Anna Cichosz

University of Łódź

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to test the hypothesis presented in Ohkado (2000) that the exceptionally high frequency of V-1 main clauses in the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* may be attributed to the influence of the Latin original. The analysis shows that only ca. 21% of the investigated clauses are close copies of the source so Latin is not the main factor increasing the frequency of V-1 clauses in the text. The study reveals that the reason for the peculiarities of Bede's syntax is the fact that V-1 clauses are the main device used for introducing mainline events into the narration (more frequent than *þa*-V-S clauses which are primarily used for this function in other OE prose texts) which explains their atypical behaviour (i.e., no restrictions on verb type and frequent co-occurrence with personal pronoun subjects).

2. Verb-initial main clauses in Old English

Verb-initial (V-1) main declarative clauses are rare in all Old Germanic languages including Old English. The V-1 order is generally associated with negation, yes/no questions, imperatives, subjunctives and *uton* clauses (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 407), while the so-called narrative inversion, in which a verb in the indicative may be found at the beginning of a main clause as in (1), is relatively infrequent.

(1) *Het   **ic þa** ælcne mon hine mid his wæpnum gegrerwan*
     commanded I then each man   him with his weapons prepare

'I then commanded each man to prepare himself with his weapons.'

(coalex,Alex:14.2.120; after Ringe and Taylor 2014: 408)

It is generally acknowledged that this atypical structure usually co-occurs with verbs carrying "a very light semantic load" (Allen 1995: 34), mostly auxiliary verbs, and "particularly *beon*, *habban* and *weorþan*" (Calle-Martin and Miranda-Garcia 2010: 49). Other verb types which are particularly frequent in OE V-1 clauses are verbs of saying (Mitchell 1985: § 3930; Petrova 2006; Cichosz forthcoming) and motion verbs (Calle-Martin and Miranda-Garcia 2010; Petrova 2006). What is more, V-1 clauses do not have an even distribution in the surviving OE textual materials. Calle-Martin and Miranda-Garcia (2010: 55–56) claim that V-1 is relatively frequent only in Alfredian OE (Bede, Orosius, and Boethius) and disappears from the language in late OE. Mitchell (1985: § 3932) notes (after Quirk and Wrenn 1955) that V-1 clauses are especially frequent in OE poetry and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

As far as the function of V-1 clauses is concerned, they are reported to mark transition in the narrative structure of the text (Mitchell 1985: § 3933). Allen (1995: 34) associates their use with the need to "emphasise the (new information) subject," while Ohkado (2004), on the basis of his analysis of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies I*, concludes that they mark transition to a new action, summarise the discussion, introduce a new/contrasting character/type and open a new story/paragraph. However, the most basic function of V-1 clauses in OE, that is, marking some sort of transition, could also be fulfilled by other structures, mainly *þa*-V-S main clauses (cf. (1) and (2)).

(2) *Ða   wearð **Moyses** micclum astyred*
     then became Moses   very   agitated

'Then Moses became very agitated'

(coaelhom, ÆHom_21:89.3129)

As observed by Petrova (2006: 170), "instances of verb-second order introduced by initial *þa* […] co-occur in all the functions and contexts described for verb-initial sentences," which entails that there is free variation between V-1 and *þa*-V-S in OE, though the first pattern is more marked and hence less frequently used. However, an analysis of a similar variation between V-1 and *tho*-V-S in Old High German shows that some factors, including the lexical class of the verb, exert a significant influence on the choice of the pattern (Petrova 2011).

Ohkado (2000) suggests that V-1 clauses are not only exceptionally frequent in Bede but there is also no restriction on the types of verbs used in V-1 constructions, and he claims that "the peculiarities of Bede can be attributed

to the influence of the original Latin text" (Ohkado 2000: 273). So far, this hypothesis has only been tested for verbs of saying (Cichosz forthcoming) and the results show that the majority of V-1 clauses with *cweþan*, *secgan, sprecan, andswarian* and *frignan* from Bede follow this order independently of the Latin original, though Latin seems to increase the frequency of the pattern. The basic aim of this study is to check if the same may be observed for V-1 clauses with other verb types.

3. The OE translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*

Venerable Bede wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in ca. 730 AD, but the OE translation of the text is more difficult to date. According to the most widely accepted hypothesis, it is an example of Alfredian prose associated with the famous translation programme of King Alfred the Great, which means that the most probable date of the translation (confirmed by a palaeographical analysis) is 890–930 AD (Lemke 2015: 17). The OE version of Bede shows "distinctively Mercian features" (Stanton 2002: 57) which led some scholars to believe that there was an established Mercian school of translation at the time of King Alfred, but so far this hypothesis has not been confirmed (Stanton 2002: 57–58).

According to Lemke (2015: 18), "based on the relative stylistic coherence of the translation" the OE version of Bede (or at least the 'body,' i.e., without the preface and the chapter headings) is regarded as the work of one anonymous translator. On the one hand, the translation is quite close, which is rather natural considering the high status of *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Anglo-Saxon England. It has even been suggested that the Bede translator based his version on a glossed copy of the Latin Bede (Bately 1988, in Stanton 2002: 58). The closeness of the translation sometimes even leads to lack of naturalness: "[t]he choices involved in translating Bede's Latin into OE […] manifest themselves in somewhat artificial structures" (Rowley 2011: 9). For instance, the OE Bede contains numerous examples of the dative absolute (Stanton 2002: 58), which is considered as an example of foreign syntax in OE (Scheler 1961). On the other hand, the Bede translator introduced many (sometimes quite substantial) changes to the original text, seriously modifying the preface and omitting certain events from the narration, letters relating to the English Church and some information concerning the physical world (St-Jacques 1983: 86).

On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, one may expect the syntax of the OE Bede to be rather coherent since the whole text was translated by a single person. However, the translation may have been influenced by the Latin source text because the target text follows it quite closely and there are many exam-

ples of syntactic transfer from Latin in the text (Cichosz et al. forthcoming). Therefore, Ohkado's (2000) claim as to the potential Latin influence seems a plausible explanation for the peculiarities of Bede's syntax and it is worthwhile to establish the extent of this influence on the analysed structure. Such an analysis seems crucial, considering the fact that Bede is very often treated as a source of information on OE syntax and it used rather freely in various studies of OE syntax (examples from Bede may be found in such comprehensive studies as Fischer et al. 2000; Ringe and Taylor 2014; Mitchell 1985).

4. Research design

The aim of the present study is to determine whether the high frequency of V-1 main clauses in Bede, especially in the atypical syntactic contexts, is a translation effect (as claimed in Ohkado 2000). The analysis seeks answers to the following research questions:

(i)   How peculiar is Bede in its use of the V-1 pattern as far as the general frequency, verb types, subject types, and functions of V-1 clauses are concerned?

(ii) How many V-1 main clauses in Bede are copies of the Latin source clauses?

(iii) Are there any factors other than direct Latin influence which seem to increase the frequency of V-1 in Bede?

In this study, V-1 is defined as a non-negated main declarative clause with the finite verb in the clause-initial position and an overt subject, as in (3).

(3)   *Dyde* **se cyning** *swa hit ær   cweden   wæs*
         did   the king   as   it   earlier said   was
         'The king did as it has been said.'

(cobede,Bede_2:9.132.1.1259)

Conjunct clauses, that is, clauses introduced by coordinating conjunctions (mainly *and* and *ac*) are excluded from the analysis because they are said to follow their own element order patterns (Mitchell 1985; Fischer et al. 2000). The data were extracted from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE) (Taylor et al. 2003) by means of the CorpusSearch 2 application (Randall et al. 2005–2013). The queries used to search the corpus are listed in the Appendix. In order to limit the data to declarative clauses, the finite

verb was defined as unambiguously indicative and all cases of imperative and subjunctive forms were excluded from the search.[1]

In order to compare the results of the study to that of Ohkado (2000), verbs were classified into the same types (BE, HAVE, MODAL, SAY, unaccusative, agentive)[2] and Latin influence was checked for each verb type separately. Dependence on Latin was investigated partly on the basis of the ENHIGLA parallel corpus of OE and OHG translations from Latin (Book 1 and the first part of Book 2, Cichosz et al. 2015), other source clauses were identified manually. Clauses were classified as:

(i)   close copies: when the Latin clause has a clause-initial verb and an overt subject as in (4), even if the source clause is non-finite as in (5);

(ii)   loose copies: when the Latin clause has a clause-initial verb and no overt subject as in (6) or when the Latin clause has a clause-initial complex verb phrase, accompanied by an overt subject as in (7) or with null subject as in (8);

(iii) independent uses: when the Latin clause has the verb in a clause-medial or clause-final position as in (9), when there is no verb in the Latin clause as in (10) or when the OE clause is a free translation of the original as in (11).

(4)   *Is **æðele mynster**   in Lindesse*
       is   noble monastery in Lindsey

       *Est **monasterium nobile** in prouincia Lindissi*
       is   monastery noble   in province Lindsey-GEN

       'There is a noble monastery in Lindsey.'

                                                    (cobede,Bede_3:9.182.15.1812)

(5)   *Willnade **he se cyning** þæt* […]
       wished   he the king   that

       *desiderante   **rege**   ut* […]
       wishing-ABL   king-ABL that

       'The king wished that […].'

                                                    (cobede,Bede_5:17.456.28.4591)

(6)   *Ondswaredon   **hy***
       answered   they

---

[1] Verb forms annotated as ambiguous in YCOE could include cases of jussive subjunctive but manual inspection of clauses containing ambiguous verbs revealed that in Bede all such clauses were declarative.

[2] Ohkado (2000) includes lists of all the verbs with their classification which made it possible to replicate the same classification in the present study, though some of his decisions (e.g., including *sittan* among agentive verbs and all other verbs of motion/location such as *standan* as unaccusative) may be considered controversial.

Responderunt
answered-3PL

'They answered.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_3:6.174.9.1703)</div>

(7)   <u>*Is*</u> ***þis ealond*** *geseted ongegn   midle Suðseaxna   & Westseaxna*
is this island   situated opposite middle Sussex-GEN   and Wessex-GEN

Sita <u>*est*</u> *autem* **haec insula** *contra medium Australium Saxonum et Geuissorum*
set is   also   that island   opposite middle South Saxons   and West

'This island is situated opposite the middle of Sussex and Wessex.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_4:18.308.32.3131)</div>

(8)   <u>*Wæs*</u> ***he*** *gehadod in circan þære halgan fæmnan & martires*
was   he ordained in church the holy woman-GEN and martyr-GEN

Sancte Cecilian þy dæge,   ðe   hire gemynddæg   wes
St. Cecilia-GEN the day-INST that her commemoration was

Ordinatus <u>*est*</u>   *autem in ecclesia sanctae martyris*
ordained   was also   in church saint martyr-GEN

Ceciliae,   die natalis eius
Cecilia-GEN day birth her

'He was ordained in the church of the holy martyr and virgin St Cecilia the day of her commemoration.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_5:12.422.1.4229)</div>

(9)   <u>*Hæfde*</u> **Bosa** *in Eoforwiicceastre seðl, ond Eata in Eagostaldes ea*
had   Bosa in York   seat and Eata in Hexham

&   in Lindisfarona ea **hic** *in ciuitate Eburaci,   ille in Hagustaldensi*
and in Lindisfarne   this in city York   that in Hexham

siue in Lindisfarnensi   ecclesia cathedram <u>*habens*</u> *episcopalem*
or in Lindisfarne   church   cathedral   having episcopal

'Bosa had his episcopal seat in York and Eata in Hexham and Lindisfarne.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_4:16.300.7.3031)</div>

(10)   <u>*Wæs*</u> ***he*** *Gallia cynnes   natione   quidem Gallus*
was   he Gall kind-GEN   nation-GEN indeed   Gallic

'He was of Gallic origin.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_3:5.168.28.1645)</div>

(11)   <u>*Feng*</u> *to his rice*   ***Osred his sunu*** *cui   succedens   in imperium filius*
took   to his power Osred his son   whom succeeding in kingdom   son
suus Osred
his   Osred

'His son Osred succeeded to the throne.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_5:16.446.4.4475)</div>

The logic behind this tripartite division is that any Latin structure which may be analysed as verb-initial (even if there is a complex verb phrase at the beginning of the clause and if a non-finite verb form is the first element) should be treated as a potential model for the OE V-1 clause. However, some of these Latin models are very closely replicated as in (4) and (5), which are almost word-for-word renderings of the source clauses, while others are also verb-initial, but a clear intervention of the translator in the original clause structure is visible as in (6)–(8). If the original clause was seriously restructured and no inspiration for V-1 may be identified in the Latin source, the clauses are classified as independent as in (9)–(11).

5. General results

The initial search revealed that 451[3] out of ca. 900 V-1 clauses found in the whole YCOE corpus come from Bede (Table 1). The frequency of V-1 in the sample of all non-conjunct main declarative clauses with a finite verb and an overt subject is very high in this text (over 21%) while in other long prose texts the structure is clearly a minority pattern, which contradicts Calle-Martin and Miranda-Garcia's claim (2010: 55–56) that V-1 is frequent in Alfredian prose in general (i.e., Bede, Boethius, and Orosius).

Table 1. Frequency of V-1 in main clauses in various OE prose texts

Text	V-1		Total main clauses
	no.	%	
Ælfric's *Supplemental Homilies*	4	0.2	1,976
Bede	451	21.1	2,133
Boethius	12	0.7	1,728
Catholic Homilies I	38	0.8	4,484
Catholic Homilies II	20	0.5	4,261
Cura Pastoralis	1	0.1	1,832
Heptateuch	14	0.6	2,402
Lives of Saints	24	0.7	3,611
Orosius	5	0.3	1,445
West Saxon Gospels	18	0.5	3,858

---

[3] Seven clauses out of the original 458 were excluded from further analysis because they are parenthetic insertions, that is, they occur sentence-medially and thus the motivation for their use might have been different than for other V-1 clauses.

What is more, Bede is the only text in which the number of V-1 clauses is higher than the number of *þa*-V-S clauses (let us recall that according to Petrova (2006) these two patterns are functionally identical; cf. Table 2).

Table 2. Variation between V-1 and *þa*-V-S in various OE prose texts

Text	V-1		*þa*-V-S		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	no.
Ælfric's *Supplemental Homilies*	4	2.5	158	97.5	162
Bede	451	56.6	346	43.4	797
Boethius	12	3.2	367	96.8	379
Catholic Homilies I	38	10.3	332	89.7	370
Catholic Homilies II	20	4.3	441	95.7	461
Heptateuch	14	4.1	331	95.9	345
Lives of Saints	24	2.7	849	97.3	873
Orosius	5	3.0	162	97.0	167
West Saxon Gospels	18	1.8	982	98.2	1,000

In other long prose texts listed in Table 2 the proportion of V-1 clauses is rather low (and some of them are examples of jussive subjunctive, which means that if we filter them out, the proportion of V-1 in texts other than Bede gets even lower). Therefore, the syntax of OE Bede seems extremely peculiar as far as the general frequency of the V-1 pattern is concerned.

Moreover, V-1 clauses are supposed to co-occur mostly with semantically light verbs (BE and HAVE) as well as verbs of saying and unaccusative verbs including motion verbs. As can be seen in Table 3, all of these verb types are rather well represented in Bede.

Table 3. Proportions of various verb types in V-1 clauses in Bede

Verb type	No.	%
Being	232	51.4
Saying	82	18.2
Agentive	73	16.2
Unaccusative	35	7.8
Having	22	4.9
Modal	7	1.6
Total	451	100.0

However, approx. 16% of V-1 clauses in Bede have agentive verbs which, according to Ohkado (2000),[4] are highly atypical in this context and they are

---

[4] The numbers given in Table 3 are close to but not identical with those given in Ohkado (2000) because his study was not based on YCOE. Since the procedure of searching for V-1 clauses in Bede is not described in Ohkado's (2000) study, it is impossible to determine which

never found in V-1 constructions in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. Turning to specific verbs, Table 4 shows that about 50% of all instances of V-1 found in Bede contain the verb *wesan*.

Table 4. Ten most frequent verbs in V-1 clauses in Bede

Verb	No.	%
Wesan	231	51.2
Cweþan	49	10.9
Habban	22	4.9
Secgan	19	4.2
Andswarian	11	2.4
Cuman	11	2.4
Biddan	7	1.6
Sendan	7	1.6
Geseon	6	1.3
Willan	5	1.1
Other	83	18.4
Total	451	100.0

The second most frequent verb, *cweþan*, belongs to the group of verbs of saying, while the third one is *habban*, used both as an auxiliary, as in (14), and a lexical verb, as in (15). All in all, within verbs which appear in V-1 clauses more than ten times, all seem typical of V-1, as illustrated by (12)–(18).

(12)   *Wæs* **sum arwyrðe mæssepreost**, *þæs noma*   *wæs Utta*
          was   some venerable priest   whose name was Utta

          'There was a venerable priest called Utta.'

                                          (cobede,Bede_3:13.198.21.2012)

(13)   *Cwæð* *him* **mon** *to*
          said   him   MAN to

          'He was said.'

                                          (cobede,Bede_2:1.96.16.889)

(14)   *Hæfde* **he** *his dohtor*   *him* *to wife beweddad*
          had   he   his daughter   him   to wife betrothed

          'He had betrothed his daughter to him.'

                                        (cobede,Bede_3:5.168.4.1620)

(15)   *Hæfdon* **heo**   *fyrene eagan*
          had   they   fiery eyes

          'They had fiery eyes.'

                                        (cobede,Bede_5:13.428.9.4303)

---

element of the methodology used in the present study is responsible for those (fortunately slight) differences.

(16) _sægdon_ **men** þæt he wære Bretta leod
      said   men that he were Brits' man

     'Men said that he was a Brit.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_3:8.180.12.1785)</div>

(17) _Andswearedon_ **Scottas**, þæt heora land ne wære
      answered   Scots   that their lands not were

     to þæs mycel, þæt hi mihton twa þeode gehabban.
      to this big   that they could two nations have

     'The Scots answered that their lands were not big enough for two nations.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_1:1.28.10.204)</div>

(18) _Com_ þider   eac swylce on þa sylfan tid **oþer iung man**
      came thither also   on the same time other young man

     'The same time another young man came there.'

<div align="right">(cobede,Bede_5: 17.452.28.4548)</div>

Furthermore, many of these verbs show a clear preference for V-1 and appear in þa-V-S clauses relatively infrequently. Table 5 shows that _wesan_, _cweþan_, _habban_, _secgan_, and _willan_ all belong to this group (though _willan_ has a generally low frequency, hence this result is the least convincing one).

Table 5. Variation between V-1 and þa-V-S in Bede for 10 most frequent verbs in V-1 clauses

Verb	V-1		þa-V-S		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	
Wesan	231	76.0	73	24.0	304
Cweþan	49	87.5	7	12.5	56
Habban	22	91.7	2	8.3	24
Secgan	19	95.0	1	5.0	20
Andswarian	11	40.7	16	59.3	27
Cuman	11	40.7	16	59.3	27
Biddan	7	63.6	4	36.4	11
Sendan	7	58.3	5	41.7	12
Geseon	6	33.3	12	66.7	18
Willan	5	83.3	1	16.7	6

On the other hand, _andswarian_, _cumin_, and _geseon_ appear more often in þa-V-S clauses, which means that their association with V-1 is weaker. For _biddan_ and _sendan_, the preference for V-1 is visible but because of the low number of occurrences, this may be accidental. Thus, even though agentive verbs are rather well-represented in V-1 main clauses found in Bede, and three of them (_biddan_, _sendan_, and _geseon_) may be found among ten most frequent verbs in

V-1 clauses, these verbs do not show preference for V-1 over *þa*-V-S clauses. Such preference may be observed only in verbs which appear in V-1 clauses in other OE prose texts as well (though in other texts V-1 is a minority pattern for all of them).

Turning to subject types, let us recall that according to Allen (1995) V-1 clauses tend to introduce new subjects into the narrative, which would suggest that the subjects should rather be nominal. As shown in Table 6, this is not the case in Bede, where personal pronoun subjects may be found in 45% of V-1 main clauses, as in (15) and (16). Two minor subject types are other (demonstrative or indefinite) pronouns and a sequence of a personal pronoun followed by an appositive noun, as in (5).

Table 6. Subjects in V-1 clauses in Bede

Subject type	No.	%
Personal pronoun	204	45.2
Noun	180	39.9
Other pronoun	35	7.8
Personal pronoun + noun	32	7.1

Nominal subjects are used in ca. 40% of V-1 clauses, but only 20 nouns have strong indefinite marking, clearly introducing a new character to the story; three of these clauses contain the verb *cuman* as in (18) and 17 contain *wesan* as in (12). Thus, the main function of V-1 clauses in Bede does not consist in introducing new subjects. As shown in Cichosz (forthcoming), in the case of verbs of saying, the main function of V-1 clauses in Bede is signalling turns in reported conversations and marking the beginning of a story or a transition to the next part of a story. In the case of other verb types, they also mark some sort of transition in the story or appear at the beginning of a story, as in (19), which is the next stage in the story of St Alban, and (20), which is the beginning of the story of the Roman presence in Britain.

(19) *Swylce eac on þa tid   on Breotone wæs ðrowiende*
       also   on this time on Britain   was suffering

      Sanctus Albanus […] *Wæs **he Albanus** hæðen*
      St Alban   was   he Alban   heathen

      ða   gyt, þa   ðara treowleasra cyninga beboda
      then yet when the faithless king's commands

      wið   cristenum monnum grimsedon.
      against Christian   men   raged

      'At that time Alban suffered in Britain as well […] He, Alban, was still heathen when the commands of the faithless king raged against the Christian men.'

                                                        (cobede,Bede_1:7.34.12.274)

(20) *Wæs* **Breotene ealond** *Romanum*   *uncuð,*   *oððæt*
      was   Britain island   Romans-DAT unknown until

      Gaius se casere,   oðre naman Iulius, hit mid ferde
      Gaius the emperor other name Julius   it   with army

      gesohte & geeode   syxtygum wintra ær Cristes cyme
      sought and overran sixty winters   before Christ's coming

      'The Isle of Britain was unknown to the Romans until the emperor Gaius, also
      known as Julius, came with an army and conquered it sixty years before Christ.'

                                                      (cobede,Bede_1:2.30.13.234)

However, one peculiar thing about V-1 clauses in Bede is that they are often
clustered in a short passage, which is atypical of a structure which is supposed
to be rare and marked. In the fragment shown in (21) there are as many as
4 V-1 clauses following each other. Some of them introduce mainline events
(as those with *com* and *forlet*) while others (with *wæs*) function like relative
clauses giving additional information on the newly introduced character. In
all the passages in which V-1 clauses are clustered in this way clauses with
wesan dominate and they all provide additional information on the previously
introduced subjects.

(21) <u>*Com*</u> *eac swylce mid hine to Rome* **Sigeheres sunu Eastseaxna**
      came also   with him to Rome Sigeheri's son   East Saxons'

      cyninges, *þæs   we beforan gemyngedon, þæs   nama wæs Offa.* <u>*Wæs*</u>
      king-GEN whose we before   mentioned   whose name was Offa. was

      he *iuguþe   mon willsumlicre yldo & fægernesse, &   ealre his þeode*
      on in youth man pleasant   age and beauty   and all his people-DAT

      leof heora rice   to habbanne &   to healdenne. <u>*Wæs*</u> **he** *gelicre*
      dear their kingdom to have   and to hold   was he similar

      willsumnesse modes   Cenrede þam cyninge: <u>*forlet*</u> **he** *his wif &   land*
      devoutness   spirit-GEN Cenred the king-DAT left   he his wife and land

      & magas & eþel for   Cristes lufan &   for his godspelle
      and kindred and country for Christ's love and for his gospel

      'The son of Sigeheri, the king of East Saxons, whom we mentioned before,
      also came with him to Rome, his name was Offa. He was a young man, pleas-
      ant in his age and beauty and dear to all his people, who wanted him to have
      and hold their kingdom. He was devout in spirit like King Cenred. He left his
      wife and land and kindred and country for the love of Christ and his gospel.'

                                                (cobede,Bede_5:17.448.28.4512-450.3.4515)

The distribution of V-1 clauses in Bede is very uneven: in some passages the
clauses are clustered while in some chapters none are used; 64% of all V-1

clauses may be found in 37 out of 113 chapters. What is more, the frequency
of the structure rises chronologically: there are only 36 V-1 clauses in Book 1,
then in Book 2 the number increases to 72, in Book 3 to 95, in Book 4 to
108, and in Book 5 the number of V-1 clauses amounts to 139. It seems to be
some sort of cumulative effect, perhaps a priming mechanism (the translator
at first used the marked V-1 quite reluctantly but then somehow got used to it
and employed it more and more often as the narration progressed).

   Thus, V-1 main clauses in Bede are indeed peculiar for a number of reasons:

(iii) V-1 is relatively frequent among main clauses with an overt subject (21%);
      there is no other OE prose text in which the frequency of the pattern
      exceeds 1%;
(ii) there are many verbs (particularly *wesan*, *cweþan*, *habban*, *secgan*) which
      prefer V-1 over *þa*-V-S;
(iii) V-1 is also used with agentive verbs (though in their case V-1 is not the
      dominant pattern);
(iv) subjects in V-1 clauses are mostly pronominal;
(v)   V-1 clauses do not tend to introduce discourse-new subjects;
(vi) V-1 clauses are often clustered.

The aim of the next section is to determine which of those peculiarities may
be attributed to the source text influence.

6. Dependence on Latin

   Table 7 shows the degree of closeness between V-1 clauses from Bede and
their Latin equivalents.

Table 7. Dependence on Latin in V-1 clauses with specific verb types in Bede

Verb type	Close copy		Loose copy		Independent		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
Being	51	22.0	56	24.1	125	53.9	232
Saying	12	14.6	30	36.6	40	48.8	82
Agentive	18	24.7	37	50.7	18	24.7	73
Unaccusative	10	28.6	17	48.6	8	22.9	35
Having	3	13.6	8	36.4	11	50.0	22
Modal	0	0.0	3	42.9	4	57.1	7
Total	94	20.8	151	33.5	206	45.7	451

When we look at the aggregate figures, it transpires that the proportion of
closely copied V-1 clauses is (only) 21%, ca. one-third of them are loose cop-

ies of the original while as many as 46% are completely independent uses. However, when each verb type is considered separately, interesting differences come to light. First of all, the most independent groups are verbs of being and saying, illustrated in (22) and (23). The proportion of independent clauses in both cases is close to 50%. (The verb *habban* and modal verbs show similar proportions, but due to their lower frequency the results are less reliable.)

(22) *Wæs* **he** eac **sylfa Acca biscop** *se getydesta sangere*
      was   he   also self Acca bishop   the most skillful singer

      Nam et   **ipse episcopus Acca** *cantator* **erat** *peritissimus*
      for   and   this bishop Acca   singer   was most skillful

      'Bishop Acca himself was the most skillful singer.'

      (cobede, Bede_5:18.466.23.4704)

(23) *sægde* **he**   *þæt he hine cneoht weosende gesawe*
      said   he   that he him boy   being   saw

      et   *se*   *in pueritia uidisse* *testabatur*
      and   REFL in boyhood see   testified

      'He said that he saw himself as a boy.'

      (cobede,Bede_2:12.142.6.1362)

However, agentive and unaccusative verbs are very close to the Latin source: in both cases, the proportion of independent clauses is lower than 25%. In the case of agentive verbs, which are atypical in OE V-1 clauses in general, 25% of all uses are closely modelled on the source text as in (24) and in 51% of them the clause-initial placement of the verb may also have been inspired by the Latin though the translation is more free; in most cases, the modification consists in adding an overt pronominal subject as in (25).

(24) *Sende* *to him* **Lucius Breotone cyning** *ærendgewrit*
      sent   to him Lucius Britain's king   letter

      misit ad eum **Lucius Brittaniarum rex** *epistolam*
      sent to him   Lucius Britain's king   letter

      'Lucius, the king of Britain, sent a letter to him.'

      (cobede, Bede_1:4.32.5.250)

(25) *Forlet* **he** *on his cyricean æt Eoforwicceastre Iacobum þone deacon*
      left   he on his church   at York   Jacob   the deacon

      Reliquerat autem *in ecclesia sua Eburaci Iacobum diaconum*
      left-3SG   also   in church his York-GEN Jacob   deacon

      'He left Jacob the deacon in his church at York.'

      (cobede, Bede_2:16.150.23.1447)

Nonetheless, in ca. 25% of cases, the V-1 order is used in a clause with an agentive verb without any potential inspiration from the Latin original, as in (26).

(26)   *Sende* **Balthild seo cwen** *mycel weorod &*   *het*   *þone bysceop ofslean*
         sent   Balthild the queen great force   and   ordered the bishop   kill

         Namque Baldhild regina   *missis*   *militibus*   *episcopum iussit*
         for-and   Balthild the queen   sent-ABL   soldiers-ABL   bishop   ordered

         interfici
         kill

         'Queen Balthild sent a great force and ordered them to kill the bishop.'

                                        (cobede, Bede_5:17.456.4.4577)

Thus, even though the number of clauses in which Latin influence may be identified is relatively high, it is impossible to claim that the use of V-1 in clauses with agentive verbs is a direct copy of the Latin original.

Quite unexpectedly, the other group of verbs in which the proportion of independent uses of the V-1 order is rather low are unaccusative verbs, which are typical in the context of V-1 clauses in OE and other Old Germanic languages, for example, Old High German (Axel 2007). Nonetheless, almost 29% of V-1 clauses with unaccusative verbs in Bede are closely modelled on the Latin, as in (27), while almost 49% bear resemblance to the original clause with some minor modifications introduced by the translator, as in (28).

(27)   *Com* *eac swylce mid hine to Rome* **Sigeheres sunu Eastseaxna cyninges**
         came also   with him to Rome   Sigeheri's son   East Saxons' king-GEN

         Uenit *autem cum illo et*   **filius Sigheri**   *regis Orientalium Saxonum*
         came also   with him and   son Sigeheri-GEN   king-GEN East Saxons-GEN

         'The son of Sigeheri, the king of East Saxons, came with him to Rome.'

                                      (cobede,Bede_5:17.448.28.4512)

(28)   *Comon*   **hi**   *of þrim folcum*   *ðam strangestan Germanie*
         came   they of three peoples   the strongest   Germany-GEN

         Aduenerant *autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus*
         came also from three Germany's people strongest

         'They came from the three strongest nations of Germany.'

                                      (cobede, Bede_1:12.52.2.469)

Independent uses are attested but they are surprisingly infrequent, and their independence is mainly manifested by the omission of an original clause-initial adverbial as in (29).

(29)   *æteowdon* **twegen steorran** *ymb   þa sunnan utan,   þa   syndon on*
       appeared   two   stars   around the sun   around which are   on

       bocum cometa nemde
       books comets called

       *Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIIII   apparuerunt **cometae duae***
       year-ABL lord's incarnation   729   appeared   comets two

       circa solem
       around sun

       '[In the year 729 AD] two stars called comets appeared around the sun.'

                                                    (cobede,Bede_5:21.476.6.4773)

Ohkado (2000) claimed that Bede is atypical in its use of the V-1 order with agentive verbs and he attributed this peculiarity to Latin. However, V-1 clauses with agentive verbs are not particularly close to the source text; unaccusative verbs are equally close to the original in this respect. If individual verbs are considered separately, it turns out that only low-frequency items are either fully independent or fully dependent on Latin:

(i)   *don*, *flowan*, *forðfaran*, *forgifan*, *gesittan*, *geþwæran*, *læran*, *toætycan*, and *weoxan* appear only in V-1 clauses closely modelled on Latin;

(ii)   *belimpan*, *cygan*, *feohtan*, *hatan*, *lædan*, *magan*, *sculan*, *tellan*, *teon*, *þegnian, þeodan*, and *wenan* appear only in V-1 clauses independent of the source.

Only *toætycan* is used twice in the text; all the other verbs shown above appear in Bede only once so their seemingly consistent behaviour is a direct result of their low frequency. As shown in Table 8, in all high-frequency items there is some dependence on the Latin source.

Table 8. Dependence on Latin in V-1 clauses with 10 most frequent verbs

Verb	Close copy		Loose copy		Independent		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
Wesan	50	21.6	56	24.2	125	54.1	231
Cwæðan	7	14.3	17	34.7	25	51.0	49
Habban	3	13.6	8	36.4	11	50.0	22
Secgan	1	5.3	9	47.4	9	47.4	19
Andswarian	4	36.4	3	27.3	4	36.4	11
Cuman	4	36.4	5	45.5	2	18.2	11
Biddan	2	28.6	3	42.9	2	28.6	7
Sendan	3	42.9	1	14.3	3	42.9	7
Geseon	0	0.0	6	100.0	0	0.0	6

The only verb which is consistent here is *geseon* and in all six cases the same pattern, illustrated in (30), is repeated: the Latin verb-initial clause is translated as V-1 and an overt personal pronoun subject is provided by the translator.

(30)   *geseah* **he** *Godes wuldur &   þone Hælend standende Godes   on þa*
        saw   he God's grace   and the Saviour   standing God-GEN on the

        swiðran uidit   gloriam Dei   et   Iesum stantem a dextris Dei
        right   saw-3SG glory God-GEN and Jesus standing on right God-GEN

        'He saw God's grace and Jesus standing on God's right side.'

                                                    (cobede,Bede_5:15.444.12.4465)

As shown in Table 9, dependence on Latin is different in clauses with various subject types.

Table 9. Dependence on Latin in V-1 clauses with specific verb types in Bede

Subject type	Close copy		Loose copy		Independent		Total
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
Personal pronoun	11	5.4	103	50.5	90	44.1	204
Noun	71	39.4	30	16.7	79	43.9	180
Other pronoun	1	2.9	11	31.4	23	65.7	35
Personal pronoun + noun	11	34.4	7	21.9	14	43.8	32
Total	94	20.8	151	33.5	206	45.7	451

Latin is a pro-drop language, which means that the Latin Bede contains V-1 clauses with null subjects which are usually added by the translator in the OE text as in (30) above. As a result, the proportion of close copies in clauses with personal pronoun subjects is extremely low (only 5%): there is rarely a model for a personal pronoun subject in the source text. Example (31) shows such an atypical situation.

(31)   *Bæd   **ic** eac ætgædre   mid hiene Rogaui et   **ego** una   cum illo*
        asked I   also together with him asked   and I   together with him

        'I asked together with him.'

                                                    (cobede,Bede_5:4.394.25.3942)

However, since in this study addition of an overt subject is treated as a minor modification, the proportion of loose copies in clauses with personal pronoun subjects is high (over 50%). The proportions for nouns are the reverse: almost 40% of all clauses with nominal subjects are close copies as in (24) and (27) but loose copies are rare: there is usually a model for a nominal subject in the

original. Interestingly, out of 20 strongly indefinite subjects (which are an expected subject type in V-1 clauses), as many as 16 are close copies, as in (32).

(32) *Wæs in þa tid* **sum munuc** *in Rome, se* *wæs cuð* *\<Adriane\>*
      was   in the time some monk   in Rome who was known Adrian-DAT

      þæm abbude, *þæs noma* *wæs Theodorus. Erat ipso tempore Romae*
      the abbot-DAT whose name was Theodore   was this time-ABL Rome-LOC

      monachus *Hadriano* *notus, nomine* *Theodorus*
      monk   Adrian-DAT known name-ABL Theodore

      'At that time there was a monk in Rome who was known to Adrian the abbot,
      his name was Theodore.'

                                            (cobede,Bede_4:1.254.15.2584)

Whether this means that V-1 clauses with nominal subjects depend on the Latin more than those with pronominal subjects depend on how we treat examples such as (30). Okhado (2000) counts them as cases of Latin influence, but the post-verbal position of the subject is not a transfer from the original. The translator confronted with a subjectless verb-initial clause in the source text had a choice as to the subject position and placed it post-verbally, even though the preverbal position is expected in OE. The opposite, however, did take place as well, cf. (33).

(33) **Hit** *hafað* eac *þis land* *sealtseaþas Habet* *fontes salinarum*
      it   has   also this land salt-pits   has-3SG source salt-pans-GEN
      'The land also has salt-pits.'

                                            (cobede,Bede_1:0.26.12.190)

The strategy illustrated in (30) allows the translator to retain the clause-initial position of the verb, the strategy shown in (33) seems to produce more idiomatic OE. Thus, it is logical to assume that replicating V-1 by placing the personal pronoun subject after the verb may have been a manifestation of the source text influence. However, the translator had a choice and was not consistent in his decisions, sometimes deviating from the original and sometimes sticking to it.

Another possible explanation could be an indirect influence of the source text, that is, a priming mechanism which makes the translator replicate a structure which is especially frequent in the source even in places without a direct model (Taylor 2008: 342). However, V-1 clauses are rather infrequent in the Latin Bede. In a sample of ca. 1,546 finite clauses only 159 (10%) follow the V-1 order, while as many as 705 (46%) are V-final (Cichosz et al. forthcoming), which means that the indirect influence could increase the frequency of verb-final (but not verb-initial) clauses in Bede.

7. Summary and conclusions

The study reveals that V-1 clauses in Bede are exceptionally frequent: ca. 50% of all V-1 main clauses identified in YCOE come from this text. The high proportion of V-1 (ca. 21% of all main clauses) seems directly connected to the relatively low frequency of *þa*-V-S clauses in Bede, given the fact that these two patterns are claimed to be functionally identical (cf. Petrova 2006).

What is more, the analysis shows that the influence of the Latin source text on V-1 clauses in Bede may be identified in contexts both typical and atypical for the structure. Thus, contrary to Ohkado (2000), the main conclusion of this study is that while the quantity of V-1 clauses may have been increased by the source text (over 50% of the clauses have a model in Latin, ca. 21% are close equivalents of Latin clauses), their quality is not influenced by Latin in any clear way.

In short, V-1 clauses in Bede are text-specific because the Bede translator seems to have treated V-1 as a fully-fledged functional equivalent of *þa*-V-S: "a special type of clause that expresses the actions of the main line of the narrative" (Los 2015: 196). Hence the post-verbal placement of pronominal subjects (typical after clause-initial *þa*, cf. Pintzuk 1999: 91; Ringe and Taylor 2014: 399), no restrictions on verb types, and the basic function which may be most generally described as "marking transition" in the narrative structure of the text. The choice between V-1 and *þa*-V-S in Bede clauses is to some extent influenced by the verb (some verbs show clear preference for V-1 while others appear mostly in *þa*-V-S clauses) and the sequence of the narration (V-1 clauses become increasingly frequent as the chronicle progresses; in Book 5 there are almost twice as many V-1 clauses as *þa*-V-S clauses); a full investigation of the variation between these two patterns seems an interesting direction for further study.

Finally, it must be emphasised that not all V-1 clauses identified in Bede are functional equivalents of *þa*-V-S clauses: another (minor) function of V-1 clauses in this text (indentified predominantly in clauses with *wesan* and appearing frequently in passages where V-1 clauses are clustered) is giving additional information about characters introduced into the narrative as in (21). Since both functions (transition in the narration and giving additional information) are frequently needed in historical narratives such as Bede, the frequency of V-1 soars up, making this text an exception among OE prose texts, though its peculiarities are not a simple case of transfer from the Latin source.

Appendix

Queries used to extract data from YCOE

Query 1: used to extract V-1 clauses
define: c:/corpus_stuff/verb_ind.def
add_to_ignore: INTJ*
node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsNumber 1 finite_verb)
    AND (IP-MAT* iDoms NP-NOM*)
    AND (NP-NOM* iDoms ! *con*|*pro*|*exp*))

Query 2: used to extract all main declarative clauses
define: c:/corpus_stuff/verb_ind.def
node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms finite_verb)
    AND (IP-MAT* iDoms NP-NOM*)
    AND (NP-NOM* iDoms ! *con*|*pro*|*exp*)
    AND (IP-MAT* iDoms ! CONJ*))

Query 3: used to extract þa-V-S clauses
define: c:/corpus_stuff/verb_ind.def
add_to_ignore: INTJ*
node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsNumber 1 ADV*)
    AND (ADV* Doms +da|+ta|+Da|+Ta)
    AND (ADV* iPrecedes finite_verb)
    AND (IP-MAT* iDoms NP-NOM*)
    AND (NP-NOM* iDoms ! *con*|*pro*|*exp*)
    AND (finite_verb Precedes NP-NOM*))

References

Allen, Cynthia L. 1995. *Case marking and reanalysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Axel, Katrin. 2007. *Studies on Old High German syntax: Left sentence periphery, verb placement and verb-second*. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Calle-Martín, Javier & Antonio Miranda-García. 2010. 'Gehyrdon ge þæt gecweden wæs' – A corpus-based approach to verb-initial constructions in Old English. *Studia Neophilologica* 82: 49–57.

Cichosz, Anna. 2016. Old English verbs of saying and verb-initial order. *English Language and Linguistics*, 1–24. doi:10.1017/S1360674316000174 (FirstView).

Cichosz, Anna, Jerzy Gaszewski & Piotr Pęzik. 2016. *Element order in Old English and Old High German translations* (NSS Supplement Series 28). Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cichosz, Anna, Jerzy Gaszewski, Maciej Grabski & Piotr Pęzik. 2015. *ENHIGLA parallel corpus of OE and OHG translations from Latin*. Available at: http://pelcra.pl/enhigla/.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Wim van der Wurff. 2000. *The syntax of Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lemke, Andreas. 2015. *The Old English translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum in its historical and cultural context* (Göttinger Schriften zur Englischen Philologie, Band 8). Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Los, Bettelou. 2015. *A historical syntax of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ohkado, Masayuki. 2000. Verb first constructions in Old English, with special reference to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. In Masachiyo Amano & Hirozo Nakano (eds.), *Synchronic and diachronic studies on language: A festschrift for Dr. Hirozo Nakano*. Nagoya: Nagoya University.

Ohkado, Masayuki. 2004. On the structure and function of V1 constructions in Old English. *English Studies* 85: 2–16.

Petrova, Svetlana. 2011. Modeling word order variation in discourse: On the pragmatic properties of VS order in Old High German. *Oslo Studies in Language* 3(3): 209–228.

Petrova, Svetlana. 2006. A discourse-based approach to verb placement in early West-Germanic. In Shinichiro Ishihara, Michaela Schmitz & Anne Schwarz (eds.), *Working Papers of the SFB632, Interdisciplinary studies on information structure (ISIS)* 5, 153–182. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.

Pintzuk, Susan. 1999. *Phrase structures in competition: Variation and change in Old English word order*. New York: Garland.

Randall, Beth, Antony Kroch & Ann Taylor. 2005–2013. CorpusSearch 2. Available at: http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net/CS.html.

Ringe, Don & Ann Taylor. 2014. *The development of Old English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rowley, Sharon M. 2011. *The Old English version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Scheler, Manfred. 1961. *Altenglische Lehnsyntax. Die syntaktischen Latinismen in Altenglischen*. Berlin: Ernst-Reuter.

Stanton, Robert. 2002. *The culture of translation in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

St-Jacques, Raymon C. 1983. Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete? Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and its Old English translator. *Florilegium* 5: 85–104.

Taylor, Ann. 2008. Contact effects of translation: Distinguishing two kinds of influence in Old English. *Language Variation and Change* 20(3): 341–365.

Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths. 2003. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE). Available at: http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YcoeHome1.htm.

Pathways of change of English *there*

Ursula Lenker

University of Munich (LMU)

1. Polysemies of PDE *there*

When looking at the entries for PDE *there* in period dictionaries of Old English, Middle English, and Present-Day English, there does not seem to be much evidence for meaning change, except for, of course, its grammaticalization to existential *there* (as in, e.g., **There are ten desks here**).[1] At the beginning of their entries for *there*, dictionaries give almost identically its meaning as a locative adverb 'in that place':

(1) a.   Old English *adv. There, where.* I. local, a. with demonstrative force, (i) there, in that place […] (*BT*, s.v. *þǽr*).

   b.   Middle English 1a. As dem. adv. with locative function, used to indicate essentially spatial relationships: (a) with ref. to a clearly specified place or point in space, physically removed from the setting of the action: in that place, in those places […] (*MED*, s.v. *thĕr* (adv.)).

   c.   Present-Day English 1 in […] a particular place that is not where you are → here (*LDOCE*, s.v. *there2*).

   There – except for its grammaticalization to existential *there* in initial position – thus seems to have been constant in its primary meaning as a space adjunct (in the terminology of Quirk et al. 1985 and Hasselgård 2010). More

---

[1] The history of existential *there* (which is commonly labelled a pronoun in Present-Day English dictionaries) from locative *there* is not discussed in any detail in the present paper, even though its grammaticalization exhibits some similarities to the processes described here. In contrast to the developments in the focus of this paper, the rise of existential *there* has been studied in some detail (see, e.g., Breivik 1983; Martínez-Insúa 2004) and it is commonly acknowledged that this was constrained by larger systemic changes in the morpho-syntax of English, in particular the loss of flexibility in word order and the need for an obligatorily filled subject position (see the notion of "dummy subject" for existential *there*). On the use of *there* in Present-Day English, see Section 3.

specifically, it can be characterized as a position or direction adjunct and has since Old English referred "to a spatial setting or location for the process (situation or event) and one or more of the participants in the process" (Hasselgård 2010: 187):

(2)   I saw him standing **there** (= 'at this place').

There is – as is also pointed out by all of the dictionaries – intrinsically deictic: Proximal *here* contrasts with distal *there*, the distinction being dependent on the *origo* of the speaker (in (1c) in the *LDOCE* referred to as *you*).

In addition to this use of *there* as a deictic locative adjunct, which in Present-Day English is its primary and most frequent use besides existential *there*,[2] we also find uses of *there* as illustrated in (3) and (4):[3]

(3)   Perhaps The Orb – earthbound anti-stars – have been over-analysed? "You might have a point **there**, people might have read too much into it […]."

                                                        (*BNC*, CK5, W_pop_lore)

(4)   All I can say is Amen in respect of what you were saying **there**. All right, let's go and talk about films now […].

                                                        (*BNC*, KRH, S_brdcast_discussn)

In these examples, *there* does obviously not refer to an extra-linguistic "spatial setting or location for the process (situation or event) and one or more of the participants in the process" (see above), but has a discourse-deictic meaning, referring to an earlier part of the conversation. *There* is also attested with a textual function in some of the so-called *there*-compounds, the most frequent of them being the Present-Day English resultative connector *therefore*:[4]

(5)   The office of Keeper of the Registers and Records of Scotland existed for only twenty years, terminating in 1948. That year, **therefore**, saw the re-establishment of a principle which had existed in Scotland for centuries […].

                                                        (*BNC*, HJ7, W_ac_polit_law_edu)

In (5), the spatial *there*-element in *therefore* relates anaphorically to a part of the preceding sentence, in particular to the temporal information given in the non-finite relative clause *terminating in 1948*. Clearly, *there* in *therefore* relates to the textual space and has a textual function, a primary linking func-

---

[2] On details, see Section 3.
[3] All of the Present-Day English corpus examples are taken from the *byu*-corpora, for the sake of comparison preferably from the *BNC*.
[4] On these *there*-compounds, see Section 4.2.2.

tion signalling the attitude of the writer as to the relationship of the diverse parts of the discourse, in this case a resultative relation.

A solely unambiguous spatial meaning of *there* is even more unlikely for other uses of PDE *there* in conversation, as in (6) or (7):

(6)   At the end, he looked down and called out to Lucie, "**You there**! Fetch me another apple!"

(*BNC*, HTN, W_fict_prose)

(7)   The thirty-minute flight was followed by twenty minutes in a truck to a dilapidated harbour where a black-skinned man hauled himself from a motor boat on to the patched wooden dock. Tucker called, "**Hey there**. How are you today?" "Hah, Mr Tucker. I's [sic] fine."

(*BNC*, FPF W_fict_prose)

These uses of *there* are clearly situated in the interpersonal relation of the interlocutors, their function having been described as "used to attract somebody's attention" (*Oxford learner's dictionary*, s.v. *there* 5), that is, Lucie's attention in (6) and the black-skinned man's attention in (7). Other non-spatial uses of *there* in conversation are, if discussed at all, characterized as "idiomatic":

(8)   **There**'s a good boy.

(Hasselgård 2010: 186)

(9)   So **there**!

(*Oxford learner's dictionary*, s.v. *there*, idioms)

(10)   **There, there**! "(informal) used to persuade a small child to stop crying or being upset *There, there! Never mind, you'll soon feel better*"

(*Oxford learner's dictionary*, s.v. *there*, idioms)

This survey of the meanings of *there* in Present-Day English shows that there are polysemies, adding a variety of meanings to its original locative deictic meaning. Even at first glance, there are obvious correspondences in these polysemies to the regularities of semantic change as proposed by Traugott. The title of Traugott (1982) is "From propositional to textual and expressive meanings," that is, pathways of change that correspond to the meaning variety of *there* sketched above.

This paper will track the basic trajectories leading to these polysemies of PDE *there*. Chapter 2 introduces semantic-pragmatic approaches to meaning change (primarily by Traugott). These general findings will then be related to the development of *there* (including *there*-compounds) in Chapter 4. The account in Chapters 3 and 4 will sketch the main lines of development only, but this will be sufficient to show that *there* follows developments similar to classic cases

such as *indeed*, *in fact*, or *actually*, in spite of the fact that the functional range of *there* is grounded in its deictic character and thus its functions as a signal.[5]

In order to place this analysis into context, Chapter 2 will introduce the basic notions and ideas of semantic-pragmatic approaches to regularities of semantic change together with their terminology.

2. The diachrony of English words: Meaning change

2.1 The study of meaning change

The study of meaning change has for a long time been considered one of the major challenges of systematic linguistic research. At least until the middle of the 20th century, semantic change was primarily captured by identifying the etymological sources and cognates of specific lexical items and describing the changes in terms of (mainly binary) taxonomies of mechanisms, such as specialization vs. generalization or amelioration vs. pejoration (Fitzmaurice 2015: 256). In this line of research, the focus was on lexical items in which semantic change was obvious because the meaning of the English word was, for instance, different from that of its cognates.[6] Changes revealed by these studies on individual lexical items were generally perceived as idiosyncratic or sporadic, unpredictable in their effects and thus averse to systematic study and analysis.

---

[5] More specific information on dates and examples can be found in Lenker 2010 for the textual functions, and Lenker (forthcoming) for the signalling functions of *there* in spoken interaction.

[6] Classic cases are, for example, PDE *knight* (cf. OE *cniht* 'young male human being' and PDG *Knecht* 'farm hand') as a case of amelioriation in English and pejoration in German or, for pejoration in English, PDE *churl* (cf. OE *ceorl* 'man, husband'; cf. also PDG *Kerl* 'lad; chap', in some dialects also 'wretch'). Beyond the history of individual words, structuralist accounts charted meaning shifts in (often hierarchically structured) word fields, also identifying the impact of language contact. See, for example, the classic case of OE *steorfan*, which was replaced by a Scandinavian verb (PDE *die*), and underwent restriction of meaning to PDE 'die of hunger.'

2.2 Semantic-pragmatic approaches to meaning change

In contrast to these descriptions of the results of such sporadic changes, regularities in semantic change have been in the focus of those studying the processes triggering semantic change, in particular the impact of language users. For quite some time now, the impact of cognitive processes, primarily metaphor and metonymy, in meaning change has been considered (Ullmann 1962 and Geeraerts 2010: 31–35). Long before the establishment of pragmatics as a linguistic discipline, linguists such as Hermann Paul (1846–1921) also recognized the importance of the role of the communicative situation in meaning change in a "pragmatic, usage-based theory of semantic change" (Geeraerts 2010: 15). Such a semantic-pragmatic approach to meaning change has more recently been formalized in the "invited inference theory of semantic change" proposed by Elizabeth Traugott at al. (for a monograph account, see Traugott and Dasher 2002).

In contrast to purely semantic accounts, these semantic-pragmatic approaches start from the Gricean concept of a speaker meaning (in contrast to a context-independent word meaning), that is, the meaning that speakers negotiate with their interlocutors as they use words in a particular communicative situation (Grice 1989). This means that the springboard for meaning change lies in speaker intentions and emotions or in the negotiations of these intentions and emotions between speakers and hearers with their respective communicative interests and relations (of primary importance are "expressiveness" or "politeness," or more generally the face wants of the interlocutors).[7] Traugott and Dasher (2002) suggest that via pragmatic inferencing hearers may add information to word meanings which were not intended by the speaker. Meaning change, in turn, leads to polysemies and, in a last step, involves the conventionalization of such new meanings and often also their reanalysis as semantic meanings; the original word meaning may be fully replaced or, more frequently, survives in polysemies (for a survey of these approaches, see Fitzmaurice 2015).

2.3 Regularities in meaning change: "Clause-internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse particle"

While the applicability of this approach to semantic change of individual lexical words such as those listed in fn. 6 has repeatedly been questioned (e.g.,

---

[7] For the labels "subjectification" and "intersubjectification" for these processes, see Section 2.3.

in De Smet and Verstraete 2006, but see now Traugott 2015 on *churl*), certain pathways of change established by Traugott in publications from 1982 onwards (labelled "grammaticalization" in the earlier publication) are now generally accepted and have been tested for a number of cases, in particular on modal auxiliaries such as *must* or *will*, on the agent-oriented future *to be going to*, scalar particles such as *even* and on a large number of discourse markers (for summary accounts, see Traugott and Dasher 2002; Brinton 2010; Fitzmaurice 2015; Traugott 2015).

For our present investigation of meaning change in the English spatial adverb *there*, a relevant regularity is the so-called adverbial cline, which describes a regular development of certain adverb(ial)s on a trajectory "clause-internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse particle." Classic cases illustrating this pathway are *indeed*, *in fact*, *actually*, and *well* (see Traugott 1995; Traugott and Dasher 2002: 152–189). The proposed trajectory is that these adverbs lose their specific lexical meaning and develop polysemies that are connected to the act of speaking or writing (i.e., "textual" meanings) and to the attitude of the speaker towards what is transported in their speech (i.e., "expressive" meanings). In its original form the pathway was thus described "from propositional to textual and expressive meanings" (Traugott 1982).

Refining her earlier terminology, Traugott in subsequent publications replaces her 1982 term "expressiveness" by "subjectification," which in her definition is the "development of expressions that index the speaker's attitude or viewpoint" (Traugott 2015: 377).[8] "Subjectification" is now seen as only one step in the trajectory of regular semantic change. Another step, which may follow but does not entail a shift away from a subjective meaning, is a focus on the hearer's attitudes and beliefs, in particular on the addressees' face wants. This development is labelled "intersubjectification." A prototypical case of items indexing a speaker's assessment of the perspective of the hearer are the interpersonal functions of discourse particles (the last step of the "adverbial cline"). Such "intersubjunctive" meanings are then "non-truth-conditional."[9]

An illustration of this adverbial cline, and probably the case studied in most detail, is the development of PDE *well* (Jucker 1997; Traugott and Dasher 2002: 175–176). The Old English adverbial *wel* 'in a good manner' develops subjective meaning when used as an epistemic adverbial 'certainly, definitely.' From Middle English onwards, it is used as a text-sequencing device and discourse

---

[8] Many of the misunderstandings in the debate on these processes and their unidirectionality arise from the fact that the two major proponents of "subjectification" – Langacker and Traugott – define the term "subjectification" differently. While in Langacker's synchronic approach, "subjectivity" is maximal when it is implicit (i.e., when the speaker is not explicit in a nominal phrase as in *It's going to rain*), this is not a decisive criterion in Traugott's diachronic accounts (for details, see, e.g., De Smet and Verstraete 2006 and now Traugott 2015: 377).

[9] For the criteria of establishing "non-truth-conditionality," see Section 4.1.

particle with a clearly interpersonal function, when acknowledging the hearer perspective at the beginning of a turn by *well* 'if this so, okay then.'

All in all, the regularities in semantic change as suggested by Traugott and collaborators (Figure 1) can be summarized in the following semantic-pragmatic tendencies.

a.	non-subjective	>	subjective	>	intersubjective
b.	content	>	content-procedural	>	procedural
c.	scope-within-proposition	>	scope-over-proposition	>	scope-over-discourse
d.	truth-conditional		>		non-truth-conditional

Figure 1. Semantic-Pragmatic Tendencies in Semasiological Change (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 281)

2.4 PDE *beside(s)*

In order to pave the ground for my subsequent discussion of PDE *there* – even though this is different, since *there* is inherently deictic, and not lexical – I will illustrate these tendencies in meaning change (Figure 1) and also the polysemies which are common as their results by meaning changes of PDE *beside/besides* (presented as a test case for "subjectification" in Traugott 2015).[10]

Beside(s) is chosen, because it, like *there*, originates in a locative adjunct, namely the Old English prepositional phrase *be sidan*, formed with the preposition *be* 'by, near to …' (*BT*, s.v. *be* prep. dat., 1) and the dative singular of OE *side* '[t]he right or left part of a person's or animal's body' or – just like *there* intrinsically deictic – '[t]he region immediately to the left or right of a person' (*OED*, s.v. *side* n.1 and 3). From 1200 onwards, a univerbated preposition/adverb *bisiden* is attested (*OED*, s.v. *beside*).[11]

PDE *beside(s)* may be used as a preposition with a concrete spatial meaning as in *beside the shed*. From Middle English onwards, it is also attested in more abstract meanings, as in PDE *beside the point* (Traugott 2015: 383). As an adverb, PDE *besides* can be used to mean 'in addition to' as in *and many other food besides* (Traugott 2015: 383) and from Early Modern English onwards *beside(s)* has also been used as an adverbial connector with scope-over-discourse, that is, a textual meaning marking the semantic relation 'addition' (Lenker forthcoming: 216–219), as in the following example:

---

[10] Unless stated otherwise, the examples in this chapter are taken from Traugott (2015: 383–385).

[11] *Besides* is formed by analogy with the adverbial genitive ending *-s* (cf. OE *ānes*, PDE *once*).

(11)   The reason is that if the examiner is reading your script quickly […] he may be puzzled and annoyed by your departure from the order of his question. **Besides**, he may have set the question like that with the object of seeing whether your mind is sufficiently adaptable to vary the order of what you have learnt.

(*BNC*, FRA, W_non_ac_polit_law_edu)

Here, *besides* is used textually in referring to the argument made in the preceding sentence. By using this additive adverbial connector, the writer also signals their subjective perspective of the relationship between the chunks of discourse.

In spoken as well as written texts, *besides* can also be used as a pragmatic marker, as in (12) and (13):

(12)   I don't have time to go to the movie. **Besides**, I hear it's bad.

(13)   O fie, Mrs. Jervis, said I, how could you serve me so? **Besides**, it looks too free both in me, and to him.

(1740 Richardson, Pamela [CLMETEV])

Besides in (12) conveys "that the upcoming clause adds information that is a justification of what has been said before, but presented as incidental." In (13), *besides* does not only signal the textual relation of 'addition,' but also a "slightly dismissive, offhand stance on the speaker's part" (Traugott 2015: 383).

On the basis of this understanding of regularities in meaning change, Chapters 3 and 4 will now track the trajectories of locative deictic OE *þær*, relating them to the various stages of these pragmatic-semantic tendencies in semasiological change (see Figure 1).

3. *There* in Present-Day English (PDE)

There is among the most frequent words in Present-Day English. In the *OED* (s.v. *there*, adv.), it is classified as "Band 8," which means that it occurs "more than 1,000 times per million words in typical modern English usage" (only about 0.02% of all non-obsolete *OED* entries are in this category, most of them function words). Proximal *here*, by contrast, is less frequent (a "Band 7" item in the *OED*).[12] These numbers reflect the fact that *there* is not only highly frequent as an adverb but also as a pronoun in existential *there*-constructions – both in the spoken as well as in the written medium (both *there²* adv. and *there¹* pron.

---

[12] The exact difference is hard to tell since "Band 7" is defined as "occurring between 100 and 1,000 times per million words in typical modern English usage."

(*there is* […]) are identified as "S1/W1" in the *LDOCE*, that is, they are among the most frequent 1,000 words in both spoken and written genre).[13]

In spite of the high frequency of *there* in all genres, there has as yet been little research on its functions beyond existential *there*. As concerns the distribution of *there* across genres, the *Longman grammar of spoken and written English* (*LGSWE*; Biber et al. 1999: 947) notes sharp register differences in the distribution of the adverb *there*, while the differences are less marked for existential *there*. In its locative meaning, the adjunct *there* is much more frequent in spoken than in written genres and thus conforms to the common frequency pattern of "circumstance adverbials" (Quirk et al.'s "adjuncts").

Furthermore, Biber et al. comment that "[w]here locative *here* and *there* so occur in academic prose, they tend to refer to the text rather than the setting: *references for further reading are given here*" (1999: 947), thus taking note of a discourse-deictic function of *there*.[14]

In the following chapters, I will introduce the functions and particularities of *there* on different levels of change as introduced in Figure 1. With the adverbial cline from clause-internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse particle as a background profile, the discussion will comprise the development from scope-within-proposition > scope-over-proposition > scope-over-discourse and will also briefly address tendencies of "subjectification" (from non-subjective > subjective) as well as interpersonal functions (for more details, see Lenker forthcoming).

4. Regularities of meaning change of *there*

4.1 Propositional *there*

As already pointed out (Section 1), the deictic locative adjunct meaning has been fairly constant from OE *þær* to PDE *there*, with some minor changes as to

---

[13] The many instances of existential *there*-constructions in Present-Day English make automated corpus analyses difficult, because, in contact clauses, *there* appears in the same sequences as the polysemies under investigation here: cf. *Oh no, look **I was saying there** are no primroses out yet!* (*BNC*, KE2, S_conv).

[14] Note, however, that this use is illustrated by simple *here*, not *there* (see Section 4.2.5).

whether *there* allows only a position 'at that place' or also a direction reading 'thither' (cf. *BT*, s.v. *þǽr*, I.a.2; *MED*, s.v. *thĕr*, 1.a (d); *OED*, s.v. *there*, 8).[15]

In its use as a spatial position adjunct (14a), *there* is truth-conditional and can thus be replaced by a full nominal or prepositional phrase (b),[16] can occur under the scope of both negation (c) and *WH*-interrogation (i.e., *where*; (d)) and can also be focused by focus particles (e):[17]

(14) a. I saw him standing **there**.[18]
    b. I saw him standing **in the corner**.
    c. I saw him standing **not there**, **but here**.
    d. **Where** was he standing? **There**.
    e. I saw him standing **only there**, not somewhere else.

For Old English, this propositional meaning of *þær* is absolutely dominant, its translation equivalent from Latin almost exclusively being *ibi*:

(15)   *BT*, s.v. *þǽr*: Add. *there, in that place* Hig cómon tó ðære stówe, and hé gebæd hine **þǽr** (*ibi*) tó Gode, Gen. 13, 4
    'They came to this place, and he prayed there (Latin *ibi* 'at that place') to God.'

4.2 Discourse-deictic *there*

4.2.1 Discourse-deictic *there* in Old English

In Old English, adverbial *þær* is almost exclusively used in its concrete, deictic locative sense 'at that place.' In contrast to *þær*, discourse-deictic meanings are already widely attested for its proximal counterpart OE *her* (see Lenker

---

[15] This account only deals with the adverbial meanings of *there*. The form has also been used as a relativizer or conjunction (similar to *where*); see *BT*, s.v. *þǽr*, I.b and I.c, *MED*, s.v. *thĕr*, 5–9; *OED*, s.v. *there*, II.

[16] The common test is *whether* subjectified elements show the property not to allow pronominal substitution (see, e.g., De Smet and Verstraete 2006). Since *there* can be used as the pronominal substitution for spatial adjuncts, the converse test was chosen.

[17] For these criteria, see De Smet and Verstraete 2006; Traugott 2015: 379.

[18] For a full corpus example supporting the locative meaning by co-textual spatial *in the warm light from the café*, *paces* and *back*, see *He saw me standing there waiting in the warm light from the café and hesitated a second, then walked on a few paces, then stopped and looked back* (*BNC*, FEE, W_fict_prose).

2010: 58–61, 107–208 and *DOE*, s.v. *hēr* III.1.b 'referring to a specific part or passage (usu. immediately preceding or following) in a work or document'). In (16), for instance, *her* refers cataphorically to the subsequent text, a Bible quote from the Beatitutes (*gesælige beoð* […]), rather than exophorically to an extra-linguistic setting:

(16)   swyðe blissiað þas word us: þe **her** æfterfyliað: gesælige beoð þa ðe me ne
        gesawon: & þeah on me gelyfað (*DOEC*, ÆCHom I, 16 310.102).

        'the words which follow **here** make us very glad; blessed are those who have
        not seen me but nonetheless believe in me.'

Such discourse-deictic meanings are to my knowledge not attested for simple OE *þær*.[19] In addition to its deictic locative uses and early constructions similar to PDE existential *there* ('preparing the way for the subject'; s.v. III.), *BT* also refers to early uses of *there*-compounds: "in combination with suffixed prepositions the word [= *þær*] has the force of a pronoun; […] (though the attachment is rather slight, see, e.g., *þær-on*)" (s.v. IV).'

4.2.2 *There*-compounds

This "force of a pronoun" of *here*, *there*, and *where* came to be exploited in an increasing number of *here*-, *there*-, and *where*-compounds from Middle English onwards (on their history, see Österman 1997, 2001, and Lenker 2010: 111–114). As *there*-compounds, the *OED*, for instance, lists:

(17)   *thereabout(s)*, *thereabove*, *thereafter(ward)*, *thereagain*, *thereagainst*, *therea-
        mong*, *thereas*, *thereat*, *thereatour*, *thereaway*, *thereaways*, *therebefore*, *there-
        beside*, *thereby*, *theredown*, *thereforth*, *therefro*, *therefrom*, *theregain*, *there-
        hence*, *therein(ne)*, *thereintill*, *thereinto*, *ther(e)-mid*, *-mydde*, *there-nigh*,
        thereon, *thereof*, *thereout*, *thereover*, *thereright(s)*, *theretill*, *thereto*, *theretofore*,
        theretoward(s), *theretoyens*, *thereunder*, *thereuntill*, *thereunto*, *thereup*, *there-
        upon*, *thereward*, *therewhile(s)*, *therewith*, *therewithal*, *therewithin*.

While these *there*-compounds were highly frequent in Middle and in particular the Early Modern English (14.7 occurrences per 10,000 words), they are on the wane in Present-Day English (3.2 occurrences/10,000 words in the *LOB* corpus, 2.8/10,000 words in *Brown* and 2.0/10,000 words in the spoken London-

---

[19] An exception may be a causal/resultative use, which seems to be rather exceptional (see *OED*, s.v. 6 and Molencki 2012: 64–67).

Lund Corpus (see Österman (2001: 204–206). The only *there*-compound in Present-Day English which is common and frequent in written and spoken English is the resultative adverbial connector *therefore* (see Section 4.2.4).

4.2.3 Shifting deictics in clausal connection

The reason for the increasing number and frequency of these "*there*-, *here*-, and *where*-compounds" will now be illustrated by the example of resultative *here*-, *there*-, and *wherefore* replacing the ubiquitous Old English causal/resultative adverb/conjunction *forþæm, forþon, forþy* 'therefore; because.'

Morphologically, OE *forþæm* (with its variants *forþæm*, *forþon*, and *forþy*) follows the regular pattern of Old English "pronominal connectors," in which connectives are formed by means of a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition (*for*, *æfter*, *ær*, *mid*, *wið*, etc.) and a form of the distal demonstrative in an oblique case (governed by the preposition), followed at times by the optional particle *þe*, yielding OE *for þæm (þe)* 'because,' *ær þam (þe)* 'before,' *æfter þam (þe)* 'after,' *mid þam (þe)* 'during,' *wið þam þe* 'provided that.' Such pronominal connectors are a typical strategy in clause linkage and in their origin belong to Raible's category II "Junktion durch Wiederaufnahme (eines Teils) des vorhergehenden Satzes" "linkage by resumption (of a part) of the preceding sentence" (Raible 1992: foldout).

This discourse-deictic capacity of pronominally resuming a part of the preceding sentence is fulfilled by inflected distal demonstratives in Old English, for example, when the – in (18) phonologically weakened – demonstrative *þon* indexes, that is, points cataphorically, to the second, causal clause, identifying the adverbial relation as 'cause.'

(18)   Do þærto fife, **forþon** Þunresdæg hæfð fif *regulares*.
         'Add thereto five, **because** [Conj.] Thursday has five regulares.'
                              (*DOEC*, ByrM 1 (Baker/Lapidge), B20.20.1, 0239 (1.2.236))

This construction is commonly seen as a reanalysis of **Do þærto fife **for þon**: þunresdæg hæfð fif regulares*. 'Add […] five **for that [reason]** [PP as A]: Thursday has five regulares.'

When the inflection of case and gender in the demonstratives collapsed at around 1,200, pronominal connectors of that pattern were given up, mainly because the surviving demonstrative *that* (in, e.g., *for that*) following an adverb was primarily used as a subordinator (cf. causal PDE *now that* […]). This poly-functionality rendered the deictic reference not explicitly enough (for details,

see Lenker 2010: 98–102), so that speakers started using lexical means, such as *consequently* or *because* (for a full and innovative account of *because* see Molencki 2012: 139–202).

In what I have called "shifting deictics" (Lenker 2007), speakers also coined connectors by replacing the demonstrative with other pronominal means. The primary pronominal items chosen were spatial *here*, *there*, and *where*: Instead of the pattern 'preposition *for* + inflected demonstrative' we find spatial *here*, *there*, and *where + for(e)*, yielding *here-fore*, *there-fore*, and *where-fore*.

The earliest example of such a form used as a resultative adverbial connector is attested for early ME *herefore* (ca. 1220), in (19) occurring together with levelled *forðan* 'therefore (a); because (c)':

(19)   **Forðan** (a) hie bieð godes wiðerwinen, alle ðo ðe willen hem seluen heiʒin. Godd seið him self ðat hie sculen bien ineðerede. **Hierfore** (b) ic am neðer and unmihti, **forðan** (c) ic habbe ʒeben prud and modi […].

'**Therefore** (a) they are God's enemies, all those who want to raise themselves. God says himself that they shall be lowered. **Therefore** (b) am I low and powerless, **because** (c) I was proud and conceited […].'

(*HC*; CMVICES1, p. 5; ca. 1225).

The use of spatial deictic elements such as *here* and *there* for the explicit deictic reference has been related to the cognitive centrality of the source domain "space" in human thinking: spatial cognition seems to be the evolutionarily earliest domain of systematic cognition (Levinson 2003). This reference can be exophoric or endophoric. For the latter – anaphoric and cataphoric – functions it has also been suggested that such a metaphoric extension of spatial terms is a function of literacy since it is only with literacy that language is objectified in visual space (see Ong 1982):

> […] [v]isual presentation of verbalized material in space has its own particular economy, its own laws of motion and structure. […] Texts assimilate utterance to the human body. They introduce a feeling for 'headings' in accumulation of knowledge: 'chapter' derives from the Latin *caput*, meaning head (as from the human body). Pages have not only 'heads,' but also 'feet,' for footnotes. References are given to what is 'above' and 'below' in a text when what is meant is several pages back or farther on. (Ong 1982: 100)

4.2.4 *There*-compounds and clause linkage

While *there*-compounds only become more frequent in the Middle English period, some of them are already attested in Old English. Most of these, however, are locative and do not refer to the textual space, but to the extra-linguistic reality (see *BT*, s.vv. *þǽr-æt*, *þǽr-ábútan*, *þǽr-big*, *þǽr-binnan*, *þǽr-in*, *þǽr-ofer*, *þǽr-oninnan*, *þǽr-onuppan*).[20]

When endophoric, their reference can be to the local or to the global discourse. In Old English, at least two *there*-compounds clearly also show a textual meaning and have 'scope-over-proposition/discourse': the adverbial connectors *þærto* and – in univerbation with *eacan* – OE *þærtoeacan* 'also,' which signals the semantic relation 'addition' (see *BT*, s.v. *þǽr-tóeácan* and Lenker 2010: 214–216):

(20)   […] and we secgað to soðan þæt se tima wæs gesælig and wynsum on Angelcynne […], and ealle ða cyningas […] comon to Eadgare […] **Þærtoeacan** wæron swilce wundra gefremode þurh þone halgan Swyðun, […].

     '[…] and we say truly that the time was blessed and pleasant among the English […] and all the kings […] came to Edgar […] **In addition**, many miracles were performed by the holy Swithun, […].'

                                  (*DOEC*, ÆLS (Swithun) B1.3.22, 0113 (454))

In this instance, Ælfric uses the adverbial connector *þærtoeacan* to signal his line of argument in this piece of discourse, that is, why he thinks that the times were blessed earlier, giving as evidence the reverential coming of kings to Edgar and adding the miracles by Swithun. These two pieces of evidence are explicitly linked by *þærtoeacan*, with the anaphoric force in this univerbation lying both in *þærto* and *eac* 'also.'

Therefore, the most common of adverbial connectors in Present-Day English,[21] is attested much later than *herefore* (ca. 1220; ex. 19) and *wherefore* (ca. 1340). The first unambiguous case listed in the *OED* is by Thomas Cranmer:

---

[20] A temporal meaning is found in *þǽr-æfter* and *þǽr-néhst*. Clearly pronominal is *þǽr-of*.

[21] *Therefor(e)* has two spellings and two stress patterns in Present-Day English (see *OED*, s.v. *therefore*): The spelling *therfor* and the stress pattern /ðɛəˈfɔː(r)/ is preferred for an exophoric or textually local reference "for that (thing, act, etc.); for that, for it" (s.v. I.); the adverbial connector "in consequence of that; […] as a result or inference from what has been stated," by contrast, is commonly spelt *therefore* and stressed /ˈðɛəfə(r)//ˈðɛəfɔː(r)/ (s.v. II). While *therefor* is characterized as "formal or arch." in Present-Day English (*OED*, s.v. I.), the adverbial connector *therefore* is highly frequent in written, but also – as the only of the *there*-compounds – in spoken Present-Day English.

(21)   [I much marvel that you will desire thus far to exceed, […], from the accus-
         tomed rent thereof; I had thought you would rather have diminished the old
         exaction than now to increase the same.] I trust, **therefore**, you will not so
         hardly regard my first request herein. (*OED*, s.v. *therefore*; *c*1533 T. Cranmer
         Let. 8 Oct. in *Remains* (1833) I. 58 [with expanded context from source]

This late appearance of *therefore* most probably reflects the fact that simple
here, but not simple *there*, could be employed for discourse-deictically already
in Old English (see Section 4.2.1). From Middle English onwards, *therefore* has,
however, increased in frequency: In the *LDOCE*, it is characterized as "S3, W1,"
that is, it is among the 3,000 most frequent words in spoken English, and among
the 1,000 most frequent words in written English (*LDOCE*, s.v. *therefore*).

4.2.5 Simple discourse-deictic *there*

Apart from these discourse-deictic uses of *there* in *there*-compounds (occasion-
ally also with a textual meaning indexing the speaker's view on clause linkage,
as in *therefore*), simple *there* does not seem to have been employed in such
discourse-deictic meanings for much of the history of the English language. The
OED and the *MED* give no pertinent examples before the 19th century, apart
from a reading in a manuscript of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* as a conjunction (as
a variant of *where*):

(22)   And **ther** [vr. **where**] I lefte I wol ayein bigynne.
                              (*MED*, (c1385) Chaucer *CT.Kn.*(Manly-Rickert) A.892)

Discourse-deictic meanings of simple *there* (*OED*, s.v. *there*, 6 '[i]n that
thing, matter, or business; […] in that respect, as to that') have been attested
from the Middle English period (for earlier examples of exclusively initial,
discourse-deictic *there* as in (23) and (24), (see Lenker forthcoming, Section
4.3), even though the *OED* only gives 19th-century examples:

(23)   **There** you have hit the nail on the head, James.
                                        (1829 *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 25 558)

(24)   It was beastly awkward certainly; **there** I could quite agree with him.
                                        (1884 H. James in *Eng. Illustr. Mag.* Dec. 248/2)

While *there* in (23) relates in more general and inclusive way to the pre-
ceding discourse, *there* in (24) clearly refers to the description of an event

in the preceding utterance as *beastly awkward certainly*. Similar instances of discourse-deictic *there* are given as examples (3; *You might have a point **there***) and (4; *All I can say is Amen in respect of what you were saying **there***): From the beginning of the 20th century, however, *there* is no longer placed initially in these instances (see the discussion in Lenker forthcoming).

As concerns the semantic-pragmatic tendencies identified as regularities in meaning change (see Table 1), *there* has "scope-over-proposition." It is also more "subjective" than propositional *there*: Similar to coordinators such as *and* or *or*, also to adverbial connectors such as *beside(s)* or *therefore* (see Sections 2.4 and 4.2.3), it does not only link chunks of discourse. By placing an emphasis on the discourse structure it also conveys the attitude of the speakers, that is, their subjective perspective towards the relationship between the clauses linked by *there*.

4.3 Interpersonal *there*

The last tendency of the suggested regularities of semantic change is a development to "intersubjective" meanings, which index the speaker's assessment of the perspective of the hearer (see Section 2.3). Such meanings of *there* have been attested since at least the beginning of the 17th century (although we have to be careful with first attestations in this case because of the bad data situation for spoken conversation before that time).

Most of these intersubjective meanings can be related to the deictic meaning of *there*, a "pointing gesture" to a distal space. The function evolving from this is a signal function, with respect to the hearer that of "attracting attention." *There* indices that speakers feel a distance between their and the hearers' evaluation of the amount of attention necessary in a particular communicative situation (see also examples (6), (7), and (8)). The *OED* identifies this meaning as "[a]ppended, unstressed, to the name of a person or thing to whose presence attention is called" (s.v. 2a. and 3.a).

(25)　　I would haue peace […], but the foole will not, he **there**.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(1609 Shakespeare *Troilus & Cressida* ii. i. 86)

(26)　　You that haue beene so tenderly officious With Lady Margerie, your Mid-wife **there**.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(a1616 Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* (1623) ii. iii. 160)

In these uses, *there* is non-truth-conditional: It cannot be replaced by a full nominal/prepositional phrase and can neither occur under the scope of negation

(i.e., *he **not there***) nor *WH*-interrogation (***Where*** is [*the foole/the Mid-wife*]*?*) nor can it be in the scope of focus particles (**he/your Mid-wife **only there***) (on these criteria, see Section 4.1).

The speaker's assessment of a "distant" attitude of the hearer is even stronger in instances (frequent from the 18th century), when the signal *there* is used "interjectionally, usually to point (in a tone of vexation, dismay, derision, satisfaction, encouragement, etc.) to some fact, condition […]" (*OED*, s.v. *there*, 7):

(27)   '**There, there**,' my poor father answered, 'it is not that.'

1872 *Routledge's Every Boy's Ann.* 514/1

(28)   **There!** I have put my foot in it!

1856 J. W. Carlyle *Lett.* (1883) II. 295

The original deictic distal locative meaning of *there* clearly filters through in these cases since the speaker's assessment of the perspective of the hearer is of the kind that speakers see some distance between their view of the communicative situation and that of the hearer, most prominent in a tone of vexation, derision and satisfaction of *So there!* in (9) and *There!* in (28).

5. Conclusions

This paper has tracked the basic trajectories leading to different meanings of *there* in Present-Day English. While *there* has been fairly constant in its primary meaning as a space adjunct 'at that place', its polysemies in Present-Day English reflect developments that have been established as regularities in semantic change in semantic-pragmatic approaches to meaning change (primarily by Elizabeth Traugott et al.). Even though *there* is not fully comparable to other lexical items showing these regularities, because it is inherently deictic, *there* nonetheless shows similarities to the trajectories identified for the now classic cases such as *indeed*, *in fact*, *actually*, or *well*. In addition to its use as a sentence-internal locative adverb, it develops – as suggested for lexical elements by the tendencies described in Table 1 – discourse-deictic and subjective, textual functions (particularly in some of the *there*-compounds, such as *therefore*) and also different interpersonal signal functions, when, for instance, assessing the hearer's perspective as 'distant,' or as being in need of "having the hearers' attention attracted." In the case of *there*, all of these functions are related to the deictic character of *there*, and thus its functions as a signal on different levels of language use.

Corpora

BNC = The British National Corpus. Available at: http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc> (accessed 8.01.2017).

References

Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad & Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman (=*LGSWE*).

BT = Bosworth, Joseph. 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary: Based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth*. Ed. Thomas Northcote Toller. Oxford: Clarendon. Available at: http://www.bosworthtoller.com/.

Breivik, Leiv Egil. 1983. *Existential there: A synchronic and diachronic study*. Department of English: University of Bergen.

Brinton, Laurel. 2010. Discourse markers. In Andreas Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical pragmatics*, 285–314. Berlin–New York, NY: De Gruyter Mouton.

LDCE = Longman dictionary of contemporary English online. Available at: http://www.ldoceonline.com/ (accessed 8.01.2017).

De Smet, Hendrik & Jean-Christophe Verstraete. 2006. Coming to terms with subjectivity. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17(3): 365–392.

DOEC = The Complete Corpus of Old English in Machine Readable Form. 2000. Ed. Antonette di Paolo Healey. Dictionary of Old English project, Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies, www-accessible version, University of Michigan Humanities Text Initiative (Michigan, MA). Available at: http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/o/oec/.

Fitzmaurice, Susan. 2015. Semantic and pragmatic change. In Merja Kytö & Päivi Pahta (eds.), 256–270.

Geeraerts, Dirk. 2010. *Theories of lexical semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grice, Paul. 1989. *Studies in the way of words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hasselgård, Hilde. 2010. *Adjunct adverbials in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jucker, Andreas. 1997. The discourse marker *well* in the history of English. *English Language and Linguistics* 1: 91–110.

Kytö, Merja & Päivi Pahta (eds.). 2015. *The Cambridge handbook of English historical linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LDOCE = Longman dictionary of contemporary English (4th edn.). 2003. Available at: http://www.ldoceonline.com/.

Lenker, Ursula. 2007. *Forhwi* 'because': Shifting deictics in the history of English causal connection. In Ursula Lenker & Anneli Meurman-Solin (eds.), *Connectives in the history of English*, 193–227. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lenker, Ursula. 2010. *Argument and rhetoric – Adverbial connectors in the history of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lenker, Ursula. (forthcoming). 'There's an issue there…': Signalling functions of discourse-deictic *there* in the history of English. In Sylvie Hancil & Alexander Haselow (eds.), *Dialogism and language change*.

Levinson, Stephen. 2003. *Space in language and cognition*: *Explorations in cognitive diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martínez Insúa, Ana E. 2004. *Existential there-constructions in contemporary British English: A corpus-driven analysis of their use in speech and writing*. Munich: Lincom.

MED = Middle English dictionary. 1952–2001. Eds. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, John Reidy, Robert E. Lewis, et al. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/.

Molencki, Rafał. 2012. *Causal conjunctions in mediaeval English: A corpus-based study of grammaticalization*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski – Oficyna Wydawnicza WW.

OED = The Oxford English dictionary. 2000–. Ed. John A. Simpson. 3rd ed. online. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed at: http://www.oed.com (accessed 16.07.2016).

Österman, Aune. 1997. *There* compounds in the history of English." In Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö & Kirsi Heikkonen (eds.), *Grammaticalization at work: Studies of long-term developments in English*, 191–276. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Österman, Aune. 2001. *"Where your treasure is, there is your heart": A corpus-based study of THERE compounds and THERE/WHERE subordinators in the history of English*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Ong, Walter. 1982. *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the world*. London: Methuen.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Raible, Wolfgang. 1992. *Junktion: Eine Dimension der Sprache und ihre Realisierungsformen zwischen Aggregation und Integration*, *vorgetragen am 4. Juli 1987*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1982. From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: Some semantic-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization. In Winfred P. Lehmann & Yakov Malkiel (eds.), *Perspectives on historical linguistics*, 245–271. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1995. The role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization. [Paper presented at ICHL XII; Manchester 1995]. Available at: http://www.stanford.edu/~traugott/papers (accessed 14.01.2017).

Traugott, Elizabeth C. 2015. Identifying micro-changes in a particular linguistic change-type: The case of subjectification. In Merja Kytö & Päivi Pahta (eds.), 376–389.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Dasher, Richard B. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ullmann, Stephen. 1962. *Semantics: An introduction to the science of meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.

The declarative complementizer *how* in the long diachrony[*]

María José López-Couso, Belén Méndez-Naya
University of Santiago de Compostela

1. Introduction

The history of English provides numerous examples of polyfunctional connectives which, in addition to their primary function in specific subordination subdomains, have also developed complementizer uses, as alternatives to the major declarative complement-clause links *that* and zero. The diachronic study of these minor declarative complementizers has been the focus of our research for well over a decade now, where we have examined the complementizer use of the adverbial subordinators *if* (conditional), *though* (concessive), *as if*, *as though*, and *like* (comparative), *lest* (negative purpose), and *but* (exception and negative condition) (see López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2015 for an updated account). The present chapter is concerned with the analysis of a further minor declarative complementizer, namely *how*, which, in contrast to the aforementioned connectives, does not derive from adverbial subordination but from the domain of complementation itself, more specifically from [+*wh*] complementation.[1]

Our study offers both qualitative and quantitative insights into the declarative use of *how* in the long diachrony of English and into the similarities and differences between [+*wh*] and [–*wh*] *how*. Section 2 sets the scene for the discussion that follows, by reviewing the comments on these two uses of *how* in the literature. Section 3, in turn, provides evidence for the disambiguation between these two functions of *how* and proposes a gradient for *how*-complements. In Section 4 we trace the history of declarative *how* on the basis of

[1] In what follows, [+*wh*] refers to interrogative and exclamative complementation and [–*wh*] to declarative complementation.

data from the Helsinki Corpus and ARCHER 3.1, two multi-genre diachronic corpora covering the whole history of the English language, conveniently complemented with other sources. The analysis pays attention to the predicate-types typically selecting declarative *how*-complements, the distribution of [–*wh*] *how* across text-types, and the syntactic patterns more readily associated with this secondary function of the connective. Finally, Section 5 presents a summary of our major findings.

2. On the functions of the complementizer *how*

One of the main functions of *how* in English is that of introducing finite complement clauses of the [+*wh*]-type, both dependent exclamations and dependent questions (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1050–1056; Biber et al. 1999: 683–693; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 972–993). In the former pattern *how* functions as an intensifier of adjectives or adverbs, as in (1), while in the latter it serves the function of adjunct, as shown in (2).

(1)   She told me **how** very aggressive he had been.

(Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 991)

(2)   As a result, I'm often asked **how** I blend colors or soften the edges of objects. The answer is simple: I blend colors by layering them while reducing my hand pressure and changing the direction of the lines.

(FROWN E23, 126–129)

Dependent questions constitute by far the most frequent type (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 683). They denote that there is a gap in the information about a given state of affairs, which is represented by the *wh*-word (Quirk et al. 1985: 1051). In the case of *how*, the lacking information relates to the way or manner in which a given event comes about (*OALD* s.v. *how* adv.). This implies that, since *how* conveys manner, means, or instrument, it cannot co-occur with tautological adjuncts expressing such notions (cf. Lakoff 1968: 69, note 7), as shown in (2a).

(2a)   *I'm often asked **how** I blend colors […] **by layering them while reducing my hand pressure and changing the direction of the lines**.

Prototypically, dependent questions are complements to verbs of asking, such as *ask*, *inquire*, *query*, *question*, and the like (cf. (2) above), though they may also depend on verbs of saying (e.g., *confess*, *explain*, *tell*, *say*), cognition

(e.g., *know*, *remember*, *understand*), and perception (e.g., *hear*, *perceive*, *see*). Illustrative examples taken from Biber et al. (1999: 687–688) are (3a–c).

(3) a.　We will briefly explain **how** these may be established.
　　b.　I don't know **how** you get any enjoyment out of doing that.
　　c.　Sammler noticed **how** his widow tended to impersonate him.

　　Dependent questions and exclamations are, however, not the only finite complement-types introduced by *how*. In their discussion of declarative complement clauses, Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 954) state that *how* can also be used in very informal style in Present-Day English "without any trace of its usual manner (or degree) meaning," and provide (4) as an illustration:

(4)　　He thought of the time he had ridden to Gavin and told him **how** his cattle were being rustled at the far end of the valley.

　　In such cases, they argue, *how* "is no longer an interrogative word but has been reanalysed as a declarative subordinator, a variant of *that*." The existence of this additional use of *how* and its association with informal registers is also recognized by Huddleston (1971: 178) and some contemporary dictionaries, where *how* is precisely glossed as *that*. Further examples of this declarative *how* are given in (5) and (6).[2]

(5)　　He told us **how** he had a brother in Moscow.

<div align="right">(Huddleston 1971: 178)</div>

(6)　　It's funny **how** (= that) people always remember him; Do you remember **how** (= that) the kids always loved going there?

<div align="right">(*OALD* s.v. *how* adv.)</div>

　　According to Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 954, 978), this declarative *how* is restricted to clauses dependent on predicates which allow both interrogative and declarative complements. Therefore, it cannot appear with verbs which exclude declaratives, such as predicates of asking, as well as with those which do not license [+*wh*] complements, like *believe* (cf. (7)). Note, however, that [+*wh*] *how* complements are possible with *not believe*, as shown in (8).

(7)　　*I believed **how** his cattle were being rustled.

<div align="right">(Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 954)</div>

---

[2] For analyses of [–*wh*] *how* from a generative perspective, see Legate (2010) and Nye (2012).

(8)   Well now, 45 days later, she is out, and you won't believe **how** she spent her first weekend of freedom. She went partying.

<div align="right">(COCA, 2007, SPOK, CNN_Showbiz)</div>

This declarative use of *how*, where the manner or degree component of the connective is (to say the least) attenuated or scarcely plausible, is also attested in earlier stages of English, though it has received very little attention in the extensive literature on complementation. Passing mentions can be found in Mitchell (1985, II: 17), Fanego (1990: 20), and Molencki (1991: 62–63) (see also BTS s.v. *hu* III.2; *MED* s.v. *hou* conjunctive adv. 4; *OED* s.v. *how* adv. and n.[3] III.10). Only Warner (1982: 180–188) discusses the topic in some detail for Middle English on the basis of the evidence from the *Wycliffite Sermons*. In Warner's view (1982: 184–185), however, there is no syntactic evidence to maintain the existence of a truly declarative complementizer *how* distinct from the interrogative *how*, the key argument here being that all predicates taking declarative *how*-clauses in his corpus also occur with unequivocal interrogative complements. Nevertheless, he also admits that clauses introduced by this weakened *how* could be classified as declaratives on semantic grounds.

3. Disambiguating between [+*wh*] *how*- and [–*wh*] *how*-complements

Although the distinction between [+*wh*] and [–*wh*] uses of the complementizer *how* is not always straightforward, there are both semantic and structural criteria which may help in the disambiguation between these two functions of *how*. In what follows we discuss these criteria, with examples retrieved mostly from the HC and ARCHER.

One of the central features of declarative *how* is that it is contextually equivalent to the major declarative link *that*. The similarity between these two complementizers is manifest in examples like (9a–b) (*PPs* 106.20, 30; from Mitchell 1985, II: 17), which show the occurrence of *that* and *how* in parallel structures in the same Old English text, as well as in cases where *how* resumes the complementizer *that* after the insertion of intervening material (cf. (10)) and instances such as (11), in which *that* substitutes for *how* after the predicate *relate* with no apparent change in meaning.

(9) a.   Forðon hi nu andettan ecum drihtne **þæt** he milde wearð manna cynne.
     b.   Hi andettan ealle drihtne **hu** he milde wearð manna cynne.

(10)   Looke **that** in th'estaat of innocence, whan Adam and Eve naked weren in Paradys, and nothyng ne hadden shame of hir nakednesse, **how that** the serpent, that was moost wily of alle othere beestes that God hadde maked, seyde to the womman, "Why comaunded God to yow ye sholde nat eten of every tree in Paradys?"

(HC, M3_IR_RELT_CTPARS, P296.C2)

(11)   And as for poor father, he never forgot his first wife, and was always pleased to relate **how (= that)** he ran away with her all the way to Scotland, armed to the teeth, and ready, for her sake, to fight a dozen highwaymen. Such a resolute spirit he had!

(ARCHER, 1881besa.f6b)

Additional evidence in favour of the distinction between declarative *how* and [+*wh*] *how* has to do with the co-occurrence in the same clause of a tautological indication of manner, means, or instrument, which is not possible in dependent questions introduced by *how* (cf. Section 2). In (12), for instance, the adverbs *falsely* and *treacherously* are compatible with declarative *how*.

(12)   "[…] least of them even to the greatest of them, every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely." And then, in the words of the text, in a more special manner he exemplifies **how** they had dealt **falsely**, how they had behaved **treacherously** to poor souls.

(ARCHER, 17xxwhit.h4b)

From a semantic point of view, a manner reading for *how* in such instances does not seem to be felicitous, as shown in (12a).

(12a)   ? And then, in the words of the text, in a more special manner he exemplifies the **way in which** they had dealt falsely.

Examples such as (8)–(12) clearly contrast with unequivocal instances of [+*wh*] *how*, such as those in (13)–(15) below. In (13), for instance, the predicate of asking *inquire* demands an interrogative reading for the *how*-clause which follows. Similarly, in (14) the word order in the *how*-clause allows only the exclamative interpretation (vs. *how time passes quickly*). Finally, in (15) the declarative reading of the *how*-complement clause is semantically ruled out (cf. (15a)).

(13)   But he inquired **how** she came into that cursed country.

(ARCHER, 1720pitt.f3b)

(14)   It often surprises me **how** quick time passes; and how many hours of each day are wasted by some persons in trifling and useless employments.

(ARCHER, 1827whit.j5b)

(15)   He then left this place, and I know not **how** he has been since.

(ARCHER, 1735thom.m3b)

(15a)   *He then left this place, and I know not **that** he has been since.

It must be acknowledged, however, that some *how*-clauses allow both a declarative and a [+*wh*] reading. Potential ambiguity is particularly evident in examples such as (16) and (17).

(16)   It would have put a Stoic into a fit of laughter to see how the amorous Stertorius behaved under these circumstances, **how** he aped youth and strove to appear as gay and airy as a young man of twenty.

(ARCHER, 1723blac.f3b)

(17)   I remember John Freeman saying to me years ago **how** he envied us – particularly Ted – for our capacity as hosts.

(ARCHER, 1974cast.j8b)

The first *how*-clause in (16), *how the amorous Stertorius behaved under these circumstances*, provides a clear instance of a [+*wh*] *how*, since the verb *behave* requires some manner specification. The second *how*-complement clause, by contrast, can be interpreted either as expressing manner ('to see the way in which he aped youth'; for example, by dressing like a teenager) or as a declarative complement, equivalent to a *that*-clause (*to see that he aped youth and strove to appear as gay and airy as a young man of twenty*). Similarly, (17) allows, in principle, two alternative readings: either as 'saying to me how much he envied us' (i.e., [+*wh*] *how*) or as 'saying to me that he envied us' (i.e., [-*wh*] *how*). Even though the declarative reading of the complement cannot be completely discarded, the fact that *envy* is a gradable verb seems to tip the balance towards the [+*wh*] interpretation.

The examples discussed in this section point at the existence of a gradient between unambiguous [+*wh*]-complements introduced by *how* and clear cases of the declarative use of *how*. A similar view is maintained by Warner (1982: 178), who states that "the distinctions between these types [declarative *how*-clauses] and interrogatives are often neutralized, and it may be that we have to do not with clause types which are always distinguishable but with clines between such clauses and interrogatives." In the light of the presented evidence, we propose the following gradient for *how*-complements:

[+*wh*] *how* ← •————————•————————•————————• → declarative *how*
                    (i)   (ii)   (iii)   (iv)

     exx. (13)–(14)   ex. (15)   ex. (17)   exx. (9b)–(12)

Figure 1. Gradience in *how*-complements

(i)   The left end-point on the scale is occupied by those *how*-clauses which can be interpreted only as [+*wh*]-complements. Prototypical instances of this kind show a verb of asking in the matrix, as *inquire* in (13) above, or the combination *how* + adjective/adverb in the complement clause, as in (14).

(ii)   Instances like those in (15) are placed towards the [+*wh*] end of the scale. In such cases, the *how*-clause depends on a verb other than one of asking but is, nevertheless, likely to be interpreted in terms of manner, means, or instrument, and does not allow the replacement of *how* by the major declarative complementizer *that*.

(iii) In turn, ambiguous or neutralized examples, such as the second *how*-clause in example (16) or that in (17), which are analyzable as either [+*wh*] or [–*wh*], represent an intermediate point along the gradient of complement clauses introduced by *how*.

(iv) Finally, at the [–*wh*] end of the scale we recognize examples such as (9b)–(12), in which *how* is an equivalent (or near-equivalent) to the default declarative complementizer *that*, and where an interpretation in terms of manner, means, or instrument is not felicitous.

4. Tracing the history of declarative *how*: Evidence from the Helsinki Corpus (HC) and ARCHER

4.1 General data

In order to trace the history of the declarative complementizer *how*, data have been drawn from the Helsinki Corpus (HC) and the British English sections of ARCHER 3.1,[3] totalling 2,646,168 words in all. Finite complement clauses introduced by *how* in the two corpora amounted to 1,853. These examples were classified according to the cline in Section 3 as either [+*wh*] *how*-clauses (types (i) and (ii)) or [–*wh*] *how*-clauses (type (iv)). As regards type (iii) on the gradient, for the purpose of classification we have opted for the most salient interpretation of each individual example. Table 1 shows the chronological distribution of the corpus instances. The figures in brackets correspond to the variant *how that* (60 exx.).

---

[3] We have disregarded the first sub-period in ARCHER 3.1 (1650–1699) in order to avoid overlaps with the HC material.

Table 1. Raw figures and normalized frequencies per 100,000 words for *how*-complement clauses in the HC and ARCHER 3.1

Period	[+*wh*] *how*-clauses		[−*wh*] *how*-clauses		Total
	raw No.	NF	raw No.	NF	
O1 (–850)	–	–	1	45.6	1
O2 (850–950)	68	73.8	17	18.4	85
O3 (950–1050)	93	36.9	103	40.9	196
O4 (1050–1150)	53	78.6	37	59.9	90
M1 (1150–1250)	73	64.5	56	49.5	129
M2 (1250–1350)	40	41.03	31 (2)	31.8	71
M3 (1350–1420)	85 (5)	47.2	84 (17)	44.5	169
M4 (1420–1500)	131 (8)	61.2	95 (12)	44.4	226
E1 (1500–1570)	68 (1)	35.7	55 (12)	28.9	123
E2 (1570–1640)	77	40.5	49 (1)	25.8	126
E3 (1640–1710)	87	50.8	26 (1)	15.2	113
L1 (1700–1749)	90	50.7	14	7.8	104
L2 (1750–1799)	53	29.7	10	5.6	63
L3 (1800–1849)	58	32.1	17	9.4	75
L4 (1850–1899)	70	38.6	21	11.6	91
P1 (1900–1949)	77	43.5	18	10.1	95
P2 (1950–1999)	78	43.7	18 (1)	19.1	96
Total	1,201 (14)	111.9	652 (46)	60.7	1,853

As shown in the table, the declarative use of *how* is a secondary function of the connective as compared with its use as a [+*wh*] complementizer (35.2% vs. 64.8% of the total instances). Though recorded in all the sub-periods under analysis, [−*wh*] *how* is particularly common in Old and Middle English and experiences a marked drop after 1500. The lowest frequencies of declarative *how* in the data correspond to the Late Modern English period. The variant form *how that*, shown in (10) above, is mostly restricted in the corpora to the period ranging from 1350 to 1570. As was the case in Warner's Late Middle English data (1982: 186–188), *how that* is clearly associated in our material with the declarative function (76.7% of the total instances of *how that*).

4.2 Predicates selecting declarative *how*-complements

Our research has shown that the selection of minor declarative comple-mentizers originating in the adverbial domain is sensitive to the type of

complement-taking predicate found in the matrix (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2015). Declarative *if* and *though* are strongly associated with commentative predicates (e.g., *be sorry*, *be no wonder*); *as if*, *as though*, and *like* typically occur after verbs of seeming and appearing; *lest* is confined to clauses dependent on predicates of fearing, while *but* normally co-occurs with inherently negative predicates like *be impossible*. It seems worth exploring therefore whether predicate-type also proves relevant to the selection of declarative *how*. The complement-taking predicates in our data were classified according to the taxonomy proposed by Noonan (1985), with the addition of a further category, namely demonstration predicates (e.g., *show*) (cf. Rudanko 1989: 77). The results are displayed in Figure 2a–b for [+*wh*] *how* and [–*wh*] *how*, respectively.[4]
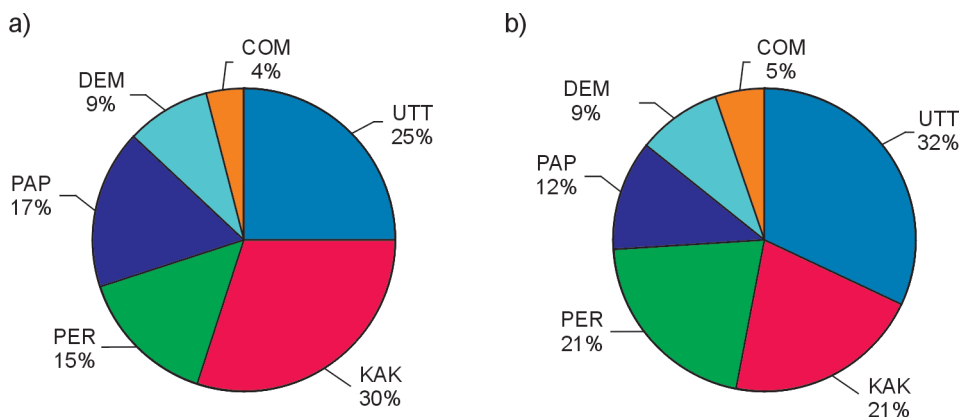
Figure 2. Distribution of [+*wh*] and [–*wh*] *how* complements according to predicate-type
a – [+*wh*] *how*-complements; **b** – [–*wh*] *how*-complements.
UTT = Utterance predicates; KAK = Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge; PER = Perception predicates; PAP = Propositional attitude predicates; DEM = Demonstration predicates; COM = Commentative predicates. OTHER is a miscellaneous category comprising those predicate-types for which we have obtained very low figures: achievement (e.g., *swincan* 'strive'), pretence (e.g., *feign*), occurrence (e.g., *appear*), desiderative (e.g., *delit*), and manipulative (e.g., *ordain*).

Figure 2a–b shows that both [+*wh*] *how* and [–*wh*] *how* are found with the same wide range of predicates. In this respect, declarative *how* clearly differs from minor declarative complementizers stemming from the adverbial domain, such as *like*, *lest*, or *though*, in that its occurrence is not restricted in terms of predicate-types. This is no doubt related to the origin of declarative *how*, recruited from the domain of complementation itself.

---

[4] The figures do not include instances of clauses without an overt matrix, appositive clauses, and clauses in predicative complement function.

Though sharing the same array of predicates, [+*wh*] *how* and [–*wh*] *how* differ considerably as to their preferred predicate-types. The most frequent class with the [+*wh*] complementizer is that of 'Knowledge and acquisition of knowledge' (30%), especially when negated (e.g., *not know*). This is to be expected, since [+*wh*] clauses indicate the existence of a gap in knowledge (cf. Section 2). For declarative *how*, by contrast, utterance predicates, that is, those describing a transfer of information (Noonan 1985: 110), and perception predicates (Noonan 1985: 129–130) account for over half of the examples (32% and 21%, respectively). This is in line with the statement found in the *OED*, according to which the "weakened" (or declarative) meaning of *how* occurs in indirect statements "after verbs of saying, perceiving, and the like." It should be noted, however, that declarative *how* is virtually non-existent with predicate-types which commonly take complement clauses introduced by *that* but do not normally appear with [+*wh*]-complements, such as manipulative predicates (e.g., *order*, *urge*, etc.).

Here follows the complete list of the individual predicates recorded in the corpora with declarative *how*-complements, in order of decreasing frequency, together with examples illustrating each of the different predicate-types.

(i)   Utterance predicates (UTT) (175 exx.): *advertise*, *allege*, *areccan* (2), *atell* (2), *awritan* (2), *blame*, *bruit*, *certificate* (2), *complain* (3), *confess* (5), *counsel*, *cweþan* (2), *cyþan* (8), *declare*, *describe* (2), *fyrnsægen*, *gefrignan*, *gereccan*, *gesecgan*, *gospel*, *inform*, *jest*, *lie* (n.), *mention*, *message*, *moan*, *narrate*, *parliament*, *prophecy*, *racu*, *reccan*, *recite* (2), *recount* (3), *rede* (2), *rehearse* (2), *relate* (2), *report* (2), *sang*, *say* (10), *schrift of mouth*, *secgan* (21), *sigh*, *sing*, *soth words*, *soþgied wrecan*, *speak* (3), *spell* (n.), *spellen*, *sprecan*, *story* (2), *tale* (2), *talk* (n.) (2), *tell* (44), *tidings* (3), *willspelle*, *word*(*s*) (5), *writan* (2), *write* (7), *writing*.

(18)   And he **tellyd** to Tytus of Crystus wertus preychyng and his holly werkys and grete meracullys, and þat he schowyd hymeselfe verry God and man, and **how** he send his dessypullys to preche and gawe heme power to heylle all syknys

(HC, M4_NI_ROM_SJERUS, 75)

(ii)   Perception predicates (PER) (117 exx.): *be witness*, *beheoldan* (2), *behold* (9), *experience* (2), *feel* (3), *foresee*, *gehieran* (2), *geseon* (9), *gesyne beon* (2), *hear* (4), *imagine* (4), *listen*, *lo*, *look*, *notice* (v.) (3), *not notice*, *observe*, *perceive* (4), *remark* (2) (cf. *OED* s.v. *remark* v1. 1: 'observe, take notice of, perceive'), *see* (52), *not see* (7), *seon*, *sight*, *take notice*, *witness* (2).

(19)   Ther maist thow **beholde** and **se hou** dyuerse vertues swetely semblem hem
         togidir:

                                                                    (HC, QM4_IR_RULE_AELR4)

(iii)   Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge (KAK) (112 exx.):
         acquaint, *assay*, *cunnan* (3), *discover*, *doubt* (v.) (2), *find*, *not forget*,
         gehieran (8), *gemunan* (6), *gemyndig* (4), *gemyndigian*, *hear* (20), *heark*
         (5), *know* (15), *not know* (2), *knowledge*, *knowing*, *lær*, *learn*, *rædan*, *read*
         (2), *recall*, *recollect*, *remember* (7), *not remember*, *understand* (12), *wisen*,
         not wisen, *witen* (6), *ne witen* (4).

     Example (20) shows the predicate *hear*, used (as in most cases in the cor-
pora) "in a sense other than of immediate perception" (Noonan 1985: 118) to
indicate acquisition of knowledge.

(20)   ye have **herde** much of Joseph of Aramathy; **how** he was sent by Jesu Cryst
         into thys londe for to teche and preche the holy Crysten faythe, and therefor
         he suffird many persecucions the whych the enemyes of Cryst ded unto hym.

                                                                    (HC, M4_NI_ROM_MALORY, 660)

(iv)   Propositional attitude predicates (PAP) (68 exx.): *appear* (2), *await*,
         awonder (2), *not believe*, *besceawian*, *beware* (2), *blissian*, *not conceive*
         (2), *conclusions*, *consider* (12), *cuman on gemynd* (3), *not doubt*, *fonden*,
         geliefan, *geondþencan*, *geþencan* (2), *gieman*, *heed* (n.) (7), *ʒeme hiwan*,
         lætan on gemynd, *look* (v.) (3), *muse*, *revolve* (cf. *OED* s.v. *revolve* v. II.8a:
         'consider, think over, ponder or meditate upon'), *rue*, *sensible*, *think* (16),
         ween.

(21)   **þenkyþe how** a man ys borne febull, and seke, and naked, and pore; and **how**
         he goþe yche day a journay toward his deth, woll he, nyll he;

                                                                    (HC, M3/4_IR_SERM_MIRK, 84)

     As mentioned in Section 2, declarative *how* cannot occur with predicates
which do not licence [+*wh*] complements, such as *believe* (cf. (7) above). This
restriction, however, does not apply when *believe* is negated, which explains
the occurrence of declarative *how* in our corpus instances (22) and (23), with
not believe and *geliefan* in a negative context ('believe little'), respectively.

(22)   But the Iewes dyd **not beleve** of the felowe, **how that** he was blynde and
         receaved his syght.

                                                                    (HC, E1_XX_BIBLE_TYNDNEW, PIX,1)

(23)   Forþon him **gelyfeð lyt** […] **hu** ic werig oft in brimlade bidan sceolde.

(HC, OX/3_XX_XX_SEAF, 144)

(v)   Demonstration predicates (DEM) (49 exx.): *betacnian*, *demonstrate* (2), *example*, *exemplify* (2), *geswutelian* (4), *illustrate*, *indicate* (2), *læran*, *sceawian* (3), *show* (19), *swutelian* (2), *swutelung*, *teach* (10).

(24)   the widening frontiers of our missionary kingdom **have demonstrated** again and again **how** the Church can make a bridal of the earth and sky, linking the lowliest needs to the loftiest truths.

(ARCHER, 19xxcadm.h8)

(vi)   Commentative predicates (COM) (28 exx.): *be astonishing*, (*be*) *extraordinary* (2), (*be*) *funny* (2), *be gret meruayle*, *be obvious*, *be odd*, (*be*) (*a*) *wonder* (2), *be wonderful*, *ben ferlik*, *beon neod*, *beon undyrne*, *ne beon wundor*, *cautious*, *wratlic þincan*, *wafian*, *wonder* (v.) (3), *wonder* (n.), *wundor* (n.), *wundrian* (3), *ne wundrian* (2).

(25)   And, indeed, he looked so pale and thin, that it **was** rather **wonderful how** it was possible for him to bear being out of his Bed, than that Rest should be necessary for him.

(ARCHER, 1743fiel.f3b)

4.3 (Con)textual factors favouring the use of declarative *how*

As stated in Section 2, in Present-Day English the declarative use of *how* seems to be more frequent in "very informal style" (cf. Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 954; cf. also Huddleston 1971: 178). In this section we investigate whether the close association of declarative *how*-complements with informality in the contemporary language also holds for earlier stages of English by examining the distribution of declarative *how* across text-types.

Table 2 provides the figures for ARCHER according to the distinction between speech-based (fictional conversation, drama, and sermons-homilies) and written registers (journal-diaries, letters, fiction, news, medicine, and science).

Table 2. Declarative *how*-complements in the different register categories in ARCHER 3.1 (raw numbers and normalized frequencies per 100,000 words)[5]

Speech-based registers	Raw No.	NF	Written registers	Raw No.	NF
Fictional conversation	16	15.05	Journal-Diaries	11	8.33
Drama	21	14.05	Letters	1	1.41
Sermons-Homilies	21	32.54	Fiction prose	24	14.85
			Medicine	3	2.37
			Science	1	0.78
Total	58	18.11	Total	40	6.48

The data clearly indicate that the dichotomy speech-based vs. written is relevant to the selection of declarative *how* in the modern period: the declarative use of *how* is almost three times more frequent in speech-based registers than in written categories (18.11 vs. 6.48). As regards speech-based registers, the ARCHER data show that declarative *how* occurs in both formal (Sermons-Homilies) and informal (Fictional conversation and Drama) texts, though it is far more common in the former category. As to the written registers, although declarative *how* is not completely discarded from the most formal text-types (Medicine and Science), most of the recorded examples occur in the less formal categories (Fiction prose and Journal-Diaries), especially in narrative contexts. Therefore, the close relation between declarative *how* and informality reported for Present-Day English in the grammars (cf. Section 2) holds only partially for our Modern English data. Thus, while degree of formality accounts for the low incidence of [–*wh*] *how* in Medicine or Science, it does not explain the much higher frequency it shows in Sermons-Homilies, as compared to the remaining speech-based text-types. A close look at examples (26)–(28) suggests that additional factors may be relevant here. The *how*-clauses in these examples are found in contexts involving a narration or a description, which ties in well with the occurrence of this declarative complementizer in text-types such as Fiction prose, Journal-Diaries, and Sermons-Homilies.

(26)   Here she recounted what she had been, dating her original from the begging trade, **how** she came to Liberius's gate, **how** she was taken in, and **how** she was advanced by degrees until she came to that post in which she now was. If it had not been Sylvia's pleasure to relate this account, Philaretus would much rather she had forborne it.

(ARCHER, 1723blac.f3b)

(27)   It is the first time in twelve years that poor Lennox has been known to miss his siesta, but he was kept awake in his anxiety to hear **how** the Contessa, who posed as a ghost, got back to her room, sans chemise de nuit, after her exposure.

(ARCHER, 1923bere.j8)

---

[5] The category News is not included here, since it yielded no instances of declarative *how*.

(28)   We feel the chill or the fury of the blast; and, as it sweeps across the ocean, or
        the forest, or the field of corn, we see **how** the blades rise and fall in graceful
        curves, and the trees bend, and the waters sink and swell into waves which are
        the measure of its strength.

                                                                    (ARCHER, 18xxlidd.h6)

The narrative or descriptive character of declarative *how* is further corrobo-
rated by the data from the HC. The analysis of [–*wh*] *how*-clauses depending on
utterance predicates (the most common predicate-type in the corpus) suggests
that declarative *how* is not merely in free variation with the major comple-
mentizer *that*, but rather in potential contrast with it. As in Warner's *Wycliffite
Sermons* (1982: 180–185), the selection of declarative *how* over *that* in the HC
seems to be determined by the narrative or expository nature of the complement
clause, which typically functions as (i) a summary, giving the gist of the story,
anticipating the content of what is to follow or recapitulating what has already
been said; or (ii) a further specification of the content of a preceding noun
phrase or prepositional phrase. By contrast, the complementizer *that* is normally
associated with verbatim renderings. Compare in this connection the two finite
complement clauses in example (29), which depend on the utterance predicates
secgan and *cyþan*, respectively. While the clause introduced by *þæt* seems to
correspond to the verbatim words "ic sece þin griðe," the *hu*-clause does not
provide the exact wording of what has been said, but rather a summary report
of the original words. Note the presence of hear-say *sceolde* in the *hu*-clause.

(29)   & ferde sona ær dæg to þone abbot Turolde & **sægde** him **þæt** he sohte his
        griðe. & **cydde** him **hu** þa utlages sceolden cumen to Burh.

                                                          (HC, O4_NN_HIST_CHRONE2, 205)

The close association of declarative *how* with narration would explain
why clauses introduced by this complementizer frequently depend on utter-
ance predicates which express not only a transfer of information, but rather
a narration, such as *describe*, *narrate*, *recount*, and *relate*, or other predicate-
types which may also suggest a narration, such as KAK *hear* (cf. Section
4.2). Likewise, it may also account for the almost complete absence of de-
clarative *how* in Early English with a high-frequency utterance predicate like
quethe (Old English *cweþan*), which apparently lacked the sense 'narrate' (cf.
OED s.v. *queath* v.).[6] It is perhaps this narrative flavour of declarative *how*

---

[6] According to *BT*, Old English *cweþan* glosses Latin *dicere*, *loqui*, *vocare*, while *secgan*,
which does occur with declarative *how*-complements, glosses Latin *narrare* (cf. *BT* s.vv. *cweþan*
v.; *secgan* v.). We have traced only two examples of *quethen* taking a declarative *how*-clause:
(i) & cweþan & geþencan **hu** Drihten cwæð, Eadige beoþ þa þe nu wepað, forþon þe hi beoþ
     eft afrefrede. (HC, QO2/3_IR_HOM_BLICK2);
(ii) Ic er cwet **hu** hure drihten rad to ierusalem. (Lamb Hom.7; MED s.v. *quethen* v. 2.a).

that Gorrell had in mind when he stated that "the two constructions are not used indiscriminately: *hu* has a definite stylistic value; it is the concrete, vivid introduction as opposed to the colorless *þæt*" (1895: 449, quoted in Mitchell 1985, II: 17).

The long extract in (30), a 19th-century example, illustrates the different nuances of declarative *how* in contrast to *that*. Note that while *that*-clauses seem to introduce the exact words of the direct speech (e.g., *At last the same man told me that he shouldn't wonder if I found her at the grave* > 'I wouldn't wonder if you find her at the grave'), *how*-clauses give the gist of the narrative (e.g., *all about the matter*; *many other things*):

(30)   At last the same man told me **that** he shouldn't wonder if I found her at the grave; so I went back to the grave, and sure enough there I found the child Leonora, seated on the ground above the body, crying and taking on; so I spoke kindly to her, and said, 'How came all this, Leonora? tell me all about it.' It was a long time before I could get any answer; at last she opened her mouth and spoke, and these were the words she said, 'It was all along of your Pal;' and then she told me <u>all about the matter</u> – **how** Mrs. Hearne could not abide you, which I knew before; and **that** she had sworn your destruction, which I did not know before. And then she told me **how** she found you living in the wood by yourself, and **how** you were enticed to eat a poisoned cake; and she told me <u>many other things</u> that you wot of, and she told me what perhaps you don't wot, namely, **that** finding you had been removed, she, the child, had tracked you a long way, and found you at last well and hearty, and no ways affected by the poison, and heard you, as she stood concealed, disputing about religion with a Welsh Methody. Well, brother, she told me all this; and, moreover, **that** when Mrs. Hearne heard of it, she said **that** a dream of hers had come to pass. I don't know what it was, but something about herself, a tinker, and a dean; and then she added, **that** it was all up with her, and **that** she must take a long journey. Well, brother, that same night Leonora, waking from her sleep in the tent where Mrs. Hearne and she were wont to sleep, missed her bebee, and, becoming alarmed, went in search of her, and at last found her hanging from a branch; and when the child had got so far, she took on violently, and I could not get another word from her; so I left her, and here I am.

         (NCF, George Henry Borrow, *Lavengro; the Scholar – the Gypsy – the Priest*, 1851: 160–170)

Despite the tendency for declarative *how* to appear in narratives and summaries, some instances also show an interesting mixture of direct and indirect speech. One of these is (31).

(31)   Supporting his chin upon the crook of a cane, he was listening, as if enthralled to a large florid man, who, the centre of a small group, <u>was relating</u> in a high-

pitched, musical voice, **how** "Poor dear Chalipin one day had asked for Kvass and was given Bass. And that reminds me," the speaker said […].

<div align="right">(ARCHER, 1917firb.f7b)</div>

The strong narrative character of declarative *how* is also revealed by its common association with specific syntactic patterns, particularly in the early stages of the language. One of these contexts involves *how*-clauses without an expressed matrix. In the HC data this pattern is typically found in chapter headings and introductions of homilies and sermons in which the *how*-clause serves "to announce the main burden of what is to follow" (Warner 1982: 182).[7] In such cases, an utterance or demonstration predicate is implied. Consider in this connection example (32), where the *how*-clause anticipates the content of the chapter which is about to start.

(32)   **How** Sir Andrew of Herkela was taken, and put vnto þe deþ, þat was Erl of Cardoile.

<div align="right">(CAPITULO CC=MO=.) (HC, M3_NN_HIST_BRUT, 226)</div>

Structures of this kind are very likely to have been influenced by Latin. This becomes evident in examples like (33), in which Old English *hu* renders Latin *quomodo* in a chapter heading.

(33)   (**quomodo** intrauit in domum dei et panes propossitionis comedit quos non licebat ei comedere neque his qui cum eo erant nisi solis sacerdotibus\\)
hu he eode in hus gode & hlaf forðsetennisse et þa þe ne wæs gelæfed vel ne byrede him to etanne ne þæm þe mid him wæron nymþe anum sacerdum.

<div align="right">(HC, O3_XX_NEWT_LIND, 63)</div>

Another typical context in which [–*wh*] *how* occurs involves the coordination of a *how*-clause in object function with a noun phrase or with a prepositional phrase. In the former pattern, the *how*-clause generally specifies the referent of the noun phrase. An illustration is (34), where the *how*-clause is coordinated with the noun phrase *hare rarunge* 'their lamentations.' Coordination with a prepositional phrase – a *be*-phrase in Old English and an *of*-phrase in later stages – is illustrated in (35). In such cases the prepositional phrase frequently anticipates the content of the *how*-clause.

---

[7] The *MED* (s.v. *hou* conjunctive adv. 4) refers to this use of *how* in headings with a main clause unexpressed as one of the main syntactic patterns in which declarative *how* usually occurs, in addition to subject clauses, object clauses, and appositive structures.

(34)   & heren <u>hare rarunge</u>. & **hu** ha wið hokeres edwiteð & up-breideð euchan his sunnen.

(HC, M1_IR_HOM_SWARD, 173)

(35)   […] excusyng hir to his confessowr & to oþer frendys, tellyng hem <u>of her sodeyn & wondirful partyng</u> & **how** it was not hys knowyng þat þei xulde a partyd so sodeynly a-sundyr.

(HC, M4_IR_RELT_KEMPE, PI,228)

Declarative *how* is also frequently attested in structures of the type Noun + Clause,[8] where the clause stands in apposition to the noun phrase, as in (36).

(36)   So hit befelle on a tyme whan kynge Arthure was at London, ther com a knyght and tolde the kynge <u>tydyngis</u> **how** the kynge Royns of Northe Walis had rered a grete numbir of peple and were entred in the londe and brente and slew the kyngis trew lyege people.

(HC, M4_NI_ROM_MALORY, 45)

Finally, declarative *how*-clauses can also occur in CLAN structures (i.e., Clause-and-Nominal; cf. Warner 1982: 91–93). In such constructions a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase (introduced by *be*, *ymbe*, or *of*) and a *how*-clause are subcategorized for by the matrix predicate, while being at the same time in apposition to each other. The *how*-clause invariably contains a pronoun referring back to the noun phrase (37) or prepositional phrase (38), or at least to part of it.

(37)   He went his waye and wasshed, and cam agayne seinge. The neghboures and they that had sene <u>him</u> before **how that** <u>he</u> was a begger, sayde: is not this he that sate and begged?

(HC, E1_XX_BIBLE_TYNDNEW, PIX,1)

(38)   = (22) But the Iewes dyd not beleve <u>of the felowe</u>, **how that** <u>he</u> was blynde and received his syght.

(HC, E1_XX_BIBLE_TYNDNEW, PIX,1)

---

[8] We have classified examples of *send word*, *make declaration*, *take advice*, *tell tidings*, *yield account*, *have knowledge*, *take notice*, *take counsel*, *take heed*, and *take keep* as Noun + Clause, though we acknowledge that some of them also allow an interpretation in terms of complex predicates (cf. Brinton and Akimoto 1999).

5. Conclusions

This chapter has examined the use of *how* as a declarative complementizer in the long diachrony of English. The data from the HC and ARCHER have shown that declarative *how* has been on record from Old English to the present day, though it shows a continuous decrease in frequency from its heyday in the Old and Middle English periods to the end of Late Modern English. Nevertheless, the declarative use of *how* represents a secondary function of the connective within the complementation domain, its primary use being that of a [+*wh*] complementizer (Section 4.1).

Given that the distinction between [+*wh*] and [–*wh*] *how* is not always straightforward, we have proposed a gradient between unambiguous instances of [+*wh*] *how* and clear cases of [–*wh*] *how*, where it comes close to the major finite declarative complementizer *that*, with intermediate points on the scale. This continuum was established on the basis of criteria such as type of matrix predicate, co-occurrence with manner, means, or instrument specification, and interchangeability with the complementizer *that* (Section 3).

Although [+*wh*] and [–*wh*] *how*-complements occur after the same wide range of predicates, they differ notably as regards their favourite predicate-types: while KAK predicates prevail with [+*wh*] *how*, declarative *how* is most frequently selected after utterance and perception predicates (Section 4.2).

In its declarative use, *how* is most closely associated with speech-based text-types than with written registers. In the latter, declarative *how*-examples concentrate at the informal end of the formal-informal continuum. This ties in well with Huddleston's (1971) and Huddleston et al.'s (2002) characterization of declarative *how* as a feature of the informal language in contemporary English. Perhaps even more relevant than degree of formality is the intimate connection of declarative *how* with a narrative style. This explains the frequent co-occurrence of [–*wh*] *how* and utterance predicates (especially those suggesting the idea of narration, rather than mere transfer of information), as well as the use of *how*-complements to summarize stories rather than to provide verbatim renderings. The narrative or expository nature of declarative *how*-complements is also reflected in their association with particular syntactic patterns, such as unintroduced clauses in chapter headings, Noun + Clause structures, and CLAN constructions (Section 4.3).

The evidence presented in this chapter confirms the versatility of English connectives across time and their ability to convey subtle nuances of meaning in specific contexts.

Corpora

ARCHER 3.1 = A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers, version 3.1. 1990–1993/2002/2007/2010/2013/2016. Originally compiled under the supervision of Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan at Northern Arizona University and University of Southern California; modified and expanded by subsequent members of a consortium of universities. Current member universities are Bamberg, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Helsinki, Lancaster, Leicester, Manchester, Michigan, Northern Arizona, Santiago de Compostela, Southern California, Trier, Uppsala, Zurich. Examples of usage taken from ARCHER were obtained under the terms of the ARCHER User Agreement.

COCA = Davies, Mark. 2008–. The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 520 million words, 1990–present. Available at: http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/.

FROWN = The Freiburg-Brown Corpus (original version). 1999. Compiled by Christian Mair, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg.

HC = The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. 1991. Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki. Compiled by Matti Rissanen (Project leader), Merja Kytö (Project secretary); Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Matti Kilpiö (Old English); Saara Nevanlinna, Irma Taavitsainen (Middle English); Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (Early Modern English).

NCF = *Nineteenth-Century Fiction.* 1999–2000. Electronic Book Technologies Inc./ Chadwyck-Healey. Cambridge.

References

Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad & Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Longman: London.

Brinton, Laurel J. & Minoji Akimoto. (eds.). 1999. *Collocational and idiomatic aspects of composite predicates in the history of English*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam and Philadelphia.

BT = Bosworth, Joseph. 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

BTS = Toller, T. Northcote. 1921. *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Supplement*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Fanego, Teresa. 1990. Finite complement clauses in Shakespeare's English. I and II. *Studia Neophilologica* 62: 3–21, 129–149.

Gorrell, J. Hendren. 1895. Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon. *PMLA* 10: 342–485.

Huddleston, Rodney. 1971. *The sentence in written English: A syntactic study based on an analysis of scientific texts*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum et al. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Lakoff, Robin. 1968. *Abstract syntax and Latin complementation*. The MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.

Legate, Julie Anne. 2010. On how *how* is used instead of *that*. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 121–134. doi: 10.1007/s11049-010-9088-y.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2015. Secondary grammaticalization in clause combining: From adverbial subordination to complementation in English. *Language Sciences* 47: 188–198. doi: 10.1016/j.langsci.2014.07.003.

MED = Kurath, Hans, Sherman M. Kuhn & Robert E. Lewis (eds.). 1952–2001. *Middle English dictionary*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor. Available at: http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/med/.

Mitchell, Bruce. *Old English syntax*. 1985. 2 vols. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Molencki, Rafał 1991. *Complementation in Old English*. Uniwersytet Śląski: Katowice.

Noonan, Michael. 1985. Complementation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*. Vol. 2. 42–140. 3 vols. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Nye, Rachel. 2012. The categorial status of Dutch and English declarative *hoe-/how*-complement clauses. In Marije van Hattum, Jonathan Morris & Dorothea Hoffman (eds.), *Salford Working Papers in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics* 2: 28–47.

OALD = Oxford advanced learner's dictionary. Oxford University Press: Oxford. Available at: http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/.

OED = Oxford English dictionary online. Oxford University Press: Oxford. Available at: http://www.oed.com.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Longman: London.

Rudanko, Juhani. 1989. *Complementation and case grammar*. State University of New York Press: Albany.

Warner, Anthony. 1982. *Complementation and the methodology of historical syntax*. Croom Helm: London and Canberra.

On the evolution of adverbial subordinators expressing negative purpose in English: The case of *weald*

Andrzej M. Łęcki

Pedagogical University of Cracow

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to investigate the history of OE *weald* used in the grammatical function of a conjunction. The evolution of this subordinating conjunction is investigated primarily with regard to the four interrelated mechanisms of grammaticalisation advanced by Heine (2003) [2005] and Heine and Kuteva (2002). The language evidence for this study is drawn for the most part from the electronic corpora of the English language such as the *Dictionary of Old English* corpus (*DOEC*), the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (CMEPV) and the Helsinki Corpus (HC). The references to the language illustrations cited herein follow the conventions of the corpora's compilers. All the translations of the presented material are the author's unless marked otherwise.

2. Conjunctive *weald* in medieval English

The *OED* entry (s.v. †wald, *conj. Obs. rare.*) provides three examples of conjunctive *wald* defined in the following way: "[f]ollowed by or with ellipsis of *if*: In case that. (In OE chiefly with *þeah* or indef. pronoun)." Two of these examples come from *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* written around 1000 (1–2), and one (3) from the first half of the 14th century from *The poems of William of Shoreham*.

(1)   *Þa wæs sum ðegen, Annanias geháten, and his wíf Saphíra: hí   cwædon*
       then was a   thane Ananias   called   and his wife Sapphira they said

       him   betweonan, þæt hí   woldon bugan to ðæra apostola geferrædene.
       them between   that they would turn   to of-the-apostles fellowship

       Namon ða   to ræde,   þæt him wærlicor wære, þæt hí   sumne dæl
       took   then to counsel that them safer   were that they a   part

       heora   landes wurðes æthæfdon, **weald <hu/hwæt>** *him   getimode.*
       of-their land   worth retain   in-case   them befell

       Com ða   se ðegen mid feo   to ðam apostolum.
       came then the thane with money to the   apostles

       'Then there was a thane called Ananias and his wife Sapphira. They said
       between themselves that would turn to the fellowship of the apostles. They
       then decided that it would be safer for them to retain a portion of the worth
       of their land, in case anything happened to them. The thane then came with
       the money to the apostles.'

                                        ÆCHom I, 22 357.90 (cited also by *B&T*)

(2)   *Se deofol andwyrde; Nis   nu   his tima to behreowsienne. on ðyssere*
       the devil answered not-is now his time to repent   in this

       stowe; Se engel andwyrde; Nyte   ge ða micclan deopnysse godes
       place the angel answered not-know you the great deepness of-god

       gerynu. **weald þeah** *him beo alyfed   gyt behreowsung; Þa cwæð*
       misteries perhaps yet   him be   permitted yet repentance   then said

       sum oðer deofol; Hit is awriten. Lufa ðinne nextan.   Swa swa ðe sylfne;
       an-other devil   it is written love your neighbour so   as your-self

       'The devil answered, "It is not now his time to repent, in this place." The angel
       answered, "Don't you know the great deepness of God's mysteries? However
       repentance may yet be allowed him." Then another devil said, "It is written.
       Love your neighbour as yourself." '

                                                          ÆCHom II, 20 194.132

(3)   *Þaʒ man on tyme ihealde be**. [þaʒ, MS. ʒaʒ.]   925
       To schryue hym a ʒere,
       To schryue hym wanne he seneʒed heþ,
       Wel syker þyng hyt were,*. [syker, read sykerer?]   928
       And mete,
       Wald ʒef *he sodeynlyche deiþ,**. [nota [later]]
       And wald he hyt for-ʒete.

       'Although man can be constrained to confess once a year, to confess when he
       has sinned, it would be a lot safer and useful thing in case he suddenly dies
       and he would forget it.'

                                        c1350(a1333) Shoreham Poems (Add 17376) 33/930–31

Examples (1) and (3) show that *weald* could function as a conjunction in medieval English whose meaning can be rendered 'in case.' Example (2) however, cannot be understood as a conjunction introducing an apprehension causing situation but rather it has an adverbial meaning signalling relative uncertainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of the proposition. Lichtenberk (1995) refers to items with such a function as "epistemic downtoners." This use of *weald* is recognised by the *Bosworth and Toller dictionary* (*B&T*) (*s.v. weald*; adv. conj.) where these two uses are acknowledged: "I. in independent clauses, with *þeáh*, perhaps, may be." The same observation is made by Mitchell (1985: 483), who notes that "[w]*eald þeah* occasionally appears in the prose as an adverb 'perhaps, may be.'" This meaning of *weald* is illustrated in *B&T* with examples (2), (4), and (5):

(4) *oft   of   ðinnum renscurum   flewð seo eorðe. Þis godspel ðincð*
     often from thin   showers of rain covers the earth this gospel   seems

   *dysegum mannum sellic.   ac we hit secgað swa ðeah. **weald ðeah***
   to-foolish men   remarkable but we it   say   however perhaps yet

   hit sumum   men licige;
   it some   men please

   'The earth is often flooded with thin showers of rain. This gospel will seem marvelous to foolish men, but nevertheless we say it, since it may please some men.'

<div align="right">ÆCHom II, 36.1 271.101</div>

(5) *Þa cwædon sume þe   ðar   amang þam folce stodon þe   wæron*
     then said   some who there among the people stood who where

   wytegena bearn, ac wen   ys þæt he sig on gaste up ahafen &
   prophets sons but supposition is that he be in spirit up taken   and

   on uppan Ysrahela muntum geset. Ac uton us weras geceosan &   þa
   in upon Israel's mountains set but let us men   choose   and the

   *muntas   eond faran **weald   þeah** we hyne gemetan magon.*
   mountains about go   perhaps yet   we him   find   could

   'Then some of those who stood there among the people, who were sons of the prophets, said: "But perhaps he is taken up in spirit and set upon the mountains of Israel. So let us choose men and go about the mountains; perhaps we can find him."'

   'Then some of those who stood there among the people, who were sons of the prophets said: "But he may be taken up in spirit and set upon the mountains of Israel. So let us choose men and go about the mountains; perhaps we will be able to find him."'

<div align="right">Nic (A) 15.1.7</div>

The syntagm *weald þeah* appears in the whole of the Old English corpus five times. Apart from examples (2), (4), and (5), it can be found in the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Old Testament (6) and Gospel of Nicodemus (9):

(6) & *cwædon to Iosue; we comon, leof, feorran of   fyrlenum lande,* &
     and said   to Joshua we came sir from far from distant   land and

     we gewilniað friðes &   freondræddene wið eow; him   andwyrde Iosue
     we wish   peace and friendship   with you them answered Joshua

     & *Israhela folc   ðus: we nyton   ðeah ge wunion her on*
     and Israel's people thus we not-know if   you dwell   here in

     neawyste   hwær,   & we frið   ne nimað ðus færinga wið
     neighbourhood somewhere and we peace not take   thus quickly with

     eow; **weald   ðeah** *eower eard us   gesceote.*
     you perhaps et   your land to-us be-allotted

     (cf. Ios: et dixerunt ei atque omni simul Israheli de terra longinqua venimus pacem vobiscum facere cupientes responderuntque viri Israhel ad eos atque dixerunt ne forsitan in terra quae nobis sorte debetur habitetis et non possimus foedus inire vobiscum).

     KJV: And they […] said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We be come from a far country: now therefore make ye a league with us. And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us; and how shall we make a league with you?

                                                                    Josh 9.6

Although *B&T* supplement (s.v. *weald*), Ogura (2011: 11) and the vast majority of English translations of the Bible, as point (7) illustrates, paraphrase *weald ðeah* in (6) with an adverb expressing uncertainty, such as *perhaps*, it seems that *weald ðeah* in (6) should be understood along the following lines: *in the case/if your land be allotted to us, how could we/why should we make a covenant with you?* I believe that rendering *weald ðeah* into an expression where condition is its primary function allows us to construe the Old English sentence more literary in accordance with the author's intentions. Otherwise, if we consider, for example, Ogura's (2011: 11) translation in (8), the whole clause in question becomes extremely difficult to interpret.

(7) a. WEB(i) 7 The men of Israel said to the Hivites, "What if you live among us. How could we make a covenant with you?"
    b. ECB(i) 7 And the men of Yisra El say to the Hivviy, Perhaps you settle among us; and how cut we a covenant with you?
    c. MKJV(i) 7 And the men of Israel said to the Hivites, Perhaps you are living among us, and how shall we make a treaty with you?

d.   KJV_Cambridge(i) 7 And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us; and how shall we make a league with you?

e.   DouayRheims(i) 7 Perhaps you dwell in the land which falls to our lot; if so, we can make no league with you.

(8)   We do not know if ye live here anywhere in the neighbourhood, and we do not make peace with you so quickly; perhaps your native land may strike us.

(Ogura 2011: 11)

(9)   *Þa   cwæð Nichodemus, la leof ge,   Ysrahela bearn,   hlystað me &*
      then said Nicodemus lo dear you Israel's   children listen-to me and

      *uton gyt   asendan on Ysrahela muntas   **weald þeah** se gast &*
      let   you-two climb   on Israel's   mountains lest   yet   the spirit and

      we hyne gemetan moton &   hym geeaðmedan.
      we him find   could and him worship

      'Then Nicodemus said "O, dear you sons of Israel, listen to me and let you two climb the mountains of Israel lest the spirit have caught the Saviour and we could find him and worship him."'

Nic (A) 15.1

The translation includes words missing from the original Old English manuscript, but Cross (1996: 91) emends the text by comparing the other Old English version of the Gospel and Latin manuscripts. He refers to such omissions as "probable omissions by error" and the emendation is provided in (10) (Cross 1996: 91).

(10)   'weald þeah se gast <habbe þone helend gelæht>' A
       'weald þeh ðe gast habbe þone helend gelæht' B
       'ne forte spiritus rapuit Iesum' O

Another construction in which Old English conjunctive *weald* appears is the one in which *weald* is followed by (indefinite) pronouns or adverbs. Apart from example (1), where indefinite *hu/hwæt* has been inserted after *weald* by later editors of *Ælfric's Homilies*, such a juxtaposition is attested three times in Old English prose (11),[1] (12), (13), and once in poetry (14).

(11)   *Bið nu   wislicor ðæt gehwa   ðis wile and cunne his geleafan, **weald***
       is   now wiser   that everyone this wish and can   his belief   lest

       ***hwa**   ða   mycclan yrmðe gebidan sceole*
       anyone these great   misery suffer should

       'Now it will be wiser that everyone know this, and know his belief, lest anyone have to suffer great misery.'

ÆCHom I (Pref) 176.110 (cited by *B&T*)

---

[1] Sweet (1885: 80) glosses *weald* in (11) as "*conj*. less."

(12)   *And ðy man sceal wacigean &   warnian   symle þæt man geara*
        and any man must watch   and be-on-guard always that man well

        *weorðe huru   to ðam dome,   **weald   hwænne** he us to cyme, we*
        be   at-all-events to the   judgement in-case when   he us to come we

        witan mid gewisse þæt hit þærto nealæcð   georne.
        know with certainty that it   next   comes-near soon

        'And a man must watch and always be on guard so that he may be well pre-
        pared for the judgement when/in case he comes to us, we know with certainty
        that it is very soon.'

                                                                    WHom 2.62

(13)   *Bisceopum gebyreð, þæt symle mid heom faran and mid heom wunian*
        to-bishops behoves that always with them go   and with them remain

        wel geþungene witan,   huru   sacerdhades, þæt hi   wið rædan
        well noble   wise-men especially priesthood   that they with consult

        magan for Gode and for worulde and þæt heora gewitan   beon   on
        could for god and for world   and that their counsellors will be on

        *æghwylcne timan,   **weald hwæt**   heom tide.*
        every   occasion lest   anything them befall

        'It behoves bishops noble and wise men, especially priests, to go and remain
        with them so that they could advise them for the sake of God and the world
        and so that their counsellors should be with them always in case anything
        should befall them.'

                                                          WPol 2.3 (Jost) B13.2.3

(14)   *We þe magon eaðe   earla leofost,*
        we you could easily   of-earls dearest

        æt þam secgplegan   seler gelaran,
        at the sword-play   better teach

        ær ðu gegninga   guðe fremme,
        before you directly   battle do

        *wiges woman, **weald hu** ðe   sæle*
        of-battle rush   however you better

        æt þam gegnslege.
        at the exchange of blows

        Kemble (1843: 78): "We may easily dearest of earls, at the play of men teach
        thee better, before thou again attempt war, the rush of battle; guard thyself the
        better in the change of blows."

        B&T (s.v. *wealdan* def. V.c.): "decide thou how it shall happen to thee"
        Krapp (1906: 145): "We may easily, dearest of earls, teach thee something
        better at this sword-play, before thou openly make attack, raise the tumult of
        battle, no matter how it turn out for thee at the conflict."

Ogura (2011: 11): "[W]e can easily give thee, dearest of earls, the excellent advice for the sword-play before thou make battle straightway, the tumult of war, whatever may befall thee in the conflict."

And 1354

As can be seen from the cited translation of the extract from "The Legend of St Andrew," the meaning of *weald* has been a matter of discussion among scholars. Kemble (1843: 78) and *B&T* (s.v. *wealdan* def. V.c.) translate *weald* as imperative 'decide/guard yourself,' while Krapp (1906: 145), Ogura (2011: 11), and Mitchell (1985: 484) take *weald* as a conjunction 'however' and I endorse the latter view. Mitchell (1985: 484) also adds that translating *weald hu* as 'in case' would not make any sense in this context.

In early Middle English the use of *wald* as an epistemic downtoner is clearly on its way out from the language. The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse and the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts revealed only three cases of *wald that*, two of which are newer (the 12th century) versions of Old English religious texts, compare (15) with (2) and (16) with (5), while the latest instance of *wald that* comes from Ormulum written circa 1200 (17).

(15) **Wealte þeh** *him beo get alefd bereowsung.*

'However repentance may yet be allowed him.'

a1150(OE) Vsp.D.Hom.(Vsp D.14) 112/22

(16) *Uten us weres geceosan, & þa montes gefaren,* **wealte þeh** *we hine mugen gefinden.*

'Let us choose men and go to the mountains; perhaps we will be able to find him.'

a1150(OE) Vsp.D.Hom.Nicod.(Vsp D.14) 80/26

(17) *Here icc unnderrstanndenn ma33, 3iff icc itt ummbeþennke, Þatt I me sellf all ah itt* **wald Þatt** *deofell ma33 me scrennkenn, Þurrh þatt I do min lusst tærto.*

'Here I can understand, if I think about it, that I have it (all) to myself lest devil may deceive me, because I long for it.'

?c1200 Orm.(Jun 1) 11815

(18) *Al we sulen is wið vs hauen* **Wold quad** *god wile ðor-of crauen.*

'All that we should have is with us in case God should require anything from it.'

a1325(c1250) Gen.& Ex.(Corp-C 444) 3116

The search of Middle English corpora has revealed only two cases of conjunctive *wald*, although about 1,500 instances of possible spellings have been analysed. Apart from example (3), Middle English *wald* used in the sense of 'in case' can be found in The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (18).

3. Grammaticalisation of *weald*

Let us now move on to the discussion how *weald* come to be employed as a conjunction in Old English. What is the possible source of it? The *B&T* gives as many as five separate entries of *weald*:

1. -es; m. *high land covered with wood* (v. weald-genga), *wood, forest*;
2. *power*;
3. adj. *powerful, mighty*;
4. *is found as the second part of many proper names*;
5. *adv. conj.*

None of them, however, appears to be a logical source of this grammatical item. The *OED* (s.v. †wald, *conj. Obs. rare.*) suggests that the conjunctive function of OE *weald* is probably derived from an imperative of *wealdan* 'to govern.' Ogura (2011: 14) claims that *weald* was "employed in the construction of 'imperative verb +*hu/hw*-' and then used as a conjunction or an adverb, and *weald* went further on to be combined with *þeah*."

Although it might be the case, a more probable source of the Old English conjunction *weald* seems to be still the imperative of the verb *wealdan* but a different meaning of it, that is, 'decide, determine.' The reason behind it is that it is rather difficult to imagine how the imperative of *govern* can change into an adverb with a downtoning function, while it is not so in the case of *decide*. When we say 'Decide' or 'Decide yourself' followed by a statement, it naturally invites inferences that there is some uncertainty, possibility or likelihood of the situation described in the proposition, for example, *you should fight them* vs. *you should fight them, decide*. This development would be somewhat similar to the rise of epistemic parentheticals from phrases containing verbs of propositional attitude such as *I think*. As Thompson and Mulac (1991: 313) note, "*I think* is an epistemic phrase, expressing the degree of speaker commitment…, functioning roughly as an epistemic adverb such as *maybe* with respect to the clause it is associated with." With both *I think* and *weald* phrases it is the speaker who signals their less-than-full certainty about the proposition.

Another problem to be resolved is the direction of the change. Ogura (2011: 14) suggests that *weald þeah* is a later development than *weald hw*-. While both structures can be found already in late Old English *weald þeah* practically uniformly functioning as an adverb paraphrasable by 'perhaps' (2), (4), (5), (6), (9), and *weald hw*- as a conjunction paraphrasable by 'in case,' cf. (11), (12), (13), and it is rather difficult to assess which syntagm appeared first, Ogura seems to be right. Although, at first sight, the opposite situation seems to be the case because adverbs are the normal sources for conjunctions not vice versa as stems from the unidirectionality hypothesis and, for example, Brinton (2008:

27 ff.) also shows that this is indeed the case. However, *weald þeah* is an adverb which Lichtenberk (1995) would refer to as having an apprehensional-epistemic function. He (1995: 293) describes apprehensional-epistemic as "[a] type of modality that is both epistemic and attitudinal: it has to do with the speaker's degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition and also with his or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clause." Lichtenberk (1995: 294) illustrates this type of modal adverb with an example from To'aba'ita spoken on the Solomon Islands:

(19)　　*Ada　　'oko　　　　mata'i*
　　　　LEST　you-SG:SEQ　be sick
　　　　'You may be sick.'

<div align="right">Lichtenberk (1995: 294)</div>

Lichtenberk (1995: 319) offers a grammaticalisation cline in which the apprehensional-epistemic function is located at the endpoint of the chain while the precautioning function, realised by, for example, in-case, serves as the source of the further developments. Taking it into account, it appears that it is logical that *weald hw-* must have preceded the appearance of *weald þeah*.

　　That the rise of conjunctive *weald* is a quite regular instance of a change from less grammatical to a more grammatical material can be seen in a number of mechanisms inherent to grammaticalisation. The mechanism of desemanticisation is visible when the concrete cognitive meaning of *weald* is bleached or widened to a more abstract meaning. Extension (or context generalisation) can be observed when, by a process of invited inferencing, *weald* acquires non-referential (pragmatic) meaning. Decategorialisation is reflected in the fact that the erstwhile verbal properties are lost so that *weald* receives no verbal inflections nor is it modified by adverbials.

4. Conclusion

This paper addresses the issue of the evolution of *weald* – an avertive marker introducing negative purpose clauses in medieval English. Although recorded in Old English as well as in Middle English, little attention has been devoted to the development of the conjunctive use of *weald* on the part of historical linguists. This work is an attempt at filling this gap. In this article I suggest that the conjunctive use of *weald* developed from the imperative form of the verb *wealdan* in an analogous way as the epistemic phrase *I think*. Additionally, although the chronological evidence is not decisive, it appears that the *weald*

hw-structure used as a conjunction paraphrasable by 'in case' appeared earlier than adverbial *weald þeah* having an apprehensional-epistemic function.

References

B&T = An Anglo-Saxon dictionary based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth. (1892–1898) [1954] Bosworth, Joseph. T. & Northcote Toller (edited and enlarged by T. Northcote Toller). London: Oxford University Press. 1954 [Reprinted].

B&TS = An Anglo-Saxon dictionary based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, supplement. (1972) Joseph T. Bosworth & Northcote Toller (eds.). (Revised and enlarged by Alistair Campbell). London: Oxford University Press.

Brinton, Laurel J. 2008. *The comment clause in English*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

CMEPV = Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. 1997–. Developed by the Humanities Text Initiative. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/.

Cross, J. E. (ed.). 1996. *Two Old English Apocrypha and their manuscript source: 'The Gospel of Nichodemus' and 'The Avenging of the Saviour.'* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DOE = The dictionary of Old English on CD-ROM. 2003. A. Cameron, Amos A. Crandell, A. Healey, A. diPaolo, J. Holland, D. McDougall, I. McDougall, N. Speirs, P. Thompson et al. (eds.). The University of Toronto.

DOEC = The dictionary of Old English corpus on CD-ROM. 2003. A. Cameron, Amos A. Crandell, A. Healey, A. diPaolo, J. Holland, D. McDougall, I. McDougall, N. Speirs, P. Thompson et al. (eds.). The University of Toronto. Available at: http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/.

HC = Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic Part. 1991. Compiled by Matti Rissanen & Ossi Ihalainen et al. University of Helsinki: Department of English.

Heine, Bernd. 2003[2005]. Grammaticalizaton. In Brian D. Joseph, & Richard D. Janda (eds.), *The handbook of historical linguistics*, 575–601 (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics). Padstow: TJ International Ltd.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemble, J. M. 1843. *The poetry of the Codex Vercellensis with an English translation*. London: Printed for the Ælfric Society by Richard and John E. Taylor.

Krapp, George Philip. 1906. *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles. Two Anglo-Saxon narrative poems*. Boston–New York–Chicago–London: Ginn & Company.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1995. Apprehensional epistemics. In J. Bybee & S. Fleischman (eds.), *Modality in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Comp.

MED = *Middle English dictionary.* (1954–2000). H. Kurath, Sh. Kuhn, R. E. Lewis (eds.). Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. Available at: http://ets.umdl .umich.edu/m/med/.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

OED = *The Oxford English dictionary*. Second Edition on CD-ROM (v. 4.0) 2009. Ch. Murray, T. Onions, W. Craige & F. J. Fumivall (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ogura, Michiko. 2011. The grammaticalization of the Old English imperatives *weald* and *loca*. *Notes & Queries* (March 2011), 58(1): 10–14.

Sweet, Henry (ed.). 1885. *Selected homilies of Ælfric*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Thompson, Sandra A. & Anthony Mulac. 1991. A quantitative perspective on the grammaticization of parentheticals in English. In B. Heine & E. Traugott (eds.), *Grammaticalization*, 313–329. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Expletives in Old English
and the structure of the Old English clause

Janusz Malak

Opole University

1. Introductory remarks

Expletive elements are extremely interesting objects of syntactic structures because they are characterised by phonological forms that appear not to be related to any semantic, lexical, or pragmatic meaning. This property is a bit surprising if one takes into account the Full Interpretation assumption of the minimalist programme, which stipulates that what is merged and manipulated by movement operations within Narrow Syntax (henceforth NS) must totally correspond to the substantial properties of Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). Taking into account the minimalist theorising, it can be assumed that they are of mainly functional character. Their presence in the PF is hard to explain if one takes into consideration the fact that a phonological formation present on the PF level appears to have barely any LF counterpart. This apparent lack of correspondence between PF and LF units had to be disposed of somehow, and this seems to have been achieved by introducing the concept of *associate*, as postulated by Chomsky (1995), by means of which the phonological formation, void of any semantic or lexical import interpretationally, depends on those components of the derivation that are characterised by semantic and lexical import in the sense that they are capable of denoting and referring to individual beings, as well as to various phenomena in extralinguistic reality. It could be assumed that the latter formations are characterised by formal D-features; however, their precise characterisation has not yet been postulated.

In the majority of Germanic languages one can find only one expletive element, for instance *það* in Icelandic, *der* in Danish, or *es* in German. Reading Old English texts one finds two expletive elements, namely *hit* 'it' and *þær* 'there.' More or less, the former expletive element is characterised by a similar function as its Modern English counterpart, and thus will not be analysed at length in

this chapter. The two expletives will be contrasted with each other because of the formal features they are characterised by, which seem also to be responsible for their function. For this purpose, minimalist theorising will be adopted here along with its formal feature component. The main aim of this chapter will be an attempt to determine the function of the two expletives in relation to the meaning of the verbs that head VP of clauses with these expletives on the one hand, and the structure of those clauses on the other.

As has been signalled above, it is generally assumed in the minimalist theorising that the English expletive *there*, as well as to a certain extent the Icelandic *það*, is formally and interpretationally related to the DPs, their pragmatic interpretation being ignored for the moment, functioning as the subject of clauses with this expletive. The latter nominal expressions function as "associates" to this expletive. The relation between the expletive element and the subject DP was necessary to account for the fact that the verb is in agreement with this DP as regards φ-features, such as number. Yet it is the expletive which is characterised by the subject properties. It is assumed that the expletive and the associate DP are related to each other at LF through covert, that is, phonologically invisible, movement.[1] This way of analysing the function of the expletive *there* accounts for the data coming from Modern English, which does not necessarily mean that it is the same as regards Old English. Therefore, the stance adopted here diverges from the main minimalist theorising because it will be assumed here that the Old English expletive *þær* is not related to any DPs within clauses featuring this expletive. In this chapter it is assumed that the sole function of expletives was filling a given location within the structure of the clause as a kind of compensation for the lack of any operation affecting the components of the clause in NS, in order to satisfy the EPP features of functional heads located higher than T. Moreover, it will also be postulated that the two expletives under consideration are merged at different parts of the derivation, that is, in different parts of the same phase. The purpose of merging the two expletives appears to be the same, that is, formally satisfying EPP features of different functional heads.

2. Expletives *hit* and *þær*

These two expletive elements are formally identical with pronouns in their anaphoric function. As Closs-Traugott (1992: 216) puts it: "[a]though *hit* and

---

[1] Chomsky (1995: 155) postulates that: "[t]hese properties [i.e., features – J.M.] are rather naturally explained on the assumption, deriving from FI, that the expletive is an LF affix, with its associate adjoining to it."

þær have different constraints and are differently motivated, they share the property of not having full pronominal function." Thus the pronominal form *hit* is anaphorically related to antecedents that are DPs whose gender specification is neuter and number specification is singular. The other expletive formally corresponds to the pronominal expression anaphorically related to formations denoting location or direction, and no such φ feature specifications are present in this expletive. This observation is reflected in the verb inflection in the Old English clause. The verb forms accompanying the expletive *hit* agree with it as regards number specification, that is, it is invariably 3rd person sing. irrespective of the tense, as in, for example,

(1)   *On lencten hit grewð and on hærfest hit fealwaþ*
       In spring it grows and in   autumn it   turns yellow

       'In spring it grows and in autumn it turns yellow/ripens.'

<div align="right">Ælfred, Boethius, 74, 23</div>

(2)   *Hit wæs þa   seo teoðe tid*
       It   was then the tenth hour

       'It was then the tenth hour.'

<div align="right">OE Godpell, John X, 39</div>

(3)   *hit sceal on worulde   for folces   synnan yfelian*
       it shall on the world for people's sins   grow worse

       'It must grow worse in the world because of people's sins.'

<div align="right">Wulfstan, *Homilies*, 87, 7</div>

The forms *grewð*, *fealwaþ* in (1) are 3rd person sing. present tense, while *wæs* in (2) is 1st or 3rd person sing. past tense of the verb *beon* 'to be.' The form *sceal* is the 1st or 3rd person sing. of the modal *scullan* 'shall, must.' Therefore, it could be tentatively assumed that the expletive *hit* is characterised by the distribution of nominal expressions functioning as grammatical subjects, that is, ones responsible for the agreement specification repeated on the finite part of the predicate.[2]

    The above property is not found in the case of the expletive *þær*. It appears to be insensitive to the number specification of the DP functioning as the grammatical subject. In such cases as:

(4)   *ðær bið swyðe mycel gewinn betweonan him.*
       there is very great conflict between   them

---

[2] For the purpose of the analysis presented in this chapter we adopt the characterisation of the grammatical subject as it is presented in Kiss (2002). According to Kiss (2002: 122) the grammatical subject is: "the thematically most prominent argument, which agrees with V and is the target of nominative assignment."

'There is (generally) a very great conflict between them.'

Ælfred, Orosius. 20.17.

(5)   *Þær   beoð fela   tacna æteowede* […]
       There are   many signs shown […]

'There have been many signs shown […]'

Ælfric's Homilies: The assumption of St. John the Apostle. 334.

(6)   *þær wæron to lafe   ðæra crumena   twelf wylian fulle.*
       There were remaining over of the crumbs twelve baskets full

'There were left of the crumbs twelve baskets full.'

Ælfric's Homilies: Post Pentecosten. 396.

it is with the DP functioning as the grammatical subject of the clause that the verb agrees as regards the number specification. Analysing the material presented in (1) to (6) one may come to the conclusion that, taking into account the minimalist theorising, the location of the two expletives in the derivation of the clause cannot be the same. The observation that *hit* agrees with the verb as regards number specification leads to the tentative assumption that this element should be merged in Spec TP, that is, the position in which DP functioning as the grammatical subject is associated with T in order to establish the relation of predication. This relation is signalled through the inflectional endings on the verb. If this assumption is correct, then the expletive *þær* must be merged in the location different from that postulated for *hit*.

In Closs-Traugott (1992: 218) the expletive *þær* is contrasted with the pronominal adverbial pronoun that is formally identical to the former, which is presented in the analysis of this fragment from Orosius:[3]

(7)   *Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel, & þær bið swyðe manig burh, & on*
       That Estland is very big,   and there is very many fortresses, and in

       ælcere byrig bið cynigc. & þær bið swyþe mycel hunig […] *Þær bið*
       each   fortress is king. And there is very much honey […] There is

       swyðe mycel gewinn betweonan him. & ne bið ðær ealo
       very   much fighting among   them. and not is there any ale

       gebrowen mid   Estum, ac þær bið medo genog. & þær is mid
       brewed   among Ests, but there is mead enough. And there is among

       Estum ðeaw, þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he lið inne
       Ests   custom, when there is man dead, that he lies inside

       unforbærned mid   his magum & freondum monað […] *& ealle þa*
       unburned   among his kin   and friends   month […] And all   that

---

[3] In Closs-Traugott (1992) it is example (133). The transliteration and Present-Day English translation is taken from there.

hwile þe þæt lic   bið inne,   þær   sceal beon gedrync &   plega.
time PT that body is inside, there shall be   drink   and play.

'The land of Ests is very large, and there are very many fortresses there, and
in each fortress there is a king. And there is very much honey […] There is
very much conflict between them. There is no ale brewed among the Ests, but
there is enough mead. And there is a custom among the Ests, when there is
a dead man, that he lies inside uncremated among his kinsmen and friends for
a month […] And all the time the body is inside, there shall be drink and play.'

<div align="right">Orosius 1. 1. 20 14</div>

In this fragment one can find as many as six occurrences of *þær*, of which
only the last one appears unequivocally to be an expletive element or, as
Closs-Traugott (1992) chooses to refer to it, "an empty subject-marker." It is
analysed in this way because: "it is unlikely to be anaphoric to *inne* – since
drinking and playing were probably not restricted to the very same location in
which the body lay at rest" (Closs-Traugott 1992: 218). This remark points to
the anaphoric character of the remaining occurrences of *þær*, since they can be
treated as elements anaphorically related to Estland. In actual fact, according to
Mitchell (1985), it is very difficult to distinguish between *þær* as the pronominal
form and *þær* as an expletive. He presents one example that, according to him,
is an unequivocal case of an expletive, or introductory as he terms it, element.
In such a sentence as:

(8)   *Gif ðær   ðonne sie   gierd   mid to ðreagenne, sie ðær*
       If   there then be-SUBJ the rod with to punish,   be-SUBJ

       eac stæf   mid to wreðianne
       also a stick with to support

       'If there then is a rod to punish with, there is also a stick to support with.'

<div align="right">*Cura Pastoralis* 127.1</div>

the form *ðær* does not function as an anaphoric pronominal expression since
no antecedent can be found to be related to it.

There is, however, one interesting case in the fragment from Orosius under
consideration. The second and third conjoined clauses refer to the existence of
certain objects or individuals in a given location. While the second conjoined
clause starts with *þær*, whose interpretation is ambiguous because it can be
analysed either as an expletive element or an anaphoric pronoun referring back
to *þæt Estland*, the third conjunct opens with the prepositional phrase *on ælcere
byrig bið cyningc* which can also open its Modern English equivalent. Yet, the
clause is acceptable as long as the expletive *there* is present, which is evidenced
in the Modern English translation, that is, 'in each fortress there is a king.' This
observation implies that the distribution of the Old English *þær* could have been

similar, but not the same, as its Modern English equivalent. The comparison of the two conjoined clauses, that is, *& þær bið swyðe manig burh, & on ælcere byrig bið cynigc* reveals that the element *þær* occupies the same position as the prepositional phrase *on ælcere byrig*, that is, before the verb form *bið*. It could be assumed then that the two constituents are characterised by the same distribution and, possibly, function, that is, a constituent opening a clause, which may have been the reflection of satisfying the EPP requirement of a functional head higher than T. How to account for the distribution and function of *þær* in (4), (5), (6), the final clause in (7), and the two *þær*s in (8)?

When one speaks about Modern English *there*-clauses, one has to make a distinction between existential clauses and bare existential clauses, also termed "ontological" (cf. Quirk et al. 1985). The former type refers to the existence of an indefinite non-specific individual or object in a given location, while the latter generally specifies only the existence of the being referred to by the DP functioning as the subject, for example:

(9) a. There are some people in the waiting room – existential.
   b. There are numerous species of edible fungi – bare existential/ontological.

The only structural difference between the two types of existential clauses is the presence or absence of the specification of the location in the form of prepositional phrases. The analysis of such examples as:

(10) *þeah þe sume men sægden þæt þær nære   buton twegen dælas:*
     though the some men said   that there NEG-were but   two   parts:

   Asia, 7   oþer Europe
   Asia, and other Europe

   'though some men said that there were but two parts: Asia, and the other Europe'

<div align="right">Orosius 8. 4.</div>

(11) *Paruuli petierunt panem, nec erat qui frangeret eis: þæt is,*
     Parvuli petierunt panem, nec erat qui frangeret eis that is,

   on urum gereorde, Ða lytlan cild   bædon him hlafes,   ac þær
   in our tongue   The little children begged him bread-GEN, but there

   næs   nan mann ðe þone hlaf   him   betwynan tobræce.
   NEG-was no man   who the bread them between broke-SUBJ

   '*Parvuli petierunt panem, nec erat qui frangeret eis* that is, in our tongue: The little children begged for bread, but there was no man to break the bread among them.'

<div align="right">Ælfric, *Homilies* ii. 400. 24.</div>

indicates that Old English clauses with the expletive *þær* should be treated as formations similar in interpretation to Modern English bare existential or ontological clauses.

The above examples stand in contrast with sentences that open with prepositional phrases referring to locations, such as, for example:

(12)   *On ðam ecan life   ne bið nan costnung   ne nan yfel*
         In   the   eternal life NEG-is no temptation   NEG-no evil

         'In the eternal life there is neither temptation nor evil.'

                                                    Ælfric, *Homilies* ii. 442. 17

The above example appears to be interpretationally closer to Modern English existential clauses as presented in (9a), rather than to Modern English bare existential/ontological clauses as exemplified in (9b). It could be then assumed that the Old English expletive *þær* is more likely to be found in clauses whose propositional contents refers to individuals or object existing in general without specifying the location. In such a case as:

(13)   *ac he hit for þæm ne ongan   þe þær wæs eorþbeofung on þære tide*
         but he it   for that NEG-attempt that there was earthquake   in the   time

         'but he did not attempt it because there was an earthquake at that time.'

                                                    Orosius, 132. 12

the prepositional phrase *on þære tide* is an adverbial specifying the time at which Alexander's failure to enter the fortress and the earthquake occurred. Thus it can be assumed that the expletive *þær* is more likely to be found opening bare existential/ontological clauses, although its occurrence with existential clause cannot be excluded.

Light (2015) treats the expletive *þær* as a means of filling the subject gap in relative clauses. Thus in such a sentence as:[4]

(14)   *Þa fif dagas þe þær sind betwux   VI kalendas and kalendas Martii*
         the five days that there are   between VI kalendas and kalendas Martii

         'the five days that are between VI kalendas and kalendas Martii.'

                                                    Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* 2.1.77.635

the expletive *þær* is analysed as a constituent occupying the subject position. However, due to the material presented above, it will be assumed that the expletive element under consideration does not occupy the subject position since the subject is, adopting the Government and Binding theorising, the invisible

---

[4] This example along with the transliteration and translation is taken from Light (2015: 32).

trace that is coindexed with the relative pronoun *þe* and the DP *fif* dagas.[5] If this assumption is correct, then the relative clause under consideration could be treated as an example of an existential clause opening with the expletive *þær* and a kind of specification of temporal location.

For the sake of completeness, the presentation of the observations concerning the distribution and the function of the expletive *þær* should be supplemented by a few remarks concerning sentences with this expletive featuring verbs other than *beon* 'to be.'

A group of intransitive verbs found in sentences with *þær* is classified in the generative literature as unaccusative, that is, one-argument predicates, whose arguments are believed to be merged as the internal argument of V, namely, within VP. When they are found in clauses accompanied by *þær*, however, as shown in the examples below, the finite form of the verb precedes this expletive element and the presented clauses start with the pronominal form *þa*, as in:

(15) *Ða comon   þær fleogende twegen fægre englas, and hine*
      Then came   there flying   two   fair angels, and him

      gelæddon ongean to life.
      led   again to life

      'Then there came flying two fair angles and led him again to life.'

                                                    Ælfric, *Homilies* ii. 504. 30

(16) *Þa   sæt þær sum   þearfa æt ðæm burggeate.*
      Then sat there some beggar at the towngate

      'Then sat there a certain beggar at the gate of the town.'

                                                    The Blickling Homilies 213.31.

Mitchell (1985) is sceptical as regards the expletive status of *þær* in the above examples since: "*ða* and *þær* seem to be as much 'continuative' in function as temporal or local, but are scarcely introductory" (Mitchell 1985: 625). It will be assumed here that *þær* in the (15) and (16) are expletive since its presence in the two examples is more the question of the derivation of the clauses under consideration within NS, rather than the technicalities connected with the production of the text. Despite the fact that such cases should also be included in the ensuing analysis, they will not be dealt with here in greater detail because of the paucity of space.

Two observations concerning (15) and (16) are in order at this point. Firstly, the two examples appear to be interpretationally related to existential clauses

---

[5] It is assumed here that the basic clause that underlies the relative clause in the case under question is *þær sind fif dagas betwux VI kalendas and kalendas Martii* 'there are five days between VI kalendas and kalendas Martii.'

and bare existential/ontological ones presented in (9a) and (9b) respectively. The interpretation of (15) could be treated as the one comparable to bare existential/ ontological reading corresponding to (9b), while the interpretation of (16) would correspond to the existential reading of (9a). The only difference between (15) and (16) is the presence of the specification of location in (16), that is, PP *æt ðæm burggeate*, and the absence of such a specification in (15). Thus, this clause can be interpreted as 'there occurred a situation of coming performed by two fair angels.' The interpretation of (16) would be slightly different. Secondly, the consequence of the presence of the adverb *þa* in the initial position in (15) and (16) manifests itself in the position of the verb. It precedes the finite form of the verb, which is in agreement as regards the number specification with the DPs functioning as the grammatical subjects. It is worth mentioning at this point that the presence of the adverbs *þa* and *þonne*, both meaning 'then,' always triggered verb-movement to the second position irrespective of the subject rendered as a full nominal expression or a pronoun (cf. Los 2015). This observation may pose certain complications with the ensuing analysis concerning the position of the merging of the expletive *þær* within NS. Such cases as (15) and (16) are worth investigating and deserve a separate publication, however, as signalled above. Due to the spatial limitations we are forced to confine ourselves solely to signalling the problem.

3. The place of the expletive *hit* and expletive *þær* in the structure of the Old English clause

By the placing of the two expletive elements in the structure of the Old English clause we understand the moment in which the two elements make their appearance in the derivation that takes place within NS. Such a way of viewing and analysing linguistic data is determined by generative, or minimalist, to be more precise, theorising. The linguistic material, including the one presented in examples (1) to (16), is treated as the result of the monotonic operation termed "derivation" whose fragments, termed "phases," are sent through piecemeal transfer, termed multiple spell-out, to two interfaces, that is, PF and LF.[6] The only condition that must be fulfilled in order for chunks of derivatives to be visible and legible at the two respective interfaces is the Full Interpretability requirement (henceforth FI). This means that the products of monotonic combinations of elements retrieved from the lexicon, termed Lexical Items (henceforth

---

[6] The definitions and characterisations of the term "phase" as well as information concerning its role in the derivation can be found in Chomsky (2000, 2001).

LI), and associating LIs functioning as heads with functional heads through movement, must fully suit the articulatory-perception substance to which PF is the interface on the one hand, and the logical-intensional substance to which LF is the interface on the other.

Chomsky (1995) postulates that LIs are aggregates of features of three types, that is, phonological features, namely, ones necessary for PF interpretation, logical features, that is, ones legible to the LF interface, and formal features, that is, ones responsible for combining constituents retrieved from the lexicon into more complex structures. Against this theoretical background the two expletive elements appear particularly interesting since, as said in Section 1, they seem to be characterised by the presence of phonological features, namely, they are recorded through characters corresponding to the phonemes of which they are composed, which means that they are also characterised by a certain role in the derivation. This would point to the logical features associated with them. Since they are semantically vacuous, they seem to be devoid of any logical features and their presence in the derivation is determined through a need to make certain formal features of functional head visible to LF. This is what is meant by compensation for the lack of any means, either substantial or derivational, alluded to in 1, affecting the components participating in the derivation within NS in order to satisfy the EPP features of functional heads located higher than *v*P.

The role of the expletive *hit* in the derivation of the Old English clause is straightforward. Visser (1963) indicates that sentences referring to the weather and the time of day rarely occurred without any element that could be recognised as the subject. He illustrates such a case with this quotation:

(17)   *Gif on Friegedæg geþunrað, þonne getacnað þ   nytena cwealm. Gif on*
        If   on Friday   thunders, then   indicates that beasts' death. If   on

        Sæternedæg geþunrað þ   tacnað   demena cwealm.
        Saturday   thunders   that indicates rulers'   death

        'If it thunders on Friday, then it points to beasts' death. If it thunders on Saturday that indicates rulers' death.'

                                                                                (Visser 1963: 4)

The rarity of such examples shows that, for reasons that will presently be put forward, the expletive element was more popular with Old English speakers in such cases rather than clauses without it. The scarcity of such examples may be attributed to the remnants of the archaic Proto-Germanic option, consisting in dropping the subject if the verb inflection was sufficiently rich, thus unequivocally signalling the agreement with the nominal expression functioning as the subject as regards the person and number specification.[7] Examples (1)

---

[7] Such an option seems to have been available in Gothic. The Gothic verb inflection was fairly rich, which is why it was possible to drop the subject as in for example: *Warþ þan in dagans*

to (3) show that in the cases under consideration the expletive *hit* appears to be a norm. If one adopts the view postulated in Manzini and Savoia (2002) to the effect that: "null-subject languages lexicalise the EPP feature through the finite verb […], while non-null-subject languages lexicalise the EPP feature through a D head or a DP" (Manzini and Savoia 2002: 157) then one can assume that the expletive *hit* should be treated as the means of lexicalisation of the EPP feature of some functional head above *v*P, that is, the phase where all lexical relations between LIs are established. The distribution of the expletive *þær* presented in the above examples leads to the conclusion that this expletive element should also be treated as a kind of lexicalisation of the EPP features, however, the head whose EPP features were lexicalised through *þær* is different from that licensing the presence of *hit*.

In order to account for the distribution of the two expletive elements in Old English we will adopt the cartographic approach to the left periphery of the clause as postulated in Rizzi (1997) and further revised and refined in Belletti (2004), Beninca and Polletto (2004). Despite the fact that the works referred to above are mainly concerned with Italian, the Split Complementiser Hypothesis may offer a fairly attractive theoretical format within which one can accommodate the Old English data concerning the expletive elements under consideration.[8] Not without significance for the analysis presented in this chapter is the observation that Old English, like the majority of West Germanic languages, is characterised by the V-2 property, a property that is related to the considerable mobility of verbs within NS.

The scarce examples of clauses in Old English without the subject as presented in (17) could be treated as the last vestige of the *pro*-drop character of Proto-Germanic. If we were to adopt Alexiadou and Anagnastopoulou's (1998) assumption pertaining to checking D-features in AgrSP (i.e., Agreement Subject Projection – J.M.) we could assume that finite verbs carrying nominal features on a par with pronouns pose an unavailable option in Old English. Adopting more recent minimalist theorising, the above observation could be recast as the assumption that the finite Old English verb form does not offer the sufficient means of satisfying the Match-and-Agree requirements between the verb and T. In other words, in contrast to Gothic (cf. fn. 7), Old English T probed for V as its Goal within VP, however, despite the fact that V moves to T via *v*, which is reflected in PF, evaluation and matching the D features of T had to be supplemented by providing some extra material.

---

jainains (Braune 1912: 144). This would correspond to Old English *Hit gelamp on þam dagum* 'It happened in those days.' However, such an assumption calls for a modicum of cautiousness since the extant descriptions of Gothic have been based on Gothic translations of Greek texts and one cannot be sure to what extent Gothic texts reflect the Gothic native syntactic properties.

[8] The Split Complementiser Hypothesis offered a very interesting perspective for the analysis of heavy NP shift in Germanic languages presented in Wallenberg (2015).

We modify the basic machinery of the minimalist programme slightly by assuming that Lexical Array (LA) consists exclusively of LIs, that is, units retrieved from the lexicon and being aggregates of features of three types, namely, logical, formal, and phonological. This assumption excludes expletive elements from LA since they consist of only formal and phonological features. Therefore expletive elements will be a kind of compensation for features of a certain kind absent from the displaced LIs, verbs in the case under consideration. It would be advisable to determine which features of V make *pro*-drop available and which modifications of the feature set-up of Vs call for the above-mentioned compensation. In order to resolve this question we adopt Vangsnes's (2002) idea connected with the feature set-up of finite forms of verbs necessary for the identification of a functional category.

The analysis concerning Icelandic expletive constructions proposed in Vangsnes (2002) is set in an early version of the minimalist programme; however, some of its elements offer very promising means of accounting for expletives in Old English. It will be assumed here that the derivation of any clause consists of two domains, intensional, connected with the derivation of VP as well as *v*P, and extensional responsible for the extensional interpretation of the clause related to TP and CP.[9] VP and *v*P form a domain where denotative properties are determined. This would roughly correspond to structures generated on the basis of LIs in LA. As has been assumed earlier, expletives are excluded from this domain. According to Vangsnes (2002), T is necessary for the clause to receive a temporal interpretation while AgrS is responsible for anchoring the state-of-affairs with respect to the subject. Most probably the latter projection is postulated in order to establish the proposition, a mental construct to which, according to Davidson (2008), one can assign truth or falsity. With the advent of the phase approach to the derivation postulated in Chomsky (2000) and Chomsky (2001), AgrS loses its theoretical *raison d'être* with the derivation segmented into chunks sent to PF and LF interface due to multiple spell-out. We will stick to this theoretical assumption with T as the functional head responsible for the temporal interpretation as well as anchoring the state-of-affairs with respect to the subject, that is, establishing the proposition of the clause. What seems to be worth adopting from the analysis presented in Vangsnes (2002) is the features of V relevant for the identification of σ, that is, an abstract head of (Agr)SP.

In Vangsnes's (2002) account the identification of σ and τ, that is, AgrS and T respectively, is performed by a different set of features. The former is identified by such features as [deixis], [Case], and [person], while the latter by [tense] and [number]. In fact, the identification of σ should be performed by

---

[9] The division into intensional and extensional domains of the derivation roughly corresponds to Lexical Projection and Functional Projection respectively in Munukata's (2009) Hierarchical Dimensional Structure.

one more feature, that is, [gender], a claim that will be shortly substantiated. Ignoring the differentiation between lexical and agreement features proposed in Vangsnes (2002), the difference between null-subject languages, Icelandic, and Main Scandinavian manifests itself in the feature set-up present in finite form of V responsible for the subject-verb agreement. It can be presented after Vangsnes (2002: 61) as follows:

(18) a. V_{fin} [deixis, person, tense]   *Null-subject languages*
      b. V_{fin} [person, tense]   *Icelandic*
      c. V_{fin} [tense]   *Main Scandinavian*

Thus, it could be assumed that the sentence in (17) is an example of one of the vestiges of deixis specification in the finite form of the verb. In Polish, where V_{fin} is still characterised by [deixis, person, tense] feature set-up, the conditional clauses in (17) would be rendered as *Jeżeli grzmi w piątek…* and *Jeżeli grzmi w sobotę…* The form *grzmi* is 3rd person sing. present tense, that is, with person, number, and tense specification. This form is underspecified as regards gender indication, a category that receives full specification when the tense specification is past, that is, *grzmiało*. This form is 3rd person sing. neuter, past tense.

The above remark is not without any significance. It seems that it is not a coincidence that the expletive accompanying the 3rd person sing. forms in (1), that is, *grewð* and *fealwaþ* is *hit*, namely, 3rd person sing. neuter, because it seems to convey that piece of grammatical information vital to interpretation as regards the organisation of the proposition that in Polish, as well as in other null-subject languages, is signalled through inflection on the finite forms of verbs. If this assumption is correct, then the only place where the expletive *hit* is merged is Spec TP as a kind of compensation for the feature deficiency of the finite form of the verb. The feature in which Old English V_{fin} is deficient is [deixis] and partly [person].[10] Therefore Old English V_{fin} appears to resemble the Main Scandinavian type. This would explain the semantic vacuity of this

---

[10] It must be borne in mind that the Old English finite verb paradigm was characterised by a considerable degree of syncretism. The present tense paradigm was based on three distinct person endings in singular and one person indication in plural. As regards the past tense paradigm in the case of both strong and weak verbs, it was even more syncretic with the 1st and 3rd person sing. syncretic and distinct from the 2nd person sing. and one person ending in the plural. The subjunctive paradigm was highly syncretic, the only distinction signalled through inflection being the number. One more aspect of the Old English verb paradigm should be taken into account. In the present tense indicative 3rd person sing. {-eþ} may have become indistinguishable from all persons plural {-aþ} due to the attenuation of the quality of vowels in endings in the Late Old English period. Thus, the ending pronounced as /əθ/ could have been interpreted either as 3rd person sing. indicative as well as all persons plural indicative thus further increasing the syncretism of this paradigm.

expletive and, assuming the EPP requirement of T, the way it is satisfied through merging the expletive *hit*, which would be the way in which a given feature is lexicalised in the sense postulated in Manzini and Savoia (2002). Thus the derivation of the first clause in (1), that is,

(19)   *On lencten hit grewð….*

could be presented as follows:

(20)   [$_{TopP}$ [$_{FocP}$ [$_{PP}$ on lencten]$_i$ Foc [$_{TP}$ hit T+[v+ grewð$_k$]$_j$ [$_{vP}$ t_i [$_{vP}$ t_j [$_{VP}$ t_k]]]]]]]

As can be noticed, all technicalities aside, all constituents in this example undergo displacement to higher projections. The expletive *hit* is introduced after the first phase, that is, vP, is completed and the complex [v+V] is adjoined to T thus establishing proposition. However, the complex [T+[v+V]] is not interpreted as a proposition, possibly due to the feature deficiency of this complex. This would account for merging the semantically empty *hit* which would provide the missing [deixis] feature. The motivation for moving PP *on lencten* to the left periphery is immaterial to the analysis under consideration. Suffice it to note that its displacement to the left periphery does not involve the movement of the finite form of V to the second position (V-2 property). However, this can be explained by the fact that in the Old English syntax V-2 movement was unavailable if the subject was a pronoun (cf. Fischer et al. 2000).

While the explanation of the distribution and function of the expletive *hit* within the confines of the Old English clause is pretty straightforward, the case of the expletive *þær* is more complicated. One of the properties of clauses with this expletive is reflected in the fact that such clauses contain the form of the DP whose such φ-features as Number and Tense are reflected on the form of V$_{fin}$, which is exemplified by (4) to (6). If it is assumed that inflection is the formal reflection of such dependencies, then it could be assumed that such DPs as *mycel gewinn betweonan him*, *fela tacna æteowede*, and *twelf wylian fulle* are merged within VP, and then are moved to the Spec T in order to establish the proposition of those clauses after V is successively associated with v and with T. Therefore, it could be tentatively assumed that the only portion of the clause where the expletive form *þær* is merged is the left periphery. This assumption presupposes another assumption, namely, the complex [T+[v+V]] must move higher, possibly to Focus. Ignoring interrogative clauses, where the displacement of the finite form of the verb to the left periphery position is fairly easy to account for, there are cases when the finite verb form, either indicative or negated, is found in the initial parts of the clause, as in, for example,

(21) *Comon hi   of   þrim folcum ðam strengestan Germanie, þæt of*
      Came   they from three tribes the   strongest of Germania, that of

      Seaxum and of Angle   and of Geatum.
      Saxons and of Angles and of Jutes

      'They came from among the three most powerful Germanic tribes, those of the
      Saxons, of the Angles, and of the Jutes.'

                              Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. The settlement of Angles,
                                                        Saxons and Jutes, 14

(22) *Ne sende se deofol ða fyr of heofonum, þeah þe hit   ufan come*
      NEG-sent the devil the fire from heaven, though   it from above came

      'The devil did not send the fire from heaven, though it came from above.'

                                              Ælfric Homilies I, Preface 6, 13

for the purpose of this analysis we have adopted the cartographic Split-
Complementiser Hypotheses postulated by Rizzi (1997), according to which the
clause would be characterised by the structure presented as follows:

(23) $[_{\text{TopP}}$ Top $[_{\text{FocP}}$ Foc $[_{\text{TP}}$ T $[_{vP}$ v $[_{VP}$ V $(…)]]]]]]$

The leftmost position of the inflected verb form with or without negation implies
that this form should be treated as the form displaced from VP to the leftmost
periphery and associated with Top. In other words, V undergoes topicalisation.
At this point the question obtrudes itself where the expletive element *þær* is
merged. In order to determine where this expletive element is located in the
overall structure of the clause presented in (23), it would be advisable to analyse
the contrast between (24) and (25):

(24) *Ne bið na se leorningcniht furðor þonne   his lareow*
      NEG is not the apprentice   further than   his master

      'The apprentice is not ahead of his master.'

                                              Ælfric's Homilies 14.134

(25) *þær næs   eac nan geðafung*
      There NEG was also no consent

      'There was also no consent.'

                                              Ælfric's Homilies I, 11, 176.7

Analysing examples (21), (22), and (24) one can notice that the DP function-
ing as the grammatical subjects can be characterised as definite, that is, *hi,
se deofol*, and *se leorningcniht*. In the case of the examples featuring the *þær*
expletive DPs functioning as the subjects either indefinite, as (4), (7), (8),
(13), or indefinite quantified through a numeral, as in (6), (10), (15), or posi-

tive quantifiers *fela, sum*, as in (5) and (16), or negative quantifier *nan* as in (11) and (25). Therefore, it could be tentatively assumed that the grammatical subject of clauses with expletive *þær* are specified as indefinite *sensu largo*. In this respect they differ from clauses with finite forms of the verb opening the clause. In the latter case the subject is rendered by the DP, which is specified as definite and specific.

In order to determine what the place and purpose of merging the expletive *þær* are, let us contrast (25) with (12) since they seem to share a similar information structure, except for the presence of a PP functioning as an adverbial. They will be repeated for the sake of convenience as (26) and (27), respectively:

(26)   *þær næs eac nan geðafung*

(27)   *On ðam ecan life ne bið nan costnung…*

It is worth noting that the two clauses have negatively quantified subjects that agree with the verb form as regards number (sing.), which means that the two DPs must have been displaced form the *v*P to Spec TP where the proposition is established reflected in inflection as subject-verb agreement. Taking into account what has been presented as regards the types of existential clauses in (9), (26) should be interpreted as bare existential or ontological, that is, (9b) whose interpretation should be 'It was not the case that there existed any consent in general.' In turn, (27) is an example of an existential clause, that is, (9a) whose interpretation is 'It is not generally the case that in the eternal life there exists any temptation.' What the two clauses differ in is the presence of the adverbial in the form of a PP opening the clause in (27) and the absence of the expletive element *þær*. It can be assumed that the adverbial *On ðam ecan life* is a displaced element that starts its derivational existences as constituent of VP. It will be assumed here that the basic proposition of (27) is 'constnung bið on ðam ecan lifan' with the *v*P structure as follows:

(28)   …[$_{vP}$ costnung *v* [$_{VP}$ bið [$_{PP}$ on ðam ecan lifan]]]

which is given the negative specification in the subsequent parts of the derivation. It can be assumed that PP becomes a part of the focus. Therefore, we can assume that this PP lands in Spec FocP after the negated *v*+V complex *ne bið* leaves T and becomes associated the Focus, the property described as the V-2 phenomenon. This operation is triggered by the Probe-Goal assumption connected with matching, valuing, and, possibly, disposing of the features that are uninterpretable. What kind of features are associated with Foc is immaterial for the analysis presented in this chapter.

The case of (26) is a bit more problematic. It can be assumed that in bare existential/ontological clauses the finite form of the verb is also associated with

Foc, since, from the interpretive point of view, it is the whole predicate which is supposed to attract the addressee's attention. However, the association of the complex [T+[V+v]] with Foc activates certain features on that functional head and its EPP feature must be satisfied through some formal means. It could be assumed that the feature Foc that calls for some formal means to satisfy it is [deictic] connected with the pronominal character of this feature. It is worth noting that *hit* is the means of providing the [deixis] specification if the verb was deficient in it. However, *hit* is characterised by one more feature that would match and evaluate the deficient feature on T, it is the nominal feature D. No such feature is necessary to satisfy the feature evaluation of Foc. The only feature that needs evaluation and possibly lexicalisation is the [deixis] feature which is absent from V_{fin}. A very good candidate for that role is the expletive element *þær*, which can be associated with the feature [deixis]. At the same time this element is not characterised by the nominal feature [D]. Assuming after Los (2015) that negated verb forms acquire their *ne*-forms in NegP, which functions as the complement of T we can postulate the derivation of (26) as follows:

(29)   [$_{FocP}$ þær Foc+næs$_i$ [$_{TP}$ nan geðafung$_j$ t_i [$_{NegP}$ *ne*+t_V [$_{vP}$ t_j [$_{VP}$ t_V]]]]]

In the above derivation Top is not activated and, that is why, it is not reflected in this derivation. The expletive *þær* makes its appearance when it is merged in Spec FocP in order to satisfy the [deixis] feature of Foc the moment it is associated with V_f. The two elements that make LA are the LIs *beon* in its inflected form *wæs* which is first moved to NegP and then to T, and the DP *nan geðafung* which leaves VP and lands in Spec TP in order to acquire the function of the subject. The expletive *þær* is merged in Spec FocP in order to stop the derivation and to signal that what is the focus is the predicate. The feature that is provided by this expletive appears to be [deixis].

4. Conclusion

From the minimalist perspective, the two Old English expletive forms appear to function as the means of lexicalising the features missing either on the displaced element, that is, V, or the functional head. It worth noting that the appearance of the two expletive elements is connected with two different locations of the extensional, or functional, domains of the derivation in the NS. The expletive *hit* is merged in Spec TP as a kind of compensation for the absence of the [deixis] feature on V_{fin}. The expletive *þær* is merged in Spec Foc. Its appearance can be explained as a means of compensation of the feature set-up

on V_{fin} but this time its formal realisation is different. In contrast to *hit*, which is characterised by [deixis] as well as D-features, and which would satisfy the needs of T, *þær* is characterised only by the [deixis] feature that would fully satisfy the feature requirement of Foc. What is worth noting is the fact that in Old English the expletive *þær* can be found most frequently in clauses which can be interpretationally specified as bare existential or ontological. The presence of this expletive in existential clauses, though not impossible, appears to be marginal in Old English texts, however, it appears to gain momentum in the subsequent stages of the history of English, the process whose reasons may make a fascinating topic of further academic endeavour.

There is one more observation that could be beneficial for minimalist practitioners. Namely, giving up the "associate" concept as regards Modern English *there* and its Old English predecessor *þær*, one can suggest the common denominator for the function of *it* and *there*. If *v*P is the phase which is the intensional/lexical domain of the derivation, the two expletive forms appear to be parts of the extensional/functional domain of the derivation. These observations are not without significance for the minimalist theorising based on LA, phase approach, and the multiple spell-out postulate. The analysis presented in this chapter postulates the way of analysing two, formally distinct, but functionally identical units in the linguistic assembly, as the ways of compensating the lack of features on the LIs retrieved from the lexicon in LA.

References

Alexiadou, Artemis & Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parameterising AGR: Word order, V-movement, and EPP-checking. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 16: 491–539.

Belletti, Adriana. 2004. Aspects of the Low IP Area. In Luigi Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP: The cartography of syntaxtic structures*, 16–51. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beninca, Paola & Cecilia Poletto. 2004. Topic, focus, and V2: Defining the CP sublayers. In Luigi Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP: The cartography of syntactic structures*, 52–75. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Braune, Wilhelm. 1912. *Gotische Grammatik mit Lesestücke und Wortverzeichnis*. Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer.

Chomsky, Noam Avram. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noan Avram. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In E. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–156. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam Avram. 2001. Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Closs-Traugott, Elisabeth. 1992. Syntax. In Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, 168–289. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davidson, Donald. 2008. *Truth and predication*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Wim van der Wurff. 2000. *The syntax of early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kiss E., Katalin. 2002. The EPP in a Topic-prominent language. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, expletives, and the EPP*, 107–124. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Light, Caitlin. 2015. Expletive *there* in West Germanic. In Theresa Biberauer & George Walkden (eds.), *Syntax over time: Lexical, morphological and information-structure interpretation*, 17–35. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Los, Bettelou. 2015. *A historical syntax of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Manzini, M. Rita & Leonardo M. Savoia. 2002. Parameters of subject inflection in Italian dialects. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, expletives, and the EPP*, 157–200. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*. Vols. I & II. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Munukata, Takashi. 2009. The division of C-I and the nature of the input, multiple transfer, and phases. In Kleanthes Grohmann (ed.), *Interphases: Phase-theoretic investigations of linguistic interfaces*, 48–81. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar: A handbook of generative syntax*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Vangsnes, Øystein Alexander. 2002. Icelandic expletive constructions and the distribution of subject-type. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, expletives, and the EPP*, 43–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Visser, Fredericus Theodorus. 1963–1971. *An historical syntax of the English language*. 3 parts. 4 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wallenberg, Joel C. 2015. Antisymmetry and Heavy NP Shift across Germanic. In Theresa Biberauer & George Walkden (eds.), *Syntax over time: Lexical, morphological and information-structure interpretation*, 336–349. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

On the use of the pre-modal *mæg* in Old English

Ilse Wischer

University of Potsdam

1. Introduction

The present article aims to contribute to a clearer understanding of how modal markers can historically emerge and change by reviewing the linguistic properties and functions of the Old English (OE) preterite-present verb *mæg*.[1] The OE predecessors of the Present-Day English (PDE) central modals (*can*, *may*, *must*, *shall*, *will*) are often termed pre-modals, probably based on Lightfoot's (1974) work on the historical development of the English modals (see also Traugott 1992: 193 ff.). Others just use the term preterite-present verbs because of their special morphology, while still others employ the term "modals" with or without inverted commas (e.g., Mitchell 1985: 415; Denison 1993: 292). From that terminological dispute it becomes apparent that there is no general agreement about the grammatical status of these verbs. In the present study, I have investigated one of these items, that is, the OE predecessor of our PDE modal word *may*. My empirical analysis of 1,264 randomly selected examples from the *Dictionary of Old English corpus* focuses on the various functions of *mæg,* taking into account person/number distinctions, tense distinctions (present and past), as well as indicative and subjunctive moods, different syntactic contexts, such as impersonal or passive sentences, and clause types, and finally translations from Latin into OE. My paper first deals with the grammaticalization of modal verbs and with earlier studies of OE pre-modals in general and OE *mæg* in particular. After this, the results of my research will be presented and discussed.

---

[1] I will use the form *mæg* as the citation form throughout the article because its infinitive *magan* is very rare in OE. Apart from a few doubtful occurrences in glosses, it has not been attested at all in my sample.

2. The grammaticalization of *mæg* within a Conceptual Framework of Modality

The concepts of mood and modality, both of which are associated with the notions of factuality and non-factuality, are perceived and used differently in linguistics. I will restrict mood to a morphological category of verbs when they are marked by inflections in a systematic manner expressing different degrees of irreality vs. reality. The most commonly distinguished moods are indicative, imperative, and subjunctive, the latter being used to express optative, hortative, and other irrealis modalities. Mood is thus considered a highly grammatical-ized morphosyntactic category when it exists in a language. Modality is rather a notional category expressing all kinds of non-factuality (cf. Declerck 2009: 32). Linguistic expressions of modality can range from lexical items (nouns, adjectives, adverbs) to more or less grammaticalized items. Modal verbs may in many respects be considered as grammatical words. They are, however, clearly less grammaticalized than, for example, mood inflections.

The concept of modality can be subdivided into dynamic, deontic, and epis-temic modality.[2] According to Palmer (1990: 36) dynamic modality (DyM) in-dicates the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence. It is therefore not subjective, like the other two, and consequently not a central modal category. It is closely related to the root meaning of the modal verb. With respect to *mæg*, this means 'be strong, sufficient, in good health, be able, can' (Traugott 1992: 193). Dynamic modality, thus, occurs in periphrastic constructions that refer to the ability of the subject of the sentence to do something or, derived from that sense, to the objective possibility for the subject to perform an action or to be in a certain state.

Deontic modality (DeM) is typically concerned with obligation and permission (cf. Trask 1997), the source of which can be the speaker or some other participant in the discourse. Consequently, there is often a variety of subtypes distinguished, which, however, will not be relevant for the current purpose. With *mæg*, the deon-tic sense of permission can be expressed, or, in a negative context, that of prohibi-tion. As permission is often communicated to the addressee, it can be assumed that this type of modality might be relatively frequent in 2nd-person contexts.

Epistemic modality (EM) is "concerned with the speaker's assumptions or assessment of possibilities and, in most cases, indicates the speaker's confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition" (Coates 1983: 18). It is thus the most subjective and most central type of modality and is clearly speaker-oriented. If epistemic *mæg* is used, it expresses the speaker's judgment that a proposition is possible.

---

[2] For more detailed or other classifications see Ziegeler (2011: 596–597).

Within the framework of grammaticalization theory there has been so far general agreement that modal verbs have their origin in lexical verbs and develop along typical paths of grammaticalization (cf. Bybee et al. 1994). The process of their auxiliarization, as in (1)

(1)   full verb / main verb > auxiliary

is a rather complex one. It requires certain semantic and syntactic contexts and takes place gradually, thus allowing intermediate stages and ambiguous interpretations. According to Heine (1993: 54), it comprises (i) semantic changes as in (2)

(2)   lexical meaning > grammatical meaning,

(ii) morphosyntactic changes (decategorialization), (iii) morphophonological changes (cliticization), and (iv) phonetic changes (erosion). As a consequence of the auxiliarization process, the former full verb can no longer occur independently in a sentence but must be followed by a main verb.

The result is a periphrastic construction, where the auxiliary first expresses some kind of dynamic modality. Its further development in the direction of epistemic modality and eventually the central grammatical category of mood may be schematized as shown in (3):

(3)   root meaning   dynamic modality   epistemic modality > mood   deontic modality
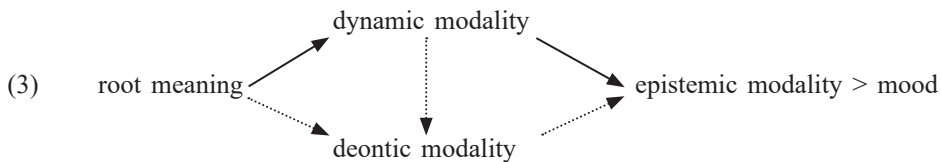
The root meaning of the former full verb may give rise to a dynamic modality sense of the periphrastic construction or, directly to a deontic modality sense. Both can then lead to an epistemic reading (cf. Hansen 2004: 253). Deontic modality may also derive from dynamic modality (or, according to Hansen (2004: 253), even the other way round). In any case, the development of epistemic modality is accompanied by a process of subjectification (cf. Traugott 1989: 35). For English *mæg*, the scheme may be specified as in (4):

(4)   'have power,   ability ⟶ objective possibility   subjective possibility
        be strong'   (speaker's judgment)
                                permission
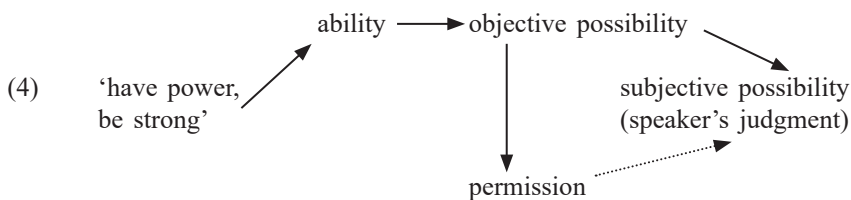
3. OE *mæg* in earlier studies

OE *mæg* shared a number of features with lexical verbs: Morphologically it could express tense, mood, and person/number, although non-finite forms are generally not recorded;[3] semantically, it could be used with the lexical meaning 'be strong, sufficient, in good health; have power'; and syntactically we find intransitive uses of *mæg* as well as transitive uses with a following object clause (cf. Mitchell 1985: 419). But it differed from ordinary lexical verbs by having developed auxiliary-like modal characteristics, in the sense of the principle of divergence in grammaticalization (see Hopper 1991: 22–25). The missing non-finite forms as well as their frequent combination with the bare infinitive of another lexical verb are a strong indicator of their auxiliary character. Semantically OE *mæg* could express various shades of dynamic, deontic or even epistemic modality. However, Traugott (1972: 72) refers to ability as its most important sense. She further claims that it showed "only marginal epistemic colouring in most instances" (1992: 197). Goossens (1982: 79) argues that while *magan*, **sculan*, and *willan* show some traces of epistemic modality during the OE period, "none of them can be regarded as an established carrier of epistemic meaning" in OE.

Nevertheless, almost all authors admit that there *are* individual examples of *mæg* denoting permission (deontic modality) and also epistemic modality as early as in the OE period. Warner (1993: 163) claims that *mæg* in OE is often subject-oriented. Kellner (1974 [1892]: 223) states that *mæg* "as a modal verb is met with in the oldest periods." Standop (1957: 18–29) lists meanings such as 'may well,' 'perhaps will,' habitual 'would,' optative 'may,' concessive 'may' (in substitution for the subjunctive of a lexical verb); 'shall, must' (in law texts); 'be allowed to.'

When *mæg* occurs in impersonal constructions, it can be argued that it does not semantically relate to the subject (as there is no subject), but takes rather scope over the whole sentence, which could be considered an indicator of either epistemic modality or deontic modality (cf. also Warner 1993: 164).

A special use of *mæg*, and particularly its historical past-tense form *mihte*,[4] is found in contexts where alternatively a subjunctive form of a lexical verb could be used. Krzyszpień (1980: 51) in his study of the OE periphrastic construction with *mæg* as an alternative to the inflected subjunctive, found out that it expressed mental/physical ability, objective possibility, or permission; *mihte* when referring or restricted to no particular time expressed a hypothesis or an

---

[3] Whether there really appeared an infinitive from the mid-11th century on and a past participle in Middle English, as stated by Warner (1993: 101–102) cannot effectively be proven on the basis of my analysis.

[4] I use the form *mihte* here as representative for all morphological past tense forms of *mæg*.

unlikely possibility. Warner (1993: 179) calls this the "periphrastic subjunctive" and refers to the use of *mihte* in hypothetical conditional clauses and purpose clauses in late Middle English. It will be shown – on the basis of my data analysis – that such uses are relatively frequent in OE.

For PDE it has been observed that "*may* has a true linguistic function in concessive or adversative contexts" (cf. Souesme 2009: 174) as in *I **may** be wrong, but I am not stupid.* Such functions have not yet been attested in OE.

4. The corpus analysis

4.1 Analysis of the data and the functions of *mæg*

The total number of randomly selected examples from the *Dictionary of Old English* web corpus amounts to 1,264. The majority of these, 858 (68%), occur in present tense form and 406 (32%) in the past tense form.[5] The most frequent person/number forms both in present and past tense are those of the 3rd person with almost 60% in the present tense and more than 90% in the past (see Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of person/number forms of *mæg* in present and past tense

Tense	Singular						Plural						Ø	
	1st		2nd		3rd		1st		2nd		3rd			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Present	44	5	64	7.5	286	33.5	182	21	61	7	221	26	858	100
Past	9	2.5	19	4.5	184	45.5	6	1.5	2	0.5	186	45.5	406	100

It is particularly interesting to note that among the present tense examples, the 1st-person plural forms show a considerably high frequency (182/21%). Almost half of them, 85 (47%), occur in homilies, where they combine with all kinds of lexical verbs. Noticeable is, however, the comparatively high number of verbs of understanding and speaking, so that examples like (5) and (6) sound somewhat formulaic and seem to be part of a particular discourse pattern in OE homiletic prose.

---

[5] Whether this is a representative ratio between present and past tense forms of *mæg* in the whole corpus cannot be confirmed at the present time, since this analysis is part of a larger study still in progress.

(5)   ***Magon we*** *þonne nu*   ***geseon*** *&* ***oncnawan*** *& swiþe gearelice* ***ongeotan***
     may   we then   now see   & know   & very   readily   understand

     þæt þisses middangeardes   *ende swiþe neah is*, […]
     that of-this world   end   very   near   is

     '**May we** then now **see** and **know** and very readily **understand** that the end
     of this world is very near, […]'

<div align="right">(HomU 20 (BlHom 10) B3.4.20)</div>

(6)   *Be*   *þam* ***we magon secgan*** *sume soðe bysene.*
     about that we may   say   some true   example

     'About that **we can cite / let us cite** a true example.'

<div align="right">(ÆHom 30 B1.4.30)</div>

Such constructions are, however, not restricted to homilies and sermons, cf. example (7) from *Guthlac*, a poem of the Exeter Book.

(7)   ***Magun we*** *nu*   ***nemnan*** *þæt us neah gewearð þurh haligne had*
     may   we now declare that us lately was   by   holy   person

     gecyþed, […]
     told

     '**We may** now **declare** / **let us declare** that which was lately told us by a holy
     person, […]'

<div align="right">(GuthA,B A3.2)</div>

When used with a verb of saying, as in (6) or (7), the *mæg*-periphrasis replaces the subjunctive mood with a hortative meaning as an alternative to the OE *uton*-construction.

     The overall distribution of the uses of *mæg* in its function as main verb or as auxiliary verb to express various types of modality is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of the uses of *mæg*

Uses of *mæg*	Present forms		Past forms		Ø	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Main Verb Use	18	2.0	6	1.5	24	2.0
DyM: Ability	351	41.0	190	47.0	541	43.0
DyM: Objective Possibility	269	31.5	68	17.0	337	26.5
DyM: Ability/Objective Possibility	31	3.5	6	1.5	37	3.0
DeM	16	2.0	4	1.0	20	1.5
EM	49	5.5	35	8.5	84	6.5
DyM/DeM	13	1.5	2	0.5	15	1.0

DyM/EM	21	2.5	12	3.0	33	2.5
DyM/DeM/EM	2	0.5	–	0.0	2	0.0
Replacing Subjunctive Mood	38	4.5	21	5.0	59	4.5
Prediction	2	0.5	–	0.0	2	0.0
Main Verb Use / DyM	1	0.0	1	0.0	2	0.0
Non-Identifiable	47	5.0	61	15,0	108	8.5
Total	858	100.0	406	100.0	1.264	100.0

As expected, *mæg* most frequently occurs in constructions involving dynamic modality. In this survey, about two thirds of all examples express ability or the notion of an objective possibility in relation to the subject of the sentence and its predicate, cf. examples (8) and (9).

(8) **We magon** *þurh Godes fylst ða feondlican leahtras mid gecampe*
      we may   by   God's help the hostile   sins   with fight

      oferwinnan, […]
      defeat

      '**We are able to / can / may** with God's help **defeat** the hostile sins in a battle, […]'

      (ÆLS (Memory of Saints) B1.3.17)

(9) *forþam þu eart nu fulneah cumen in on ða*
      therefore you are now almost come in in the

      ceastre þære soðan gesælðe, þe **þu** *lange   ær ne*
      town   of-the true happiness which you for-a-long-time before not

      meahtest aredian.
      were-able (to) reach

      'therefore you have now almost entered the town of true happiness, which **you had not been able to / could not reach** before for a long time.'

      (Bo B9.3.2)

As in (8), an objective possibility may depend on the consent and permission of God – in religious contexts – or of other people, which, via metonymical inference, conveys a new deontic interpretation.

   There occur ambiguous examples in terms of dynamic and deontic (10) or dynamic and epistemic modality, that is, objective and subjective possibility (11), although they are not as frequent as one might think. Nevertheless, there are clear instances of deontic (12) and particularly of epistemic modality (13).

(10)   *Þas   bec   sceal mæssepreost need   habban, and **he   ne   mæg***
       these books shall priest   necessarily have   and he   not may

       *butan   **beon**, gif he his   had   on riht   healdan wyle* […]
       without be   if   he his   order in right hold   will

       'A priest must necessarily have these books, and **he cannot / must not be**
       without them, if he wants to observe his order rightly […]'

                                                      (ÆLet 1 (Wulfsige Xa) B1.8.1)

(11)   *Þa   andswarude Nichodemus and cwæð, hu   **magon** þas   ðing   þus*
       then answered   Nichodemus and said   how may   these things thus

       ***gewurðan**.*
       happen

       'Then Nichodemus answered and said: 'How **may (is it objectively possible
       / is it likely that)** these things thus **happen**?'

                                                               (Jn (Nap) B8.4.9)

(12)   *Þa   gelamp   him   swa æt ælcere mæssan. Þæt **hi   ne   mihton***
       then happened them   so at each   mass   that they not might

       ***wunian** binnon ðære cyrcan æt ðam   huselgange.*
       remain   within the   church at the   administration-of-the-housel

       Æfter þæs   diacones clypunge;
       after   of-the deacon's calling

       'It happened to them so at every mass, that **they could not / were not al-
       lowed to remain** within the church at the administration of the housel, after
       the deacon's calling.'

                                                          (ÆCHom II, 11 B1.2.12)

(13)   *Þær   þa   fyrenfullan þonne **meahton gewiscan** þæt hie   næfre ne*
       there the sinful   then   might   wish   that they never not

       wæren acennede fram hiora fædrum & modrum, […]
       were   born   by   their fathers & mothers

       'There the sinful then **might wish** that they were never born from their fathers
       and mothers, […]'

                                                       (HomU 8 (ScraggVerc 2) B3.4.8)

Another observation which is not surprising is the rare usage of *mæg* as a main
verb. The overwhelming majority of examples where *mæg* is not overtly ac-
companied by another lexical verb are rather seen as ellipses[6] of periphrastic
constructions than as instances of main verb uses, cf. (14):

___

   [6] Here I follow Mitchell's (1985: 419–420) approach and consider such constructions ellipti-
cal where the missing lexical verb can be supplied from the immediate context, as is the case
with the verb *gan* in (14). In (15), on the other hand, no lexical verb can be supplied from the
context. *Mæg* has an independent lexical meaning.

(14) & *oðer hæfð his   fota anweald þæt he mæg <u>gan</u> ðær he wile,*
      & other has of-his feet control that he may go   there he wants

      *swa swa eallum monnum gecynde wære þæt **hi   meahten**, […]*
      so as   to-all men   natural were that they might

      'and one [man] has control of his feet so that he can <u>walk</u>, as it is natural for
      all men that **they can**, […]'

                                                                        (Bo B9.3.2)

Only 24 examples (about 2%) could be identified as non-elliptical, that is,
as clear main verb uses in the whole corpus, most of them with a PP comple-
ment as in (15):

(15) *Manega sind þa gatu ac heora   nan **ne mæig** <u>ongean þære halgan</u>*
      many   are the gates but of-them none not may   against the   holy

      <u>*gelaðunge*</u>. *Þe   is getimbrod upon þam fæstan stane criste*:
      church   which is built   upon the fast   stone Christ

      'Many are the gates, but none of them **can do anything / is powerful enough**
      <u>against the holy church</u>, which is built upon that fast stone, Christ:'

                                                                 (ÆCHom I, 26 B1.1.28)

There are two examples, which are ambiguous in that respect. In (16),
which is an interlinear gloss from the Lindisfarne Gospels, the glossator
provides two alternative translations of the Latin *posse*-periphrasis: one with
a *that*-clause complementation of *mæg* and one with a bare infinitive com-
plementation; in the former, *mæg* must be interpreted as a main verb, and
in the latter as an auxiliary. In (17) *mæg* is found combined both with an
infinitive and with a *that*-clause.

(16) […] dico tibi nisi   quis   renatus fuerit ex aqua et
      Ic cueðo ðe buta hua   eftboren sie   of uætre &
      I   tell you unless someone re-born be   by water &

      spiritu **non potest introire**   in regnum dei
      *gaste **ne mæge þætte inngæ ł inngeonga** in ric   godes.*
      spirit not may   that   go-into / go-into   in kingdom of-God

      '[…] I tell you, unless someone be born again by water and spirit, it **is not
      possible that he goes** into God's kingdom / **he cannot go** into God's kingdom.'

                                                                     (JnGl (Li) C8.1.4)

(17) […] *be þæm dæle þæt hie **ægðer mehton**, ge   heora*
          to   that extent that they either might   not-only their

      *fæsten **gehealdan**, ge eac **þæt þa mete hæfdon** þa hwile.*
      fortress hold   but also that they food had   that while

'[…] to that extent that they **might hold** their fortress **as well as have food** during that time.'

<div align="right">(Or 4 B9.2.5)</div>

The occurrence of main verb uses, as in (15) to (17), provide clear evidence that the auxiliarisation process of *mæg* was not as far advanced in OE as it is today even though, on the other hand, *mæg*-constructions could be used to express deontic and epistemic modality. Besides that, the *mæg*-periphrasis is found in the corpus as an alternative to the subjunctive mood of a lexical verb (4.5%, as shown in Table 2), especially in hypothetical contexts such as in conditional sentences, cf. example (18).

(18)   *& gif hie þonne þis* **gedon magan**, *þu   ongytest   þæt hie syndon*
         & if   they then   this do   may   you understand that they are

         lease   & unlærede   men.
         faithless & uneducated people

         '& if they then **do / may do** this, you understand that they are faithless and uneducated people.'

<div align="right">(LS 32 (Peter & Paul) B3.3.32)</div>

This use is especially obvious in glosses, where Latin simple subjunctive verb forms are translated with OE *mæg*-constructions (also Mitchell 1985: 423–424), as in (19).

(19)   multos   enim   sanabat   ita   ut   inruerent
         monigo forðon   he   gehælde   ðus   þætte hia   raesdon
         many   therefore he   cured   so   that   they   fell

         in   eum   ut   illum **tangerent** […]
         *on   him   þætte   hine **hie   gehrindon ł hrina mæhtæs** […]
         on   him   so-that him   they   touched   / touch might

         'he therefore cured many (people) so that they fell on him **to touch** him / **that they might touch** him […]'

<div align="right">(MkGl (Li) C8.1.2)</div>

In my sample, there are 59 *mæg*-constructions which can be interpreted as clearly replacing the subjunctive mood of the accompanying lexical verb. In 30 of these examples, the indicative form of *mæg* is used, and another 10 examples are ambiguous with regard to their mood (e.g., *mihte*). It is thus the word *mæg* alone, not its subjunctive form, that expresses the subjunctive meaning of the periphrastic construction.

The general distribution of indicative and subjunctive forms of *mæg* is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of indicative and subjunctive forms of *mæg* in present tense and past tense

Mood	Singular			Plural			Ø
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	
Present tense							
Indicative	24	33	143	157	58	190	605
Subjunctive	20	31	143	25	3	31	253
Past tense							
Indicative	9	17	184	6	2	154	179
Subjunctive	9	2	184	–	–	32	34

As can be seen from Table 3, only 30% of the present tense forms of the verb *mæg* occur in the subjunctive. It is interesting to note that while there is an even distribution of indicative and subjunctive forms of *mæg* in present singular, in the present plural the indicative far outweighs the subjunctive.

In the past tense, a formal syncretism of indicative and subjunctive has already affected the 1st and 3rd person sing. so that altogether only 8% of the past tense forms of *mæg* occur in the subjunctive (Table 3). It seems as if with the increasing auxiliarisation of *mæg* its formal mood markers gradually disappear, which is in line with the decategorialisation process (cf. Hopper 1991: 30–31) within the theoretical framework of grammaticalisation.

Part of this process of decategorialisation is also the increasing loss of a clear correspondence between past and present tense forms and their meanings. Past tense examples with a non-past meaning reach 20% (i.e., 82 of all 406) in my sample. They occur as early as in OE poetry, cf. example (20).

(20)   […] ***Ðu meahtest*** ðe   s*iððan*   *mid* *ðære sunnan* ***faran*** *betweox*
           you   might   yourself afterwards with the   sun   travel among

           oðrum tunglum.
           other   stars

           '(But if I were now permitted to feather your mind, your spirit with my wings, […]) **You could** then **travel** along with the sun among the other stars.'

                                          (Met A6)

Visser (1966: §§ 812–820) calls them "modal preterites." They are closely related to past tense uses of *mæg* in reported speech, which Visser calls "preterite of concord" (1966: § 817).[7]

---

[7] Visser does not restrict such past tense uses to *mæg* or the pre-modals in OE, but applies these terms to all verbs in such contexts.

4.2 Special syntactic contexts

Mæg can appear in coordination with another pre-modal, in particular with *mot* and *cann*, as in (21) and (22):

(21)   *Geunne us þonne se ælmihtiga God þæt we to ðam heofonlican*
        grant   us then   the almighty God that we to the   heavenly

        eþle   becuman magon and moton, […]
        home come   may   and   are-allowed

        'May the almighty God grant us then access to the heavenly home (accord us a favour that **we are able to and are allowed to come** to the heavenly home).

                                                    (HomS 37 (Baz-Cr) B3.2.37)

(22)   […] *þæt hi   us hyrsumien wylleþ & holde   beon, mid eallan þam*
        that   they us serve   want & favourable be   with all   that

        þe hi   magan & cunnen.
        that they may   & can

        '[…] that they will serve us and be favourable to us with everything that **they are able to and know**.'

                                                    (Rec 2.1 (Earle) B16.2.1)

It is possible that Kaita (2015: 64) is right when he does not see a difference in meaning here, but rather a stylistic means in the sense of tautological pairs that are typical of Old English rhetorics. In that case, *mæg* in (21) must have been used with a deontic sense, and in (22) both *mæg* and *cann* must have conveyed the same sense of physical or mental ability. On the other hand, such coordinations may have been chosen intentionally because of their different shades of meaning.

If *mæg* is used in an impersonal construction, that is, without the realization of a referential subject, one could assume that it must be interpreted as speaker-oriented conveying an epistemic sense (cf. Denison 1993: 300–302; Fischer 2015: 55). The examples in the corpus are not too many (only 14), cf. (23), and there are many other examples of epistemic modality in our corpus that are not impersonal constructions, for example (13) above or (24) below.

(23)   […] *gif he þonne ne mage macian þe oþer, unc   bam **mæg helpan***
        if   he then   not may make   the other us-two both may help

        to hæbbenne ðis an.
        to have   this one

        '[…] if, however, he cannot make the other one [house], **it may serve** us both to possess this one.'

                                                    (ÆLS (Thomas) B1.3.34)

(24) *Se   læce,   ðonne he cymð ðone untruman   to sniðanne, æresð*
      the physician when   he comes the   sick (person) to cut   first

      he sceawað   ðæt cumbl,   & siððan hine tweonað ymb   ðæs
      he examines   the swelling & then   him doubts   about of-the

      *untruman   geðyld, hwæðer he **geðafian mæge** ðæt hine mon sniðe.*
      sick (person's) patience whether he **allow   may**   that him one cut

      'The surgeon, when he comes to operate on the patient, he first examines the
      swelling, and afterwards he has doubts concerning the patience of the patient,
      whether he **will allow** that one should cut him.'

                                                                    (CP B9.1.3)

In (24) *mæg* has lost its root meaning completely and must be interpreted as
epistemic. Therefore, I cannot support Fischer's (2015: 55) claim that "epis-
temic modality in Old English could only be expressed via biclausal structures
like [impersonal constructions]." I would rather maintain that the use of *mæg*
in impersonal constructions is a sign of context expansion as a consequence
of its grammaticalization, as the root meaning of *mæg* is not compatible with
a subjectless construction.

     The question is now, how *mæg* behaves in passive constructions. Of all 47
examples in my corpus, there is not a single one that contains *mæg* with a clear
epistemic meaning. In most cases it expresses dynamic modality as in (25):

(25)   […] *& gif wif   **ne mæge** raðe   **beon geclænsod*** […]
            &   if woman not may   promptly be   cleansed

       '[…] and if a woman **cannot** promptly **be cleansed** [of afterbirth] […]'
                                                        (Lch II (2 Head) B21.2.1.2.1)

Although passive constructions and impersonal constructions have the same
communicative structures, the former are only overtly impersonal and have
a "hidden" agent, while the latter contain no agent at all. As a consequence,
the root meaning of *mæg* is compatible with passive constructions, but not
with impersonal constructions. If epistemic *mæg*, nevertheless, should occur in
a passive construction, it may be argued that it can also serve as evidence of
semantic-pragmatic context expansion in grammaticalization (cf. Himmelmann
2004).

     A preliminary view on *mæg* in different clause types reflects, in a large
part, Standop's (1957: 30–62) observations: epistemic *mæg* occurs the most in
subordinate clauses, particularly in conditional clauses, final- and consecutive
clauses, concessive clauses and object clauses as complements of volitional
verbs, verbs of saying and cognitive verbs (e.g., *willan*, *cweðan*, *witan*). In
main clauses, occurrences of epistemic *mæg* seem to be attested most often

in the apodosis of a conditional sentence and in questions.[8] These are contexts where the objective possibility meaning of *mæg* could have been easily reinterpreted as subjective possibility, that is, signalling assumption, supposition or epistemic possibility, like in (26), where *mæg* occurs in the apodosis of a conditional statement.

(26)   *Ic wat   þæt ðis   iudeisce folc micclum blissian wile mines deaðes.*
        I   know that this Jewish   folk greatly rejoice will of-my death

        *ac   ic **mægi habban** arwurðfulle licþenunge of heofigendre menigu:*
        but I may   have   honourable funeral   of lamenting company

        Gif ge   willað minum bebodum   gehyrsumian.
        If   you   will   my   commands obey

        'I know that this Jewish people will greatly rejoice at my death. but I **may have** an honourable funeral attendance of a mourning multitude: If you will obey my commands.'

                                                        (ÆCHom I, 5 B1.1.6)

Here *mæg* expresses an objective possibility which can be interpreted as the speaker's personal judgment, hence as epistemic modality. The subjunctive form of *mæg* (here: *mægi*) is the typical mood form in an apodosis of a conditional sentence. The fact that the subjunctive is usually associated with a notion of irreality supports the epistemic reading of the construction. With the syncretism of indicative and subjunctive forms, the base form of *mæg* takes over the function to express the modal meaning of the former subjunctive.

5. Conclusion

My analysis of the corpus data has largely confirmed what has been previously observed on the use of OE *mæg*. It predominantly functioned as a dynamic modal (cf. Lowrey, Web.). Besides expressing its typical root meaning of power, capacity, or physical capability, as listed by Lowrey, it is often associated with notions of objective possibility, especially when the subject of a sentence is inanimate or the verb phrase is a copula or passive construction.

The deontic sense, which has to do with permission, is comparatively rare and it does not predominate in 2nd person contexts as might have been expected, although ambiguous examples with dynamic and deontic modality are conspicuous in the 2nd person. They exist, however, also in the other persons. Often an

---

[8] An exact quantitative analysis of my data with respect to clause types has yet to be done.

objective possibility may depend on the consent and permission of God – in religious contexts – or of other people, which, via metonymical extension, leads to a new deontic interpretation.

Epistemic modality occurs more frequently than has been expected so far. It may appear "to have been only marginally grammaticalised in OE" as Traugott (1992: 198) subsumes, however, with *mæg* it does occur in almost 7% of the examples in our database, and it is not restricted to impersonal contexts. Additionally there are a number of ambiguous examples especially between objective and subjective possibility.

Here it becomes obvious that both, deontic and epistemic modality, can arise from dynamic modality. The process can be very long-lasting with old and new uses existing side by side. We even notice the use of *mæg* to express meanings that are typically conveyed by the subjunctive mood of a verb, such as hortative, optative or hypothetical senses. Such expressions are not more grammatical than other periphrastic constructions as long as they have not become fully paradigmatic and obligatory.

We have to bear in mind that my analysis of OE uses of the "pre-modal" *mæg* relies only on written evidence. As we know from PDE language use and as has already been pointed out by Standop (1957: 170), epistemic modality is much more likely to be found in spoken language than in written texts. Therefore, it is possible that my data might not mirror the actual degree of grammaticalization of OE *mæg*. The preservation of a number of lexical uses cannot be an indicator of the lower degree of its grammaticalization (cf. lexical *go* besides auxiliary *be going to* in PDE).

References

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar. Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press.

Coates, Jennifer. 1983. *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. London: Croom Helm.

Declerck, Renaat. 2009. Not-yet-factual at time t: A neglected modal concept. In Raphael Salkie, Pierre Busuttil & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *Modality in English: Theory and description*, 31–54. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Denison, David. 1993. *English historical syntax*. London: Longman.

Fischer, Olga. 2015. An inquiry into unidirectionality as a foundational element in grammaticalization. In Hendrik De Smet, Lobke Ghesquière & Freek van de Velde, (eds.), *On multiple source constructions in language change*, 43–62. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Goossens, Louis. 1982. On the development of modals and their epistemic function in English. In Anders Ahlqvist (ed.), *Papers from ICEHL-5*, 74–84. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Hansen, Björn. 2004. Modals and the boundaries of grammaticalization. The case of Russian, Polish and Serbian-Croation. In Walter Bisang, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann & Björn Wiemer (eds.), *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*, 245–270. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heine, Bernd. 1993. *Auxiliaries. Cognitive forces and grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus, P. 2004. Lexicalization and grammaticalization: Opposite or orthogonal? In Walter Bisang, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann & Björn Wiemer (eds.), *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*, 21–42. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hopper, Paul J. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. In Elizabeth Closs Traugott & Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization*, 17–35. Vol. I. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kaita, Kousuke. 2015. *Modal auxiliaries from Late Old to Early Middle English. With special reference to* āgan, sculan, *and* mōtan. München: Herbert Utz Verlag.

Kellner, Leon. 1974 [1892]. *Historical outlines of English syntax*. New York: Gordon Press.

Krzyszpień, Jerzy. 1980. The periphrastic subjunctive with *magan* in Old English. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* ll: 47–64.

Lightfoot, David. 1974. The diachronic analysis of English modals. In John M. Anderson & Charles Jones (eds.), *Historical linguistics I. Syntax, morphology, internal and comparative reconstruction. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Edinburgh 2nd–7th September 1973*, 219–249. (North-Holland Linguistic Series 12a). Amsterdam: North Holland.

Lowrey, Brian. *Grammaticalisation and the Old English modals.* Available at: http://quaderna.org/grammaticalisation-and-the-old-english-modals/2012 (accessed 22.10.2017).

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax. Concord, the parts of speech, and the sentence*. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Palmer, Frank R. 1990. *Modality and the English modals*. 2nd ed. Longman: London–New York.

Souesme, Jean-Claude. 2009. MAY in concessive contexts. In Raphael Salkie, Pierre Busuttil & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *Modality in English. Theory and description*, 159–176. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Standop, Ewald. 1957. *Syntax und Semantik der modalen Hilfsverben im Altenglischen:* magan, motan, sculan, willan. (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 38). Bochum–Langendreer: Verl. Heinrich Poppinghaus OHG.

Trask, Robert Lawrence. 1997. *A Student's dictionary of language and linguistics*. Arnold: London.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *A history of English syntax. A transformational approach to the history of English sentence structure*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65: 3l–55.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1992. Syntax. In Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language. Vol. I. The beginnings to 1066*, 168–289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Visser, Frederic Theodor. 1966. *A historical syntax of the English language*. Leiden: Part II. E. J. Brill.

Warner, Anthony R. 1993. *English auxiliaries. Structure and history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ziegeler, Debra. 2011. The grammaticalization of modality. In Heiko Narrog & Bernd Heine (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, 595–604. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The role of syntactic factors
in the elimination of *þurfan from English

Anna Wojtyś

University of Warsaw

1. Introduction

Professor Rafał Molencki's numerous areas of interests include the fates of English preterite-present verbs. His two articles (2002 and 2005) devoted to the obsolete verb *þurfan contain an in-depth analysis of the distribution and list potential reasons for the elimination of the item from English. *Þurfan, a verb of high frequency in medieval English, seems to have been quite abruptly lost in the late 15th (cf. Denison 1993: 296; Molencki 2002: 379) or early 16th century (Molencki 2005: 157). Among the plausible reasons for its loss, historical linguists mention the merger with another preterite-present, *durran*, the confusion which "led to the increasing use of the verb *neden*" (Molencki 2002: 378). *Neden* not only had a stronger modal sense than *þurfan (Nagle and Sanders 1998: 259) but it was also much more flexible syntactically. Thus, it seems that *þurfan surrendered to *neden* due to phonological, semantic and syntactic factors.

The present article is aimed as a contribution to the story of *þurfan recounted by Professor Molencki. It focuses on the syntactic factors that contributed to the elimination of that preterite-present verb and verifies them against the data from medieval English.[1] Thus, the distribution of *þurfan in Old and Middle English is examined to identify the contexts in which the verb was employed. This, in turn, is expected to show whether the preterite-present indeed appeared in a limited number of constructions, which could have affected its frequency and led to its replacement by "a better candidate" (Molencki 2005: 157), that is, *neden*.

---

[1] A more detailed analysis of all factors affecting the demise of *þurfan can be found in Wojtyś (2017).

2. Syntactic factors and database

There are three types of syntactic factors involved. First, *þurfan is claimed to have been "confined largely to negative and interrogative contexts" (Denison 1993: 295). This observation is supported by Molencki (2002: 369), who specifies that "except for some isolated examples from poetry they [þearf and dearr] were used only in nonassertive contexts (negative, interrogative, conditional)." The second factor is the complementation taken by *þurfan. Molencki (2005: 149–150) claims that the most frequent complementation of the verb was bare infinitive. Another possible complement was a that-clause, but this is found with *þurfan only occasionally. The last characteristic syntactic feature is that the verb was often employed in impersonal constructions. Such a context was still quite rare in Old English (Molencki 2002: 370) and also "some of the earliest ME instances also have nominative subjects" (Molencki 2005: 149). But with time, impersonal constructions seem to have become quite common for *þurfan as shown by the number of quotations from the Middle English dictionary (MED). In fact, Molencki (2002: 149) claims that in that period the verb was found "mostly in impersonal constructions." Thus, the elimination of impersonals from English must have affected the fate of the verb.

The three factors mentioned must have considerably limited the application of *þurfan. The study is expected to reveal to what extent the above-listed claims are real for the medieval data extracted from the electronic corpora. For the Old English period, the Dictionary of Old English corpus (DOEC) is used, as it contains a complete set of surviving texts amounting to 3,033,142 words (DOEC, Introduction). As regards Middle English, the study uses two complete texts corpora, that is, the Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose and the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (CMEPV). The former contains the data amounting to 5,949,435 words (Markus 2008: 55), the sources from the latter being approximately 15 million words long.[2] The data were further supplemented with those collected in A linguistic atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME), which contains 650,000 words and covers the period from 1150 to 1325, scantily represented in the other two collections. The corpora have been searched for all attested and potential variants of *þurfan-forms with the aid of the AntConc.

---

[2] This is the information obtained via email from Christina Powell from DLPS Support.

3. Old English

The search for possible spelling variants of **þurfan* in the Old English sources yielded not only the forms of the verb but also those of the noun *þearf* 'need' with a significant frequency in the period (almost a thousand instances). This necessitated a careful scanning of the results to eliminate all instances of the nominal form. The procedure resulted in the identification of 392 instances of the verb **þurfan*. Also included in the analysis are the instances of *beþurfan*, which are treated here as the prefixed forms of **þurfan* rather than separate lexemes, because they had the same meaning, namely, that of 'needing' (cf. Bosworth and Toller 1898), and shape of forms. The data contain 156 forms with the prefix *be-* (note that *DOE* estimates its frequency at ca. 150 occurrences). The numbers of both prefixless and prefixed forms were further reduced after the elimination of samples found in two manuscripts (e.g., Gospel of Nicodemus) or versions (e.g., *Benedict Rule*) of the same text. This gave 519 instances of the two variants in *DOEC*, which means that the verb had the frequency of 171 words per million.

With 380 instances in *DOEC*, the prefixless form is considerably more common than that marked with *be-* (139 occurrences), the ratio being 73% to 27%. For both variants the most common forms are those of 3rd person sing. present tense and subjunctive, which is closely connected with the contexts the verb appears in (see the following Examples). Note that in the present discussion one needs to disregard the instances of the participles (present and past) as well as the occurrences of the verb in glossaries containing translations of single words, since such material contributes nothing to the discussion about syntactic properties of the verb. Thus, the total numbers for the two forms are 324 for **þurfan* and 130 for *beþurfan.*

3.1 Analysis

The comparison of the distribution of the prefixed and prefixless forms has revealed considerable differences. Thus, **þurfan* was found to be mostly attested in negative contexts (254 occurrences, 78% of its uses). The percentage given covers obvious cases in which the verb is negated with the particle *ne* (1a), as well as single instances of negation introduced by for example, *no* (1b):

(1) a. *Forðan ðu **ne þearft** sceamian,*
        'So you do not need to be ashamed,'

                                                        (*Soul and Body* (Soul I) 145)

b. *Þær he* **no þorfte** *lifes ne lissa in þam leohtan ham þurh ælda tid ende gebi-dan,* […]

'There he did not need to expect the end of life nor delights in the illuminating home through time's age […]'

(*Guthlac* (GuthA,B) 833)

The verb also appears in comparative structures (18 instances), such as in (2a), conditional clauses (11 instances) and questions (8 cases), illustrated by (2b) and (2c), respectively, cf.:

(2) a. *Oft ðonne mon ma fæst ðonne he* **ðyrfe**, […]

'Often the man more tenacious than he needs, […]'

(Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care* (CP) 43.311.25)

b. […] *gif þu þonne git* **þurfe** *do þriddan siþe,* […]

'[…] if you still need to, do the third, […]'

(Bald's *Leechbook* (Lch II (2)) 65.1.12)

c. *Hu* **þearf** *mannes sunu maran treowe?*

'How does a man's son need a greater promise?'

(*Exodus* (Ex) 426)

Consequently, in 90% of its occurrences the preterite-present appears in non-assertive contexts. The remaining instances (10%) are affirmative sentences with the verb typically attested in subordinate clauses:

(3) […] *& þu ne wene þæt þu Iudea leasungum gelyfan* **þurfe** […]

'[…] and do not think that you need to trust Jews's falsehood […]'

(*Peter and Paul* (LS 32 (Peter[amp]Paul) 125)

In contrast, *beþurfan* is found in nonassertive contexts in only around 42% of its uses, while the main type of structure is represented by affirmative clauses, the context that accounts for 58% of all its uses:

(4) *Ealle we* **beþurfon** *godes gifnesse;* […]

'We all need God's grace; […]'

(*The Lord's Prayer II* (LPr II) 113)

Thus, the two variants, prefixed and prefixless, are not strictly in contrastive distribution, with a clear preference of one over the other depending on the context. But although it is possible to identify the two variants in similar sentences, the number of such pairs as those in (5) is very low,

(5) a.   […] *þæt he nanes ðinges maran ne **ðurfe*** […]

'[…] that he does not need any more things […]'

(Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Bo) 24.53.14)

b.   […] *& nanes þinges maran ne **beþearf** þonne he hæfð.*

'[…] and he does not need more things than he has.'

(Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Bo) 33.75.31)

also due to the different types of complementation taken by the two types of forms.

The relevant linguistic research has shown that in the majority of cases (256 instances, 79% of all uses of the verb) **þurfan* is accompanied by an infinitive. The most common infinitives found with the preterite-present are *ondrædan* 'dread, fear' and *wenan* 'suppose, think, believe' (6a–b):

(6) a.   *Ne **þearf** him **ondrædan** deofla strælas ænig on eorðan ælda cynnes,* […]

'No one on earth needs to fear the devil's arrows, […]'

(*Christ* (ChristA,B,C) 779)

b.   *Ne **þearf** leoda nan **wenan** þære wyrde* […]

'None of people needs to expect the fate […]'

(*The Meters of Boethius* (Met) 26.113)

c.   […] *þæt hi þonne mihton oþþe **þorfton beon getælede.***

'[…] that they might or needed to be condemned.'

(Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Preface and Book 4
(GDPref and 4) 57.345.13)

As (6c) shows, the infinitive accompanying **þurfan* could be passive. There are merely nine such instances in the data showing that the structure **þurfan* plus the passive infinitive was not very common in Old English. Also, there are two instances with the infinitive preceded by *to*:

(7) a.   *Æclc man þæ hale æagan hæfð, ne **þærf** he nan oðres laðtewes ne larewas þas sunnan **to geseonne**, butan þære hælæ.*

'Every man that has healthy eyes does not need any other guides nor teachers to see the sun, but the health.'

(St. Augustine, *Soliloquies*, Book 1 (Solil 1) 45.22)

b.   *Gif hit sie winter ne **þearft** þu þone wermod **to don**.*

'If it is winter, you do not need to use the wormwood.'

(Bald's *Leechbook* (Lch II,2) 2.3.4)

Example (7a) contains the inflected infinitive *to geseonne* marked with *-ne*, whereas (7b) has "a complex (inflected) infinitive, whose ending appears to have been reduced" (Molencki 2002: 368), that is, *to don* instead of *to donne*. This shows that the verb could be followed by both inflected and non-inflected infinitives, the former being marginal.

It should also be added that the infinitive may be elided as it appears on the surface in the previous clause:

(8)　　[…] *oððe eft ða eaðmodan ðonne hie <ma> wilniað oðrum monnum under-ðiedde* **beon** *ðonne hie* **ðyrfen**, […]

　　　'[…] or then the humble who desire that other people be more subjected than they need, […]'

　　　　　　　　　　(Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care* (CP) 41.302.13)

If one counts such instances, the number of structures of *þurfan* plus infinitive will increase to around 280 instances (85% of all attestations).

Only rarely is the preterite-present complemented by the NP object, typically rendered in genitive,

(9)　　[…] *þætte mon ne* **ðurfe nanes oðres gode**, […]

　　　'[…] that a man does not need any other god, […]'

　　　　　　　　　　(Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Bo) 24.52.21)

most of such instances being found in one text, that is, Boethius. This might point at a regional or perhaps authorial preference rather than being a typical complementation of the verb. In a few remaining cases, the verb is followed by a *that*-clause or an adverbial (e.g., *ma* 'more').

In contrast, the form with the prefix *be-* is encountered with an infinitive only twice, both instances being elliptied from the subordinate clause containing *beþurfan*:

(10) a.　[…] *ðæt hi mege magan <hungor> and hæþenne here him fram* **aceapian** *gif hie <*​**beþurfen3**​*>*.

　　　'[…] that they may be able to buy off hunger and pagan army if they need.'

　　　　　　　　　　(*Will of King Eadred* (S1515) 11)

　　b.　[…] *þæt he* […] *him swa wel wið deofol* **gescyldan** *mæge swa swa he* **beðorfte**.

　　　'[…] that he […] can shield himself from the devil as well as he needed.'

　　　　　　　　　　(*The First Sunday in Lent* (WHom 14) 5)

---

³ The form is amended by the editor of the text from *beþunfen* (see Harmer 1914: 34, fn. 8).

Porto (2005: 166) assumes that such constructions are examples of "elided clauses" explaining that "in the case of *þurfan*, the elided element is an infinitive, while in the case of *beþurfan*, such an element must be a *that*-clause, since in no other example in the corpus does it occur with an infinitival theme."

Thus, one is justified in concluding that *beþurfan* was never (directly) complemented by an infinitive. Instead, the verb typically takes an object, as almost half of all instances of *beþurfan* are accompanied by the NP, usually in genitive (11a) with single instances of an object in accusative (11b). The verb may also take a *that*-clause (11c).

(11) a. […] *ic **freonda beþearf** liðra on lade* […]

'[…] I need gentler friends on the way […]'

(*The Fates of the Apostles* (Fates) 91)

b. *Gyf þu **taperas beþurfe**,* […]

'If you need tapers, […]'

(*Monasterialia indicia* (Notes 2) 4.25)

c. […] *þonne **beþearf** he **þæt hyne man lære þæt he lochige ærest on þonne woh*** […]

'[…] then he needs that a man teaches that he should first look at an error […]'

(St. Augustine, *Soliloquies*, Book 1 (Solil 1) 45.24)

Beþurfan also frequently appears in subordinate clauses with elided elements. Those are mainly comparative structures (13 instances), which contain the phrase *as X needs/needed*:

(12) […] *ne his earnian nele, swa swa he **beþorfte**.*

'[…] nor would deserve his, as he needed.'

(*Isaiah on the Punishment for Sin* (WHom 11) 183)

As mentioned above, the two discussed syntactic factors, that is, the type of structure in which the verb is encountered and the complementation it takes, are evidently combined. Because of this, it is very difficult to find the context in which both types of forms, prefixed and prefixless, could appear. For instance, in negative sentences *beþurfan* is usually accompanied by an object in genitive while **þurfan* rather takes an infinitive.

The third syntactic factor is the presence of the preterite-present in impersonal structures. **Þurfan* is generally claimed to appear in impersonals, although as regards Old English, Molencki (2002: 370) claims that those are rare instances mainly coming from poetry, which points at the fact that "the structure may already have been perceived as archaic."

The data prove that in Old English the verb is indeed typically found in personal sentences accompanied by the subject usually realized by a personal

pronoun although it can also be a common noun (*man*, *hælend*, *feond*), a proper name (*Adam*), a noun phrase, or a clause. There are also instances of the verb followed by a *that*-clause. Characteristically, in such situations it remains un-concluded whether the clause is the subject or the object of the sentence.

(13) *Ne us ne **þearf** na twynian, **þæt we gebyrian ne sceolon oððe heofonwarena cyninge oððe hellewites deoflum æfter urum forðsiðe.***

'We do not need to doubt that we shall (go) to the king of the inhabitants of heaven or the devils of hell after our death.'

(*Be rihtan cristendome* (HomU 27) 261)

The clause in such sentences can be interpreted both as the subject or the objects of the sentence. Yet, in all instances of such clauses appearing near the preterite-present the clause goes together with the infinitive complementing *þurfan. The structure is thus impersonal. For the sake of statistics one should mention that there are seven such instances in the data.

The remaining 13 sentences are indisputably impersonals as no element on the surface could be interpreted as the subject. Thus, such constructions amount to 6% of all uses of the verb.

(14) *Ne **þearf** þe þæs eaforan sceomigan,* […]

'You do not need to be ashamed of an offspring, […]'

(*Genesis* (GenA,B) 2329)

Most of the impersonals come from poetic texts, thus supporting Molencki's assumption (2002: 370), although the data contain five instances from other genres, which are homilies, maxims, legal texts, and a Gospel.

The prefixed variant, *beþurfan*, is also mostly accompanied by the subject rendered as a personal pronoun, a common noun (*man*, *fiend*), noun phrases (*the soul*, *the earth*) and clauses, mostly of *that*-type. Yet, also the prefixed form can occasionally be found in impersonal structures (five sentences). This means that sentences without a subject constitute 4% of all attestations of *beþurfan*, which is the ratio close to that of *þurfan. Yet, *beþurfan* is present in such structures mostly in prose (15a) with one instance only coming from poetry (15b):

(15) a. *Ðonne þe salteres **beþurfe**,* […]

'Then you need a psaltery, […]'

(*Monasterialia indicia* (Notes 2 (Kluge)) 5.32)

b. *Þonne arna **biþearf**, þæt me seo halge wið þone hyhstan cyning geþingige.*

'Then honours are needed, which for me the saint settles with the highest king.'

(*Juliana* (Jul) 715)

One should also note that the verb is once encountered in the structure that according to Möhlig-Falke (2012: 146) represents "borderline cases of impersonal use":

(16)   *Ic nat þeah hym þuhte þæt hym **beþorften** þæt hi his mare wiston* […]
         'I did not know if they thought that they needed to know more of him […]'

                                    (St. Augustine, *Soliloquies*, Book 1 (Solil 1) 20.8)

Here *beþorften* is in plural but this is not determined by the subject, which is missing, but rather by the object *hym* 'them' (accusative/dative plural). Hence, the structure differs from the true impersonals, which always have the verb in singular.

3.2 Distribution in Old English

The analysis of the three syntactic factors reveals considerable differences in the distribution of prefixed and prefixless forms of the preterite-present. **Þurfan* almost exclusively appears in nonassertive structures and is usually accompanied by an infinitive while *beþurfan* is rather attested in affirmative sentences and mostly takes the NP complementation. Both types of forms are only occasionally found in impersonal constructions. Thus, the data prove that in Old English the prefixless variant is very limited in usage and demands a special context for its employment. Those limitations, however, are somehow amended by the more versatile prefixed form.

4. Middle English uses

The three corpora used as sources of ME data, that is, the Innsbruck Corpus, CMEPV, and *LAEME*, have provided 649 instances of **þurfan* with four occurrences of prefixed *beþurfan*. Those needed to be further sifted to eliminate items used (a) in the same text included in more than one corpus (e.g., *Poema Morale*), (b) in different versions of one text (e.g., several manuscripts of *Ancrene Riwle*), and (c) already included in the OE data from *DOEC* (e.g., from *Bodley Homilies* or *Vespasian Homilies*). This considerably reduced the number of occurrences of **þurfan* to 319. Moreover, all four attestations of *beþurfan*

have been eliminated from the data as they come from *Vespasian Homilies* included in the OE corpus.

Since three corpora were used for the study and they often contain the same texts, it is impossible to give the general frequency of the verb in the period. As regards the frequency per million words in each corpus, the verb proves to be most common in *LAEME* (109 times per million words), followed by CMEPV (18 times) and Innsbruck (4 times), which suggests that this preterite-present remained quite popular in Early Middle English, when its frequency reached around 64% of that in Old English.

Þurfan appears in the manuscripts dated to the 12th–16th centuries. There are eight occurrences in the 12th century (*Poema Morale*), the number increasing to 61 in the 13th century (mainly in the AB language sources and Layamon's *Brut*), and reaching 124 and 123 occurrences in the 14th and 15th centuries, respectively. The 16th century witnesses only three attestations of the verb. The most recent text to employ *þurfan* in the data is the *Destruction of Troy* (ca. 1540 (?a1400)), the text given as the source of the last Middle English quotations of the verb by *MED*. The other source from the 16th century containing the preterite-present is the *Tale of Ralph the Collier*, written in Scottish rather than English dialect.

4.1 Analysis

Like before, also in the Middle English period the verb is mostly encountered in negative sentences. Most of them are explicit negations containing the particles *ne* or *noght.* But there are also several cases in which the negative element is attached to the subject (17a), the object (17b), or an adverbial (17c):

(17) a.   *For pouert **thar naman** mislik*
          'For no man needs to displease power.'

                            (*Cursor Mundi* (MS Cotton Vespasian A.3) l. 11311)

   b.   […] *ʒe **þorue** habbe of heom **no kare**.*
        '[…] you need to have no care of them.'

                       (*South English Legendary*: *St. Lucy* (MS Laud Misc. 108) l. 160)

   c.   *Þat þe **þar neuer** þe fendë drede*
        'That you never need to dread the fiend.'

                            (*Handling Sin* (MS Harley 1701) l. 9555)

The addition of sentences with all the ways of introducing negation gives the ratio of 90% of all instances of *þurfan in the period. Also, several attestations of the verb are identified in direct questions (18a), as well as comparative (18b) and conditional (18c) sentences:

(18) a. *whame **thare** me þan drede?*
       'whom need I then dread?'

       (*The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (MS Thornton) p. 55)

   b. *As mery of þat myld as a mon **thurt**.*
       'As merry of that mild as a man could.'

       (*Destruction of Troy* (MS Hunterian 388 (V.2.8) l. 12001)

   c. *Myn ase shall with vs, if it **thar**,*
       'My donkey shall be with us, if it is necessary,'

       (*Towneley Plays: Abraham* (MS Huntington Library HM 1) l. 117)

This leaves around 6% of instances (18 occurrences) of the preterite-present in affirmative contexts, which can be illustrated with the following examples:

(19) a. *þat him **thar** wepe for-þer-mare.*
       'That he needs to weep later.'

       (*Cursor Mundi* (MS Fairfax 14) l. 26799)

   b. *Certes, ho so **þurste** hit segge Symon quasi dormit;*. [so] derst EG; durste M; dorste I; durst FI.].[4]
       'Certainly, she needed it to say Simon quasi dormit;'

       (*Piers Plowman, C Version* (MS Library HM 137 (V.2.8) l. 257)

Interestingly, numerous instances of the preterite-present are found in affirmative contexts in sources whose other versions employ the *d*-forms, as in (19b) above. One might venture to suggest that since the context seems to be quite exceptional for *þurfan, in such sentences the verb was likely to be confused with *durran.* All things considered, the data show that as regards the type of structures in which it was employed, *þurfan had a stable distribution as in both Old and Middle English the ratio of nonassertive contexts it appears in is very similar.

In Middle English the preterite-present is still regularly accompanied by an infinitive. Such structures even gain frequency as now they account for 98% of all the uses of the verb (as compared to 79% in Old English), which shows that the verb is even more specialized than before. The infinitive is usually bare (20a) and, occasionally, absent from the surface due to its presence in the

---

[4] The version included in CMEPV comes from the edition including the manuscript variants.

previous part of the sentence (20b), or it may be simply understood from the context, as in (20c), where obviously it is the verb *do* that is missing:

(20) a.   *Ne **thurt** naman **ete** flesse þat tid,*
     'No man needed to eat flesh at that time,'

                              (*Cursor Mundi* (MS Cotton Vespasian A.3) l. 1991)

   b.   *Wolden hie hlesten ðane hali apostel, swa hie ne **ðorften**!*
     'Would they listen then to the holy apostle, as they should!'

                              (*Vices and Virtues* (MS Stowe 34) p. 67, l. 16)

   c.   *Spake no word bot maked doile, **Thort** no womman more.*
     'Spoke no word but lamented, no woman could (do) more.'

                              (*South English Legendary: Temporale* (*Passion of Christ*)
                              (MS Cotton Vespasian A.3) l. 5–6)

The range of infinitives seems wider than in the previous period but (*a*) *drede* 'fear, dread' and *wenen* 'believe, expect' are still recurring. As in Old English, the verb can, albeit rarely, be followed by a passive infinitive (21a). Additionally, the 15th century witnesses the appearance of *þurfan* together with perfect infinitive (21b) with the past participle preceded by the auxiliary *have*:

(21) a.   *Þareof **thare** þe no more **be fered**.*
     'Thus, you need not be afraid any more.'

                              (*The Vision of Tundale* (MS Royal 17.B.43) l. 1466)

   b.   *And now him þinke in his þoȝt him **thurt** noȝt **haue carid**.*
     'And now it seems to him that he needed not have travelled.'

                              (*The Wars of Alexander* (MS Ashmole 44) l. 1461)

Examples such as that in (21b) are quoted by Molencki (2005: 149) but only for the verb *durran* and not for *þurfan*. Also, contrary to his statement that "*Tharf* did not co-occur with the *to*-infinitive at all" (Molencki 2005: 149), the data provide two instances in which the preterite-present is followed by the *to*-infinitive (22ab) and one in which the infinitive is marked with *for to* (22c):

(22) a.   *For his spirituale speche hym **thar** not **to spill**.*
     'For his spiritual speech he did not need to die.'

                              (*York Plays,* Play 33 (MS Additional 35290) l. 302–303)

   b.   ***Thurfte** he never after **to aske** leche,*.* [Th. he n.] He ncded neuer O. aske]
     seke O.]
     'After that, he never needed to ask the doctor.'

                              (*Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (MS Chetham's Library 8009) l. 4219)

c. **For to ask** *ne **thar** naman, O þai war glad and ioiful þan.*

   'No man needs to ask, they were glad and joyful then.'

   (*Cursor Mundi* (MS Vespasian A.3) l. 10565–10566)

Note that all quotations come from Late Middle English texts (15th century). Interestingly, the passage from *Sir Beues* (22b) shows no parallel *to*-infinitives in other manuscripts, as MS Gonville and Caius College 175/96 has *Ne þurste hem neuere asken leche* with a bare infinitive (*MED*) while, as supplied by the editor of the text (cf. 22b), yet another manuscript contains the form *neded.* It is thus possible that the scribes felt that the line was odd and tried to amend it, although it would be too far-fetched to claim that the changes were due to the structure *þurfan plus *to*-infinitive, especially that no such procedure has been traced for the other two examples.

   The complementation other than infinitive includes three examples where *þurfan co-occurs, which is believed to function as the direct object. All of them are dated to the 15th century:

(23) a. […] *þat yu ne **þarf na candil**, bot al be don by day alle tyme,* […]

   '[…] that you do not need any candle, but all should be always done during the day, […]'

   (*Benedictine Rule (1)* (MS Lansdowne 378) p. 29)

   b. *BVt Priamus with that seyde "nay," Hem **thurt no more of that play**;*

   'But Priam said 'no' to that, they needed no more of that play;'

   (*The Laud Troy book* (MS Laud Misc. 595) l. 15923–15924)

   c. *If the hit like, the ne **thar non other**; Iff thow dost not, thow may take other.*

   'If you like it, you need no other; if you do not, you may take another.'

   (*The Laud Troy book* (MS Laud Misc. 595) l. 17313–17314)

Interestingly, (23a) is listed in *MED* as the only example illustrating the sense "Of a candle: to be necessary (for sb.), be needed, avail" (*MED, thurven*). This suggests that in the dictionary *candil* 'candle' is treated as the subject of the sentence. And yet, it seems more likely that the function of the subject is performed here by the pronoun *yu* 'you,' with *candil* functioning as a direct object. In the other two examples the verb is accompanied by the noun phrase. As both come from *The Laud Troy book*, only two texts employ *þurfan plus a direct object.

   Moving on to the types of structure the verb appears in, the data show that in Middle English *þurfan is often found in impersonal constructions. One needs to mention that in some cases, various versions of one text contain different syntactic constructions, as illustrated by the two sentences in (24):

(24) a. […] ne **þearf** þu noht dreden þe attri ned_dre of helle.
      '[…] you do not need to dread the poisonous viper of hell.'
                (*Ancrene Riwle* (MS Christi College Cbr. 402) p. 71, l. 20–1)

   b. *ne **þarf** þe nawt dreden; þe attri neddre of helle.*
      'it is not necessary for you to dread the poisonous viper of hell.'
                (*Ancrene Riwle* (MS Titus D xviii) p. 39, l. 4–5)

Such examples obviously impede the preparation of an exact statistics since the numbers would change depending on the chosen version. In the present study, the decision has been made to count the form used in more versions of the text or, in the case of an equal number of versions, the earlier one. This calculation establishes the frequency of impersonal structures at 44% of all uses of the verb. The preterite-present is employed in impersonals throughout the period, the earliest example coming from the 12th century (25a) with the most recent one found in the *Destruction of Troy*, chronologically the latest text to employ *þurfan (24b):

(25) a. þanne ne **þarf** us noðer gramien. ne shamien.
      'Then it is not necessary for us to grieve or feel ashamed.'
                (*Poema Morale* (MS Trinity College B.14.52) p. 69)

   b. Hym **þar** not hede to be hurt with no hegh falle,
      'It is not necessary for him to worry about being hurt from the fall from high,'
                (*Destruction of Troy* (MS Hunterian 388) l. 2080)

As the examples show, in impersonal structures the verb is typically accompanied by an Experiencer, rendered in the dative case, cf. *us* 'us, and *hym* 'him.' In other cases, the verb takes the subject, which is usually a personal pronoun, most often *he*:

(26) […] so that **he thurst** nat attend his husbondrye,
      '[…] so that he did not need to do household duties,'
                (*The Stonor letters and papers* (MS) p. 77, vol. 1)

The data also seem to imply a certain authorial preference for the employment of the preterite-present with or without the subject, for example, in Chaucer's texts *þurfan always appears in impersonals, whereas in Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon* the verb always has the subject.

4.2 Distribution in Middle English

With no instances of *beþurfan* in the period, the analysis of Middle English data can cover only the prefixless form. As shown above, the preterite-present is mostly attested in nonassertive contexts and it is almost always accompanied by the verb in the infinitive. Less than half of all its instances are found in impersonal constructions, other examples containing the surface subject.

5. Conclusions

After analyzing the data from the two periods it is difficult to escape the conclusion that syntactic factors had a considerable influence on the distribution and, in consequence, the elimination of (*be*)*þurfan* from English. Already in Old English, the prefixless form exhibits a high degree of specialization as in 90% of instances the verb appears in nonassertive contexts and in 79% it is complemented with the infinitive. However, the prefixed form somehow complements **þurfan* and fills in the contexts in which the variant without *be-* is not encountered.

In Middle English the verb is still mostly employed in nonassertive contexts and allows for a very limited number of types of complementation. In comparison to Old English, one notices an increased use of the structure **þurfan* plus an infinitive (to 98%). Also, the verb starts to appear more often in impersonal constructions, as its frequency in such structures is raised from 6% in Old English to 44% in Middle English. Additionally, the loss of *beþurfan* at the end of Old English limits the frequency of the preterite-present, which is now almost entirely banned from certain contexts.

Thus, although the demise of **þurfan* seems to have been the result of several different factors, including the change in the shape of forms and the influence of other items denoting 'needing,' one cannot ignore the limited distribution of the verb which undoubtedly had a serious influence on its frequency.

References

(a) Data

LAEME = A linguistic atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325. ©2008–. 2008. Compiled by Margaret Laing. Available at: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/ laeme1.html. The University of Edinburgh: Edinburgh.

Bosworth, Joseph & T. Northcote Toller. 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*. Digital edition available at: www.bosworthtoller.com.

DiPaolo Healey, Antonette, Joan Holland, IanMcDougall & Peter Mielke. 2000. *The dictionary of Old English* corpus in electronic form. DOE Project: Toronto.

Markus, Manfred. *Innsbruck computer archive of machine-readable English texts* (ICAMET). 1999. CD-ROM version. University of Innsbruck.

McSparran, Frances. The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. http://ets.umdl .umich.edu/m/mec/. Humanities Text Initiative – Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Oxford English dictionary. Oxford University Press: online edition. Available at: http:// oed.com.

(b) Special studies

Denison, David. 1993. *English historical syntax: Verbal constructions*. Longman: London and New York.

Molencki, Rafał. 2002. The status of *dear* and *þearf* in Old English. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 38: 363–380.

Molencki, Rafał. 2005. The confusion between *thurven* and *durren* in Middle English. In Nikolas Ritt & Herbert Schendl (eds.), *Rethinking Middle English: Linguistic and literary approaches*, 147–160. Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main.

Möhlig-Falke, Ruth. 2012. *The Early English impersonal construction: An analysis of verbal and constructional meaning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nagle, Stephen J. & Sara L. Sanders. 1996. Downsizing the preterite-presents in Middle English. In Jacek Fisiak & Marcin Krygier (eds.), *Advances in English historical linguistics*, 253–261. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Porto, Lucía Loureiro. 2005. The semantic predecessors of need: From Old to Early Modern English. PhD dissertation, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Wojtyś, Anna. 2017. *The Non-Surviving Preterite-Present Verbs in English: The Demise of* *dugan, munan, *-nugan, *þurfan, *and* unnan. (Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 51). Frankfurt am Main–New York: Peter Lang Verlag.

Part Two

Semantics, Lexis, Translation

To translate is human,
to explain – divine[*]

Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

1. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to show four translations of the Psalter which represent different epochs, cultures, contexts, and even different religions, yet diverge in the same way from the generally accepted mode of biblical translation and transmission. In spite of that, they never faced any hostility or institutionalised opposition. Understanding the nature of this divergence and the surprising lack of sanction requires showing the broader context of biblical translation and interpretation, and the protocols of transmission of the two. Therefore, I will start with the origins of biblical interpretation and translation (Section 2) and show that although these two activities were inextricably linked, their products were consistently kept distinct to the effect that translations tended to acquire the status of an original so they were viewed as sacred, with their sanctity being extended to their material instantiations (Section 3). In contrast, no such treatment was accorded to works of an interpretative character. The perception of the biblical text as sacred naturally entailed its absolute inviolability, and in Section 4 I will discuss the ways in which this integrity was guarded. In effect, translation and exposition were clearly separated in a number of ways and, while the methods differed with time and between cultures, the separation of the two was always the rule (Section 5).

It is against this backdrop that I am going to introduce the four Psalters – the Aramaic Targum of the Psalter, the Old English Paris Psalter, the Latin glossed Psalter, and Walenty Wróbel's 16th-century Polish rendition of the Psalter (Section 6) – which seem to defy this rule and yet, while the history

of biblical translation is turbulent and abounds in accusations of heresy and burnings at the stake, none of these Psalters ever faced such threats. As my contribution to a better understating of the phenomenon of the reception of Psalter translations, in the Conclusions (Section 7) I will propose an answer to the question of why these texts emerged at all and why, in spite of defying the general rules, they were never charged with heresy.

2. Appropriating the biblical text

The Bible, as a text whose importance is matched only by its complexity, has been subject to explanation ever since its emergence. In other words, the tradition of biblical exegesis is as old as the Bible itself and is encapsulated in the very expression "the written Torah," which presupposes the existence of the Oral Torah. This embodies the Jewish conviction that "the written Torah," which was given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, was supplemented by verbal instruction from God. The purpose of the Oral Torah was "to enable the Jewish people to apply the teachings and legal precepts of the 'written Torah' to new or changing circumstances" (Magonet 2006: 756).[1] Additionally, the practice of explaining the Bible is described both in the Old and in the New Testament (cf. Nehemiah 8.8 and Acts 8.1 respectively). It is therefore not surprising to find it both in Jewish and in Christian liturgy: both in the synagogue, and in the ancient, medieval, and modern Christian liturgy: "the sacred text is not only read out loud or recited when the community gathers for worship; it is also explained, expounded and applied to present life in a sermon or homily, often by authorized interpreters" (Fodor 2015: 108).

Another form of appropriation of the Bible is via translation.[2] First oral and then written translations of the Bible emerged even before the definitive canon of the Hebrew Bible was established (Delisle and Woodsworth [1995]2012: 155). While Judaism pays great attention to the letter of the text, this does not preclude the possibility of translation. "Translation for non-Jews was considered legitimate, and translation for Jews who no longer spoke Hebrew was also permitted" (Delisle and Woodsworth [1995]2012: 155) because it was viewed

---

[1] For more information on the Oral Torah, see also Cardozo ([1989]2004), Avrin (1991), Holdrege (1996: 362), and Chazan (2006).

[2] Clearly there is a significant overlap between translation and interpretation, in the sense that every translation is an act of interpretation, yet what is meant here by interpretation is exegetical activity, that is, a biblical commentary rather than a rendition of the biblical text. In this sense, translation and interpretation of the biblical texts are distinct activities, each with its own very different objective.

as one of the ways of diffusing the divine word. This was first necessitated by the Jews' loss of knowledge of the Hebrew (hence the Aramaic and Greek translations) and then by the same necessity of other believers to understand the sacred scriptures; hence Latin and vernacular translations of the Bible. The first significant translation of the Hebrew Bible was the Greek version known as the Septuagint. The Septuagint was viewed as an inspired biblical translation, which granted it the status of an original. The same happened to its later Latin rendition, generally referred to as the Vulgate.[3]

3. Materiality of the biblical text

The Bible, either original or translated, as the divine Word of God, was revered even in its purely material form: the sanctity of the contents extended to its materiality both in Judaism and in Christianity. One obvious way of expressing this conviction was embodied in the way the sacred books were produced and treated.

3.1 Hebrew tradition

In the Hebrew tradition the production of the liturgical scroll is guided by an elaborate protocol,[4] concerning both the process and the final product to an equal extent. Production regulations apply to the purely material aspects of

---

[3] The term *Vulgate* is multiply ambiguous, and the ambiguity concerns both the medieval use of the term and its modern applications. In the Middle Ages, it was used indiscriminately with reference to the Septuagint and Vetus Latina, that is, its Latin pre-Jeromian rendition (in parallel to an equally ambiguous use of the term *Septuagint*, which was also applied to both; Linde [2012]2015: 8–23). This is (partly) due to the fact that the term *Vulgate* underwent an important change: from a common noun, denoting the common version – hence the double identification – to a proper noun, denoting the version of the Bible *associated* with Jerome's (ca. 347–420) revisions (Linde [2012]2015: 16) and translations. Interestingly, contrary to the general opinion, the term also incorporates books not revised or translated by Jerome but customarily circulating together with his works. The medieval attribution persisted into the modern period via the quoted authors, and gave rise to even more confusion as to what text is denoted by the term *Vulgate* (Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013: 17–21).

[4] It is expressed in various parts of the Talmud, but is mostly to be found in external treatises, such as *Soferim* and *Sefer Torah*. The rules were handed down orally for centuries before receiving a written form around the end of the 8th century CE (Avrin 1991: 107).

the Torah (the writing support, type of ink, the erasing tool, etc.), attributes of the scribes (their spiritual and intellectual disposition), and the strictures of the writing process as such. Furthermore, special rules apply to the treatment of the Torah scroll after its completion. The Torah is not to be touched with the bare hand: there is a pointer (*yad*) which is to be used instead. Special measures are taken when the Torah is dropped; and if a scroll is no longer fit for synagogue use, it is not discarded but is buried in a *genizah* (cf. Section 3).

These concerns reflect the belief that the Torah is the embodiment of God Himself (Langer 2005 and Tigay 2013, cf. also Holdrege 1996: 361 and Sacks 2000: 39). This conviction receives an expressive visual articulation in the treatment accorded to the Torah scroll at least since the post-exilic period (Tigay 2013: 325),[5] which underscores the metonymical identification of the scroll containing the words of God with God Himself. In particular, the Torah is kept in the Ark and when it is open, those present "are acting as if God is in the Ark, and when they carry the Torah in a procession dressed like a person, wearing a velvet or silken mantle, a breastplate and crown, and kiss it, they are treating it very much like others treat a king, a pope" (Tigay 2013: 323). Many rituals could be mentioned here which show that the Torah is seen as embodying God Himself, but considerations of space preclude a more detailed discussion.

As observed by Tigay (2013: 330), "the synonymy of Torah and God" stems from the nature of the contents of the Torah. Ceremonial oath taking is performed in front of the Torah in the same fashion as in its later well-known Christian parallel. In contrast to the Christian tradition, however, the Torah is not to be embellished with pictures of any type and it is only its outer cover and the accompanying liturgical accessories that receive majestic decoration. The text itself is not adorned since, as pointed out by Tigay (2013: 340), "[i]t is the text, the words, the content, that remain the primary link between the Jew and God." In Christianity, the belief in the mystical identity of the Bible with God's presence receives an additional expression in the form of exquisite decoration of biblical books, as shown in more detail in the next section.

3.2 Christian tradition

As just mentioned, in the Christian tradition, the Bible, either as a whole or its individual books – especially the Psalter (as it was one of the most widely copied books of the Bible) were splendid objects: decorated with gold, lavishly

---

[5] The identification of the Torah scroll with God's presence is still observable in *Sefat Emet* – a 20th-century commentary by the Polish Hassidic Rabbi Yehudah Leib Alter of Ger.

illustrated, and covered by most exquisite bindings (especially those to be used liturgically; cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik 2016b). In contradistinction to the Hebrew tradition, Christianity lacks an elaborate protocol for Bible copying. Instead, the sanctity of the contents is reflected by the material expression of splendour – these impressive decorations were seen fit to emphasise the divine nature of the text. A biblical codex in its entirety was seen as infused with apotropaic and protective powers. This perspective was shared by the laypeople and church authorities alike, although it has to be emphasised that the exact practices did not always coincide.

Starting with the laypeople's view, small codices with religious content were often carried around the neck in late antiquity, because possession of the sacred text was believed to keep the devil away; so was the presence of the Bible in a household. The Bible was also thought to have the power to quell fires (cf. Rapp 2007: 199). Moreover, we have evidence of "the use of extracts from scripture, *pars pro toto*, to evoke the power of the *entire* Word of God in the recommendation to write psalm verses on storage jars to prevent wine from turning sour" (Rapp 2007: 202). Another instance is the production of guidebooks for the oracular use of scripture, which had appeared in Egypt by the time of St Anthony (ca. 251–356) (Frankfurter 1998).

These practices are very old and, importantly, they continued throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. As observed by Skemer (2006: 123), "some textual elements that appealed first to early Christians in the eastern Mediterranean then moved to the West with the expansion of the faith. Gospel readings […] and psalms earned early acceptance by Christians for their efficacy" and were frequently used as textual amulets from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. This practice combines the laypeople's view with the Church's opinion (at least to some extent): it stems from St Augustine's belief that an act of copying the Bible spreads God's Word, thereby destroying demonic power. In effect, Christian amulets with brief quotations from scripture were very common already in late antiquity. A good example is a 4th/5th-century fever amulet containing twenty lines of the Greek text folded down and placed in a suspension cylinder. Beside two other passages, the papyrus contains a quotation from Psalm 89, which was very common in that function. Interestingly, and this is how the lay view differs from the official standpoint of the Church, the apotropaic power associated with these objects was embodied in the sheer materiality of the text rather than in its contents, as evidenced by the inattention to the exact text reported by Skemer (2006: 85).

Among biblical books, psalms were considered most powerful weapons against evil – they were recommended to be learnt by heart[6] but, as observed

---

[6] This was an injunction officially articulated by the Church, which shows the difficulty in demarcating the lay view from the ecclesiastical one. The Church, however, focused on the

by Skemer (2006: 86), they featured less prominently in the relevant medieval practices than in antiquity. However, we still come across *philacteria* with psalm verses "to combat temptation and treat particular ailments" (Skemer 2006: 86). A 13th-century English manuscript of the Hebrew Psalter with words cut out to serve as textual amulets (Zier 1992: 103) for particular afflictions and a 14th-century English miscellany with instructions concerning the preparation of amulets based on particular psalms (Skemer 2006: 86) can serve as perfect examples. The custom was by no means restricted to England; it is also known to have been practised in Germany, Moravia, Italy, etc.

The use of *philacteria* and textual amulets was repeatedly forbidden by the Church. Pope Gelasius I (492–496) declared *philakteria non angelorum sed daemonum nominibus consecrata*. Textual amulets were also officially condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 692. Likewise, the Council of Ratisbon in 742 prohibited the use of *philacteria* (Skemer 2006: 45).[7] The proscriptions were recurrently reissued but the very fact that they had to be repeated indicates the continued use of textual amulets.

When it comes to the official standpoint of the Church, the belief in the physical depositories of the Word of God sharing in the sanctity of the divine message can be seen in a variety of rituals. Let me mention some of them here. First of all, a very expressive symbol – the enthroned Bible – "a frequent motif in church decorations from late antiquity and beyond" (Rapp 2007: 197), which started as a very literal procedure of inviting the Deity represented by the Bible to partake in procedures in this way. This is the essence of the swearing of oaths by the Bible, that is, by God. As mentioned in Section 2.1, it is a practice shared by Judaism and Christianity in reflection of the same belief in the presence of God in the sacred book containing His words. The same concept is re-enacted during the Eastern liturgy, where the bishop's stole (*omophorion*) signals his role as a representative of Christ. The moment the Gospels are opened, however, the *omophorion* is removed in order to show that God Himself is present (Rapp 2007: 197).

The common ground between the official and the popular approach to the sacred power of the biblical text is to be observed in an expressive but much less well-known custom of reliquaries containing the Bible or its parts, especially the Psalter, rather than the bodily remains of the saints, which is what one tends to associate them with. These were carried into battle and believed to secure God's protection. Skemer (2006: 52) notes that the most famous book shrine is the Cathach (or "Battler") of St. Columba, or Columcille, of Iona (ca. 521–597). This relic contained half of the Psalter which had been

---

contents, while the laity on the form; though it has to be admitted that there is a considerable overlap of practices here and, in effect, it is often difficult to distinguish the two standpoints.

    [7] For a full review of ecclesiastical proscriptions against these practices, see Skemer (2006).

owned (and possibly even copied) by the saint himself.[8] In the 11th century, the Cathach was put in a silver-gilt shrine decorated with jewels. Legend has it that it survived undamaged several instances of immersion in water, which corroborated the sacred status of its contents in the eyes of the contemporaries. Enshrined Psalters were carried by marching armies to secure military victory and the practice is recorded in Ireland as late as the 17th century.[9] While many more examples of similar practices could be presented here, the ones already discussed are sufficient to illustrate the reverence with which the sacred text was approached even in its purely material instantiations.

4. Integrity of the sacred text

In view of this reverence to the very materiality of the biblical text, it is only to be expected that the textuality of the Bible be inviolable.[10] It is sacrosanct, so it is not to be interfered with but is to be guarded and protected by all possible means. This finds different expressions across cultures, religions, and times. But while the methods differ, they all point to a strong concern for the integrity of the text both in the Hebrew and in Christian tradition.

4.1 Hebrew text

Taking into consideration textual variability that generally characterises the manuscript culture (Cerquiglini 1999), the stability of the sacred text in Hebrew in comparison to Greek and Latin biblical texts is amazing (Avrin 1991: 124). The source of this stability is to be associated with the emphasis put in the Hebrew tradition on the whole process of copying the sacred text (cf. Section

---

[8] Cf. Toswell (2014: 19, 163) for more details concerning the Cathach.

[9] Another example, also from the battlefield, where the belief in the sacred power of the words of God finds a very literal expression, is represented by Psalm verses inscribed on parts of armour to protect the wearer. Toswell (2014: 151–153) reports a gold strip discovered in 2009 in the Staffordshire Hoard from the 7th century. The inscription on the strip shows a passage very close to that of Psalm 67.1, asking God to drive the enemies away, thus clearly representing the embodiment of the belief in the apotropaic power of the Psalter.

[10] Paradoxically, the inattention to the letter of the scriptural material in textual amulets (cf. Section 2.2) does not necessarily contradict this observation. Note that it was the text itself, though perceived by those with little literacy, that was seen as the embodiment of sacrality and power.

2.1). "No book of any other culture has survived with the same physical form and textual stability for so long a time as has the Jewish Torah" (Avrin 1991: 101). This stability, both in the purely material and textual layer, is motivated by the sacred contents of the book.

The concern for the correctness of the Hebrew text is best illustrated by the very term employed to denote a scribe, *Sofer*,[11] meaning 'one who counts (letters)' and is fully articulated in the rules which a *sofer* had to follow in copying the Torah. The injunction not to change the text in any way by additions or deletions (cf. Deut. 4:2) "proves the importance attached to textual integrity" (van der Toorn 2007: 145; cf. also Holdrege 1996: 362). No form of textual rectification was allowed from the moment the text was crystallised.[12] In effect, Hebrew scrolls have always presented an extremely uniform text: they were copied with utmost care and any divergence with respect to the source had to be corrected before the text was considered fit for liturgical use.[13]

Another sign of concern for the correctness of the Hebrew text, or rather its correct delivery, is embodied in the rise of the Masoretic text. The original Hebrew Bible was written in a consonantal script,[14] which generally did not pose a problem for a person proficient in the language for reading it aloud (Goshen-Gottstein 1979). However, as observed by Elwolde (2006: 139), the purely consonantal text is open to more than one vocalisation, which naturally induces changes in interpretation. The vocalisation was at first preserved orally (Norton 2006: 215) but in the 8th and 9th century AD in Palestine, there emerged a group of scribes – Masoretes[15] – who specialised in developing

---

[11] The root of the word: *sfr* means 'to count', probably reflecting the ancient practice when scribes additionally performed a book-keeping function (Avrin 1991: 117). It is, however, also indicative of the scribe's habit of counting the 304,805 letters of the Torah in the process of copying the scroll as a way of safeguarding the correctness of the text (Avrin 1991: 123). Cf. also Tov (2008) for the details of copying biblical scrolls.

[12] Van ter Toorn (2007: 146–147) remarks that some textual interventions in the Hebrew Bible at an early stage did occur. Nevertheless, they did not give rise to the emergence of early textual variants due to the control procedures executed over them. An underlying principle that secured the stability of the text (in view of the textual corrections) was, according to van der Toorn, the existence of a single master copy. This, van der Toorn (2007: 146–147) observes, renders impossible "the opportunities for a steady accumulation of slight changes, deletions, minor expansions, and the like."

[13] If a mistake occurred in the Tetragrammaton, correction was prohibited and the whole scroll was considered unfit for synagogue use. Scrolls unfit for use, either for the reason just mentioned, or because they contained too many mistakes to be corrected, or were no longer legible, have always been treated with utmost reverence. They have been placed in a *genizah* (from Persian *ginzakh*, 'treasury') and meant to be preserved for an infinite time.

[14] The original Ancient Hebrew script was replaced with Aramaic, also referred to as square Hebrew, still lacking vocalisation.

[15] There were several schools of Masoretes and the emerging traditions differed substantially, but they were all based on the same source (Elwolde 2006: 138), which agrees with what has already been said about the stability of the consonantal text.

a notation system for vowels, accents, and cantillations (Avrin 1991: 123). They were motivated by a desire to preserve the proper form of oral delivery of the text (Norton 2006: 216) inherently prone to multiple interpretations.[16] So, the resulting Masorah did not innovate, on the contrary, it meant to conserve the traditional biblical text. The attempts of the Masoretes were recorded in codices, as opposed to the scrolls, which preserve the unaltered purely consonantal text of the Torah (cf. Section 5).

4.2 Christian text

When it comes to text preservation in Christianity, although the copying procedures of the Latin text of the Vulgate are not as striking as in the case of Hebrew, it needs to be stated clearly that Christian monastic scribes showed a lot of concern for textual accuracy. There were protocols for correction; the institution of the precentor, chancellor, and senior scribes played a significant part here (Wakelin 2014). It has to be emphasised that this anxiety for the correct text was not a sign of *general* concern for textual accuracy and invariance: special care was taken in the case of the Latin text of scriptures, but vernacular productions were not subjected to the same corrective procedures (Wakelin 2014). An interesting review of medieval attitudes to scriptural emendations is offered in Linde ([2012]2015). These attitudes range from accepting even purely linguistic ungrammaticality (an expression of the conviction that the rules of grammar do not apply to the sacred text) to associating the emergence of these corruptions with scribal errors and striving to correct them.

A striking parallel to the rise of the Masoretic text can be found in the Christian tradition, which shows the same concern for the correct oral delivery of the Latin text during the liturgy. What I mean in particular is the emphasis laid on the development of a writing system that would preclude multiple interpretations of the biblical text: the emergence of interword spaces and punctuation in Latin liturgical manuscripts.[17] The earliest manuscripts of the Latin Bible were written in *scriptura continua*, that is, they presented a continuous

---

[16] Goshen-Gottstein (1979: 156) remarks that "the invention of vowel signs is one of the instances where traditional inhibitions were overcome because of external danger. They were invented because Hebrew was in danger of being lost after the Muslim onslaught." Observe, however, that the pragmatic motivation behind this invention did not encroach upon the ritual prescriptions in that the vocalised text never made it to the synagogue, as discussed in more detail in Section 4.

[17] For a detailed account of the emergence of the modern system, see Saenger (1997) and Parkes ([1992]2012).

text without interword spaces. This naturally resulted in the text lending itself to more than one possibility of word division. However, the genuine difficulty and danger associated with *scriptura continua* was the accompanying absence of punctuation. In effect, the Bible was open to multiple interpretations – certainly an unwelcome effect in a text of such importance. Church authorities were aware of this problem and various measures were undertaken to avoid it. Jerome's solution to the problem was the arrangement of the text *per cola et commata*, where the layout reflected sentence structure. Likewise, Alcuin (ca. 735–804 AD) recognised the need for proper punctuation of liturgical books and devoted a lot of attention to the issue. Generally speaking, "[f]rom the seventh century onwards copies of liturgical texts often contain more punctuation than those of other contemporary texts" (Parkes [1992]2012: 35) in recognition of the importance of stabilising the interpretation of the text.

5. Separation

The embodiment of the preservation of the sacred integrity of the text was the clear separation of the two text types, that is, original (which could very well be a translation that has received that status, cf. Section 2) vs. ancillary material (explanation or vocalisation). The separation was expressed both in the written form, in which case it was purely visual, and in the oral form, in which case it was both visual and aural.

5.1 The written form

The separation of the two text types in the written form occurs both in Judaism and the Christian tradition. When it comes to the separation of the sacred text of the Bible from its ancillary material in the Jewish tradition, here the scroll with the original consonantal text both coexists and contrasts with the codex. The latter, as mentioned in Section 4.1, records the text with all indications as to its proper oral delivery. And we have a very vivid functional (and visual) separation between the scroll and the codex. The former is the only form permitted in synagogue worship (Avrin 1991: 117, 123; Holdrege 1996: 361), while the latter, namely, the Masoretic text with the whole apparatus, is to be studied and the correct pronunciation committed to memory to be retrieved when the sacred text is to be read aloud from a scroll. In a similar fashion, the products

of all exegetical activity are clearly separated and distinguished from the sacred original: they are not produced according to the same principles and are used in a different way.

The Christian tradition, as has already been noted, places less emphasis on the exact production of the Bible in the sense of prescriptions restricting and guiding the scribal process. In view of that, it is all the more noteworthy that in Christianity the separation of the two text types is consistently preserved by the mise-en-page, both in the case of the manuscript and the early printed editions of the Bible. It was expressed by the relative placement of the two texts on the page, script type, size, colour, and other paratextual elements. The sacred text, as opposed to the exegetical comments, was written in the script of highest authority (e.g., *Bastard Anglicana* – a display script vs. *Anglicana formata* – one of the script types employed for ordinary uses, Parkes 2008: 61); it was placed in the centre of the page and usually written in a larger hand. In contrast to the main text, the glosses were situated in the margins, which occasionally occupied a better part of the page. The glosses, apart from being marginal, could also be interlinear; or both systems could be used at the same time. Sometimes an elaborate system was used to point to commentaries (cf. Parkes 2008: 71), especially when there was more commentary than biblical text. These conventions were adopted wholesale to the early printed page (Parkes [1992]2012: 50; Hotchkiss and Robinson 2008: 1). In short, the text and commentary coexisted on the same page but the hierarchy of the two texts – the sacred one and the one subservient to it – was elaborately expressed by a several-hundred-year-old system of paratextual conventions (Caie 2008: 18; Irvine 1992: 89–90).

5.2 The oral form

For centuries, the distinction between the written original and the oral interpretation was given precise expression in both traditions. Particularly meaningful in this respect is the synagogue ritual, where the distinction between the two text types was both visual and aural. This ritual was characteristic of the Talmudic period during the 2nd to the 4th centuries AD. The prominence of the Hebrew original (written text) was very vividly articulated: a reader situated in an elevated position, which was meant to reflect the status of the text, read the Torah from a scroll. The reader's voice was to be loud and he was not to lift his eyes from the scroll, lest those present should get the impression that he was speaking rather than reading the words of God. The text was incomprehensible for the majority of Jews so it had to be rendered into Aramaic. This was the

task of the *meturgeman*, who would be standing away from the Torah and in a lower position. He was not to read, to avoid giving the impression that he was delivering the words of God and his voice was to be audibly weaker than that of the Torah reader (Delisle and Woodworth [1995]2012: 162).

When it comes to Christianity, there is a whole corpus of exegetical texts that never enjoyed liturgical status, so they never made it inside the church. No texts, either high-level Latin academic exegesis (e.g., highly respected patristic commentaries and their medieval voluminous expansions, cf. van Liere 2014), or popularised exegesis for the uneducated in vernaculars (rhyming Bibles from the 12th and 13th centuries, vernacular mystery and miracle plays[18]) were read out inside the church. However, they were extremely popular outside it: scholarly Latin exegesis was read and discussed in more educated (academic) settings, while rhyming Bibles and mystery plays were enjoyed by those with a weaker educational background. In effect, the two text types – the original and exegesis – were delivered in contrasting environments and were thus very clearly kept apart.

In conclusion so far, as we have seen, different religions and cultures across the passage of time resorted to different methods of separating the biblical text from exegesis in order to preserve the sacred integrity of the Bible, that is, of the text which was itself believed to be sacred even in its material instantiation. In view of this, it is rather surprising to find productions which not only intentionally mix the two but are also not criticised for it.

6. Non-criticised offenders

The first of these texts is the Aramaic Targum of the Psalter (TgPs).[19] As implied in the Introduction, Targumim are the fruit of a particular sociolinguistic situation in Palestine: the sacred text of Jews was written in a language which they were no longer familiar with, so it needed to be translated (Ribera 1994: 225, cf. also Wróbel 2014). TgPs consists of a literal translation interspersed with expansions and commentary. The two elements – translation and explanation – are combined in a way which often allows bracketing out the commentary. This leaves us with the translation per se, but divergences from this pattern do occur, that is, "some passages are translated periphrastically, with many aggadic

---

[18] Originally, these were Latin productions and were actually performed inside the church but with time they were vernacularised and moved outside the church.

[19] The dating of the text is difficult to establish; it probably circulated orally for some time before crystallising into the written form, which makes the dating more difficult, as the written form will have preserved some earlier stages of the language (Stec 2014).

traditions, and from which the expansive elements cannot be readily extracted so as to leave a linguistically viable base text" (Stec 2014: 163). So TgPs offers us the product of a double process: translation and interpretation, the two being interwoven in a way which makes them difficult (if not impossible at places) to separate.

The second Psalter that represents the same mixture of traditions, which are on the whole kept so clearly distinct, is a 9th-century translation of the Psalter produced by King Alfred the Great (Bately 1982 and O'Neill 2001). In a Viking-ridden country, with knowledge of Latin in decline, Alfred sees his people in a position slightly parallel to that of the Jewish community losing their grasp of the language of the Bible (though he is obviously not aware of the existence of TgPs). Therefore, he himself translates the Latin Psalter into Old English. But as the literal sense of the Psalter is not sufficient for the people to understand its message, he resorts to Psalter commentaries, which he freely interpolates into the translation. He does that because the existing biblical commentaries are also in Latin, that is, the language which he sees as a barrier for his people to access the Psalter. By offering the translation combined with the explanation of the text in the common language of the people, Alfred's production overcomes the two barriers simultaneously.

The third text which belongs here is a Latin Psalter with a commentary seamlessly incorporated into it,[20] that is, again completely against the well-established practice of Latin texts, which would place the glosses in the margin or between the lines. The author of this commentary is unknown (cf. Bülbring 1891, Paues 1902: lviii, and Reuter 1938: 4) and so is the composition date. We know, however, that it must have been composed around the first part of the 14th century, as it received three translations around mid-14th century: into Anglo-Norman, French, and Middle English.[21] In fact, we only learn about this Latin Psalter through its vernacular translations, as the Latin source is not preserved outside those manuscripts in which it accompanies the above-mentioned renditions (cf. Black and St-Jacques 2012).

The final text representing the same intentional conglomeration of translation and exegesis is a 16th-century Polish Psalter translation made by Walenty Wróbel. To place his enterprise in its proper context, we need to realise that in Reformation-swept Europe, Wróbel provided a vernacular translation of the Psalter which mixed the sacred text with exegesis. In spite of that, his produc-

---

[20] Two of the four existing manuscripts of the Middle English translation of this Psalter (the Cambridge and the London manuscripts) mark most of the glosses by underlining, which may suggest that this might also be the practice in the now lost Latin original. This, however, is not certain and, more importantly, it still means that the two texts are interwoven in a way which transgresses the long-established tradition.

[21] The translation procedures applied in these renditions are a fascinating consequence of this transgression, but cannot be discussed within the confines of this paper.

tion was approved of by the orthodox authorities of the Catholic Church, as evidenced by the number of editions it ran through and the ecclesiastical approval it received before being sent to print.[22]

The four texts just mentioned represent different religions, cultures, and contexts, and it is clear that they could not have influenced one another – a conclusion which is supported by the data concerning their circulation, which, for reasons of space, cannot be presented here. At this point some irresistible questions emerge. Why did the authors of these texts do what they did? And why did they not face any persecution? It seems that these questions need to be answered individually for each text, though some generalisations will be possible to draw for all of them.

Observe that TgPs was never intended as a replacement of the Hebrew text for liturgical purposes. The liturgy in its various local forms centred around the reading of the Torah. The translation, that is, the targum, and interpretation were additional elements of the service which "developed gradually and did not reach a fixed form until the Middle Ages" (Hezser 2006: 128). On the whole, then, the targum only supplemented the reading of the Hebrew text. So, it was not meant to displace the original and never acquired this status itself. It had a purely educational function – to convey the sense of the text to the believers and to offer instruction to them.

The Old English Psalter translation was part of Alfred's plan to counteract educational decline: the Psalter is the King's book,[23] in which he instructs his people in the language they understand. Highly skilled in Latin, Alfred translates the text and infuses it with explanations – he is familiar with Latin exegetical commentaries (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013). Just like TgPs, this Psalter was not meant for liturgical use, where only Latin was unquestionably accepted.

The glossed Latin Psalter was never copied extensively unlike the unglossed Latin Psalters, which were intended for liturgical use.[24] The purpose of this glossed Psalter was, once again, to explain but, being an exclusively Latin production, it was accessible only to those who already had access to the unglossed Latin Psalter and the whole Latin exegetical output devoted to it. In fact, it did not present any functional advantage to its prospective readership: it merely doubled the existing sources, which may explain its lack of popularity.

Walenty Wróbel's early 16th-century Polish translation of the Psalter was (as the introductory matter to the printed edition informs us) meant for nuns, to

---

[22] Cf. Pietkiewicz (2002) for these details.

[23] It is perhaps worth adding here that King Alfred identified himself with the biblical King David to a great extent (Stanton 2002: 127).

[24] Interestingly, its Anglo-Norman, French, and English translations never received wide circulation either, in contrast to an immensely popular contemporaneous Psalter translation into English by Richard Rolle and equally popular (Anglo-)French renditions of the Psalter circulating widely in England (Rector 2010).

facilitate their understanding of the Psalter, which they sang daily. As mentioned above, it received ecclesiastical approval and, like the three Psalters just discussed, it was not meant to be used liturgically – the Latin text (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik 2016a) was not present in full in the manuscripts Wróbel prepared.[25]

We may conclude that the lack of any hostility and opposition against these offending productions can in each case be ascribed to the non-liturgical function of these Psalters. Moreover, with the exception of the Latin glossed Psalter, the remaining Psalters discussed here show the same pedagogical concern – they are intended to convey not only the sense of the text but also to explain its deeper message to those who lack familiarity with the language of the original (Hebrew or Latin, respectively).

7. Conclusions

The written text of the Bible was viewed as divine in origin in both traditions: it was believed to be inherently infused with multiple (layers of) meaning. The Torah "could not possibly be contained within a single meaning" (Magonet 2006: 760). Likewise, the belief in multiple layers of meaning of the Christian Bible is expressed by the manifold levels of exegesis[26] and embodied in the notion expressed by St Jerome that even the order of the words in the Bible matters and has its own significance.

The Bible as a whole, and the Psalter in particular, have been translated ever since they took shape. The translations were driven by linguistic necessity, that is, by the lack of familiarity with the language in which they were written. So translation was dictated by the pragmatic needs of the believers, and, in particular, by their linguistic deficiencies. The *products* of translation have, occasionally, been granted the status of divinely inspired texts, but that status was not extended to many biblical translations.

In contrast, when it comes to explanation, the whole exegetical process was viewed both in Judaism and in Christianity as being prescribed by the Bible, so divinely inspired. Yet, paradoxically, none of the actual products of exegesis enjoyed a status which would reflect that belief. Moreover, the *explanation*, no matter how indispensable and ubiquitous, was never part of the *written* liturgical cannon. And it was never mixed with the biblical text per se (the original or the

---

[25] The printed edition prepared by Andrzej Glaber from Kobylin did contain the full Latin text, an addition accounted for in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2016a).

[26] There are two basic senses of the Bible: the literal and the spiritual. However, by the Middle Ages, the latter had developed into three distinct types: the allegorical sense, the tropological sense, and the anagogic sense.

translation). The popularity of the mixture observed in the case of three of the four texts examined here, and the tolerance with which all four were received in the two traditions, is thus to be associated with the functional, pedagogical gains of these productions on the one hand, and their non-liturgical character on the other.

References

Avrin, Leila. 1991. *Scribes, script, and books: The book arts from the Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Chicago: American Library Association.

Bately, Janet M. 1982. Lexical evidence for the authorship of the prose psalms in the Paris Psalter. *Anglo-Saxon England* 10: 69–95.

Beattie, Derek R. G. & Martin J. McNemara (eds.). 1994. *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their historical context*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Black, Robert Ray & Raymond St-Jacques (eds.). 2012. *The Middle English glossed prose psalter. Edited from Cambridge, Magdalene College Ms Pepys 2498*. Heidelberg: Universtitätsverlag Winter.

Bülbring, Karl Daniel (ed.). 1891. *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter together with eleven canticles and a translation of the Athanasian creed. Edited from the only two MSS. in the libraries of the British Museum and of the Trinity College, Dublin with preface, introduction, notes and glossary*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Available online at http://quod.lib.umich. edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c= cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=BAA8159.0001.001. (accessed 5.05.2017).

Caie, Graham D. 2008. The manuscript experience: What medieval vernacular manuscripts tell us about authors and texts. In Dennis Renevey & Graham D. Caie (eds.), *Medieval texts in context*, 10–27. Abingdon–New York: Routledge.

Campbell, Sheila, Bert Hall & David Klausner (eds.). 1992. *Health, disease and healing in medieval culture*. Houndmills–London: Macmillan Academic and Professional.

Cardozo, Nathan T. Lopes. [1989]2004. *The written and oral Torah: A comprehensive introduction*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Cerquiglini, Bernard. 1999. *In praise of the variant. A critical history of philology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Charzyńska-Wójcik, Magdalena. 2013. *Text and context in Jerome's Psalters: Prose translations into Old, Middle and Early Modern English*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

Charzyńska-Wójcik, Magdalena. 2016a. The anatomy of two medieval translations of the Psalter. In Łukasz Bogucki, Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Marcel Thelen (eds.), *Translation and Meaning*, 189–208. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Charzyńska-Wójcik, Magdalena. 2016b. Parallax: Looking at the medieval through the modern lens. *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 64: 49–63.

Charzyńska-Wójcik, Magdalena (in press). Między przekładem wiernym a parafrazą: wpływ czynników socjolingwistycznych na wybór techniki tłumacza. In Knapik, Aleksandra R., Piotr P. Chruszczewski (eds.), *Między tekstem a kulturą*.

Chazan, Robert. 2006. *The Jews of medieval Western Christendom, 1000–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Delisle, Jean, Judith Woodsworth (eds.). [1995]2012. *Translators through history. Revised edition. Revised and expanded by Judith Woodsworth*. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Elwolde, John. 2006. Language and translation of the Old Testament. In Rogerson, J. W. & Judith M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of biblical studies*, 135–158. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fodor, Jim. 2015. Scripture. In Higton, Mike & Jim Fodor (eds.), *The Routledge companion to the practice of Christian theology*. London–New York: Routledge. 107–122.

Frankfurter, David. 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Goshen-Gottstein, Moshe H. 1979. The Aleppo Codex and the rise of the Masoretic Bible text. *Biblical Archeologist* 42. 145–163.

Hezser, Catherine. 2006. Diaspora and rabbinic Judaism. In J.W. Rogerson & Judith M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of biblical studies*, 120–132. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holdrege, Barbara A. 1996. *Veda and Torah: Transceding the textuality of Scripture*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hotchkiss, Valerie & Fred C. Robinson. 2008. *English in print from Caxton to Shakespeare to Milton*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Irvine, Martin. 1992. "Bothe text and gloss": Manuscript form, the textuality of commentary, and Chaucer's dream poems. In Charlotte Cook Morse, Penelope Reed Doob & Marjorie Curry Woods (eds.), *The uses of manuscripts in literary studies: Essays in memory of Judson Boyce Allen*, 81–119. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University.

Knapik, Aleksandra R. & Piotr P. Chruszczewski (eds.). (in press). *Między tekstem a kulturą*.

Langer, Ruth. 2005. Sinai, Zion, and God in the synagogue: Celebrating Torah in Ashkenaz. In: Ruth Langer & Steven Fine (eds.), *Liturgy in the Life of the synagogue: Studies in the History of Jewish prayer*, 121–159. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Liere, Frans van. 2014. *An Introduction to medieval Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Linde, Cornelia. [2012]2015. *How to correct the Sacra Scriptura. Textual criticism of the Latin Bible between the twelfth and fifteenth century*. Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature.

Magonet, Jonathan. 2006. Jewish interpretation of the Bible. In: J. W. Rogerson & Judith M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of biblical studies*, 754–774. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norton, Gerard J. 2006. Ancient versions and textual transmission of the Old Testament. In J. W. Rogerson & Judith M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of biblical studies*, 211–236. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O'Neill, Patrick Paul. 2001. *King Alfred's Old English prose translation of the first fifty psalms*. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy Books.

Pietkiewicz, Ryszard. 2002. Pismo Święte w języku polskim w latach 1518–1638. Sytuacja wyznaniowa w Polsce a rozwój edytorstwa biblijnego. Unpublished PhD ms. Wrocław.

Parkes, Malcolm B. [1992]2012. *Pause and effect: An introduction to the history of punctuation in the West*. Farnham: Ashgate [Aldershot: Scolar Press].

Parkes, Malcolm B. 2008. Layout and presentation of the text. In Nigel Morgan & Rodney M. Thomson (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain. Volume II 1100–1400*, 55–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paues, Anna Carolina. 1902. *A fourteenth-century English Biblical version consisting of a prologue and parts of the New Testament edited from the manuscripts together with some introductory chapters on Middle English Biblical versions (prose-translations)*. Cambridge: University Press.

Rapp, Claudia. 2007. Holy texts, holy men, and holy scribes: Aspects of scriptural holiness in late antiquity. In William E. Klingshirn & Linda Safran (eds.), *The early Christian book*, 194–222. Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press.

Rector, Geoff. 2010. The Romanz Psalter in England and Northern France in the twelfth century: Production, mise-en-page, and circulation. *Journal of the Early Book Society* 13: 1–38.

Reuter, Ole. 1938. A study of the French words in the "Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter." *Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 9(4). 1–60.

Ribera, Josep. 1994. The Targum: From translation to interpretation. In: Derek R. G. Beattie & Martin J. McNemara (eds.), *The Aramaic Bible. Targums in their historical context*, 218–225. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Sacks, Rabbi Jonathan. 2000. *A letter in the scroll: Understanding our Jewish identity and exploring the legacy of the world's oldest religion*. New York–London–Toronto–Sydney–Singapore: The Free Press.

Saenger, Paul. 1997. *Space between words. The origins of silent reading*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Skemer, Don C. 2006. *Binding words: Textual amulets in the Middle Ages*. University Park: The Pensylvania State University Press.

Stanton, Robert 2002. *The culture of translation in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Stec, David. 2014. The Aramaic Psalter. In William P. Brown (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the psalms*, 161–172. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tigay, Jeffrey H. 2013. The Torah scroll and God's presence. In Maxine L. Grossman (ed.), *Built by wisdom, established by understanding. Essays on biblical and Near Eastern literature in honor of Adele Berlin*, 323–340. Betseda, MD: University Press of Maryland.

Toswell, M. J. 2014. *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Tov, Emanuel. 2008. *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran. Collected essays*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Toorn, Karel van der. 2007. *Scribal culture and the making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press.

Wakelin, Daniel. 2014. *Scribal correction and literary craft. English manuscripts 1375–1510*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wróbel, Mirosław Stanisław. 2014. *Biblia aramejska. Targum Neofiti 1: Księga Rodzaju. Tekst aramejski – przekład – aparat krytyczny – przypisy*. Vol. I. Lublin: Gaudium.

Zier, Mark. 1992. The healing power of the Hebrew tongue: An example from late thirteenth-century England. In Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall & David Klausner (eds.), Health, disease and in healing in meddieval culture, 103–118. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dynamics of use of the Middle English preposition *bitwix(e)*

Ewa Ciszek-Kiliszewska

Adam Mickiewicz University

1. Introduction

At the beginning of the present paper I would like to make a personal note and acknowledge that a number of my studies concerning selected Middle English prepositions and adverbs (Ciszek-Kiliszewska 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2015, 2016) have been inspired by Rafał Molencki's brilliant publications concerning the development of the Middle English conjunctions (Molencki 2003, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2012).

This particular paper focuses on the use of *bitwix(e)* functioning as a preposition[1] in Middle English prose texts. The examination comprises both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the lexeme. The former include the etymology and semantics as well as the chronological and dialectal distribution of Middle English *bitwix(e)*. The latter data concern the frequency of the preposition attested in particular texts and dialects. Regarding the applied methods, acknowledged historical English dictionaries such as the *MED online*, the *OED online*, and *DOE: A-H online* are employed to present the origin of the analysed preposition. The quantitative aspects of *bitwix(e)* are investigated with the use of the corpus linguistics methodology. The linguistic material for the present study has been selected from the Innsbruck Corpus (version 2.4). Out of 129 texts/manuscripts, 56 of the most reliable provenance confirmed by *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* and an electronic version of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*eLALME*) are subject to the present analysis. The texts selected from the corpus altogether consist of as many as ca. 2.5 million words. All the examined texts have been searched for all the attested Middle English spelling variants of *bitwix(e)*. These spelling variants are retrieved from

---

[1] ME *bitwix(e)* could also function as an adverb.

the *MED* entry for *bitwix(e)*, providing such a headword and headword forms as *bitwix(e)*, *bitwixen*, *bitwixt*; *bitwux(en)*, *-twuxt*, *bitux(en)*, *-tuxt*; *bitwex(e)*; *bitwise* and *-twist*, from the *MED* quotations as well as from the *OED*. Various extra wild-card searches have been performed to include potential spelling variants not listed by either of the two dictionaries.

2. Recent studies in medieval English prepositions

Some medieval English prepositions have been of interest to a few 21st-century scholars. With relation to the preposition investigated in the present study, Hotta (2014) discusses the spelling options of the ME *betwixt* and *between* focusing on their etymology and competition of different spelling variants. As for studies devoted to other prepositions, Molencki (2003, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2011b, 2012) investigates the development of various Old English prepositions/adverbs such as *as*, *after*, *before*, *because*, and *forward* into Middle English conjunctions in the framework of Hopper and Traugott's (2003) grammaticalisation and Traugott's (1989 and 1995) subjectification. Molencki (2011a) examines a group of prepositions/conjunctions borrowed from French. Krygier (2011) analyses the preposition *till* in the Old English period and focuses on the investigation of its actual etymology in the context of structural borrowing. Iglesias-Rábade (2011) selects 12 Middle English prepositions such as *aboue*, *after*, *at*, *bi*, *bifore*, *bihinde*, *biside*, *in*, *on*, *ouer*, *þurgh*, and *under* and studies their attestations in the Middle English part of the Helsinki Corpus (cf. Kytö 1996). Alcorn (2013) performs a corpus study of the placement of nominal and pronominal objects in phrases involving variants of the Old English prepositions *by*, *for*, and *between*. Esteban-Segura (2014) investigates the probable historical differences between the prepositions *among* and *amongst*. The fragment of her study referring to medieval English is based on the Old and Middle English parts of the Helsinki Corpus. Ciszek-Kiliszewska (2014a) concentrates on the Middle English loss of the OE preposition *yēond* 'through, throughout, over, across' as supported by the material found in the two preserved Middle English manuscripts of *Layamon's Brut*. Ciszek-Kiliszewska (2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2015) discusses qualitative and quantitative aspects of the use of the Middle English prepositions and adverbs *twēn(e)*, *emell(e)*, *twix*, and *atwēn*, respectively, on the basis of the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. Ciszek-Kiliszewska (2016) investigates the prepositions meaning 'between' in Lydgate's works.

3. Etymology of the preposition *bitwix(e)*

The *Dictionary of Old English: A-H online* recognises the Old English preposition *betwux* as the ancestor of the ME *bitwix(e)*. As regards the Old English forms, "[t]reated here are all forms derived from *be* + Gmc. **twisk-* with final *-x*, *-xh*, *-xs*, *-xt*, *-hs*, *-hx*, or an *-(a)n* suffix and medial *-x-*, *-hx-*" (*DOE*: *betwux*).

The *Oxford English dictionary*, which, however, provides some unrevised data concerning the examined preposition, distinguishes between ME *bitwix* (PDE prep. *betwixt*) and ME *be-*, *bitwixe(n)*, the now obsolete preposition *be-twixen/betwixe*. ME *bitwix* is labelled as going back to OE *betweohs*, *-tweox*, *-twux*, *-twyx*, *-tux*, probably a shortened form of the dative **be-tweoxum*, *-tweox(a)n* surviving in Middle English as *be-*, *bitwixe(n)*. "It is however also possible that *be-tweox* goes back through **tweohsu* to **twiscu* accusative plural neuter" (*OED*: *betwixt*).

4. Semantics of the preposition *bitwix(e)*

The *Middle English dictionary online* serves as our basis of the semantic information concerning the analysed preposition in Middle English. First, all the *MED* citations containing *bitwix(e)* have been analysed with respect to the text type, that is, prose/poetry they come from. Second, the meanings found in prose have been distinguished from those recorded exclusively in poetry. This procedure has been applied to form the semantic profile of *bitwix(e)* as used in Middle English prose. All those meanings can be recognised also in the examined texts from the Innsbruck Corpus. No extra meanings have been recorded in the corpus. The following meanings of *bitwix(e)* can be found in Middle English prose:

> **1a.** Of location or position in space:
> (a) between (two objects, localities, points); in among (several things);
> (b) in between (surrounding objects); ~ **armes, hondes**, in (one's) arms, hands; **in… ~**.
> **2.** Of position in a series or sequence: between.
> **3.** Of position or duration in time:
> (a) between (two events or periods of time);
> **4a.** Of association or relationship between two persons or parties: between;
> (a) of affection, love, trust;
> (b) of marriage, family ties; also *fig.*;
> (c) of procreation.

4b. Of relationship between two persons or parties: between; --
(a) of strife, conflict;
(b) of disagreement, dissention, etc.
4c. Of communication, consultation, etc.: between; --
(a) of exchanging messages, conferring, dialogue;
(b) of conferring or doing something confidentially or secretly; ~ **us two**, in confidence;
(c) of making or reaching an agreement;
(d) of reconciliation, mediation, etc.
6. Of a group of persons or things: among.
7. (b) of similarity or difference: between;
(c) of comparing things: between;
(d) of discriminating, judging: between.
8. answeren ~ … teth, respond under (one's) breath, fail to respond.

The above meanings are also recorded in numerous poems. In terms of the senses that the preposition *bitwix(e)* could assume in the Middle English prose texts, all three, that is, locative, temporal, and abstract senses can be found. The locative sense is conveyed by the *MED*'s meanings 1a(a), 1a(b), 1b, and 2. Meanings 3 (a) and 3 (b) represent the temporal sense, while meanings 4a–8 represent the abstract sense. The *MED* quotations illustrating the use of *bitwix(e)* with the locative sense included, follow in (1a) through (1e).

(1)   *Alle þe londes* **bituex** *Douer & Tuede.*
        'All the lands between Dover and Tuede.'
                                     ?a1400(a1338) Mannyng *Chron.Pt.2* (Petyt 511) p. 18

(2)   *The folkes þat duelt* **bitwixe** *that & þe weste Occeane.*
        'The folks that dwelt between that and the Atlantic.'
                                     c1440 *PLAlex.* (Thrn) 14/14

(3)   **Betweoxan** *þan sculdran.*
        'Between the shoulders.'
                                     c1150 (?OE) *PDidax.* (Hrl 6258b) 27/6

(4)   *Eche wythin oþer* **by twix** *his handes.*
        'Each within the other in his hands.'
                                     a1500 *Rule Serve Ld.* (Add 37969) 16/16

In the *Innsbruck Corpus*, *bitwix(e)* is employed with the locative sense in the following illustrative instance:

(5)   *… on the Soneday next after the Ascencion of oure Lord, in the high weye*
        ***betwex** Cambrigge and the Bekyntre toward Newmarket, I fonde a purs with*
        money ther inne.

        '… on the next Sunday after the Ascension of Our Lord, in the highway
        between Cambridge and the Beacontree towards Newmarket, I found a purse
        with money in it.'

                                           14 35–1436 *Paston Letters*, pp. 40–41

The temporal sense of the preposition can be found in the *MED* passages
shown in (3a) through (3b).

(6)   ***Betwix** Cristesmesse & Candelmesse.*

        'Between Christmas and the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary.'

                                           a1131 Peterb.Chron. (LdMisc 636) an.1127

(7)   ***Betwixen** þe feste of the Natiuite of oure lady and Misschelmasse.*

        'Between the feast day celebrating the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and the
        feast of the Dedication of St Michael the Archangel.'

                                           1389 Nrf. Gild Ret. 35

An Innsbruck Corpus fragment exemplifying the temporal use of the prepo-
sition *bitwix(e)* is (8).

(8)   *Syr, yowre hawkys cam all yn saffte…, but syr, on Satarday at affternone, **be-***
        ***twyxte** iiij and v…*

        'Sir, your hawks came all safely…, but Sir, on Saturday in the afternoon, be-
        tween 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. …'

                                           1472–1488 *Cely Letters*, p. 184

Finally, the abstract sense of *bitwix(e)* can be found, for example, in the
fragments from the *MED* in (5).

(9)   *In cas þat hit so by-ful, þat non heires ne com **by-twuxte** þe forseide john and*
        jhone.

        'In case it happened so that no heirs come between the foresaid John and Jhone.'

                                           (1376) Doc. in Morsbach Origurk. 1

(10)   *Crist is souereyn and the preest meene and mediatour **bitwixe** Crist and the*
        synnere.

        'Christ is the Lord and the priest is a means and a mediator between Christ
        and the sinner.'

                                           (c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert) I.990

(11) *There was gret debat **be-twixen** the Erl of Northumberlond and the Erl of Westmerlond.*

'There was a great dispute between the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmerland.'

(1405) MSS PRO in App.Bk.Lond.E. 284

(12) *The lawes that the Lord ordeynde to Moyses **bitwix** man and womman, **bitwix** fader and douȝter.*

'The laws that the Lord ordained to Moses between a man and a woman, between a father and a daughter.'

a1425(a1382) WBible(1) (Corp-O 4) Num.30.16

(13) *Be-for the espousel **betwix** hem.*

'Before the ceremony of marriage between them.'

(1449) Doc. in Morsbach Origurk. 45

(14) *Accord **betwixe** the lady Igrayne and hym.*

'Agreement between Lady Igrayne and him.'

1485(a1470) Malory Wks. (Caxton: Vinaver) 9/32

Some examples taken from the examined texts from the Innsbruck Corpus include (15) and (16).

(15) *Ða smeadan ða boceræs **betwyx** hēom, þus cwæðende,*

'Then the learned men exchanged the ideas among themselves, saying thus,'

c1175 (OE?) *Twelfth-Cent. Homilies* in MS Bodley, p. 29

(16) *Ther was with hir þe modir of hir husband dwellyng in houshold, and as often is sene þei make sumtyme debate **betwyx** wif and husband.*

'There was the mother of her husband dwelling with her in the household, and as it is often seen there is sometimes a quarrel between the wife and the husband.'

1450 John Capgrave's *Lives of St. Augustine*, p. 6

The remaining meanings listed by the *MED* are recorded exclusively in the Middle English texts written in verse such as *Laȝamon's Brut* (MS Caligula A.9), *Cursor mundi* (MS Vespasian A.3; 1400 and MS Fairfax 14; 1400), Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1385–1395), *Troilus and Criseyde* (1425), *Anelida and Arcite* (1450), and Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* (1450):

1b. Of extent or distance: between (two places).
3. (b) Of position or duration in time: ~ **and,** ~ **and til**, between (an implied point in time) and (a later event or time), until; [?*conj.*;?*adv.* meanwhile].
5. Of dividing or sharing something: between.

7. (a) Of qualities, states, emotions: intermediate between, wavering between, between;

Passages provided in (17) through (20) illustrate the foregoing meanings:

(17)   ***Betwix*** *ierusalem & þis castel… is mylis nane bot bare xv.*
         'Between Jerusalem and this castle… is nothing but 15 bare miles.'

                                                    a1400 *Cursor* (Frf 14) 14230

(18)   *Ȝee sal be flemed fra mi face,* ***Bituix*** *and i yow send mi grace.*
         'You shall be exiled from my sight, until I send you my grace.'

                                              a1400(a1325) *Cursor* (Vsp A.3) 954

(19)   *Thanne shal al this gold departed be…* ***bitwixe*** *me and thee.*
         'Then all this gold shall be divided… between me and you.'

                                    (c1390) Chaucer *CT.Pard.*(Manly-Rickert) C.832

(20)   *The cercles of his eyen… gloweden* ***bitwixen*** *yelow and reed.*
         'His irises… wavered between yellow and red.'

                                     (c1385) Chaucer *CT.Kn.*(Manly-Rickert) A.2132

5. Chronological distribution of *bitwix(e)*

It is worth mentioning that, as stated by the *Dictionary of Old English*, there are ca. 900 Old English attested cases of *betwux*, which is an Old English ancestor of *bitwix(e)* (see Section 4). The number contains both the prepositions and adverbs evaluated in both the prose and poetic texts. The absolute number of the Middle English tokens of the preposition *bitwix(e)* which I have found exclusively in the selected prose texts from the Innsbruck Corpus is 386, which constitutes about 43% of the tokens attested for the entire Old English period.

The distribution of *bitwix(e)* found in the analysed texts from the Innsbruck Corpus with the division into Early and Late Middle English, is presented in Table 1. Taking into account the uneven number of texts and words in the two subperiods, the relative values normalised to a frequency per 100,000 words have been calculated. A conclusion which can be drawn on the basis of the data is that if we focus only on the Middle English prose with the best established provenance, a significant growth of the frequency of use of *bitwix(e)* is visible in Late Middle English.

Table 1. Tokens of *bitwix(e)* in Middle English prose texts

Period	Frequency per 100,000 words
EME	8.34
LME	17.68

6. Dialectal distribution and token frequency of *bitwix(e)*

The information concerning the dialectal distribution of the preposition *bitwix(e)* in Middle English is provided neither by the *MED online* nor by the *OED online*. The present section endeavours to fill this gap with the data obtained from the investigation of carefully selected Middle English prose texts. The texts have been grouped according to the subperiod, that is, Early or Late Middle English and the provenance of the manuscript(s). The number of tokens of *bitwix(e)* registered in particular texts has been calculated.

6.1 Early Middle English texts

The cases of the preposition *bitwix(e)* are recorded in only two out of the 21 examined Early Middle English texts/manuscripts. One of them is *Twelfth-Cent. Homilies* preserved in MS Bodley 343 comprising four instances of *bitwix(e)* and representing the Southern dialect. The other text is *Twelfth-Cent. Homilies* in MS Vespasian containing as many as 46 cases of *bitwix(e)* and representing the Kentish dialect. Interestingly, neither the extensive West-Midland nor the East-Midland linguistic material from the corpus includes any occurrences of *bitwix(e)*. Early Middle English texts from the North are not preserved. Figure 1 presents the dialectal distribution of the preposition *bitwix(e)* in the Early Middle English prose texts. The relative numbers taking into account a varied length of the texts representing particular dialectal areas in the Innsbruck Corpus are normalised to a frequency per 100,000 words. As can be seen, the frequency of *bitwix(e)* in Kentish is more than ten times higher than in the Southern dialect.
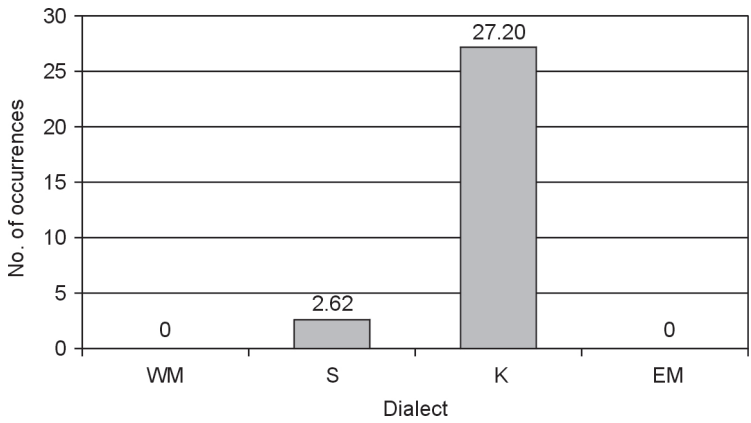
Figure 1. Dialectal distribution of *bitwix(e)* in EME texts: frequency per 100,000 words

6.2 Late Middle English texts

The Late Middle English prose texts in my corpus contain noticeably more cases of *bitwix(e)* than the Early Middle English ones. Regarding the textual distribution, the analysis demonstrates the use of *bitwix(e)* in about a half, that is, 19 of the 35 investigated Late Middle English prose texts. The text containing the highest absolute number of occurrences of the preposition *bitwix(e)*, that is, 103, is that of *Paston Letters*, one of the longest East-Midland texts in the corpus. However, the length of the text is generally not the factor deciding about the number of the cases of the preposition. The Late Middle Kentish text *Merlin*, which is almost as long as *Paston Letters*, does not contain any cases of *bitwix(e)*. Figure 2 provides the frequency of use of *bitwix(e)* per 100,000 words distributed in the examined Late Middle English material representing particular dialects.

At first glance, a considerable change in the dialectal distribution pattern of *bitwix(e)* can be observed. While the Early Middle English instances are attested exclusively in Kentish and in the South, the Late Middle English texts representing those dialects contain hardly any cases of *bitwix(e)*. In contrast, the LME occurrences of the preposition are recorded in all other dialects with the major concentration in the East-Midlands and in the North. The frequency of *bitwix(e)* in the West-Midland texts is about six times smaller than that recorded in the East-Midland texts. In the South, the frequency is close to one case per 100,000 words.
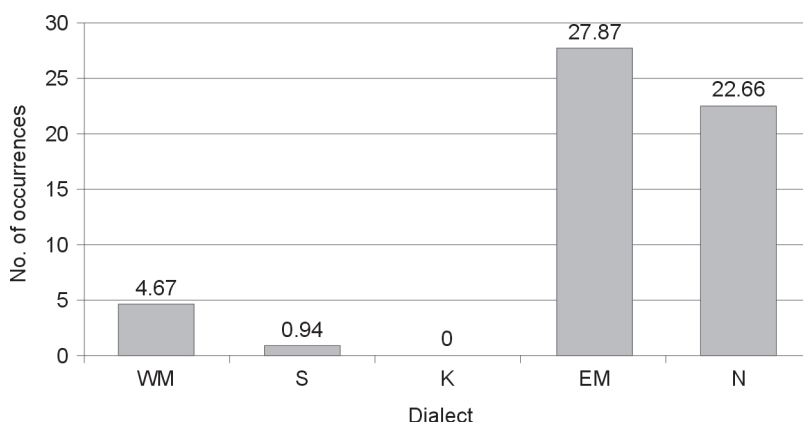
Figure 2. Dialect distribution of *bitwix(e)* in LME texts: frequency per 100,000 words

7. Conclusions

The aim of the present paper was to provide a comprehensive analysis of the use of the preposition *bitwix(e)* in selected Middle English prose texts. As for the qualitative aspects, the etymology and semantics exhibited in prose as well as the chronological and dialectal distribution of *bitwix(e)* have been discussed. Regarding the quantitative data, the frequency of use of the preposition in particular texts and dialects has been calculated. The linguistic material for the present study came from the Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose. The analysis was also supplemented with the data from the *Middle English dictionary online*, the *Oxford English dictionary online* and the *Dictionary of Old English: A-H online*.

The most important finding of the present study was that the Early Middle English pattern of the dialectal distribution of *bitwix(e)* was significantly changed in Late Middle English. While the Early Middle English use of *bitwix(e)* was mostly associated with Kentish, the Late Middle Kentish texts did not contain any cases of *bitwix(e)*. The preposition was recorded in LME texts localised more northwards. The frequency of use of *bitwix(e)* was the highest in the East-Midland and Northern texts.

References

Dictionaries and corpora

Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c /cme/

Dictionary of Old English. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos & Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Old English*: *A to H online*. Toronto: University of Toronto 2016.

eLALME = An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (version 1.0). Available at: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html. Michael Benskin, Margaret Laing, V. Karaiskos & Keith Williamson (eds.). Edinburgh: © 2013 – University of Edinburgh.

Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. Department of Modern Languages. University of Helsinki. Compiled by Matti Rissanen (Project leader); Merja Kytö (Project secretary); Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Matti Kilpiö (Old English); Saara Nevanlinna, Irma Taavitsainen (Middle English); Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (Early Modern English). 1991.

Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose. Edited by Manfred Markus (University of Innsbruck) (comp.) CD ROM version 2.4. 2010.

Kurath, H. et al. 1952–2001. *Middle English dictionary.* University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kytö, Merja 1996. *Manual to the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Coding conventions and lists of source texts.* Helsinki: Department of English University of Helsinki.

LAEME = A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325 (version 2.1) Available at: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html. Edited by Margaret Laing (comp.). Electronic text corpus with accompanying software, index of sources and theoretical introduction by Roger Lass. Edinburgh: © 2008 – The University of Edinburgh.

LALME = A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English. Angus McIntosh, Michael L. Samuels & Michael Benskin (eds.). 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986.

MED = Middle English dictionary online. Available at: http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m /med/. Frances McSparran (University of Michigan) (comp.), *Middle English Compendium: The Middle English Dictionary*, *A Hyper Bibliography of Middle English Prose and Verse*, and *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse.* Humanities Text Initiative: Michigan, 1999. Available at: http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/mec/.

OED = Oxford English dictionary online (first published as *A New English dictionary on historical principles*). Available at: http://oed.com. James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie & C. T. Onions (eds.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884–1928; *Supplement*, Robert W. Burchfield (ed.), 1972–1986. 2nd edn., J. A. Simpson & E. S. C. Weiner (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. 3rd edn. in progress, 2000–.

Secondary sources

Alcorn, Rhona. 2013. Distribution of variants of Old English *by*, *for*, *between*. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 112.1: 1–17.

Ciszek-Kiliszewska, Ewa. 2014a. The preposition *yēond* in *Layamon's Brut*. In Michael Bilynsky (ed.), *Studies in Middle English: Words, structures, senses and texts*, 135–150. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang.

Ciszek-Kiliszewska, Ewa. 2014b. Middle English preposition *twēn(e). Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 49(3): 91–111.

Ciszek-Kiliszewska, Ewa. 2014c. Middle English preposition and adverb *emell(e)*. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 3: 587–599.

Ciszek-Kiliszewska, Ewa. 2014d. Middle English preposition and adverb *twix. Token: A Journal of English Linguistics* 2: 75–91.

Ciszek-Kiliszewska, Ewa. 2015. The Middle English preposition and adverb *atwēn*. In Brian Lowrey & Fabienne Toupin (eds.), *Studies in linguistic variation and change: From Old to Middle English*, 41–63. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Ciszek-Kiliszewska, Ewa. 2016. John Lydgate's use of prepositions and adverbs meaning 'between'. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 51(3): 45–61.

Esteban-Segura, Laura. 2014. A diachronic study of the prepositions *among* and *amongst. Token: A Journal of English Linguistics* 2: 93–107.

Hopper, Paul & Elizabeth Closs Traugott 2003. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hotta, Ryuichi. 2014. *Betwixt* and *between*: The ebb and flow of their historical variants. *Journal of the Faculty of Letters: Language, Literature and Culture* 2014: 17–36.

Iglesias-Rábade, Luis. 2011. *Semantic erosion of Middle English prepositions*. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang.

Krygier, Marcin. 2014. On the Scandinavian origin of the Old English preposition *til* 'till.' In Jacek Fisiak & Magdalena Bator (eds.), *Foreign influences on medieval English*. (Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 28), 129–138. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2003. The etymology and development of the conjunction *as* in Middle English. *Linguistica Silesiana* 24: 25–39.

Molencki, Rafał 2005. On the syntactic and semantic development of *after* in medieval English. In Marcin Krygier & Liliana Sikorska (eds.), *Naked wordes in Englissh*. (Medieval English Mirror 2), 47–67. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2007a. On the rise of the temporal preposition/conjunction *before*. In Marcin Krygier & Liliana Sikorska (eds.), *To make his Englissh sweete upon his tonge* (Medieval English Mirror 3), 37–54. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2007b. Rozwój diachroniczny *before* i *after* w języku angielskim. In Andrzej Łyda (ed.), *Przestrzenie języka*, 10–24. Katowice: Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania Marketingowego i Języków Obcych.

Molencki, Rafał. 2007c. The evolution of *since* in medieval English. In Ursula Lenker & Anneli Meurman-Solin (eds.), *Connectives in the history of English*, 97–113. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Molencki, Rafał. 2008. The rise of *because* in Middle English. In Masachiyo Amano, Michiko Ogura & Masayuki Ohkado (eds.), *Historical Englishes in varieties of texts and contexts*, 201–216. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2011a. New prepositions and subordinating conjunctions of Romance origin in Middle English. In Jacek Fisiak & Magdalena Bator (eds.), *Foreign influences on Medieval English* (Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 28), 9–24. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2011b. The evolution of *forward* in Mediaeval English. In Renate Bauer & Ulrike Krischke (eds.), *More than words. English lexicography past and present*, 225–244. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2012. *Casual conjunctions in mediaeval English: A corpus-based study of grammaticalization*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65(1): 31–55.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995. Subjectification in grammaticalization. In: Dieter Stein & Susan Wright (eds.). *Subjectivity and subjectivisation: Linguistic perspectives*, 31–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A study of *dude's* earliest semantics and its geographical distribution on the basis of *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*

Radosław Dylewski

Adam Mickiewicz University

Tomasz Kopyciński

Independent scholar

1. Introduction

Even though much has been written on the alleged history, subsequent development and (mainly) modern-day semantics of the word *dude*, with special heed paid to its 20th-century history, its early derivation and its meanings are still shrouded in the mists of uncertainty. The lack of clarity regarding the beginnings of this word that has attracted so much scholarly and lay attention is paradoxically aggravated by interest in the issue, which has given rise to a deluge of at best unreliable information. Thus, the need arose to shed more light on *dude* with the use of the systematically collected and analyzed 19th-century data.

This article builds upon Dylewski's (2012) publication which only scratches the surface of the complex issue of the earliest semantics of *dude*. Dylewski's paper shows that, between 1883 and 1885, there was a great deal of confusion in terms of the way the term was understood by the late 19th-century press, which tended avidly to comment on new-fangled social and cultural phenomena. Thus, the present endeavor[1] seeks to analyze the first three years after the term

---

[1] Some parts of the study were originally carried out by Tomasz Kopyciński under the supervision of Radosław Dylewski for the purpose of an MA thesis written in the Faculty of English at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. With the development of the database which was used for the purpose of the study, more data were collected and served as the basis for the present article.

dude appeared in American newspapers;[2] journalists' lively interest in the rise of the man of fashion, the *dude*, found its reflection in commentaries in gossip columns and articles in press publications of the time. The on-line electronic collection of early American newspapers (*Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov) makes such an analysis possible. This paper seeks to verify empirically which of the four selected kinds of meaning of *dude*, that is, 'approving,' 'derogatory,' 'ironic,' or 'neutral,' prevailed between 1883 and 1885. As far as is possible with such a resource,[3] the study also presents the geographical distribution of the earliest attestations of *dude* in the American press, which may indicate the primary locus (or loci) of the word; both semantic analysis and the study of the geographical dispersal of *dude* are carried out with the use of quantification. As well as quantitative analysis, a qualitative analysis is also performed, as a result of which the following emerged: the synonyms and antonyms of the word in question, its female counterparts, and some controversies connected with its pronunciation and alleged etymology; all of these are given at the end of the article.

It should be noted that this study is a report on a work in progress since the database of American press which served as the very basis for analysis is still growing and with its growth, new instances of the word may surface.[4] Thus, this paper describes the findings extracted from *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* over an approximate one-year time span, from the end of 2014 until March 2016.

2. Methodology

As indicated above, this study draws on historic American newspapers, a rich collection of resources described by its creators as follows: it is a

> [w]ebsite providing access to information about historic newspapers and selected digitized newspaper pages, and is produced by the National Digital Newspaper Program (NDNP). NDNP, a partnership between the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and the Library of Congress (LC), is a long-term effort

---

[2] For a précis of the semantic evolution of *dude*, which has been extensively treated in subject literature, see Kiesling (2004), Knoll (1952), Kopyciński (2014), and Metcalf (2016).

[3] Even though it is an enterprise of impressive scope, it has its limitations. We are well aware of the source's shortcomings and that the picture we present is therefore incomplete. In order to obtain a more comprehensive and thus reliable picture of early years of *dude*, far more newspapers from a wider geographical spectrum must be examined; the limitations of *Chronicling America* are tackled at length in Section 2.

[4] This will allow us to verify the findings presented in this paper.

to develop an Internet-based, searchable database of U.S. newspapers with descriptive information and select digitization of historic pages. Supported by NEH, this rich digital resource will be developed and permanently maintained at the Library of Congress. An NEH award program will fund the contribution of content from, eventually, all U.S. states and territories.[5]

As the description above indicates, this searchable database of American newspapers as yet unfortunately does not cover the United States in their entirety. The data extracted from it between November 2014 and March 2016 might thus only partially reflect the very beginnings and the geographical spread of the *dude*. It is understood that with the development of *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*[6] more data will expand the picture of the state of affairs. It is hoped, however, that our analysis of it thus far enables us to gather sufficient relevant citations to carry out meaningful analyses and, importantly, to shed some light onto the geographical distribution of the then newly coined word.

The three-year time span between 1883 and 1885 has been chosen for the following reasons: firstly, the year 1883 is said (e.g., Dylewski 2012, Metcalf 2016) to mark the onset of the *dude* phenomenon, and thus far none of the pre-1883 attestations has been borne out in the existing subject literature or in the Internet sources.[7] Secondly, this whole period has been set rather arbitrarily, but because *dude* was naturally losing its early impetus and, as a consequence, the interest of press of the day was gradually diminishing, so the decision was made not to include years after 1885, a decision that seems even more justified since a cursory glance at randomly chosen attestations from 1886, 1887, and 1888 uncovers no semantic deviations from what has been found for the three preceding years. It has been assumed that the first three years are vital in the development of *dude* and that this was when it emerged from confused meanderings and henceforth its meaning began to solidify.

Careful scrutiny of the database of early American newspapers brings to light 640 entries of *dude*.[8] The cases mistakenly rendered by the search engine

---

[5] http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/about (accessed 4.11.2015).

[6] For all its merits, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov does have a few drawbacks, major among them being the lack of a data update identification function. A regular visitor to the site will notice that new entries and new press titles are uploaded, but from the end-user's perspective, it is impossible to tell either what the updates were or when they were carried out. In addition, one must examine closely search results. These results are frequently biased by so-called noisy output: imperfect search engine mechanisms or the quality of scans make the retrieval procedure far from exact; thus, manual data handling is of course necessary.

[7] As with Dylewski's (2012) approach, instances pre-dating 1883 have been sought, but to no avail.

[8] As of March 2016. What is meant here by "entry" is not an individual attestation of *dude*, but either a full article devoted to *dude* or a snippet of such an article, where *dude* is the subject under discussion or simply in which it appears.

were discarded and, while reprints are not taken into account in qualitative research, they are not ignored in the discussion of the geographical distribution of *dude* between 1883 and 1885.

All valid entries found in the database have subsequently been put in an Excel file and tagged appropriately in order to facilitate data handling. Tagging included the marking of collected material according to the meaning inferred from the context. The semantics of the term sometimes seems somewhat elusive and the boundaries between categories used below might appear somewhat fuzzy; frequently depending on interpretation, there are certain overlaps which are most evident between cases of "derogatory" and what has been dubbed here "neutral" meanings (especially those with a tinge of irony or sarcasm).

For the sake of the analysis, four evaluative categories have been employed: these are presented below with accompanying illustrative newspaper excerpts:

Category (a) – "derogatory" meaning, exemplified in quotation (1):

(1)   The Atlanta Journal says the **dude** is not a man. He is ***a thing which*** parts his hair in the middle, combing it on each side of the forehead into little bangs, wears excruciatingly tight pants…

(*The Highland Weekly News*, April 11, 1883, Image 8)[9]

As shown in Example 1, the *dude* is downgraded to a thing and typified by a set of qualities that characterize his (or rather *its*) looks.

The following citations take a decidedly negative view of the *dude*, referring both to the *dude*'s looks and his putative mental shortcomings and consequently some of the opinions expressed by the late 19th-century American press, for instance, the subsequent ones, are far from kind (cf. Example 3):

(2)   It is in none of these things that the "**dude**" differs from other society men, so as to call for public notice. But the difference lies in the circumstances of his being an entirely negative quantity. There is nothing positive about him.

(*The Iola Register*, May 4, 1883, Image 6)

(3)   "Miss Field, please tell me your opinion of '**dudes**'." Holding up her hands in a gesture of utter deprecation she exclaimed: "The **dude** is my horror, a creature who fills me with disgust. Of all the social excrescences inflicted upon that peculiar American bulb called 'society', I deem him the most useless kind of fungus…"

(*The Salt Lake Herald*, June 21, 1883, Page 3, Image 3)

---

[9] All parts in bold type or italics in fragments drawn form *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* are the authors'.

Category (b) – "approving/complimentary" meaning:
Far less frequently encountered, a fact borne out numerically and graphically below, are the quotations bearing positive connotations, especially in the first year of *dude*'s existence in American press columns:

(4)   "What's a **dude**?" "A **dude**, answered the youth, slowly, is a gentleman. A cad can never be a dude. He must not be in trade, but must not have money."

                              (*The Sun*, April 16, 1883, Image 2)

(5)   The **Dude** never chews tobacco, and how often has any one ever seen a **Dude** (a real **Dude**) the least one bit under the influence of strong drink? Hardly at any time.

                              (*The Evening Critic*, April 28, 1883, Image 4)

(6)   He was a **dude** among his fellow painters, was intelligent, good looking and dressed in an extravagant manner.

                              (*Daily Evening Bulletin*, August 15, 1883, Image 1)

Category (c) – "neutral" meaning:
The neutral meaning was in use from the very beginning of *dude* in early 1883 and it is found sporadically in either descriptions/explanations of the new phenomenon of (most plausibly) New York provenance or in reports of events in which a *dude* had been involved:

(7)   In speaking of mashers, one is never sure exactly what sort of a man is meant. There is a class of mashers in New York who will now have a definite place in the language of the town as **dudes**. A **dude** cannot be old; he must be young, and to be properly termed a **dude** he should be one of a certain class who affect the Metropolitan theaters.

                              (*The County Paper*, April 13, 1883, Image 2)

(8)   A man dressed like a **dude** saved a boy from drowning Sunday in the Hudson river.

                              (*Daily Globe*, June 17, 1883, Page 11, Image 11)

(9)   "**Dude**" is what the girls now call their cane-hampered young man.

                              (*Evening Star*, March 10, 1883, Page 7)

Category (d) – "irony" ("mockery/ridicule"):
The meaning that carries irony is also important in the context of this analysis, since the new-fangled cultural phenomenon of *dude* was met not only with antipathy, as has been shown above in category (a), but also frequently with mockery (cf. Examples (10) and (11)):

(10)   "But John, dear, those are only **Dudes**. They are harmless. You don't mean to say that they are all to be killed like the sparrows."

(*The Carbon Advocate*, August 18, 1883, Image 3)

(11)   Is it a **dude**? Yes, it is a **dude**. Was it always that way? Yes, natural born. What does it do for a living? It breathes, dear; don't disturb it.

(*Daily Los Angeles Herald*, September 5, 1883, Image 5)

As we have already indicated, the boundaries between the above four categories are not entirely clear-cut; thus, depending on interpretation, an entry may be classified as belonging to more than one category, which might influence our results. However, bearing in mind these circumstances, we try to formulate our conclusions with caution, also well aware that as the database in question expands (as new titles come on board), future observations might differ from ours. Nonetheless, our incentive was to carry out an analysis based on the available database which would, as far as we know, be the first study to date to delineate the semantics and systematic[10] geographical distribution[11] of the earliest *dude* by dint of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

In order to ensure the necessary integrity, each entry recorded in *Chronicling America* has been analyzed. Setting aside the four semantic categories discussed above, the geographical locations of the newspapers in which *dude* was found have been included in the tagging procedure, in order to attempt to determine the area from which *dude* initially arose and whence it was spread. There is no agreement, in general, as to the exact locus of the prototypical *dude*, even though New York is usually identified as its birthplace. It is thus hoped that this study, with all its aforementioned potential pitfalls, will provide new and, more importantly, pertinent information concerning the early career of the word.

3. Pre-1883 attestations

The year 1883 seems to be the one when *dude* was coined. On the Internet, where considerable attention has been given to this word by both professional and amateur researchers, 1883 is in the majority of cases regarded as the year

---

[10] As far as the resource at hand allows.

[11] Metcalf (2016: 29) writes: "[…] discussions of dudes weren't confined to Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Researcher Peter Reitan has found articles in that inaugural year of 1883 in newspapers from Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky, South Carolina, West Virginia, Nebraska, Dakota territory, Washington state, California, and Hawaii. It was a rare example of an instant hit." This finding only partially corresponds to ours because our data show a much wider spatial dispersal of *dude* in the said inaugural year.

dude made its first appearance, a fact most recently corroborated by Metcalf (2016).[12] More specifically, it first appeared in Robert Sale-Hill's poem, *The History and Origin of the "Dude"* (published on 14 January 1883).

It is also on the Internet, where one may encounter the supposed pre-1883 attestations that gained (web) recognition and were widely cited as the few contradicting the year 1883 as the proposed year zero. The recent studies of Popik and Cohen (2013) and Reitan (2014a and 2014b), however, show that a number of purported earlier attestations were either inaccurately dated, or intentionally misdated.

4. Discussion

As has been mentioned above, this research allowed us to retrieve six 640 press attestations of *dude* between 1883 and 1885.[13] It has been assumed that the data gathered are sufficient to observe both *dude*'s early semantics and its geographical provenance and expansion. The data are handled from two perspectives: both quantitative and qualitative; the former discussed first.

4.1 Quantitative analysis – results

4.1.1 The year 1883

It has already been said that 1883 is of particular importance because it is when American newspapers first used *dude* and sought to describe who this *dude* might have been. It is also during this year when the confusion concerning not only the meaning, but also the very phenomenon of a *dude* arose. From 1883 we have managed to cull 308 instances of the word. Out of this number, 54 cases turned out to be re-prints from newspapers published earlier. The remaining

---

[12] For an attempt to trace the etymology of *dude* to the bird "dodo" as well as "Yankee Doodle," "Fopdoodle," and "Fitzdoodle," see "Early sports and pop culture history blog," available at: http://esnpc.blogspot.com/2015/02/dudes-dodos-and-fopdoodles-history-and.html (accessed 5.04.2016).

[13] In this count reprints were included. The numbers according to the years are: 1883 – 308 cases, 1884 – 169, and 1885 – 163.

254 entries have been tagged in accordance with the four semantic categories described in the introduction. Table 1 gives numerical and percentage data in this crucial year for *dude*:

Table 1. Meanings of *dude* in 1883

Meaning	"approving"	"derogatory"	"neutral"	"ironic"	Total
Number	6	85	88	75	254
Percent	2.36	33.46	34.65	29.53	100.00

The prevalence of the "neutral" meaning comes as no surprise. It clearly stems from the fact that the late-19th-century American press aimed at providing an explanation for the newly-coined term. The very low number of tokens dubbed "approving" meaning (n = 6, 2.36%) indicates that *dude* as a cultural and social phenomenon received a cool welcome in the American news columns of the time. This claim may be further corroborated by pooled results for the two categories: "derogatory" and "ironic." Together these constitute the dominant 62.99% of all recorded examples for the first year of *dude*'s existence in the American press (illustrated by Figure 1):
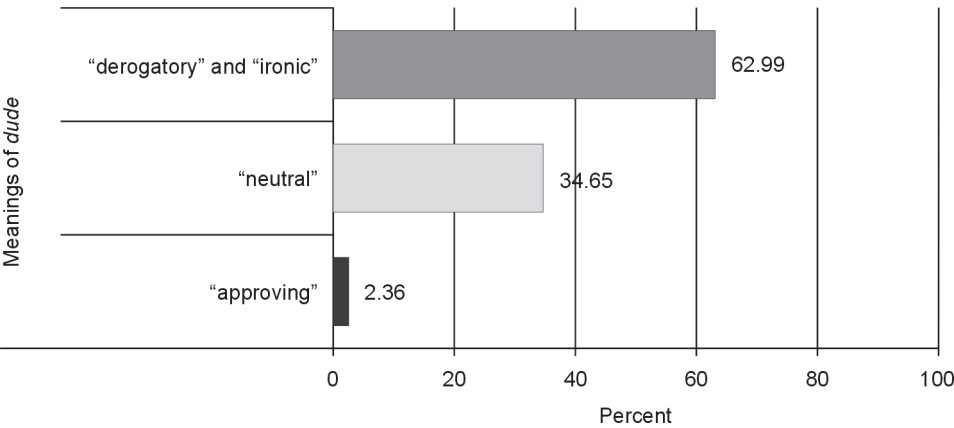
Figure 1. Distribution of *dude* across semantic categories in the year 1883 ("derogatory" and "ironic" categories grouped together)

Again, the heavy domination of both categories ("derogatory" and "ironic") is by no means surprising, since the American press of the late 19th century did its best to mock, if not to reject, the term along with its cultural connotations. It ought to be mentioned at this point that some of the opinions voiced in newspapers of the day did not anticipate the word's longevity and envisioned that *dude* would soon fall into oblivion. Examples (12)–(14) illustrate this claim:[14]

---

[14] Please note that in spite of the war waged against *dude* to ridicule it, to say the least, it did manage to endure.

(12)   One paper, for instance, the other day, in a notice of a much talked-of recent novel, to mark its dislike of the refinement of the author, intimated that he was a "***dude***". Is it not about time that this sort of things was stopped! The word "***dude***" must go.

(*New-York Tribune*, August 15, 1883, Page 4, Image 4)

(13)   Ridicule is the most powerful weapon in the world, but it has failed entirely on the ***dude***.

(*Daily Globe*, September 4, 1883, Page 12, Image 12)

(14)   Papers all over the country have said the most sarcastic things of the ***dude***, hoping to squelch him, but he goes right on increasing in number, and the ridiculers are at a loss to account for it.

(*Daily Yellowstone Journal*, October 4, 1883, Image 4)

There is a continuing debate regarding the exact beginnings of *dude* both as a new cultural phenomenon and a word which stormed American newspapers in the first quarter of 1883. As the data garnered suggest,[15] we may venture the claim that it was April which witnessed the climax of interest in the newly-created phenomenon that undoubtedly drew public attention of the time (cf. Table 2 illustrated graphically by Figure 2). Approximately 20% of all recorded cases for 1883 appeared then.

Table 2. Distribution of *dude* by months in 1883

Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Number	2	7	33	56	50	40	26	28	17	13	17	19	308
Percent	0.65	2.27	10.71	18.18	16.23	12.99	8.44	9.09	5.52	4.22	5.52	6.17	100
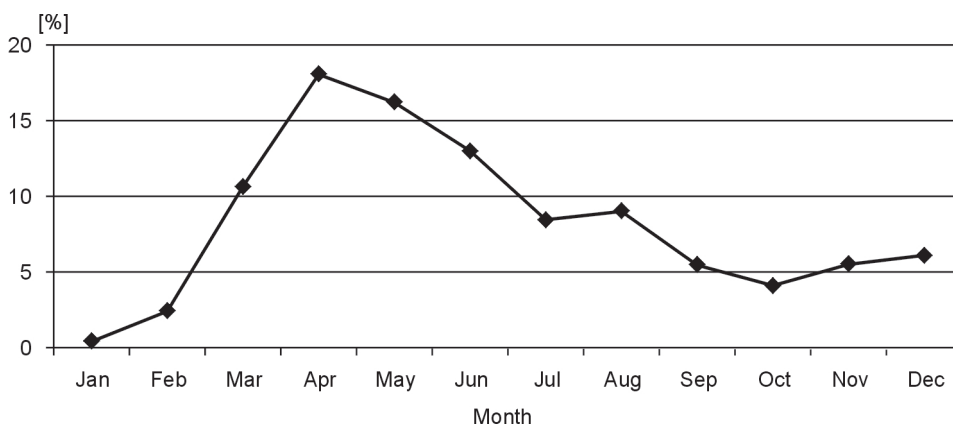
Figure 2. *Dude* in the American press of 1883

[15] Please note that in discussions of both its chronology and geographical distribution of *dude* re-prints are included unlike in discussions regarding its meanings.

Figure 3 shows *dude*'s geographical distribution during its first year of exist-ence across the early American newspapers and magazines that constitute the database consulted (cf. Appendix for the exact numbers of recorded cases of *dude* per month and per state).
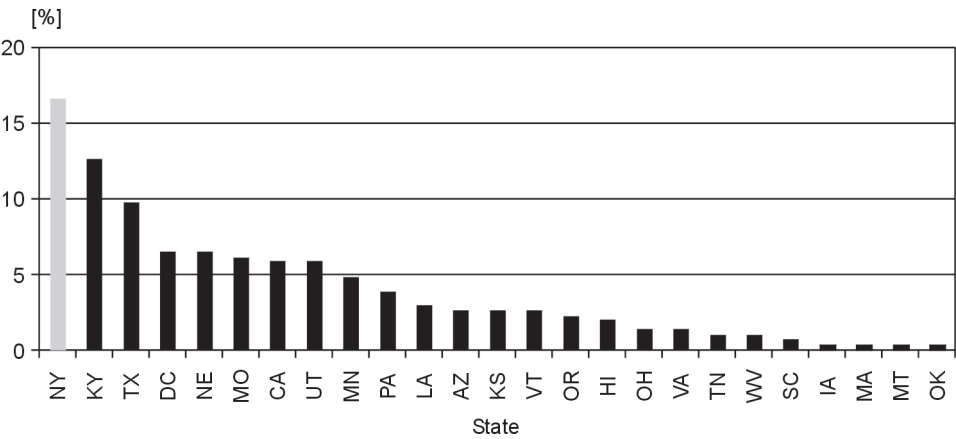
Figure 3. The distribution of *dude* across 24 American states including District of Columbia (data for the year 1883)

This figure shows a rather disorderly distribution of *dude* across the United States. Interestingly, New York (51 out of 308 cases = 16.65%), the acclaimed cradle of *dude*, is not alone in witnessing high rates of attested cases, but Kentucky (39 tokens = 12.66%) and Texas (30 = 9.74%) also show relatively high rates. The press of scattered states, from Pennsylvania in the North East, to California in the West, also displayed interest in the newly-coined word, as may be gathered from the number of entries recorded for these particular states (cf. Table 1A in Appendix for the exact data).

4.1.2 The year 1884

Only 169 entries containing *dude* were retrieved from the database. Out of these, 26 were recognized as re-prints. Accordingly, 143 quotations were categorized as either "approving," "derogatory," "neutral," and "ironic." Table 3 presents the results of the categorization:

Table 3. Meanings of *dude* in 1884

Meaning	"approving"	"derogatory"	"neutral"	"ironic"	Total
Number	7	37	77	22	143
Percent	4.90	25.87	53.85	15.38	100.00

On the basis of this dataset the following conclusions may be drawn: firstly, the diminishing interest of American newspapers in the newly coined word and, of course, social phenomenon as such, is evident in the number of recorded quotations for 1884, that is, 169, re-prints included; this decrease is visible when the number is compared to the number for the preceding year, that is, 308 entries. Secondly, a meaningful shift in the four selected semantic categories may be observed here (with "neutral" meaning taking the first position).

From the data gathered it appears that the year 1884 witnessed at least a partial acceptance of *dude* in the American press. If not entirely acceptable, this man of fashion now elicits to some degree a less aggressive reaction. At the same time, an increase in the "approving" category is evident, albeit still less than the 10% threshold.

Figure 4 presents "derogatory" and "ironic" categories grouped together; the "neutral" category, as in the previous year, dominates:
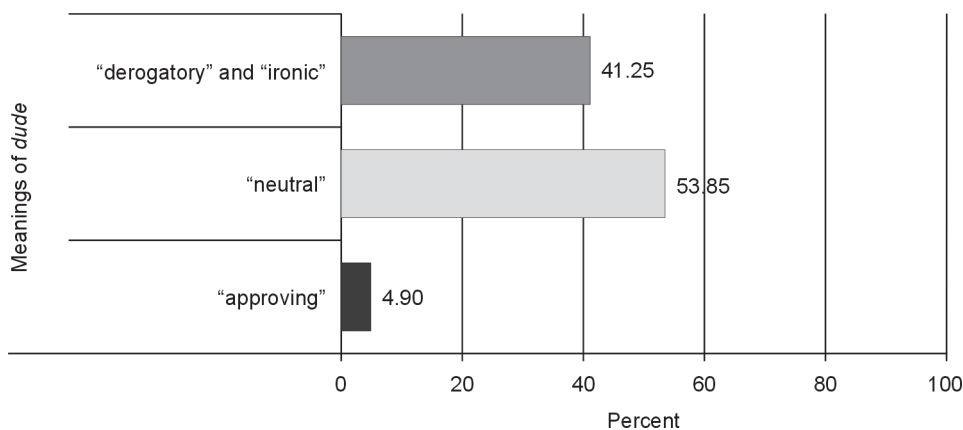
Figure 4. Semantic categories of *dude* in 1884 ("derogatory" and "ironic" categories grouped together)

Within the twelve months of the year 1884 no regular trends may be observed (cf. Figure 5): for the most part the line zig-zags and indicates no regularities:
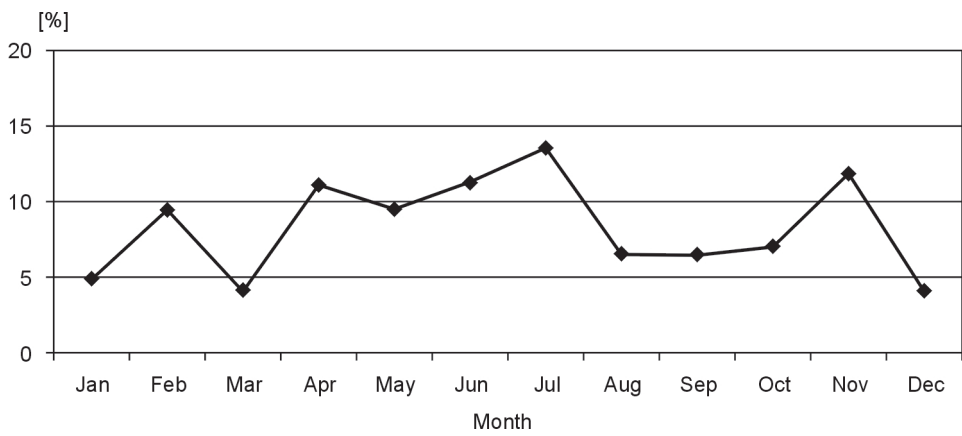
Figure 5. *Dude* in the American press of 1884

Finally, as well as the shift among the most dominating semantic categories shown in Table 3 and Figure 4, the geographical distribution also looks slightly different when compared to 1883, where the loci of interest were changed from Texas and Kentucky to mainly Nebraska. More importantly, however, New York ceases to be the main source of the press reaction to *dude* (see Figure 6; Appendix gives the exact numerical data):
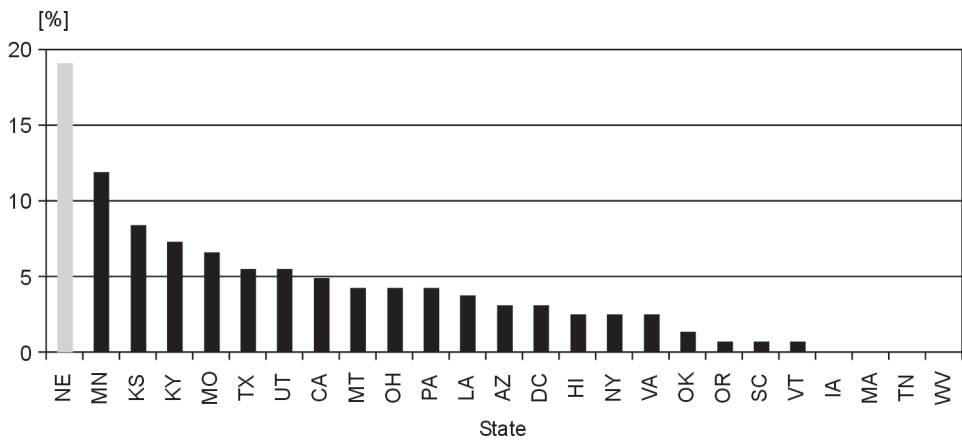
Figure 6. The distribution of *dude* across 24 American states with District of Columbia included (data for the year 1884)

4.1.3 The year 1885

In 1885, a total of 163 quotations containing *dude* was recorded, out of which 12 turned out to be reprints. The remaining 151 are categorized as above and shown in Table 4:

Table 4. Meanings of *dude* in 1885

Meaning	"approving"	"derogatory"	"neutral"	"ironic"	Total
Number	7	39	80	25	151
Percent	4.64	25.83	52.98	16.56	100.00

Interestingly, in percentage terms, the data for 1885 resemble those obtained for the year 1884. This may indicate the fact that, whereas *dude* was subject to press attacks and mockery in the beginning and was thus subjected to pejorative comments and mockery in 1883, within the next two years it gained far more acceptance by American journalists (see Figure 7) and its status apparently solidified.
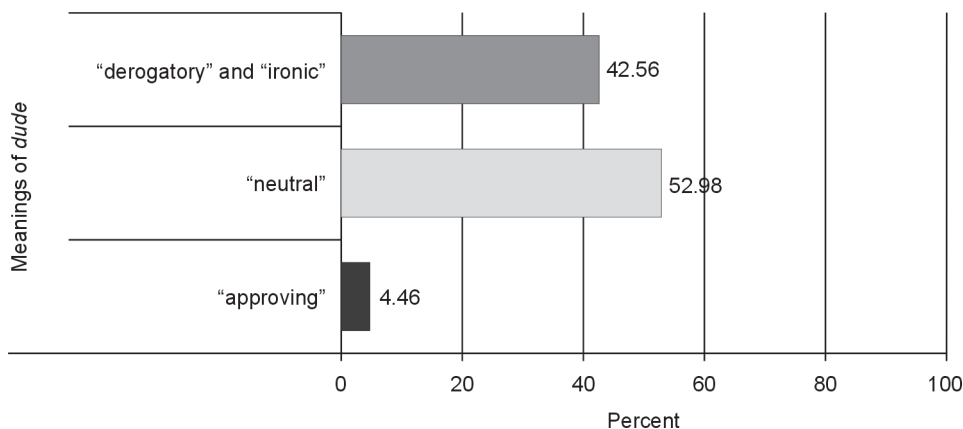
Figure 7. Semantic categories of *dude* in 1885 ("derogatory" and "ironic" categories grouped together)

A close inspection of recorded instances classified here as "neutral" shows that as early as 1885 the meaning must have begun to solidify. In the majority of cases, *dude* seems to be an approximate equivalent of present-day *guy*, *man*, albeit a stylish one, oft-characterized by effeminate qualities:

(15)   It is said there is a soft side to every man. That's the reason why a **dude** is afraid to stand on his head – New York World.

(*The Sedalia Weekly Bazoo*, April 7, 1885, Page 5, Image 5)

The distribution according to month during 1885 shows that entries for *dude* ranged more or less between five and ten percent, with the exception of October, when *dude* occupied slightly more space in the US newspapers, journals, and magazines.
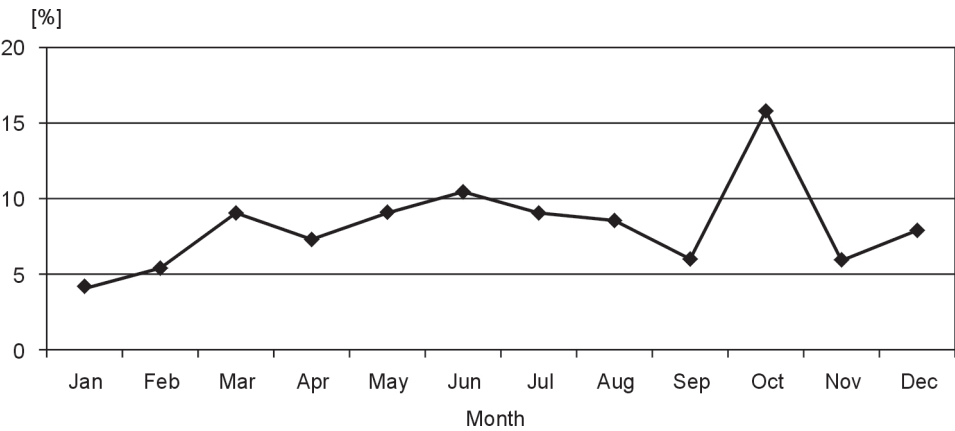
Figure 8. *Dude* in the American press of 1885

Finally, Figure 9 presents the geographical distribution of *dude* across the states included in the database for 1885:
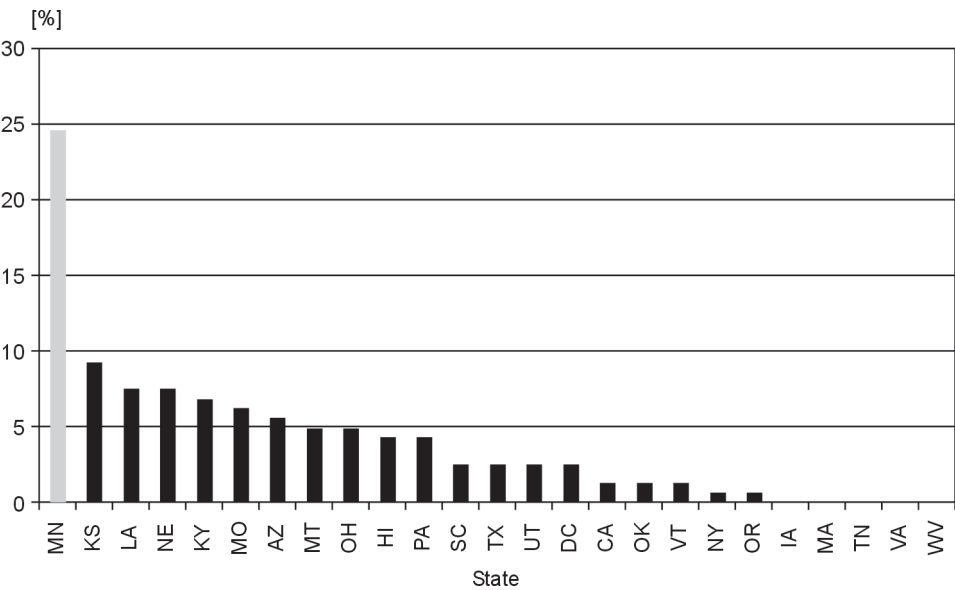
Figure 9. Geographical distribution of *dude* in 1885

Again, there is a change in the state with the highest number of at-testations: this time it is Minnesota. As in 1884, New York is no longer the hub of comments and articles on *dude*; it lags behind between Vermont and Oregon.

4.1.4 Pooled results: years 1883–1885

The pooled results for all the three years under examination show that 1883 differs markedly from 1884 and 1885, especially with regard to the neutral category, as illustrated in Figure 10:
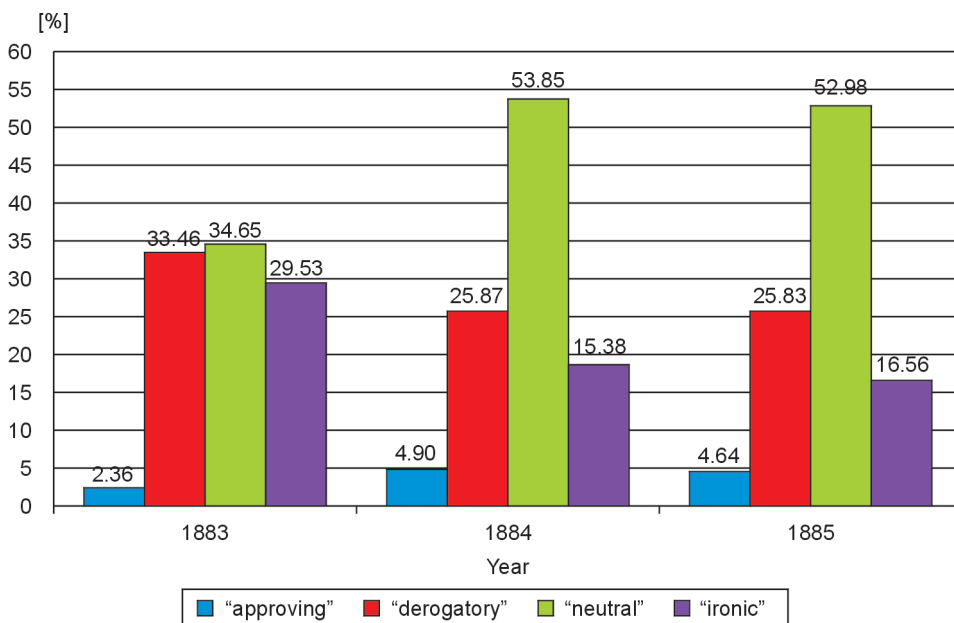
Figure 10. The change of four semantic categories for *dude* between 1883 and 1885

In 1884, the ratio of "approving" meaning grew, albeit insubstantially when compared to the other categories, and remained stable in 1885. At the same time, a slight decrease in the percentages recorded for "derogatory" meaning is visible for the same two years, that is, 1884 and 1885, a decrease of over 7%, which remained remarkably stable in the last two years under analysis. A drop may be observed for the "ironic" category, where there is a more evi-dent decrease, approximately 13%. The most prominent change, however, took place in the case of the "neutral" category. In 1884, an increase was recorded

by approximately 18%, which lasted well into the next year. All these data are indicative of the fact that initially *dude* met with disparaging and mocking attitudes which, only a year later, gave way to a more restrained attitude in the press to the man of fashion of allegedly New York provenance.

The time-line for *dude*'s distribution between 1883 and 1885 is depicted in Figure 11:
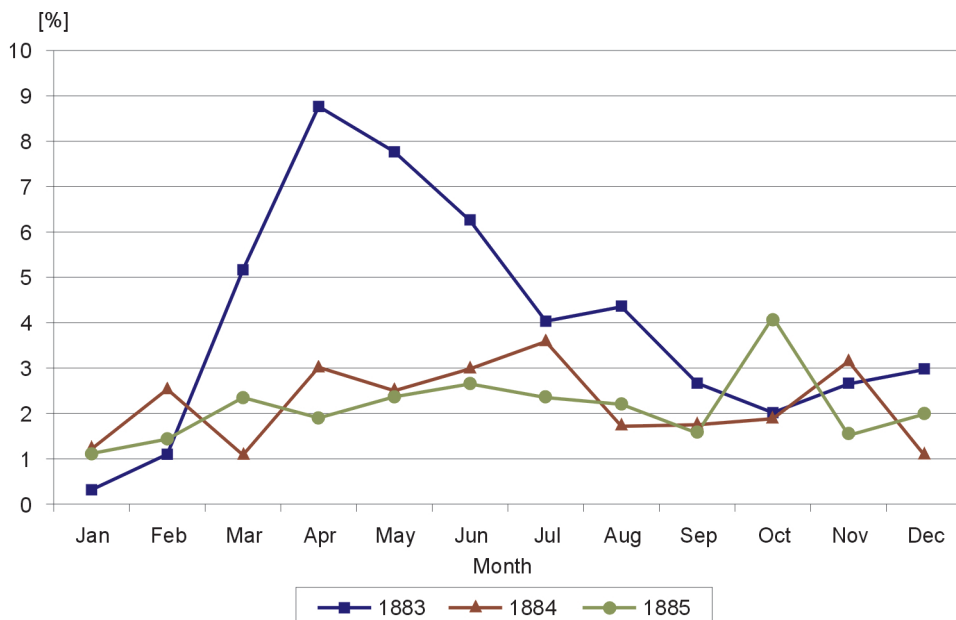
Figure 1l. Chronology of interest of the American press in *dude* between 1883 and 1885

As is acknowledged in the subject literature, *dude* is the product of January 1883. Its increased popularity is mainly visible between March and August 1883. Later the same year, it wanes, but it remains more or less even in both 1884 and 1885.

Finally, Figure 12 illustrates the quantitative results concerning the geographical distribution of *dude*. The line graph depicts the trends of interest in *dude* in the first three years of its existence.

The picture presented here is rather disorderly, with dispersed foci. It seems that newspapers across the entire US expressed their interest in *dude* as early as the mid-1880s and surely considered it worthy of attention. This attention found its manifestation not only in the form of malicious, ironic, and even hateful comments, but also in objective explanations of the intriguing term. The latter were in the minority, as Figure 10 suggests.
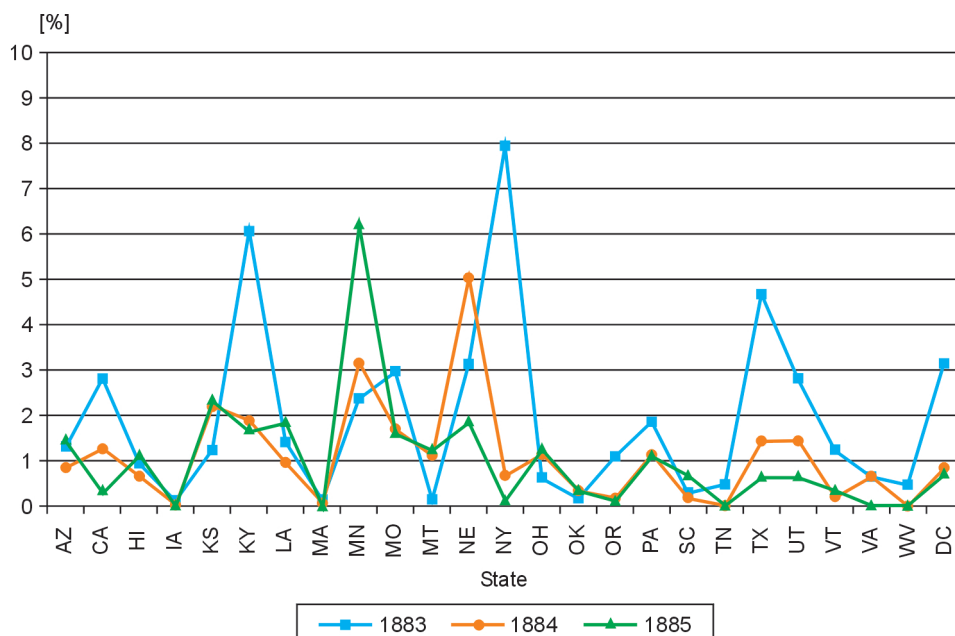
Figure 12. The three-year interest in *dude* across American states present in the database

The last figure presents the locations recorded in the database in descending order, beginning with not New York, which occupies fourth place, but with Minnesota, New England, and Kentucky (cf. Figure 13):
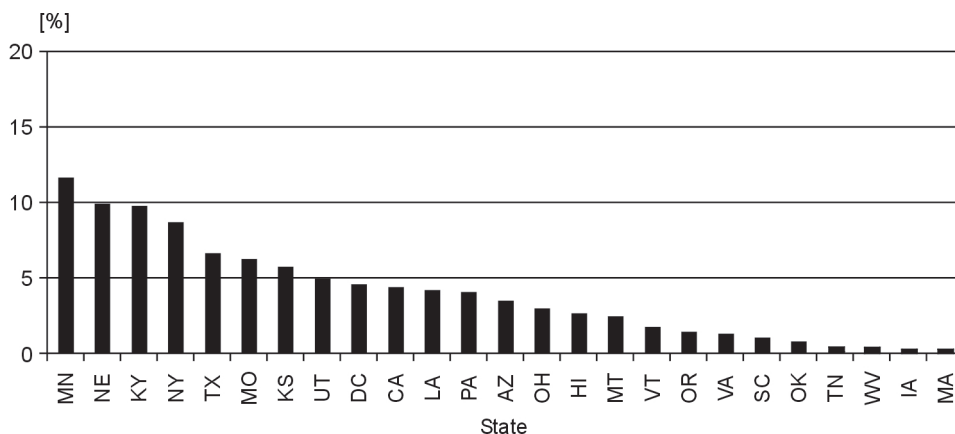
Figure 13. Pooled results for *dude* across the states in which it was recorded

4.2 Qualitative analysis – results

Increasing number of articles have been published on the earliest semantics of *dude*. Some of these are based on the results found in historic American newspapers. To our knowledge, nonetheless, none was carried out systematically looking at all possible and available attestations at a given point in time. Our search, which gathered 640 entries that included the word *dude*, gave us an insight into its (uncertain at that time) meaning, certain synonymous expressions as well as its possible orthographic representation and pronunciation.[16] For the sake of brevity, only some aspects connected with the way the earliest version of *dude* was pronounced have been touched upon here since these are dealt with more extensively in Dylewski (2012).

4.2.1 Etymology, meaning, early pronunciation, and spelling of *dude*

The analysis allowed us to collect quotations which indicate that in 1883 the meaning of the word was far from clear. Contemporary American newspapers offer various attempts at explaining the etymology of *dude*, sometimes quite exotic. One of the articles, for example, derives its meaning from Latin:

(16)   "**Dude**" has been discovered to be the ablative of an irregular Latin noun – "Dud," signifying brown goose. It is thus declined: Singular – Dud, dudis, dudi, dudem, dud, dude. Plural – Dudes, dudium, dudibus, dudes, dudes, dudibus. Being in the ablative it is so much taken away from a real brown goose. Under the homeopathic doctrine it follows that the cure of a dude is to rub him with goose grease.

                                        (*The Evening Critic*, April 19, 1883, Page 1, Image 1)

This theory seems obviously far-fetched for no known reference work goes as far as to claim its Latin origin.
    Another quotation points back to the culture of London for the rise of *dude* as a cultural phenomenon (more links with the British Isles are indicated in the following examples). Nevertheless, it attempts no explanation of the term per se.

---

[16] Please note that certain aspects have been discarded here in order to avoid overlaps with the findings of Dylewski (2012).

(17)   Beau Brummel was the inventor of the **dude**. It took a long time to make his invention popular, but at last society has come to the conclusion that **dudes** are essential to it.

(*The Salt Lake Herald*, December 21, 1883, Image 6)

A word of explanation is warranted here: Beau Brummell was born in London in 1778 and died some 40 years before the emergence of the American *dude*. Brummell is said to have been the first celebrity, a vain trend-setter, an *arbiter elegantiarum*. He may have been a predecessor to the stylish *New Yorker* notorious for paying so much attention to his looks and manners.

The following excerpt is equally interesting. It traces the origin of *dude* to Salem, New England, and claims that it went on to witness its rapid growth of popularity and, prophetically, foresees its inclusion in Webster's dictionary:

(18)   The word **dude** (du-de, pronounced in two syllables) is getting to be a very current and popular word, and will certainly have to be duly rendered and defined in the next edition of Webster unabridged. […] It is common in the place of its supposed coinage to speak of a dapper young man as a "**dude** of a fellow," of a small animal as "a little **dude**," of sweetheart as "my **dude**," and of aesthetic youth of the Wilde type as "a **dude**". But how the word attained so sudden and widespread a notoriety puzzles Salem?

(*NY Morning Journal*, April 29, 1883, pp. 2/7)

It may be inferred from the foregoing example that the pronunciation of *dude* was not settled in 1883. This particular example implies that the word did not rhyme either with *rude* or *pewed*, but should have rather been pronounced bi-syllabically.

Example (19) also refers to the idea of *dude*'s New England provenance, or, more specifically, Salem. The example posits, however, that the bi-syllabic pronunciation was a thing of the past and the modern version was monosyllabic, with the dropped yod (Example (20) also testifies to this particular pronunciation):

(19)   **Dude** is pronounced to rhyme with rude. Its origin is as difficult to trace as that of any slang expression. It is claimed that it has been used in some portion of New England to describe a know nothing and pronounced in two syllables. However that may be, the modern **dude** pronounces his name in one.

(*Omaha Daily Bee*, May 15, 1883, Page 4, Image 4)

(20)   "Oh, hush, child, hush, 'tis no gobling rude, 'tis only a harmless little **dude**."

(*St. Paul Daily Globe*, April 25, 1884, Page 3, Image 3)

Example (21) suggests that as well as *dude*'s rhyming with *rude* (and thus being *dood*), there was also a newer pronunciation, albeit marginalized, with palatalized yod:

(21)　　There have been seen here some poor imitations of **dudes**, and a few on the half shell, but the first genuine, blue-blooded, feather tipped, satin-fringed, brocaded, hand-painted one-a **dude** worthy to be pronounced with a "j" – jude – appeared yesterday.

(*Omaha Daily Bee*, February 15, 1884, Image 6)

The spelling of *dude* was also unsettled during the first year of its existence, as is evident in Example (22):

(22)　　It is ***d-u-d-e*** or ***d-o-o-d***, the spelling not having been distinctly settled yet. Nobody knows where the word came from, but it has sprung into popularity within the past two weeks, and everybody is using it… The word "**dude**" is a valuable addition to the slang of the day.

(*Brooklyn Eagle*, February 25, 1883)

In 1883 and 1884 the term *dude* was regarded as generally offensive, which is backed up by quotations (23) to (25) below. Example (25) shows that Americans of the day did not exactly know what or who a *dude* really was:

(23)　　A Boston peddler has been fined $5 for calling a gentleman of fashion a **dude**. This is one of those cases to which the old law applies, "The greater the truth the greater the libel." The New York Commercial Advertiser says that if the peddler had addressed the **dude** as "My Lord," or "Your Grace," the **dude** would have hugged him with paroxysmal delight.

(*National Republican*, July 11, 1883, Page 4, Image 4)

(24)　　William Lee, of Cincinnati, has sued the Enquirer for $50 000 damages for libel for calling him a **dude**.

(*Semi-Weekly Bourbon News*, September 14, 1883, Image 1)

(25)　　A paper down East is threatened with a libel suit for calling a man a **dude**. The paper now says that **dude** is complimentary term.

(*The Daily Bulletin*, June 14, 1884, Image 4)

Finally, the lack of clarity of the term is alluded to in Example (26):

(26)　　**Dude** is a very much abused word. It is a word that has a real meaning and stands for a real thing. But nine-tenths of the time it is applied, it is not used correctly. […] Those who are most often called **dudes** only dress like dudes.

The real live **dude** is not near so plenty as might be imagined. A good sized town generally has no more than three or four of these curiosities.

(*The Red Cloud Chief*, January 2, 1885, Image 6)

4.2.2 *Dudes, female dudes, mowers, cads, fops,* and *mashers*

As soon as the term hit American newspapers, one question journalists asked was whether *dude* could have a female counterpart. This query was addressed in a number of articles published during the period. Generally, the press of the day turned out to be productive and coined such variants as *girl dude*, *dudine*, *dudelet,* and *dudess* (cf. Examples (27)–(31)):

(27)   The New York Evening Post learnedly discusses the question, Can a girl be a dude? And concludes that **girl dudes** is a possible future social type. It unfeelingly declares there is something girlish about every true **dude**.

(*Sacramento Daily Record-Union* April 25, 1883, Image 4)

(28)   The **dudine** is the name applied to **female dude**. The **dudine** wears a mashed gooseberry colored hat and a high collar, and her clothes are made to fit tight. She carries a sharp-pointed parasol in lieu of the dude cane, and is often accompanied by an English pug terrier.

(*Semi-Weekly Interior Journal*, May 18, 1883, Image 1)

(29)   A Dude and **Dudelet** on the beach, / Upon the beach so sandy. / The Dude; he wooed; the **Dudelet** cooed, / And nibbled Maillard's candy, / Lanky Dude and **Dudelet** dear, / Lanky Dudy dandy […]

(*National Republican*, May 04, 1883, Page 4, Image 4)

(30)   Yer see, sister Belle gave an ice-cream party, and she invited a lot of those dudes and **dudesses**.

(*The Stark County Democrat*, July 28, 1883, Page 3, Image 3)

(31)   The supposition that the dude, **dudine** and **dudelet** have no sense has been universally accepted as correct, but an instance occurred yesterday which tends to show that if they are destitute of sense they have at least a protective instinct, which is of service to them.

(*The San Antonio Light*, July 18, 1883, Image 3)

The sudden appearance of *dude* instigated the appearance of near-synonymous and antonymous terms used to describe the devotees of the 1883 interest. *Mower* was juxtaposed with effeminate and gangly New York *dude*. Interestingly, among its entries the *Oxford English dictionary* (2nd edition) pro-

vides none of the meanings given in the American press of the time. According to the 19th-century press, *mowers* are:

(32)   […] the "**Mowers**," which it is claimed will choke off the dudes of the past few years. According to all accounts the "**mower**" is more athletic and better formed representative human than the dude, and boasts of breadth of shoulder and strength of calf.

(*The McCook Tribune*, November 12, 1885, Image 6)

(33)   The **mower** is a muscular, athletic young man, as strong as Frederick Gebhard and usually as good-looking. He may be seen any of the swell streets. He is the sworn enemy of the dude, and the fight between them is to the death, for the latter can never hope to make the same muscular showing that makes the **mower** a power in the land.

(*Daily Honolulu Press*, December 25, 1885, Image 3)

In accordance with the above accounts, *mowers* may be defined as muscular and manly types in opposition to slender feminine type of *dude* (note also Example (34), which explicitly states that an obese man cannot be a *dude*):

(34)   It is simply impossible for a fat man to be a real ***dude***. He may sport the regularion collar; he may wear coats so short that his vest shows beneath it, but he can't be a successful ***dude***.

(*The Forest Republican*, December 12, 1883, Image 1)

Turning to possible synonymous terms, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edition) reports that a *masher* was "a fashionable young man of the late Victorian or Edwardian era, *esp.* one fond of the company of women; a dandy. Now *hist.* (s.v. *masher*, n. 2)." Some of the excerpts drawn from the repository of historic American newspapers indeed suggest a close semantic similarity between a *dude* and a *masher* (see Examples (35)–(36)):

(35)   The **Dude** is recognized as a "**Masher**" (also, we fondly hope, an American word) without the lordly and arrogant bearing of the proud youths in singular collars. The business of the **Dude** is to reduce Democratic society to a sad well-bred level. The natural good spirits of the race demand to be tamed and chastened, and the **Dude** chastens them.

(*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 10, 1883, Image 7)

(36)   […] The **dude**, the **dude**, / is always rude / with his idiotic stare; / He poses for the girls, / With his bangs and curls, / Trying to "**mash**" everywhere. […]

(*The Evening Critic*, April 26, 1883, Image 2)

We have, nonetheless, also found excerpts which undermine this claim and suggest that *mashers* did not necessarily fully correspond to *dudes*:

(37)   There are those who pretend to see a resemblance between the **Dude** and the **Masher**. But these are not profound observers. The **Masher**, we venture to think, although chronically tired, is on occasion, boisterous. The **Dude** is never noisy, he is a living protest against indecorum; he is the embodiment of a desire to be a perfect gentleman of the strictest English order.

<div align="right">(New-York Tribune, February 3, 1884, Page 8, Image 8)</div>

As is evident in Example (37), even a year after the earliest appearance of the *dude*, the press was not entirely certain who this person was or might have been. Here, despite the criticism, the *dude* is ascribed charmingly positive qualities and is characterized by gentlemanly behavior not typical of the *masher*, who could be, as indicated above, the embodiment of far baser qualities.

Neither might the *dude* be put on a par with the *cad*, where the meaning of the latter is "a fellow of low vulgar manners and behavior. (An offensive and insulting appellation)" (the *OED*, s.v. *cad*, n.). Example (38) indicates that these two notions are not entirely synonymous, since one of the *dude*'s characteristics, at least as far as the article's author is concerned, was his gentility:

(38)   "What's a ***dude***?" "A ***dude***, answered the youth, slowly, is a gentleman. A ***cad*** can never be a ***dude***. He must not be in trade, but must not have money…"

<div align="right">(Omaha Daily Bee, April 25, 1883, Page 7, Image 7)</div>

Finally, Example (39) shows that American *dude* possessed a set of qualities that distinguished him from his contemporary counterparts and predecessors, as listed below:
a) *swell* – "a fashionably or stylishly dressed person; hence, a person of good social position, a highly distinguished person" (the *OED*, s.v. *swell*, n.);
b) *fop* – "one who is foolishly attentive to and vain of his appearance, dress, or manners; a dandy, an exquisite" (the *OED*, s.v. *fop*, n.);
c) *dandy* – "one who studies above everything to dress elegantly and fashionably; a beau, fop, 'exquisite'" (the *OED*, s.v. *dandy*, n.):

(39)   the **dude** is evidently the social successor of the **swell**, the **fop**, and the **dandy**, but the type is a very different one, and it is in this fact that the social interest in him mainly centres. The fashionable typers which precede him – the **fops** and **dandies** of our fathers' and grandfathers' time, and the **swell** of our own – were evolved in and "environment" which does not any longer exist. They devoted themselves to fashion, but it was in a different spirit from that shown by the **dude**. They regarded exaggeration and extravagance as a legitimate fashionable aim. […] Any one who looks at a picture of a **fop** or **dandy** of

fifty years ago, will see that overdoing the fashions was his ambition. If clothes were important, the more display they made, the brighter the colors, the more numerous the jewels, the more picturesque the whole, the better. […] they have been succeeded by the **dude**, who actually reverses all this. The **dude's** object is not to exaggerate fashions, but to make them less and less noticeable. He acts as if his desire was not to attract attention to himself […] He never laughs aloud, or looks gay, as his predecessors used to. A high-spirited, hilarious **dude** would be a contradiction in terms […].

(*The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, 6 March 1883, Image 3)

5. Conclusions

On the basis of the data gathered from an online repository of historic American newspapers we have managed to scrutinize the earliest instances of *dude* both quantitatively and qualitatively, with semantic and geographical analyses in focus. The conclusions stemming from these analyses are the following: first, the search yielded no pre-1883 attestations of *dude* in the American press, thus the discussion started with 1883. An analysis of four semantic categories – "approving," "derogatory," "neutral," and "ironic" – of the word under study showed that in the first year of its existence in American newspapers, it did not encounter a warm welcome. Within the next two years, nonetheless, the neutral meaning started to prevail.

Second, as for the geographical distribution, only in 1883 did New York appear to be the locus of interest in *dude*. In the years that followed, New York waned in this and other states began to lead the way.

Third, the study also presented certain issues connected with *dude*'s earliest meaning, the way(s) it was spelled and pronounced as well as pointed to its synonyms and antonyms.

Finally, with new titles being put into the database of America's historic newspaper pages, new pieces of information might be retrieved: being well aware of it, we continue the data collection process which will supplement the conclusions presented in the present article.

Appendix

Table A1. Chronological and geographical distribution of *dude* in 1883 across the states represented in http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov (reprints included)

State \ Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Arizona				2		1		4			1		8
California			1	1	1	2	4		1	1	6	1	18
Hawaii							3					3	6
Iowa				1									1
Kansas				1	3	1			1		1	1	8
Kentucky			3	10	2	7	6	2	5	3	1		39
Louisiana				1		6		1		1			9
Massachusetts			1										1
Minnesota				3	2	2		2	2	1	1	2	15
Missouri			1	5	6	1	2	2	1	1			19
Montana										1			1
Nebraska				3	4	4		3	1	1		4	20
New York	2	7	6	19	7	4	1	4			1		51
Ohio				1		3							4
Oklahoma									1				1
Oregon			5				1	1					7
Pennsylvania			1		2	3		2	1		2	1	12
South Carolina						2							2
Tennessee				1			1		1				3
Texas			3	1	10	4	5		5			2	30
Utah				6	1	2	1	3	1		1	3	18
Vermont			1	2		3					1	1	8
Virginia			1		1					2			4
West Virginia			3										3
District of Columbia			10	6	3		1						20
Total	2	7	15	6	3	9	1	3	7	2	2	6	**308**

Table A2. Chronological distribution of *dude* in 1884 across the states represented in http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov (reprints included)

State \ Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Arizona	2		1				1		1				5
California		1				3				3	1		8
Hawaii	1					1	1	1					4
Iowa													0

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Kansas	1	1			4	2				4	1	1	14
Kentucky		2	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	2	12
Louisiana								2	3		1		6
Massachusetts													0
Minnesota		1	1	3	2	4	3	1			4	1	20
Missouri		3	1				2	1			4		11
Montana					2	1		1	1	2			7
Nebraska	4	2		5	6	1	7	4			1	2	32
New York		3							1				4
Ohio						4		2		1			7
Oklahoma			1							1			2
Oregon											1		1
Pennsylvania				3				1	2	1			7
South Carolina										1			1
Tennessee													0
Texas		2	3		1		3						9
Utah		1		2		2		1	2		1		9
Vermont					1								1
Virginia				1	2		1						4
West Virginia													0
District of Columbia				3		2							5
Total	8	16	7	19	16	19	23	11	11	12	20	7	**169**

Table A3. Chronological distribution of *dude* in 1885 across the states represented inpennhttp://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov (reprints included)

State \ Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Arizona	1			1	1	1	2			2		1	9
California						2							2
Hawaii				2					1	1	1	2	7
Iowa													0
Kansas			1					3		5	5	1	15
Kentucky			1			3	3	2		2			11
Louisiana			2		1		1	2	1	2	3		12
Massachusetts													0
Minnesota		3	3	3	4	4	5	4	4	4		6	40
Missouri	1		1	3		2	2	1					10
Montana	1	3	2		1					1			8
Nebraska	3		2		2	2				2	1		12
New York					1								1
Ohio		1	2	4					1				8

Oklahoma						2							2
Oregon											1		1
Pennsylvania							1	1	4		1		7
South Carolina			1		2					1			4
Tennessee													0
Texas		1				1	1					1	4
Utah	1				1		1		1				4
Vermont		1							1				2
Virginia													0
West Virginia													0
District of Columbia				1			1		2				4
Total	7	9	15	12	15	17	15	14	10	26	10	13	**163**

References

Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Online resource: http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov.

Dylewski, Radosław. 2012. The first years of *dude*. What else can early American newspapers and COHA tell us about its early meanings and usages. In Jacek Fisiak & Magdalana Bator (eds.), *Historical English word formation and semantics* (Warsaw Studies in English Language and Literature), 101–121. Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang.

Kiesling, Scott F. 2004. Dude. *American Speech* 79: 281–305.

Knoll, Robert E. 1952. The meanings and suggested etymologies of "dude." *American Speech* 27: 20–22.

Kopyciński, Tomasz. 2014. On the Earliest History of *Dude*. A Study of *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Unpublished MA thesis. Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Metcalf, Allan. 2016. *From skedaddle to selfie*: *Words of the generations.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Oxford English Dictionary. (2nd edn). Available online: www.oed.com.

Popik, Barry & Gerald Cohen. 2013. Dude revisited: A preliminary compilation. *Comments on Etymology* 43(1–2): 10.

Reitan, Peter. 2014a. *Dude*: Its ear attestation thus far (1879) is unreliable. *Comments on Etymology* 43(8): 2.

Reitan, Peter 2014b. Another supposed 1879 source of *dude* was written later. *Comments on Etymology* 43(8): 4.

Referential functions
of *there*+P pronominal adverbs
in Older Scots

Bettelou Los, Joanna Kopaczyk

University of Edinburgh and University of Glasgow

1. Introduction

Around the time of the Norman Conquest, the geographic continuum of Germanic dialects in the British Isles stretched as far as the Scottish Lowlands. Speakers of Old Northumbrian had been in these lands for several centuries, with records of their language surviving in 8th-century runic poetry (the Ruthwell Cross) and gloss translations of the Bible (the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels). The textual evidence for the northernmost Old English (OE) dialects afterwards is scanty or non-existent but it is fair to assume that linguistic contacts continued between northern England, under Scandinavian rule, and the Scottish Lowlands. South of the border, the continuous written record was punctuated by the Conquest and its aftermath but resurfaced in a relatively abundant range of regional textual production from around 1150 onwards (see Laing and Lass 2013: Ch1, § 1.3). North of the border, the temporal gap is over 200 years greater – the earliest substantial written evidence survives from 1375 onwards. By then it is quite clear, though, that the dialects of the north and the dialects of the south had continued to grow structurally distinct. The northernmost of these dialects, used in the Scottish kingdom and influenced by Norman French, Gaelic, Danelaw English, southern Early Middle English (eME), Middle Dutch and perhaps even a contingent of actual Scandinavian speakers (Alcorn et al. 2017), would lay ground for Scots, the language of the medieval Scottish kingdom and the *lingua franca* of the early Scottish burghs. In the 15th century, Scots flourished as the language of administration and law, spoken communication and literature, distinguished from its northern Middle English (ME) relative

not only by growing linguistic differences but also by its distinct label – *Scottis* (Aitken and Macafee 2002; McClure 1994).

Unique phonological features of this emerging language have been studied on the basis of literature and poetry by Aitken and Macafee (2002), and on the basis of legal and administrative texts by Alcorn et al. (2017). Its lexicon diverges from neighbouring ME dialects, but even more strikingly from the southern varieties (Macafee 1997; Kries 2003; cf. Schaffner 2005). The morphosyntax, too, shows developments that are uniquely Scots: survivors of unproductive OE paradigms, such as *caur* 'calves,' plural forms of the relative pronoun *quhilk* 'which' and plural concord of adjectives (as in *the saidis lordis*), as well as past and past participle forms of verbs using different stems or inflectional strategies to those preferred in the south (van Buuren-Veenenbos 1982: 74–97; King 1997; for a useful list of Modern Scots irregular verbs, see Purves 1997: 50–56).

The scope for lexical and phonological variation is much larger than the scope for morphological variation, and the scope for syntactic variation, particularly word order, is smaller still (Stankiewicz 1991), so we would not expect related dialects to show much divergence. What we do not know is what to expect in the area of information structure. The interaction posited between syntax and information structure in recent works (Los 2009, 2012; Los and van Kemenade forthcoming) has interesting repercussions for the referentiality of deictic elements like *there* and *then*, and demonstrative pronouns; these items show a loss in referential functionality in the course of ME, which can be connected to the general decline in first position adverbials that link back to the preceding discourse after the 15th century. As this is also the period of the loss of Verb-Second, a word order mechanism that makes available a multifunctional clause-initial position, the two phenomena may well be related, although the nature of that interaction is still obscure. The present paper investigates a small area of possible morphosyntactic and information-structural convergence where a well-described phenomenon in southern English – the brief window of a flourishing system of pronominal *there*-adverbs in ME – appears to be mirrored in Scots.

We start by a discussion of pronominal adverbs and the loss of referential function as the driving force behind their disappearance. Then we present the LAOS corpus, which is the source of our 15th-century Scots data, and move on to illustrate contexts for selected pronominal adverbs with larger typological considerations in the background.

2. The rise and fall of pronominal adverbs

In OE, prepositions can take demonstrative pronouns as complement:

(1) **On ðam** beoð cristene men tocnawene. gif hi   rihtlice cristene   beoð.
      by   that are   Christian men recognized if they truly   Christians are

      'By that Christians are recognized as true Christians.'

(ÆCHom II, 40 300.30)

The same is true of Present-Day English (PDE), although the resulting prepositional phrase is less likely to appear in first position, and often does so only in special constructions which allow an informationally-new subject to appear in end-focus position:

(2) In the iron trade, enormous quantities of material are used for the manufacture of boilers and pipes; while the manufacturers of paint, putty, and other materials also do a brisk trade with market growers. **To these** must be added the various gas companies and colliery merchants, who provide thousands of tons of coke or anthracite coal to feed the furnaces attached to the glasshouses.

(PPCMBE, Kroch, Santorini & Diertani 2010. weathers-1913,1,7.154–156)

In ME, however, an alternative expression for such PPs in the form of the combination of the adverb *there* and a preposition starts to proliferate, as in (3):

(3) Sho answerd agayn & sayd … sho wold not delyver it or he & his felow bothe samen come **þerfor**

      'She answered back and said … she would hold on to it until he and his fellow both come for it.'

(*OED*, *c*1440 *Alphabet of Tales* 97)

Such pronominal adverbs are first found in OE, and opinions vary as to its analysis (PP or adverb?) (see, e.g., van Kemenade 1987: 108–141; Alcorn 2011, 2014). It is not until ME that the form starts to oust earlier *to that*, *by that*, *for that*, *in that*, etc.; some ME forms, for instance *therethrough* and *therefrom*, are not attested in OE at all (Alcorn 2011). The reason for their emergence and proliferation is unclear. Lenker (2007, 2010), investigating clausal connectors of cause and result, found a "complete restructuring" of the system of clausal connection in eME (Lenker 2007: 215; 2010), from about 1250 onwards. The rise of the pronominal adverbs may be connected with this shift. It may also be significant that their *wh*-counterparts (*wherefor(e)*, etc.) take off in eME, as part of the general emergence of interrogative pronouns as relativizers. The

first function in which such *wh*-pronouns appear is as free (headless or fused) relatives, as in *To boldly go **where no one has gone before***, probably because of the semantic intersection with embedded interrogatives as in *They did not know **where everyone had gone*** (see Gisborne and Truswell 2015 for English; Schoonenboom 2000 for Dutch; Caponigro 2004 for a crosslinguistic survey). After ME, the pronominal adverbs go into an abrupt decline, and are only retained in PDE as deliberate archaisms or in formal registers, for instance, in legal language. The few items that survive in common use, like *therefore*, lost the reference to a specific entity in the preceding discourse and instead became a logical linking word, 'consequently,' 'expressing a general relation of consequence or inference' (*OED*, *therefore | therefor*, adv. and n. II. 2). An example is (4):

(4)   Things obscure are not **therefore** sacred.

<div align="right">(OED, 1735 G. Berkeley Def. Free-thinking in Math. §2)</div>

The OED notes that *therefore* as in (3) – a pronominal adverb – and *therefore* as in (4) – a non-pronominal adverb, or even a conjunction – are stressed differently, and have been consistently differentiated in the spelling since ca. 1800, with <therefor> reserved for the pronominal and <therefore> for the non-pronominal adverb.

3. Pronominal adverbs and their referential functions

3.1 Changes in information structure

It is probably not accidental that the only member of the group of pronominal adverbs to survive in common parlance lost its ability to create a link to a specific entity in the previous discourse; there are wider parallels to a loss in referentiality in adverbial constituents in English. Note, for instance, that the lexicalization *instead* (from *in stead of*, *in the stead of*) may include an NP complement even today, but usages as in (5) with a demonstrative pronoun are no longer current:

(5)   Instead of that [1623 In stead whereof], let his supplie the roome.

<div align="right">(OED, 1595 Shakespeare Henry VI, Pt. 3 ii. vi. 54)</div>

From a wider Germanic perspective, where Dutch would require a specific link in the form of a pronominal adverb (*in plaats daarvan* 'instead of that') or German would require a demonstrative pronoun (*stattdessen* 'instead-of-that'), PDE is able to make do with an implicit link: *instead*.

The decline of PPs containing demonstratives, as in (1), and their pronominal adverb alternatives as in (3) is charted in Los and Dreschler (2012), as part of an investigation into the function of the first constituent of a main clause in Verb-Second languages. Table 1 below shows that the ratio of PPs with demonstrative pronoun complements in clause-initial position declines over time as a percentage of all PPs in that position. The share of PPs containing personal pronouns, on the other hand, increases slightly.

Table 1. Clause-initial PPs, excluding for, in the O14, M4, and B3 subperiods of the Helsinki Corpus; see also Los and Dreschler (2012)

First Constituent	OE (O14)	lME (M4)	lModE (B3)
Total PP	752	1658	985
P+demonstrative	105	76	29
P+personal pronoun	9	23	22
þær/*there*+P	21	99	8

These figures do not include counts for the preposition *for* in combination with either a demonstrative or with *there* in order to prevent any skewing by attestations of non-referential *therefore*. The figures in Table 2 show that *therefore* does not share in the general decline of P+demonstrative and *there*+P, which must be due to *therefore* starting a new life as a non-pronominal logical linker in Early Modern English.

Table 2. Clause-initial *for*-PPs and *therefor(e)* in the O14, M4, and B3 subperiods of the Helsinki Corpus; see also Los and Dreschler (2012)

First Constituent	OE (O14)	lME (M4)	lModE (B3)
for+*þæm*/*therefor(e)*	62	71	55

In all, the referentiality of the first constituent declines markedly in the history of English, witness Table 3.

Table 3. Clause-initial PPs complemented by referential pronouns as a percentage of all clause-initial PPs in the O14, M4, and B3 subperiods of the Helsinki Corpus; see also Los and Dreschler (2012)

First Constituent	OE (O14)	lME (M4)	lModE (B3)
Total P+NP	752	1658	985
P+demonstrative/*there*+P	25%	15%	9%
P+personal pronoun	1.1%	1.3%	2.2%

This decline can be measured by the ratio of clause-initial PPs containing demonstratives, as in Table 3 (see also Dreschler 2015), or by the decline in clause-initial PPs that contain given rather than new information (Pérez-Guerra 2005: 357ff.).

A study suggesting loss of referential function particularly for the item *therefore* is Ball's (1991: 481) investigation into the rise of the *it*-cleft in English. She compares the clefts found in Watt's PDE translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* with earlier translations of the same passages, to see what structures English employed before the existence of the new clefts. Where Watt has an *it*-cleft (*it isn't because... that..., but because...that...*), as in (6a), Chaucer's 14th-century translation in (6b) resorts to correlative linking by means of adverbs and Verb-Second, a construction that crucially relies on *there* in *therefore* in first position having specific reference (*Forwhy... were they not for that ..., but for ... therefore*):

(6) a. It isn't because they are part of your wealth that they are precious, but because you thought them precious that you wanted to add them to the sum of your riches.

<div align="right">(Watts 1969: tr. Bo 2. pr5.67; qtd. in Ball 1991: 482)</div>

   b. Forwhy fair ne precyous were thei nat for that thei comen among thi rychesses; but for they semeden fair and precyous, therfore thou haddest levere rekne hem among thi rychesses.

<div align="right">(Chaucer, tr. Bo 2.pr5.108; qtd. in Ball 1991: 482)</div>

Ball (1991: 484–485) explores the various PDE alternatives, and concludes that the anaphoric reference between the deictic element in *therefore* or even its alternative *for that reason* and the preposed *because*-constituent does not work in PDE: ?*But* [*because they are fair and precious*]$_i$, *therefore$_i$ / for that$_i$ reason you wanted to reckon them among your riches* – they lack the specificational reading required by the original.

The decline in referentiality of the first constituent is contemporaneous with the loss of Verb-Second in the 15th century, which led to a tighter mapping of syntactic function and information structural status in PDE: given information, in particular, is increasingly expressed by subjects rather than adverbials.[1]

---

[1] The nature of the interaction of Verb-Second (V2) and the function of the first constituent of the clause awaits further research. The presence or absence of V2 is in itself not a sufficient predictor for the referential possibilities of clause-initial adverbials. Swedish is a V2 language, but an investigation into the German of Swedish learners of German shows that Swedish sentence-beginnings are much more like PDE, and rarely show adverbials that link back to the preceding discourse, 'organizing and structuring its information in a way that native German readers find odd and unidiomatic' (Bonacker and Rosén 2007: 31). Bonacker and Rosén specifically relate this difference to the fact that German makes use of pronominal adverbs where Swedish uses a referentially-empty *Det* to start a sentence, akin to the use of dummy *there* in PDE.

Because of the loss of referential adverbials in first position, the majority of clause-initial adverbials in PDE are forward-looking frame-setters which determine for which time and place the following preposition applies. These frames often have contrastive focus.

(7) a.   How is business going for Daimler-Chrysler?

     b.   [In GERmany]$_{Frame}$ the prospects are [GOOD], but [in AMErica]$_{Frame}$ they are [losing MOney].

<div align="right">(Krifka 2007: 46)</div>

The change in referentiality of English first-position adverbials is reflected in Dutch/English translation manuals, which recommend the use of the English pseudo-cleft *This is why* as the translation-of-choice for Dutch pronominal adverbs like *daarom* 'therefore' in clause-initial position, or *This is how* for referential adverbs like *zo* 'so, thus' (see, e.g., Lemmens and Parr 1995; Hannay and Keizer 1993).

There are other, earlier signs of referential shifts in the history of English which may have a bearing on the rise of pronominal adverbs where English earlier made use of prepositional phrases like *on ðam* 'on that' (see (1) above). One is the extensive re-shaping in early ME that led to an invariant definite article *the* and a distal demonstrative *that* that is only marked for number and not for gender (*that* versus *those*) (McColl Millar 2000). A second change is that demonstratives could refer to human referents, and provided a morpho-syntactic prop for interclausal referent-tracking, with personal pronouns signalling topic continuity and demonstratives – topic shift (see, e.g., Kaiser 2011 and Bosch et al. 2007 for German and van Kampen 2007 for Dutch). The fact that the plural forms *those*/*these* preserved that property also points to a connection with the loss of gender, as the plural forms were not gendered. There is a small window in which we see the phrase *he this* used to compensate for this loss of functionality (Mustanoja 1960: 137), as well as phrases like *the same*, *the said*, and the rise of *its* vs. OE genitive neuter *his*; see Bugaj (2006) for competition between *of the samyn*, *thairof*, *of it*, and *its* in Older Scots.

3.2 Spacing and grammaticalization

In the context of the loss of specific referentiality of the *there*+P combination, the spacing between the two elements might be relevant. If the clause-initial position becomes less compatible with explicit discourse linking in the form of P+demonstrative phrases, a response might be to express some of these PPs

as pronominal adverbs based on *there*-. With these items increasingly losing their referential functionality in terms of linking to specific referents in the previous discourse, one would expect these links to become (i) increasingly implicit: *instead* rather than *instead of that*, see (5) above; or (ii) increasingly more generalized and less specific, like *therefore* as an expression of causality on a par with *consequently*; see also Molencki (2008, 2012). These patterns fit the grammaticalization of PPs like *be fore*+NP into *before*, or *be side*+NP into *beside*, with the NP no longer being required. The presence and use of complex prepositions (*notagainstanding*, *notwithstanding*, see, for example, *not gaynstandand* in (16) below) in this period in Scots, and their positions with respect to their NP complements whether or not any NP complement is present, are building blocks in the same scenario of loss.

4. Referentiality of pronominal adverbs in Older Scots

4.1 The *LAOS* Corpus and data extraction

In parallel to ME, the Scots of the day also uses various *there*+preposition (*there*+P) combinations, such as *thereat*, *therefore*, *therewith*, etc. The corpus used in the construction of the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (*LAOS*) (Williamson 2008) contains some 1,200 mainly legal texts written in Scots between 1380 and 1500. Although narrative texts generally offer more flexibility and insight into the writers' syntactic repertoire at a given point in time, the time frame of this corpus coincides with the decline of Verb-Second and the loss of referentiality in southern English, and the requirement of cohesion, specification, and cross-reference, crucial in legal discourse, makes it likely that the corpus contains many referential constructions. We need to make an important caveat at this point: we do not presuppose any special preference for *there*+P constructions in 15th-century legal discourse, even though register specialization of this construction followed in later periods. Earlier research on *thereof* in Older Scots has shown that different genres do exhibit different tendencies in selecting this marker of possession over *of ye samyn* and *of it* (Bugaj 2006: 187–194), but we cannot be sure if the same sensitivity to the formal character of *there*+P adverbs was as prevalent then as it is today.

In *LAOS*, all spelling variants are grouped under relevant labels, called *lexels*. A lexel is an umbrella-form with unique semantic and syntactic properties, much like a lemma, and uses a label either from Present-Day English, or if

a particular Scots word has no English counterpart, from Scots. For instance the lexel $therein/av, where the dollar sign introduces the lexel and the grammatical information follows after a forward slash, appears in *LAOS* in the following spellings: <hari(n), yarin, yar i(n), yarein, yarei(n), yar(e)in, yar(e) in, yer in, y(ar)in, y(ar)ine, y(ar) in, þar in>. For any *there*+P combination discussed below, all spelling variants were investigated. Table 4 provides a quantitative overview of the most frequent forms.

Table 4. Continuous and split spellings of most frequent pronominal *there*+ combinations in *LAOS*

There+ combinations	Continuous		Split		Total tokens per type
	tokens	% of type	tokens	% of type	
Thereabout	1	2.7	36	97.3	37
Thereafter	56	47.1	63	52.9	119
Therefore	128	81.0	30	19.0	158
Therein	19	76.0	6	24.0	25
Thereof	189	70.0	81	30.0	270
Thereto	84	54.2	71	45.8	155
Thereupon	168	64.9	91	35.1	259

It is interesting to notice, in terms of univerbation, that there is a lot of variation, with at opposite ends of the spectrum *thereabout* preferring the split form, and *therefore* the continuous form. In general, the grammaticalization/lexicalization process of phrases becoming heads is reflected in scribal practice in *LAOS*, for example, *be for* (243 out of 960 tokens) or *be side* (4 out of 18 tokens), while *because* gets spelled separately in about one third of all instances (58 out of 157 tokens). Molencki's (2012) detailed study of different manuscript versions of the same text has shown, however, that medieval spelling is not at all a reliable guide to lexicalization. He did not find any evidence of a steady development from, for example, *by*/*be cause* to *because*, with univerbated *by-cause*/*because* appearing as early as the mid-15th century, and becoming the spelling norm in the 1530s.[2]

Apart from the items in Table 4, there were numerous types of rarer combinations of *there*+ in the corpus, which indicates the productivity of this construction as a syntactic (rather than a lexical) strategy in 15th-century Scots: *thereagainst*, *thereas*, *thereat*, *thereatour*, *therebeside*, *therebetween*, *therebetwix*, *thereby*, *theredown*, *therefrom*, *thereon*, *therethrough*, *theretil*, *thereto*,

---

[2] Molencki's finding that there is plenty of evidence for all the various stages of grammaticalization of this linker in French, but not in English, can be taken as additional evidence that it is a French borrowing, following Robbeets' (2013) diagnostics for telling apart morpho-syntactic borrowings from native developments.

thereup, *thereupon* and *therewith*. For reasons of space, this paper focuses on a selection of the most frequent items: *thereafter*, *therefore*, *therein*, and *thereof*.

4.2 *Thereafter*

The vast majority of the attestations of this pronominal adverb follow a quanti-fied expression, usually an expression of time, like 'within two days next there-after following', or 'at Michaelmas or immediately thereafter.' Its referentiality is an open question; there are a few cases where *thereafter* is the equivalent of *then*, and in (8) below it is part of a protasis/apodosis-like construction: *what time and whenever …, immediately thereafter*:[3]

(8)   quhat tym[] & quhensu(m)euer it sall pleiß my said lord or(e) his airis to disch[] me or(e) my air(is) of ye houß & land(is) of Torrereoch forsaid th[] []tinent **yair eft(er)** we sall cast doun ye said houß & dik(is)

'what time and whensoever it shall please my said lord or his heirs to disch[arge] me or my heirs of the foresaid house and lands of Torrereoch, then immediately thereafter we shall cast down the said house and dykes.'

(DNB/naslennox105.txt)

In (9), *thereafter* appears to be used with a text-structural function, to indicate closure:

(9)   oppin & manifest tressoun agane our souu(er)a(n) lord & his Realme in allpunct(is) and artic(i)lis forsaid and **y(ar)eft(er)** Jt was gevin for dome

'open and manifest treason against our sovereign lord and his realm in all foresaid points and articles and thereafter it was given for doom.'

(XAP/sparl0s4e2.txt)

---

[3] *LAOS* transcriptions contain detailed palaeographic information, which is not useful to rep-licate here. We have only retained superscript letters and abbreviations (expanded in parentheses) but did not include line breaks or trailing marks. Unclear characters are represented by square brackets. The county reference is given by its acronym from the corpus, for example, ABD for Aberdeenshire, together with a file number.

4.3 *Therefore*

Therefore presents the most interesting case. OE had a phrasal connector *for þæm þe* (*for þam þe*, *for þan þe*, *for þon þe*, etc.) which was multifunctional (used to mark the relation of both cause and reason) and used as an adverbial connector as well as a subordinating conjunction, in line with other paratactic correlatives. The conjunction *for þæm þe* was replaced by *for þi* or *for* in Middle English, as well as the Anglo-French hybrid *because*, which was calqued by bilingual speakers/writers in the last quarter of the 14th century, parallel with Anglo-Norman *a/par cause que*. Molencki (2008, 2011b, 2012) believes this to be a natural development in a bilingual environment characterized by code switching. The first occurrences of the preposition *by/for (the) cause of* and the conjunction *by/for (the) cause (that)* are found in both official documents and poetry written in London (Molencki 2012), but spread very quickly to all dialects, with spellings like *bycause* and *forcause* becoming more and more frequent towards the end of the 15th century. The introduction of *because* represented a split, as it was used to mark cause, while *for* marked explanation. Molencki notes that Caxton's first printed edition of John of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* replaced numerous 14th-century instances of the subordinator *for* with univerbated *bycause*, while a number of new formations (e.g., *forwhy*, *therefore*) gradually became specialized as distinct adverbial causal connectors. In the 15th century, *because* became quite common, also in Scots; in *LAOS*, two-thirds of the 157 tokens of *because* in *LAOS* are univerbated, while that rate is even higher for *therefore* (see Table 4).

It is difficult to gauge whether there is a sense of referentiality or whether it is already the lexicalized *therefore* of PDE. Good candidates for referential use are cases in which *therefore* is an argument of the verb: 'pay money for some commodity', or 'do something for a particular reason' as in (10):

(10)   & beris witnes yt ye said Davi has giffin in pure & p(er)petuale almous to ye said Religious men … doand na oy(er) thi(n)g **y(ar) fore** bot p(ra)yere & a chanon singand p(er)petuali at ye altare of sante nicholas in ye said abbay

'and bears witness that the said Davy has given in pure and perpetual alms to the said religious men … doing no other thing there for but prayer and a canon singing perpetually at the altar of St Nicholas in the said abbey.'

(STG/nlsch15545.txt)

Other cases that seem to point to specific reference are correlative constructions where the first conjunct is introduced by *wherefor/for the which/sen* 'since'/ *because* …., *therefore* …., as in (11–12), or by the innovative form *for why* (*that*) 'because' in (13) (as also (6b) above):

(11) yt yai neu(er) know na herde yt ye saide pat(ri)k of paxston hade eu(er) ony lande heretably in ye saide barony of fuleden And **be caus(s) yt** yai cuythnot fynde yat ye saide pat(ri)k wes eu(er) vestit nor(e) seisit in na land(is) of fuleden … **y(ar)for(e)** yai saide yai cuyth mak na retour(e) y(ar)of

'that they never knew nor heard that the said Patrick of Paxton had ever any land heritably in the said barony of Fuleden, and because [of the fact] that they could not find that the said Patrick was ever vested nor put in possession of no lands of Fuleden … therefore they said they could make no retour thereof.'

(BWK/nas_gd_45_16_2741.txt)

(12) Sen it is meidfule and meritable thing to ber(e) witnes(s) to suthtfastnes(s) … **y(ar)for(e)** it is yt be ye tenor(e) of y(ir) l(ett)res till ʒoure vniu(er)site J mak it knawing and ber(is) suthtfast witnes(s)

'Since it is a thing worthy of credit to bear witness to the truth …, therefore it is that by the tenor of these letters to your university I make it known and bear witness to the truth.'

(BWK/nas_gd_45_16_2741.txt)

(13) Thomas of lu(m)mysden of Coldyngh(a)m send(is) greting in god **For qwhi at** it is meritabil and medfull for to ber(e) witenes to the sothfastnes **tharfor** we ber witnes …

'Thomas of Lumsden of Coldingham sends greeting in God, for why that it is worthy of credit for to bear witness to the truth, therefore we bear witness ….'

(BWK/swintonch31.txt)

Note that (13) contains an *it*-cleft. These clefts also appear in southern English at about the same time (Ball 1991), an indication that the referential function of *there* is becoming impaired; see the discussion of (6a–b) above. When there is no correlative marked by an element meaning 'because,' the effect is that *therefore* appears to refer to the previous discourse in very general terms, approaching the general logical linker of PDE:

(14) throu ony accordance for gewin or sellyng maid or to be maid Litter(is) send to ʒow or to be send to ony p(er)soun or p(er)sonis y(ar)upon And **y(ar)for** we byd ʒow and (com)mandis yt notht aganeis standand ony l(ett)reʒ send to ʒw be ws or to be send

'through any agreement for giving or selling made or to be made, letters sent to you or to be sent to any person or persons thereupon; and therefore we bid you and command that notwithstanding any letters sent to you by us or to be sent… .'

(AGS/nas_reg_episc_brech01A.txt)

4.4 *Therein*

Therein is straightforwardly referential in many cases. Its interest for the purposes of the present paper is that this referentiality does not straightforwardly equate to PDE PPs like *in that* or *in that one*:

(15)   ye sayde John is quhyt of all ye clamys yat he may say till him except ye saide letter & ye somys **yarein** expremyt

'the said John is acquitted of all the claims that he may say to him except the said letter and the sums expressed therein.'

(ABD/abd4610824.txt)

PDE would probably have had 'the sums listed there/in it', which is in line with what we saw in Table 1. A similar point can be made about another clearly referential instance:

(16)   And yt not gaynstandand ye said commone js Lauborit and corne sawine **yarine** Quharfor we charge zw yat ze … pass and arrest ye said corne sawin in ye said commone

'And that notwithstanding the said common [i.e., common land] is tilled and corn sown therein wherefore we charge you that you … pass and withhold the said corn sown in the said common.'

(ags/nas_reg_episc_brech13.txt)

PDE would be unlikely to have 'the said common is tilled and corn sown in that' but would probably have 'corn sown in it' or even the alternative provided by the locative alternation 'sown with corn.' An example where PDE would not have a PP at all is (17):

(17)   and ye term of his entre beand ye ische of our tenand(is) Castellstaris & his son yt are **yarin** now

'and the term of his entry being the egress of our tenant's Castlestar's and his son that are therein now.'

(fif/wolfcodh411f41v.txt)

PDE would probably have 'who are occupying it.' There are also examples where PDE would have *its*.

(18)   ye lord Neuill has granted his proteccioun to ye enhabitans al Teuydale sauuant ye forest of Jeddeworth ye whilke foreste and enhabitans **yer in** sal be comprehendit in the trewes forsaid

'the lord Neville has granted his protection to the inhabitants [of] all Teviotdale saving the forest of Jedworth, the which forest and inhabitants therein shall be included in the foresaid truce.'

<div align="right">(xdi/proer3860627.txt)</div>

Therein shows some signs of being used with less specific reference, as equivalent to PDE 'in this matter' or 'in this respect':

(19)   eftyr ye deceisss of yis lard of Meldrum succedit tyll hyme an othur lard & largly begwd quhar his predecessor lefte eryt & laborit ye said land and maid habitation yar on becauss yar vas nan to argwn nor tyll mak resistans **yarin**

'after the death of this laird of Meldrum another laird succeeded him and largely began where his predecessor left, ploughed and laboured the said land and made habitation thereon because there was none to argue or to make resistance therein.'

<div align="right">(AGS/nlsad340304f079.txt)</div>

4.5 Thereof

Thereof is by far the most frequently attested pronominal adverb in *LAOS*, with 270 attestations. With *thereof*, we are entering the heartland of the competition between analytic ways of marking neutral possession: *of the samyn*, *thairof*, *of it*, and the synthetic option *its*, charted in Bugaj (2006); recall that *the same* is one of the ways in which English compensated for the loss of the functionality of the demonstrative *that* (OE *se* (masc.), *seo* (fem.), *þæt* (neut.) to refer to singular animate referents, although *the same* is by no means restricted to such referents. That *of the same* and *thereof* overlap in function is clear from examples such as (20):

(20)   jn the halding vp of the tovn of Berwik and the grete cost and expenss that his hienes has made in the fortifying strenthing & biggin of the wallis **of ye sammyn** & Reparacioun of the castell and stuffing **yareof** be artilzery And als the grete charge & coist yat his maiestee has now takin apon him to hald & lay on his avn expenss garnysoun of vc men of were in the saide tovn for the keping & defens **yarof**

'in the holding up of the town of Berwick and the great cost and expense that his highness made in the fortifying, strengthening and building of the walls of the same and reparation of the castle, and staffing of it by artillery, and also the great charge and cost that his majesty has now taken upon him[self] to hold

and lay on his own expense [a] garrison of 500 men of war in the said town, for the keeping and defence thereof.'

(XAP/sparl0s32e4.txt)

The last line of this example demonstrates another function of *thereof*: the expression of "inherited arguments" of nominalizations of verbs, that is, verb-stems that are turned into nouns by a derivational affix. As nominalizations contain verbal stems, they have semantic roles associated with them, but these roles cannot be expressed as subjects or direct objects in the usual way, as N-heads, unlike V-heads or P-heads; in PDE, they are expressed by PPs, particularly PPs with the preposition *of*: cf. *The king kept and defended the town* vs. *The King's keeping and defence of the town*. This is a very bleached use of the preposition *of* (see, e.g., Los 2015: 44–46). This very nominal use of the gerund contrasts with a verbal use in which the gerund as a V-head is a structural governor of subjects and objects of its own, without the need for *of*, as in *Keeping and defending the town is one of the King's duties*. These nominal gerunds are a marked feature of Early Modern English (see, e.g., Fanego 1996, 2004). They also appear in *LAOS*, witness examples like *he showed… the receiving thereof* in (21), where PDE would probably have had a finite clause: *he showed that he had received them / that they had been returned to him*:

(21)   apon ye quhilke he schew his processs & his dome giffin & ye reseysyng **yare of** agayne in his handis wt sufficiande witnas

        'upon which he showed his process and his judicial decision given and restored thereof again in his hands with sufficient witnesses.'

(ABD/errolban51.txt)

Thereof is also the most frequent pronominal adverb to be found in clause-initial position, as a link to the immediately preceding clause, although the word order of the clause itself is SVO rather than Verb-Second:

(22)   And he sal offer his bonate to the sammyn Thomas in name of xl lib to be Raisit at the ordinance and will of the Alderman and counsaile forsaid **thare of** the sammyn Dauid sal pay now to the dene of Aberdene maister Richard of Forbes x lib

        'And he shall offer his bonnet to the same Thomas in name of 40 pounds to be raised at the ordinance and will of the alderman and council foresaid, of the same [sum] David shall pay now to the dean of Aberdeen, master Richard of Forbes, 10 pounds.'

(ABD/abd4561215.txt)

This is significant as *thereof* in (22) is not a forward-looking frame-setter like PDE (7) above, but a link to the previous discourse. *Thereof* has specific references in these instances, but there are some attestations in *LAOS* where its reference is less specific, more equivalent to PDE 'on that account':

(23)   And Syn j am in swilk degre tyll yhow j requeire yhow as be way of tendirnesss **yare of** … yat yhe will vouchesauf tyll help me and suppowell me

          'and since I am in such [a] degree to you I require you as by way of tenderness thereof … that you will vouchsafe to help me and supply me.'

                                                                              (ELO/fnms53.txt)

In phrases like *the remnant thereof*, PDE would probably leave the link implicit (*the remainder* ø):

(24)   gif thare be samekill within the saide jle vnassignit be ws to vtheris And gif thare be nottsamekill vnassignit we will that the Remanent **thareof** be assignit to him in vthir competent placis sene spedefull to ws

          'if there be so much within the said island unassigned by us to others, and if there be not as much unassigned, we will that the remainder thereof be assigned to him in other competent places [as] seen suitable to us.'

                                                                              (XST/naslennox055.txt)

5. Concluding discussion

This paper presents a preliminary investigation into a number of pronominal adverbs in the *LAOS* Corpus: *thereafter*, *therefore*, *therein*, and *thereof*. These pronominal adverbs are particularly interesting because they represent a late ME/eME feature which declines in southern English, and is potentially an area where Older Scots might have show divergent development before it was "reined in" to converge more on standard (southern) English (Romaine 1982; Devitt 1989; cf. Beal 1997). What we see in *LAOS*, however, appears to be the same pattern as in the south: (i) pronominal adverbs replace the prepositional phrase in which the preposition is complemented by a demonstrative (OE *for þam* 'for that' > lME/eME *therefore*), and (ii) the *there*-adverb is still capable of specific reference but is also showing a type of referentiality that is more nebulous and harder to pin down, with *therein*, *therefore*, and *thereof* showing more general reference equivalent to 'on that account, in that respect, as a result.' It is this phenomenon that ultimately leads to the retention of *therefore* in PDE as a logical linker with generalized reference only, the decline of the

other pronominal adverbs, and the rise of implicit linking as in PDE *instead*, *after*, *notwithstanding*, etc. which do not contain explicit deictic elements. This reticence in explicit deixis is not a consequence of a ban against PPs of the form P+*that* – such PPs are allowed in PDE syntax for inanimate referents. A possible reason could be changes in adverbial position and information structure, with clause-initial adverbials more and more the preserve of forward-looking adverbials of the type of (7), and links to the immediately preceding discourse more and more the preserve of subjects (see, e.g., Los 2012); the post-verbal clause-final position in PDE tends to have end-focus, which is not very compatible with discourse-linking adverbials as these do not contain new information. A similar phenomenon is observed in discourse-links as postmodifications of nouns. Note that pronominal adverbs are often found as nominal postmodification in *LAOS* (cf. Moessner 1997: 121, 123), but this, again, may run counter to the changing expectations with respect to the emerging end-focus position, which is increasingly reserved for new information. This adds a new dimension to the observation that *thereof* can be shown to compete with the new form *its*, particularly in its function as the expression of "inherited" arguments of nominalizations: *the destruction thereof* versus *its destruction*.

It is impossible to say whether the pronominal adverbs in *LAOS* are the result of shared inheritance or convergence. In the case of the other West-Germanic languages, where the same rise of *there*+P pronominal adverbs is observed, an explanation in terms of shared inheritance with English/Scots or of a shared development through contact seems unlikely, and one has to assume convergence instead. The West Germanic languages all had (a version of) verb-second as their shared inheritance. Verb-Second moves the finite verb to a head-position early in the clause, and by doing so opens up a "prefield" with a position for a first constituent that is multifunctional with respect to syntactic function (hosting subjects, objects or adverbials) and with respect to information-structural status (given, new, contrastively focused, etc.). This is in line with Lambrecht's insight (1994: 31–32) that the first position of a main clause is a "cognitively privileged position" for which marked topics and marked foci naturally compete. In all West Germanic languages, that competition was expressed by the fact that the first position, Spec,CP, developed close affinities with both *wh*-words (focus) and deictic elements (demonstratives, but also adverbs like *then*, *there*, *thus*, and *so*). Correlative paratactic clauses continued to develop into embedded hypotactic clauses, in a first cycle giving rise to relativizers built on demonstratives, and in a second cycle to relativizers built on interrogative pronouns. It could be argued that these converging developments in West Germanic are ultimately due to verb-second clausal architecture. The reason that pronominal adverbs were not retained in English and Scots can then be related to the loss of Verb-Second, and the rise of SVO architecture, in which the subject came to be the primary expression for discourse linking.

What this ultimately shows is that phonology and the lexicon are far less constrained than syntax, and hence much more able to diverge, whereas syntactic patterns are constrained by all manner of cognitive processes. Syntax has to enable automated routines to streamline production and processing but also to provide a toolbox for interlocutors to update the common ground, and to provide them with the linguistic equivalent of a followspot to keep track or the various referents populating the mental stage they are constructing. However, the resources available to mark relationships within discourse may differ regionally in terms of inventories and types. It would require further work on Older Scots materials, especially those composed around the time of incipient anglicisation (in the 16th and 17th centuries, cf. Devitt 1989) and later, to establish whether *there*+P adverbs become similarly restricted after both English and Scots settle on the verb-third word-order.

References

Aitken, Adam Jack & Caroline Macafee. 2002. *The Older Scots vowels: A history of the stressed vowels of Older Scots from the beginnings to the eighteenth century*. The Scottish Text Society.

Alcorn, Rhona. 2011. Pronouns, Prepositions and Probabilities: A Multivariate Study of Old English Word Order. PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Alcorn, Rhona. 2014. Distribution of variants of Old English *by*, *for*, *between*. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 112(1): 80–96.

Alcorn, Rhona, Benjamin Molineaux, Joanna Kopaczyk, Vasilis Karaiskos, Bettelou Los & Warren Maguire. (2017). The emergence of Scots: Clues from Germanic *a reflexes. In J. Cruickshank & Robert McColl Millar (eds.) *Before the storm: Papers from the Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ulster triennial meeting, Ayr 2015*. 1–32. Available online at https://www.abdn.ac.uk/pfrlsu /documents/PFRLSU/Alcorn_et_al_Emergence_of_Scots.pdf (accessed 4.10.2017).

Ball, Catherine N. 1991. The Historical Development of the *It*-Cleft. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Beal, Joan. 1997. Syntax and morphology. In Charles Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, 335–377. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bonacker, Ute & Christina Rosén. 2007. How to start a V2 declarative clause: Transfer of syntax vs. information structure in L2 German. In M. Andriessen & M. Westergaard (eds.), *Papers from the Language Acquisition Workshop SCL 2006*, *Nordlyd* 34(3): 29–56.

Bosch, Peter, Graham Katz & Carla Umbach. 2007. The non-subject bias of German demonstrative pronouns. In Monika Schwarz-Friesel, Manfred Consten & Mareile Knees (eds.), *Anaphors in text: Cognitive, formal and applied approaches to ana-*

phoric reference (Studies in Language Companion Series 86), 145–164. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Bugaj, Joanna. 2006. Analytic *of ye samyn* or synthetic *its*? In Terttu Nevalainen, Juhani Klemola & Mikko Laitinen (eds.), *Types of variation: Diachronic, dialectal and typological interfaces*, 171–201. Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Van Buuren-Veenenbos, Catharina C. 1982. *The buke of the sevyne sagis. A Middle Scots version of* The Seven Sages of Rome, *edited from the Asloan Manuscript c. 1515*. University of Leiden.

Caponigro, Ivano. 2004. Free not to ask: On the semantics of free relatives and *wh*-words cross-linguistically (PhD dissertation, University of California, 2003). Ann Arbor: Proquest.

Devitt, Amy J. 1989. *Standardizing written English. Diffusion in the case of Scotland 1520–1659*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dreschler, Gea. 2015. *Passives and the loss of Verb Second: A study of syntactic and information-structural factors.* (LOT Dissertation Series 402). Utrecht: LOT.

Fanego, Teresa. 1996. The gerund in Early Modern English: Evidence from the Helsinki Corpus. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 17: 97–152.

Fanego, Teresa. 2004. On reanalysis and actualization in syntactic change: The rise and development of English verbal gerunds. *Diachronica* 21(1): 5–55.

Gisborne, Nicholas & Rob Truswell. 2015. Semantic reanalysis of Old English free relatives. Poster presented at the 17th Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference (DIGS), Reykjavik, Iceland, 29.05.–31.05.2015.

http://www.research.ed.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/semantic-reanalysis-of-old-english-free-relatives(acf1e012-4481-4d0f-b1cc-720ccf296a9a).html (accessed 4.10.2017).

Hannay, Mike & Evelien Keizer. 1993. Translation and contrastive grammar: The grammatical versus the communicative strategy. *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen* 45: 65–88.

Kaiser, Elsi. 2011. Salience and contrast effects in reference resolution: The interpretation of Dutch pronouns and demonstratives. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 26 (10): 1587–1624.

Van Kampen, Jacqueline. 2007. Relative agreement in Dutch. In Bettelou Los & Marjo van Koppen (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2007* (AVT Publications 24), 112–125: Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Van Kemenade, Ans. 1987. *Syntactic case and morphological case in the history of English*. Dordrecht: Foris.

King, Anne. 1997. The inflectional morphology of Older Scots. In Charles Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, 156–181. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kries, Susanne. 2003. *Skandinavisch-Scottische Sprachbeziehungen in Mittelalter*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Krifka, Manfred. 2007. Basic notions of information structure. In Caroline Féry, Gisbert Fanselow & Manfred Krifka (eds.), *The Notions of Information Structure* (Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 6; Working Papers of The Sonderforschungsbereich 632), 13–55. Potsdam: Potsdam Universitätsverlag.

Kroch, Anthony, Beatrice Santorini & Ariel Diertani. 2010. Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCMBE-RELEASE-1/index.html.

LAEME = A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325. Compiled by Margaret Laing. Available online at http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme2 .html. Edinburgh: Version 3.2, 2013, © The University of Edinburgh.

Laing, Margaret & Roger Lass 2013. Introduction to *LAEME*. Available online at http:// www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme_intro_ch1.html.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lemmens, Marcel & Tony Parr. 1995. *Handboek voor de Vertaler Nederlands-Engels.* Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Lenker, Ursula. 2007. *Forhwi* 'because': Shifting deictics in the history of English causal connection. In U. Lenker & A. Meurman-Solin (eds.), *Connectives in the history of English*, 193–227. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lenker. Ursula. 2010. *Argument and rhetoric: Adverbial connectors in the history of English* (Topics in English Linguistics 64). Berlin–New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

Los, Bettelou. 2012. The loss of Verb-Second and the switch from bounded to un-bounded systems. In Anneli Meurman-Solin, Maria J. López-Couso & Bettelou Los (eds.), *Information structure and syntactic change in the history of English*, 21–46. New York: Oxford University Press.

Los, Bettelou. 2015. *A historical syntax of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Los, Bettelou & Gea Dreschler. 2012. The loss of local anchoring: From adverbial local anchors to permissive subjects. In Elizabeth Traugott & Terttu Nevalainen (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of English*, 859–871. New York: OUP.

Los, Bettelou & Ans van Kemenade (forthcoming). Syntax and the morphology of deixis: The loss of demonstratives and paratactic clause linking. In Eva Schlachter, Marco Coniglio & Tonjes Veenstra (eds.), *Demonstratives*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Macafee, Caroline. 1997. Older Scots lexis. In Charles Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, 182–212. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McColl Millar, Robert. 2000. *System collapse system rebirth: The demonstrative pro-nouns of English 900–1350 and the birth of the definite article*. Oxford: Lang.

McClure, J. Derrick. 1994. English in Scotland. In *The Cambridge history of the English language*. Vol. 5. *English in Britain and overseas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moessner, Lilo. 1997. The syntax of Older Scots. In Charles Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, 112–155. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Molencki, Rafał. 2008. The rise of *because* in Middle English. In Masachiyo Amano, Michiko Ogura & Masayuki Ohkado (eds.), *Historical Englishes in Varieties of Texts and Contexts*, 201–216. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molencki, Rafał. 2011a. Review of Lenker 2010. *Anglia* 129: 1–2, 139–142.

Molencki, Rafał. 2011b. New prepositions and subordinating conjunctions of Romance origin in Middle English. In Jacek Fisiak & Magdalena Bator (ed.), *Foreign influences on Medieval English*, 9–24. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang,

Molencki, Rafał. 2012. *Causal conjunctions in mediaeval English: A corpus-based study of grammaticalization*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski–Oficyna Wydawnicza WW.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. 1960. *A Middle English syntax. Part I: Parts of Speech*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Pérez-Guerra, Javier. 2005. Word order after the loss of the verb-second constraint or the importance of early Modern English in the fixation of syntactic and informative (un-)markedness. *English Studies* 86: 342–369.

Purves, David. 1997. *A Scots grammar*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society.

Robbeets, Martine. 2013. Genealogically motivated grammaticalization. In Martine Robbeets & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.), *Shared grammaticalization,* 147–76. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1982. *Socio-historical linguistics: Its status and methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schaffner, Paul. 2005. DOST and MED and the virtues of sibling rivalry. In Christian J. Kay & Margaret A. Mackay (eds.), *Perspectives on the Older Scottish tongue. A celebration of DOST*, 119–131. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Schoonenboom, Judith. 2000. Analyse, norm en gebruik als factoren van taalverandering: een studie naar veranderingen in het Nederlands onzijdig relativum. PhD dissertation (University of Amsterdam).

Stankiewicz, Edward. 1991. The concept of structure in contemporray linguistics. In Linda R. Waugh & Stephen Rudy (eds), *New vistas in grammar: Invariance and variation* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 49). Amsterdam–Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Williamson, Keith. 2008. *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots, Phase 1: 1380–1500* [*LAOS*]. Available online at http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html. Edinburgh: © 2008 – The University of Edinburgh.

Milton's binomials and multinomials in *Samson Agonistes*

Hans Sauer

University of Munich (LMU)

1. Milton and his use of rhetoric

John Milton (1608–1674) is best known for his epic poem *Paradise Lost*, which is generally regarded as one of the greatest works of English literature. But Milton also wrote a number of shorter poems, among them *Samson Agonistes* 'Samson the fighter,' which was published (together with *Paradise Regained*) in 1671 (but perhaps written earlier). Ultimately based on the Bible (Old Testament: Judges 13–16), it tells the story of the popular Israelite hero Samson after he had been betrayed by his second wife Dalila to the Philistines, who blinded him. But even as a blind prisoner he eventually killed many Philistines (and as a collateral damage also himself): during their feast in honour of their god Dagon he pulled down the pillars of their temple, thus causing its collapse. Milton uses the iambic pentameter, often without rhyme, but sometimes also in rhyming pairs, for example, "sought – thought" (658–659); "various – contrarious" (668–669); "mute – brute" (672–673); "hour – lour" (1056–1057).

Milton, however, wanted to display not only his knowledge of biblical history, but also his familiarity with classical Greek literature: he composed *Samson Agonistes* in the manner of a Greek tragedy (although not for actual performance on stage). It has a chorus, there is unity of place and time, and it mainly consists of a series of Samson's dialogues, especially with the chorus, with his father Manoa, his wife Dalila, the strong man Harapha, and a Philistine officer. Important actions, on the other hand, are not shown directly, but reported by a messenger, in particular Samson's killing of the Philistines (and himself) at the end.[1]

---

[1] The literature on Milton is vast, and there are also many editions of his works. For the present paper, I have used the edition by Lerner (2004). The present paper is primarily a tribute to Rafał Molencki, a colleague and friend in Katowice for many years, but it is also in remem-

One should, of course, always be very cautious about drawing parallels between an artist's work and his life. Nevertheless, it is striking that Milton was blind when he wrote (or in any case published) his poem about the blind Samson and his final heroic deed;[2] moreover, Samson was surrounded by enemies, and Milton as a supporter of the Puritans was surrounded by the Royalists in his last years (since the restoration of the monarchy in 1660). In the terms of Chrzanowska-Kluczewska (2013), blindness can be regarded as a megatrope in *Samson Agonistes*. Milton refers to blindness (and bondage) often, with varying expressions, and mostly in negative contexts, using for instance (i) nouns and noun phrases, for example, "Thy bondage or lost sight" (152); "eyesight lost" (1489); "loss of eyes" (1744); (ii) adjectives, participles, and adjective phrases: "dark in light" (75; also an oxymoron); "O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon" (80); "bound and blind" (438); "blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonoured, quelled" (563); "captive and blind" (1474); "blind of sight" (1687); (iii) verbs and verb phrases: "thy eyes put out" (1103), "to put out both thine eyes" (1160); "his strength with eyesight was not lost" (1502); (iv) prepositional phrases, for example, "without help of eye" (1626). Milton also distinguishes between bodily blindness (Samson) and spiritual blindness (the Philistines), for example, "And with blindness internal struck" (1686).

In addition to the megatrope referring to light on the one hand, and to darkness, blindness and bondage on the other hand, Milton also uses other rhetorical figures extensively in *Samson Agonistes*. The main topic of the present paper is his use of binomials, but in order to show that binomials are just one of the many rhetorical figures that he employs, I give a brief list of them. Moreover, as some of the following quotations also show, the various rhetorical figures and strategies often overlap and re-inforce each other. *Samson Agonistes* could almost be taken as an inventory of rhetorical figures; it contains, for example:[3]

(i)   **anaphora**, often with semantic contrast (Arbusow 1963: 37–39; Lausberg 1967: §§ 265–267): "what once I was, and what am now" (22); "So obvious and so easy to be quenched" (95); "Again transgresses and again submits" (758; cf. 361 etc.); "the law of nature, law of nations" (890); "His habit carries peace, his brow defiance" (1073); see further (v) below;

(ii)   **epiphora** (Arbusow 1963: 38–39; Lausberg 1967: §§ 268–270): "Armed thee or charmed thee strong" (1134; also with internal rhyme);

    [2] Especially at the beginning of the poem Milton has Samson lament his blindness, contrasting blindness with light, and pointing out that God first created light (70; 83–84).

    [3] Rhetoric is, of course, a vast area with a wealth of terminology and many synonyms for the same or similar phenomena; here I simply refer for reference to passages or paragraphs in Arbusow (1963) and Lausberg (1967).

(iii)   **complexio** (symploke, i.e., combination of anaphora and epiphora) or kyklos (Arbusow 1963: 39; Lausberg 1967: §§ 261–263, 271–273): "all her sons are fall'n, / All in a moment overwhelmed and fall'n" (1558–1559); "Down, Reason, then; at least vain reasoning down" (322; also with etymological figure, see (vii) below);

(iv)   **alliteration** (Arbusow 1963: 76–78; Lausberg 1967: § 458): "repose and rest" (406; also a binomial); "death, and dreadful deeds" (1513);

(v)   **syntactic parallelism**, often involving semantic contrast and antonyms (**antithesis**; Arbusow 1963: 55–58; Lausberg 1967: §§ 386–392): "Ease to the body some, none to the mind" (18); "what once I was, and what am now" (22); "His habit carries peace, his brow defiance" (1073); the verses 22 and 1073 also exhibit anaphora;

(vi)   **chiasm**, sometimes also including a semantic contrast (Arbusow 1963: 81; Lausberg 1967: § 392): "acknowledged not, or not at all considered" (24); "they have slain my son. / Thy son is rather slaying them" (1516–1517); "From thee on them, or them to thee" (686); chiasm with alliteration: "The glory late of Israel, now the grief" (179);

(vii)   **etymological figure** (figura etymologica, paronomasia, adnominatio; Arbusow 1963: 42–45; Lausberg 1967: § 281), that is, using etymologically related words: "To live a life half dead, a living death" (100; with play on *live, life, living* as well as on *dead* and *death*); "At my affliction … / … to afflict me more" (114; *afflict – affliction*); "The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the doer" (248; *deeds – doer*); "heroicly hath finished / A life heroic" (1710–1711); cf. also the example given in (iii): *reason – reasoning*;

(viii)   **apostrophe**, that is, direct address (Arbusow 1963: 37–39; Lausberg 1967: § 442): "O loss of sight, of thee I most complain!" (67); "Ye see, O friends" (193);

(ix)   **oxymoron** (a combination of contradicting terms; Arbusow 1963: 88; Lausberg 1967: § 389,3): "That specious monster, my accomplished snare" (230; a sequence of two oxymora);

(x)   **personification** (Arbusow 1963: 48–49; Lausberg 1967: § 425): "How many evils have enclosed me round" (194);

(xi)   **epic similes** (similitudo; imago; Arbusow 1963: 69; Lausberg 1967: §§ 401–403), for example: "thoughts, that like a deadly swarm / Of hornets …" (19–20; also including personification); "Who like a foolish pilot have shipwrecked / My vessel trusted to me from above / Gloriously rigged …" (198–200).

(xii)   **binomials**, as in "repose and rest" (406; quoted above).[4] Milton employs binomials frequently, and they are the main topic of the present investiga-

---

[4] Cf. the classical hendiadyoin, for example, Lausberg (1967: § 305).

tion. The megatrope of blindness also play a role in some of his binomi-als, for example, "bound and blind" (438); "captive and blind" (1474).

2. Binomials (and multinomials)

A common definition of binomials is: They consist of two words of the same word-class and at the same syntactic level, connected with a conjunction (*and*, *or*, etc.), and showing some sort of semantic relation (synonymy, antonymy, complementarity),[5] as in "repose and rest" (406) quoted above, which consists of two nouns connected by *and*, and the two nouns are synonyms.[6]

As with other linguistic and literary phenomena, there is, however, no fixed or uniform terminology. In the literature binomials have also been called, for example, word pairs (repetitive or tautologic word pairs), doublets, twin formu-lae, freezes, etc. But they are not always tautologic nor repetitive nor formulaic nor frozen (although they can be); therefore, the term *binomials* is preferred here, because it seems relatively neutral. *Tautologic*, for example, would refer only to more or less synonymous binomials and would exclude binomials that contain antonyms; *formulae* or *freezes* would exclude binomials that are not formulaic but were created on the spur of the moment.

Binomials have been common throughout the history of English. They oc-cur in Old English poetry, prose, and glosses (in glosses in the form of double glosses to one Latin lemma); they are also common in Middle English and Early Modern English poetry and prose (and also in Modern English). Moreover, they are not confined to literary texts; they are, for example, characteristic of legal English (including texts such as testaments), and they have been used in theological and scientific (or pseudo-scientific) texts.

Considering the wealth of material and the widespread use of binomials, research on binomials, especially on binomials used in literary texts, has been comparatively limited. Moreover, apparently more research has been done on binomials in legal language than on binomials in literary language.[7] For many authors and texts, there are not even inventories of their binomials, let alone

---

[5] For definitions, see, for example, Malkiel (1959: 113) or Bhatia (1993: 108).

[6] Cf. now, for example, Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017). Since the study of binomials is one of my current concerns, some of the general remarks in the present paper overlap with the general remarks in parallel papers, but I deal with *Samson Agonistes* here for the first time.

[7] Research on binomials, especially in legal language as well as in Germanic (including Old English) poetry, was initiated almost exactly 200 years ago, that is, by Grimm (1816), although Grimm did not yet have the term *binomials*. For a more extensive review of research than is possible here, see also the introduction in Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017).

studies of their structure and use, and this is apparently also true of Milton. To my knowledge there are only three 20th-century monographs on binomials in English literary texts (plus a number of articles), namely Leisi (1947; on one of Caxton's translations); Koskenniemi (1968; on selected Old and Early Middle English prose), and Berger (1993; on Old English binomials); furthermore, there is Gustafsson (1975; on binomials in Present-Day English), and the ground-breaking article by Malkiel (1959). The situation is improving; however, see, for example, Kopaczyk (2013), Mollin (2014), Sauer (2014). But a history of English binomials yet remains to be written; a contribution towards such a history is offered by Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017).[8]

The reason for the relative neglect of binomials in linguistic research is difficult to ascertain. One possible reason is that binomials contribute to a rich, rhetorical style (as I have sketched for Milton in Section 1), whereas many 20th-century authors (and perhaps also many linguists) apparently favoured a simple style, which made binomials a less attractive topic for research.[9] But binomials are interesting for many branches of linguistics, especially for phonology, morphology, etymology, semantics, stylistics, and phraseology.

Whereas in the wake of generative-transformational grammar the credo was that a competent native speaker can produce an unlimited number of correct sentences, more recent research on collocations, idioms, and phraseology has shown that a considerable part of language is actually prefabricated and consists of more or less fixed phrases that can be used repeatedly.[10] And this line of research has necessarily highlighted the importance of binomials, which can be regarded as a subset of collocations and phrases. The rich tradition of binomials in English literature (and also in non-literary texts, such as legal texts) should perhaps also be taken into consideration by the Plain English movement.[11]

Binomials have (or can have) a number of functions, which sometimes overlap and cannot always be sharply divided. In oral societies they probably served as an aid to memory. Generally, as just indicated, they help to create a rich, ornate, elevated style (*copia verborum*); this is certainly true of Milton's poetry. They can also add emphasis. Especially in legal language they are often used in order to make a statement or argument as comprehensive and unam-

---

[8] For a more extensive review of research than is possible here, see the introduction to Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017). Some recent articles on binomials are written within the framework of research on phraseology, and deal exclusively with modern material.

[9] Cf. Leisi (1947), who, in a somewhat self-contradictory manner, begins by regarding binomials (tautologic word-pairs in his terminology) as an anomaly in language (which is simply not true), but then continues to give a very detailed and subtle semantic analysis of the numerous binomials in one of Caxton's translations.

[10] See, for example, Gläser (1986).

[11] The Plain English Movement actually is a commercial enterprise, and so far I have not been able to find out whether they have a specific attitude towards binomials.

biguous as possible, to look at a phenomenon from all sides, and to exclude possible misunderstandings – thus the aim to achieve clarity and unequivocality actually leads to a degree of verbosity. Especially for Middle English the so-called translation theory has been put forward: it postulates an explanatory function for binomials, that is, that a recent loan-word is followed and explained by a native word. Although combinations of loan-word plus native word are common and also occur in Milton (see further Section 5), cases where a native word clearly explains a loan-word do not seem to have been all that frequent, and in any case the explanatory function is often difficult to prove.[12] Binomials are not confined to English; they occur in many languages – but to provide a comparative survey of binomial in many languages would, of course, be an even bigger task than sketching the history of binomials in English.

Binomials can be fixed and formulaic, and there are some that have been current from Old English until the present, for example, *to have and to hold*, *men and women*, *heaven and earth*; but they can also be flexible and can be created on the spur of the moment. In *Samson Agonistes*, Milton uses few traditional binomials; mostly he created new binomials; see further Section 7.[13]

In addition to binomials, Milton and many other authors also use multinomials, for example, trinomials = triplets, as in "evils, pains and wrongs" (105), or "fresh-blowing, pure and sweet" (810). How far multinomials should simply be regarded as lists and how far they are actually extensions of binomials is, of course, another question, which has to be answered for each instance: "fresh-blowing, pure and sweet" (810) can perhaps be regarded as an extension of the binomial "pure and sweet." Multinomials certainly often have some semantic cohesion – the ones just mentioned list either generally negative or generally positive features. On multinomials in *Samson Agonistes* see the following section as well as Section 6.4.

3. Binomials and multinomials in *Samson Agonistes*

Samson Agonistes has 1,758 lines of verse. Amongst them there occur 240 binomials, that is, on average there is one binomial every 7.5 lines, but they are unevenly distributed: sometimes there are clusters of binomials, and sometimes

---

[12] See further, for example, Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 9).

[13] To make sure that most of Milton's binomials are his own creation a large corpus would, of course, have to be compared, which has not been possible for the present article. Dictionaries are usually only of limited help, because they usually list single words as headwords, and it is difficult to find binomials in their material.

there are longer stretches without binomials.[14] See further Section 4.2, and see also the list of binomials and multinomials in the Appendix.

In addition Milton employs 61 multinomials. Theoretically, there is probably no limit to their length; in practice the longest lists that Milton creates consists of ten elements (see (v) below). Here I have included them regardless of length, in order to show that the borderline between multinomials and lists is not always easy to draw, and that all of them can be used for poetic and rhetorical purposes.

(i)   The large majority among the multinomials is formed by triplets (trinomials). In *Samson Agonistes*, there are 38 trinomials (triplets), for example, "fresh-blowing, pure and sweet" (10); "evils, pains and wrongs" (105); "report, thought, or belief" (117).

(ii)   There are also 16 quadrinomials (quadruplets), for example, "Vast, unwieldy, burdensome / Proudly secure" (54–55); "chains, / Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age" (69);

(iii)   four quintuplets, for example, "Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests" (1653); "Now blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonoured, quelled" (563); "Of brazen shield and spear, the hammered cuirass, / Chalybean-tempered steel, and frock of mail / Adamantean proof" (132–134);

(iv)   two septinomials, for example, "virtue, wisdom, valour, wit, / Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit" (1010–1011, which also shows double alliteration /v/ w/ /v/ /w/ at the beginning);

(v)   one list consisting of ten nouns: "sword-players, and ev'ry sort / Of gymnic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners, / Jugglers and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics" (1324–1325, including two alliterating pairs, namely *riders, runners*, and *mummers, mimics*).

(vi)   Sometimes it is difficult to decide how a sequence should be analysed, for example, whether it should be analysed as a multinomial or as a sequence of two (or more) binomials, as in "thy gins, and toils; / Thy fair enchanted cup and warbling charms" (933–934); this is preceded by "thy trains" (932), which would make it a split multinomial (quintuplet); but here I have regarded "gins and toils" and "fair enchanted cup and warbling charms" as two binomials. "Ensnared, assaulted, overcome, led bound, / Thy foes derision, captive, poor, and blind" (365–366) could be analysed as a list consisting of eight constituents, but because there is a change of word-class in the middle (first four past participles, then one noun, followed by three adjectives), I have analysed it as a quadrinomial followed by a trinomial.

---

[14] On this aspect see also Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 7).

Here I shall concentrate on binomials, but I shall also refer to multinomials where appropriate; for a semantic analysis of multinomials see especially Section 6.4.

4. Formal properties of binomials

4.1 Basic structure, extended structures, reduced structures, and excluded structures

There is a basic structure of binomials, which can be extended, but also – more rarely – be reduced; Milton is very skilful in varying the structure of binomials.

(i)   The basic structure of binomials consists of 'word + word' (i.e., word – conjunction – word), for example, "sun or shade" (3); "close and damp" (8); "ordered and prescribed" (30); this is apparently the most frequent structure.

(ii)   But this basic structure can be extended in various ways. Nouns can, for example, be premodified by adjectives, articles, pronouns or a combination of those. A few examples of extended structures are: "proud arms and warlike tools" (137; 'adj. / noun + adj. / noun'); "Thy bondage or lost sight" (152; 'pronoun / noun + past participle / noun'); "That specious monster, my accomplished snare" (230; 'pronoun / adj. / noun [+] pronoun / adj. (past part.) / noun'); "without taint / Of sin, or legal debt" (312–313; 'noun / prepositional phrase + adj. / noun').

(iii) The structure can also be reduced by omitting the connecting conjunction (using an asyndetic construction), but Milton often employs a combination of reduction and extension, for example, "In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds" (123); "our woe, our bane" (351); "Incestuous, sacrilegious" (833); "In feigned religion, smooth hypocrisy" (872); "Among illustrious women, faithful wives" (957).

(iv)   Furthermore Milton sometimes employs split binomials, for example, two nouns separated by a verb, or two verbs separated by a prepositional phrase, or adjectives separated by a noun, for example "Of birth from Heav'n foretold and high exploits" (525; probably from the underlying structure 'of birth and high exploits from heaven foretold'); "With odours visited and annual flowers" (987; from the underlying structure 'visited with odours and annual flowers'); "not swayed / By female usurpation, nor dismayed" (1059–1060; with rhyme, from the underlying structure

'not swayed nor dismayed by female usurpation'); "For want of words, no doubt, or lack of breath" (905); an example of a split trinomial is: "that fallacious bride, / Unclean, unchaste" (319–320; from the underlying structure 'that fallacious, unclean, unchaste bride').

(v)   Milton also changes easily from relatively simple structures to more complex structures, for example, in the quadrinomial "jocund and sublime, / Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine" (1670; this could also be interpreted as a sequence of two binomials, and the second binomial shows anaphora).

Thus, on the whole, I have based my collection and analysis on a relatively broad concept of binomials (and multinomials) – but of course a borderline has to be drawn somewhere between binomials, multinomials, and other rhetorical structures. Therefore, prepositional phrases of the type "Prison within prison" (153), or "shame with shame" (841) or "dark in light" (75) have been excluded here, because in those one noun is subordinate to the other, although in the case of "dark in light" Milton also uses antonyms – but not all antonyms form binomials. I have also excluded simple repetition of words as in "O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon" (80; again with a semantic contrast between light and darkness). "Dark in light" and "O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon" of course refer to blindness, the megatrope of the poem, but Milton expresses his megatrope in various ways, the use of binomials being just one of them (cf. Section 1). There will always be constructions that are difficult to classify. Thus I have also excluded "Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave" (102), which contains a nice pair of synonyms (*sepulchre* – *grave*) but again seems too complex to be counted as a binomial, and I have excluded the *either – or* sequence in "That either they love nothing, or not long" (1033). But these examples show once again that Milton's use of rhetoric is very flexible and subtle and often difficult to pin down to a single rhetorical figure.

4.2 Word-classes of the constituents

By far the most frequent word-class among Milton's binomials in *Samson Agonistes* are nouns; they are followed by verbs and adjectives, with adjectives being just slightly more frequent than verbs. Other word-classes are rare (just eight examples of binomials consisting of adverbs, pronouns, numerals and prepositions; see Appendix, Section A.4). Nouns are generally predominant among the binomials in most texts where binomials are used.[15] *Samson*

---

[15]   See, for example, Sauer (2014); Sauer (forthcoming); Sauer and Schwan (2017).

Agonistes has 136 binomials consisting of nouns, 49 binomials consisting of adjectives, and 47 binomials consisting of verbs. Mostly the word-class of a word is clear, but some forms are ambiguous and therefore more difficult to assign to a specific word-class. Participles, for example, are usually regarded as verb forms, but I have classified them as adjectives when they are used as adjectives, especially when they are coordinated with a clear adjective, as in "famous now and blazed" (528). A few examples of the various word-classes are:

(i)   nouns (136x), for example, "sun or shade" (3); "importunity and tears" (51); "Of man or worm" (74); "of death and burial" (104); "Thy bondage or lost sight" (152); "Counsel or consolation" (183; with alliteration);

(ii) adjectives (49x), for example, "close and damp" (8); "O'erworn and soiled" (123);

(iii) verbs (47x), for example, "ordered and prescribed" (30), "To visit or bewail thee" (182);

(iv) other word-classes are rare, and there are just two examples, each of adverbs, for example, "to and fro" (1649); pronouns, for example, "thou and I" (929); "thine or mine" (1155); numerals, for example, "first or last" (1594); prepositions, for example, "before him and behind" (1618);

(v)   occasionally Milton mixes or combines two word-classes, for example, 'pronoun + noun': "mine and love's prisoner" (808); "to himself and father's house" (1717); or he embeds one word-class in another, for example, "To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray" (705), where the substantival binomial "all faith, all vows" is embedded in the split verbal trinomial "to break … deceive, betray"; or has one word-class followed by another, as in the substantival trinomial followed by an adjectival binomial: "What murderer, what traitor, parricide, / Incestuous, sacrilegious" (832–833); or the other way round in an adjectival trinomial followed by a substantival quadrinomial in "Nothing dishonourable, impure, unworthy / Our God, our Law, my nation, or myself" (1424–1425).

4.3 The connection of the constituents

Most frequently binomials are connected with *and*, for example, "close and damp" (8); "ordered and prescribed" (30); "importunity and tears" (51); "death and burial" (104); "O'erworn and soiled" (123). Less often *or* is used, for example, "sun or shade" (3); "Of man or worm" (73); "To visitants a gaze, / Or pitied object" (567–568); "Acknowledged not, or not at all considered" (245; also: chiasm). Other connections are rare, for example, "not day nor night" (404; a variation of the formulaic binomial *day and night*). Like the preponderance

of nouns among the word-classes, the preponderance of *and* as the connecting conjunction is a general phenomenon in most texts that employ binomials.[16] I have mentioned in Section 4.1 that Milton sometimes omits the connecting conjunction and simply juxtaposes the constituents of a binomial. This usage seems to be more frequent in Milton than in other authors or texts.

4.4 Additional embellishment

Milton, as other authors, occasionally uses alliteration as an additional embellishment and also in order to strengthen the coherence between the constituents of binomials,[17] as in: "Counsel or consolation" (183); "repose and rest" (406); "Select and sacred" (363); "bound and blind" (438); "gifts and graces" (679); "strength and safety" (780; repeated at 799); "pity or pardon" (814). Although alliteration was a basic principle of Old English poetry (ultimately inherited from Germanic poetry), it is interesting to note that in Middle English, in Early Modern English (including Milton) and in Modern English loan-words often also alliterate, as in several of the examples given above (such as "counsel or consolation," "select and sacred," "gifts and graces"). Internal rhyme as an additional embellishment of binomials is generally much rarer, and apparently there is no example of it in the binomials of *Samson Agonistes*.

4.5 Simple and complex words

Many binomials (and multinomials) consist of simple words, for example, "man or worm" (74); "bound and blind" (438), but some have constituents that are compounds or show prefixation or suffixation. Some examples of compounding are: "ill-fitted" (123); "Ghalybean-tempered" (133); "Tongue-batteries" (404); "sorrow and heart-grief" (1339). An example of prefixation is *bewail* ("To visit or bewail," 182), another one is the use of the prefix *un-*, for instance in "Unclean, unchaste" (321); the prefix *un-* is occasionally used to create antonyms, as in "Just or unjust" (703). Some examples of suffixation are *burial* ("death and burial," 104) or *warlike* ("proud arms and warlike tools," 137).

---

[16] See, for example, Sauer (2014); Sauer (2017); Sauer and Schwan (2017).
[17] Cf., for example, Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 8.4), with further references.

An interesting case of conversion (zero-derivation) is *to proverb* ("sung and proverbed," 203), meaning something like 'used as a proverbial example.'

Why simple words are more frequent in binomials than compounds and prefix- and suffix-formations, is another interesting question. A very tentative answer is that binomials and complex words have opposing functions which do not really go together; whereas binomials expand information, compounds condense information.[18]

5. Etymology

As far as the etymology of binomials is concerned, there are four possibilities, namely, the combination of 'native word + native word,' 'loan-word + loan-word,' 'loan-word + native word,' and 'native word + loan-word';[19] to give just a few examples:

(i)   'native word + native word': "sun or shade" (3); "man or worm" (74); "death and burial" (104);

(ii)   'loan-word + loan-word': "close and damp" (8); "ordered and prescribed" (30);

(iii)   'loan-word + native word': "importunity and tears" (51); "In slavish **habit**, ill-fitted **weeds**" (122); "proud **arms** and warlike **tools**" (137);

(iv)   'native word + loan-word': "sung and proverbed" (203);

(v)   in a few cases the etymology of a word is unclear, for example, the etymology of *scorn* ("scorn and gaze," 34).

In Section 2, I mentioned the so-called translation theory, which claims that sometimes a native word follows a loan-word in order to explain it; but this explanatory function was apparently rare in Milton. One possible case is "repose and rest" (406) – while *rest* is an old native word, *repose* is a loan-word that was borrowed as a verb in the 15th century and used as a noun in the 16th century (see, e.g., *ODEE* s.v.); another one might be "safe custody and hold" (802) – custody was borrowed in the 15th century.

---

[18] See further Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 8.5).

[19] See also, for example, Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 9).

6. Semantics

Whereas the word-class and the etymology of a word are usually clear, the meaning relations between the elements of binomials are often more difficult to classify. Nevertheless three broad categories can be established, namely, synonymy (including tautology), antonymy and complementarity. The latter has many subgroups (see Section 6.3), and it is apparently the largest category in *Samson Agonistes*, whereas clear synonyms and antonyms are rarer. As mentioned above, Milton often employs antonyms, but not always in the form of binomials. Among the complementary binomials (and multinomials), combinations expressing generally negative concepts are apparently more frequent than binomials expressing generally positive concepts. Unsurprisingly, *blind* occurs several times in binomials and multinomials expressing negative concepts; as mentioned in Section 1, blindness can be regarded as a (or the) megatrope in *Samson Agonistes*.

6.1 Synonymy (and tautology)

Synonyms are words with a similar meaning, which are exchangeable at least in some contexts. Frequently there are, however, stylistic differences, which often also entail differences in frequency of use: for example, ModE *think* is used much more frequently than synonyms such as *ponder* or *cogitate* etc.

Clear synonyms are relatively rare in Milton's *Samson Agonistes*; some examples are: "ordered and prescribed" (30; the second word is perhaps stronger and weightier than the first); "in slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds" (122; here a loan-word is followed by a native word, but the native word is now archaic and restricted due to homonymic clash with *weeds* 'wild and useless plants'); "penitent and for thy fault contrite" (502); perhaps also: "Israel's governors and heads of tribes" (242); "their fool or jester" (1338);. "to forgo / And quit" (1483–1484); "silent obsequy and funeral train" (1732).

Tautologic words have exactly the same meaning. Tautology can be regarded as a subgroup of synonymy. It is often said, however, that true tautology is rare,[20] and it is apparently also rare in Milton. Possible instances of tautology are "repose and rest" (406; strengthened by alliteration, but *rest* is (and was)

---

[20] Synonymy and tautology are not always distinguished; when authors such as Leisi (1947) speak of tautology, they actually seem to refer to synonymy.

certainly the stylistically neutral and more common word, and *repose* the rarer and stylistically more elevated word), and "sickness and disease" (698).

6.2 Antonyms

Antonyms are words with an opposite meaning. There are several subgroups of antonymy, for instance, absolute antonymy (e.g., *life – death* and *alive – dead*; *man – woman*; *above – below*; *in – out*), gradable antonymy (especially among the adjectives, e.g., *warm – cold*; *young – old*), converse antonymy (*sell – buy*; *father – son*; *teacher – pupil*). I shall not go into any detail here; here it is probably more important to point out that in the context of binomials antonyms often express the parts of a whole, of a higher unity, and that the antonyms are often more concrete than the higher unity, which is often more abstract; cf. *men and women* – all mankind or all human beings; or *heaven and earth* – the whole creation. Some examples of antonyms from *Samson Agonistes* are:

(i)   nouns: "sun or shade" (3); "Of man or worm" (74; highest and lowest form of life); "strength of man or fiercest wild beast" (127); "not day nor night" (404); "sea or land" (710); "virtue or weakness" (756); "day and night" (807); "Of good or bad" (1537; substantivized adjectives); "crown or shame" (1579); "horse and foot" (1618; i.e., soldiers on horseback and foot-soldiers). Antonymous binomials are perhaps also "words and doings" (947; it could be a contrast, but also complementary), and "My wife, my traitress" (725; a wife is normally expected to support her husband and to be faithful to him, not to betray him);

(ii)   adjectives: "Just or unjust" (703); "one black, Th'other white" (973); "living and dead" (984); an oxymoron (i.e., a combination of terms that normally exclude each other) is "admired of all and dreaded" (530);

(iii) verbs and participles: "grow up and perish" (676); "frown or smile" (948); "smile she or lour" (1057); "not to see but taste" (1091; two of the senses put in opposition to each other); "to hold or break" (1349); "Living or dying" (1661);

(iv)   pronouns: "thine or mine" (1155);

(v)   prepositions: "before him and behind" 1608);

(vi)   adverbs: "to and fro" (1649).

6.3 Complementarity

I have subsumed all binomials that are neither clearly synonymous nor clearly antonymous under the heading of 'complementarity.' This is a large group with many subgroups, showing, for example, the following relations (some binomials fit into more than one group):

(1)   a sequence of actions or events, for example, (i) with verbs: "Betrayed, captived" (33); "sung and proverbed" (203); "comparing and preferring" (464); "hath forsook and giv'n me o'er" (629); "can win or long inherit" (1012); "assassinated and betrayed" (1109; with reversed sequence – normally betrayal precedes assassination); "To come and play" (1448); "stay here or run and see" (1520; a trinomial); "overwhelmed and fall'n" (1559); (ii) with nouns: "death and burial" (104); "prodigious might and feats performed" (1083);

(2)   alternative actions, for example, "to visit or bewail" (182); "counsel or consolation" (183);

(3)   hyponyms in a word-field (semantic field), for example, "bulls and goats" (domestic animals); "roosts and nests" (1693–1694);

(4)   a more specific term, followed by a more general term, for example, "proud arms and warlike tools" (137; *arms* is more specific than *tools*, but 'warlike tools' is also synonymous with 'arms'); "strongest wines / And strongest drinks" (553–554); "Their armories and magazines" (1281);

(5)   a more general term, followed by a more specific term, for example, "acknowledge and confess" (448); "of my tribe / And of my nation" (876–877) can perhaps be regarded as a case of 'smaller – 'larger,' or of 'less organized' – 'more organized';

(6)   a weaker term, followed by a stronger term: "our sending and command" (1394); "With supplication prone and father's tears" (1459);

(7)   number and size: "so many, and so huge" (65); "single and unarmed" (1111);

(8)   parts of a whole; hyponyms in a word-field, for example, "shield and spear" (284; armour, weapons); "dogs and fowls" (694; mammals and birds); "pipes / And timbrels" (1616–1617; musical instruments);

(9)   generally negative terms; as mentioned above, in *Samson Agonistes*, the generally negative terms seem to be more frequent than the generally positive terms, for example, (i) nouns: "scorn and gaze" (34); "importunity and tears" (51); "Thy bondage or lost sight" (152); "That specious monster, my accomplished snare" (230; with the adjectives in contradiction to the nouns: two oxymora); "taint / Of sin, or legal debt" (313); "my spies, / And rivals" (386–387); "Dishonour, obloquy" (452); "idolists and atheists" (453; perhaps also: more specific and more general); "pains and slaveries"

(485); "contempt and scorn" (494); "abyss and horrid pains" (501); "trespass or omission" (691); "heathen and profane" (693; also: more specific and more general); "fear and timorous doubt" (740); "cares and fears" (805); "In feigned religion, smooth hypocrisy" (872); "false pretexts and varnished colours" (901); "care and chance" (918); "winds and seas" (961; in a negative context); "wind and rain" (1062); "repulse and hate" (966); "slaves and asses" (1162); "no violence nor spoil" (1191; negated negative terms); "a man condemned, a slave enrolled" (1224; a combination of shortened and extended binomial); "the mighty of the earth, th' oppressor" (1272); "tyranny or fortune" (1291; fortune, Fortuna is here apparently seen as a negative force); "sorrow and heart-grief" (1339); "winds and water" (1647); "captivity and loss of eyes" (1744); (ii) adjectives and participles: "close and damp" (8); "betrayed, captived" (33); "O'erworn and soiled" (124); "unclean, unchaste" (321); "Deceivable and vain!" (350); "unwary or accursed" (930); "Adverse and turbulent" (1040); furthermore: "Thy foes' derision, captive, poor, and blind" (366; a trinomial); "bound and blind" (438); "Incestuous, sacrilegious" (833); "brute and boist'rous" (1273); "so broken, so debased" (1335; also an anaphora); "Scandalous or forbidden" (1409); (iii) verbs: "envies or repines" (995);

(10)   generally positive terms, for example, (i) nouns: "long descent of birth / Or the sphere of fortune" (172); "friends and neighbours" (180); "Counsel or consolation" (183); "Brethren and men of Dan" (332; identical reference); "honour and religion" (412); "gifts and graces" (679); "strength and safety" (780); "magistrates and princes" (850–851); "parents and country" (887); "Law of nature, law of nations" (890; also an anophora); "leisure and domestic ease" (917); "love and care" (923); "youth and strength" (938); "With odours visited and annual flowers" (987; a split binomial); "honour and reward" (992); "my safety, and my life" (1002); "ornament and safety"; "bridal friends and guests" (1132); "this great feast and great assembly" (1305; also an anaphora); "conscience and internal peace" (1334); "feats and games" (1602); "sport and play" (1679); "with lavers pure and cleansing herbs" (1727); "matchless valour and adventures high" (1740; 1727 and 1740 also show a kind of chiasm); "peace and consolation" (1757); (ii) adjectives and participles: "Select and sacred" (363); "youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts" (524); "famous now and blazed" (528); "wisest and best men" (759; also more specific followed by more general) and "wisest men and best" (1034; a split binomial); "How honourable, how glorious" (855; but used ironically here); "The righteous and all such as honour truth" (1276; with a generalizing second element); "Honest and lawful" (1365); "favouring and assisting" (1720); "well and fair" (1723); (iii) verbs: "Revives, reflourishes" (1705; also with alliteration);

(11) a mixture of positive and negative terms: "A sceptre or quaint staff" (1303);

(12) a sequence of neutral and positive terms: "wonder or delight" (642);

(13) a kind of gradation, with the second element expressing something stronger than the first: "our woe, our bane" (351); "My wife, my traitress" (725; also with a semantic contrast); "of my tribe / And of my nation" (876–877);

(14) the first element expressing something stronger than the second: "wounds and sores" (607);

(15) Milton also uses generally negative terms in a positive sense, for example, "To frustrate and dissolve these magic spells" (1149);

(16) Two of the five senses: "thou shalt see, or rather … / Soon feel" (1154–1155; a split binomial).

6.4 Multinomials

The elements of multinomials are also often either generally positive or generally negative (cf. also the examples given in Section 3):

(a) Generally positive is, for example, the trinomial "fresh-blowing, pure and sweet" (10), or the quadrinomial "sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games" (1312);

(b) Generally negative, are, for example,

– the trinomials, (i) consisting of nouns: "evils, pains and wrongs" (105); "affliction, shame and sorrow" (457); "What murderer, what traitor, parricide" (832; parricide is also more specific than murderer); "spells / And black enchantments, some magician's art" (1132–1133); "a murderer, a revolter, and a robber" (1180); "our slave, / Our captive, … our drudge" (1392–1393; also a split binomial and an anaphora); (ii) consisting of verbs and past participles: "to despise, or envy, or suspect" (272); "To waver, or fall off and join with idols" (456); "Disglorified, blasphemed, and had in scorn" (442); "Rankle, and fester, and gangrene" (621); "slight me, sell me, and forgo me" (940; also with epiphora); "contemned, and scorned / And last neglected" (943–944); "who surprised / Lose their defence, distracted and amazed" (1285–1286; a split trinomial: 'surprised, distracted, amazed'); "lost, / Depressed, and overthrown" (1699); (iii) consisting of adjectives: "mute, / Irrational and brute" (672–673; with rhyme); "Impartial, self-severe, inexorable" (827); "Idolatrous, uncircumcised, unclean" (1364); "Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable" (1422);

– the quadrinomials, (i) consisting of nouns: "chains, / Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age"(68–69); "daily fraud, contempt, abuse and wrong" (76); "thy gins and toils; /Thy fair enchanted cup and warbling charms" (934); (ii) consisting of adjectives or past participles: "Vast, unwieldy, burdensome, / Proudly secure" (54–55); "ignoble, / Unmanly, ignominious, infamous" (416–417); "ridiculous, despoiled, / Shav'n, and disarmed" (539–540); "idle, / Inglorious, unemployed, with age outworn" (579–580);
– the quintuplets, consisting of adjectives and past participles: "blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonoured, quelled" (563); "Solicited, commanded, threatened, urged / Adjured (852–853); "vile, contemptible, ridiculous, / …. unclean, profane" (1361–1362; a split quintuplet).

(c) a negative sequence of actions is described in the quadrinomials "he regards not, owns not, hath cut off … and delivered up" (1157–1158), and "Ensnared, assaulted, overcome, led bound" (365; part of a longer list, see Section 3);

(d) a cline from positive to negative (in trinomials): "to be pleased, obeyed, or feared" (900); "Loved, honoured, feared me" (939; including the emotions love and fear);

(e) Milton moreover masterfully employs generally positive terms, or a clever mixture of positive and negative terms, which are used for an evil purpose or embedded in a negative context (and thus also used ironically), for instance, in the binomial "Among illustrious women, faithful wives" (957), or in the trinomials "with flattering prayer and sighs and amorous reproaches" (392–393), and soon after "With blandished parleys, feminine assaults, / Tongue-batteries" (403–404); cf. also "Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud" (436; could be positive, but is here used of the Philistines, that is, Samson's enemies, and is therefore probably negative); or in the quadrinomial "Soft, modest, meek, demure" (1036).

Other semantic relations among multinomials (apart from listing generally positive or generally negative terms, or ironic use) are, for example:

(f) a trinomial listing parts of the body is "sinew, joints and bones" (1142);

(g) a relatively neutral sequence of actions, all referring to actions involving movement and strength, is listed by the quadrinomial "To heave, pull, draw, or break" (1626);

(h) arms and armour are listed by the quintuplet "Of brazen shield and spear, the hammered cuirass, / Chalybean-tempered steel, and frock of mail / Adamantean proof" (132–134) and by the multinomial consisting of ten elements ("thy gorgeous arms …," quoted in Section 3 (vii)).

7. Fixedness and flexibility

Some binomials are used as more or less fixed formulae; for example, "day and night" (807); "man or woman" (844); "good or bad" (1537; in OE *god and yfel*); "black – white" (973); these were common in Old English and are still common today.[21] Still even here a certain amount of variation is possible. Whereas the usual form is *men and women*, Milton uses "man or woman," and in addition to the usual "day and night" he uses also "not day nor night" (404).

However, binomials can also be used variably, that is, the same word can be used in different combinations as well as in in different positions or sometimes in both different combinations and different positions, for example:

betray: "Betrayed, captived" (33) – "assassinated and betrayed" (1109);

care: "cares and fears" (805) – "care and chance" (918) – "love and care" (923); in the first two examples 'care' seems to have a more negative connotation than in the third;

fear: "fear and timorous doubt" (740) – "cares and fears" (805);

fortune: "tyranny or fortune" (1291) – "long descent of birth / Or the sphere of fortune" (172);

safety: "my safety, and my life" (1002) – "ornament and safety" (1132);

scorn: "scorn and gaze" (34) – "contempt and scorn" (494) – "cruelty or scorn" (646);

slave: "slaves and asses" (1162) – "a man condemned, a slave enrolled" (1224);

smile: "frown or smile" (948) – "smile she or lour" (1057);

wind: "winds and seas" (961) – "wind and rain" (1062) – "winds and waters" (1648); 'wind,' 'sea,' and 'rain' are apparently felt as negative or dangerous phenomena.

Milton uses "wisest and best" twice, but again with slight variation, that is, the second time as a split binomial: "wisest and best men" (759) – "wisest men and best" (1034). Milton apparently used formulaic binomials relatively rarely and created new binomials frequently.[22]

---

[21] Cf., for example, Tyrkkö in Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017); Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 15), where 'men and women' and 'day and night' are listed as the most frequent binomials. For Old English, see, for example, Berger (1993), who lists 61 instances of 'day and night' (*dæg 7 niht*, *dæges 7 nihtes*), and 29 instances of 'good and evil' (*god 7 yfel*), but no instances of 'men and women' (the usual OE binomial was apparently *wer 7 wif*), nor of 'black and white.' For Old English instances of 'day and night,' etc., see further Ogura (2017).

[22] To support this claim, of course a large corpus would have to be checked; unfortunately, this was not possible for the present purpose.

8. Sequence of the elements

There has been a lot of research and debate about the sequence of the constituents of binomials.[23] Some binomials apparently have a fixed sequence, whereas others have a variable sequence, and the sequence can also change in the course of time. For example, in Old English the preferred order seems to have been "soul and body" (or rather *sawl and lichama*) although the reverse order (*lichama and sawl*) also existed; but in Modern English the preferred order is apparently "body and soul" (this particular binomial does not occur in *Samson Agonistes*).[24] One question which arises in this context is whether word pairs with a variable sequence of elements should be regarded as different binomials or rather as variants of the same binomial. Whereas some scholars apparently regard them as different binomials,[25] I regard them as variants of the same binomial. As the examples given above show, in *Samson Agonistes* several words can occupy the first or the second position in a binomial (*betray, care, safety, scorn, slave, smile*), whereas *wind* always occupies the first position. There are at least three factors that are (or can be) important for the sequence, namely, phonological (or rather metrical), semantic and source-based ones, which sometimes overlap.[26]

8.1 Phonological (metrical) factors

There is a general tendency for the shorter word to precede the longer word.[27] This is also often the case in *Samson Agonistes*, for example, "death and burial" (104: 1-3 syllables); "strength of **man** or **fiercest wild beast**" (127: 1-4 syllables); "counsel or consolation" (183: 2-4 syllables); "my spies, / And rivals" (386–387: 1-2 syllables); "honour and religion" (412: 2-3 syllables); "will **arise** and **his great name assert**" (467: 2-5 syllables; also with alliteration); see further the examples given so far.[28] Unfortunately, there are also exceptions;

---

[23] See, for example, Malkiel (1959), and recently Mollin (2014).

[24] Berger (1993: 107–108, 128–129) lists for Old English 48 instances of the sequence *saul (sawl) and lichama*, but only 20 instances of the sequence *lichama and saul*.

[25] For instance, Tyrkkö (2017).

[26] See also, for example, Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 14).

[27] For this and generally for the sequence of elements, see also Sauer and Schwan (2017: § 14.

[28] Of course there are also many instances where the words are of equal length, for example, "sun or shade" (3), "close and damp" (8), etc. – I have based my analysis on the pronunciation, and one basic assumption here is, of course, that the final <-e> was (and still is) only written,

thus this factor is a tendency rather than rule. Examples where the longer word precedes the shorter word are: "importunity and tears" (51: 5-1 syllables); "repose and rest" (406: 2-1 syllables), "contempt and scorn" (494: 2-1 syllables); "translucent, pure" (548: 3-1 syllables); "assassinated and betrayed" (1109: 5-2 syllables), or among the trinomials "fresh-blowing, pure and sweet" (10: 3-1-1 syllables).

8.2 Semantic factors

The more important element precedes the less important element (what is more important can, of course, be culture-specific, and can change in time), for example, God precedes man, man precedes beast, man (male) precedes woman, and day is more important than night; as in "man or worm" (74); "strength of man or fiercest wild beast" (127); "not day nor night" (404); "gods and men" (545), "The angelic orders and inferior creatures …" (672); "God and State" (1465); perhaps also "sun or shade" (3). Normally, the sequence of actions is observed, as in "death and burial" (104); "grow up and perish" (676); "overwhelmed and fall'n" (1559), but in "assassinated and betrayed" (1109) the normal order of actions seems to be reversed (normally betrayal precedes assassination) – but Samson says this when still alive, thus assassinate apparently does not have its normal meaning 'to kill' here.

8.3 Source-based factors

The story of Milton's *Samson Agonistes* is based on the Bible (see Section 1), but treats the biblical story rather freely. Therefore, there are apparently no binomials that Milton took over from the Bible.

---

but not pronounced. For a more detailed analysis, other peculiarities of Early Modern English pronunciation would also have to be taken into account. An analysis based on the spelling might yield different results in some cases.

9. Summary

In *Samson Agonistes,* Milton uses many rhetorical figures, among them also many binomials and (less frequently) multinomials, the latter ranging from trinomials to sequences of ten constituents. The basic structure of binomials is 'word + word,' but there are also extended and reduced structures. The most frequent word-class are nouns, that is, binomials consisting of nouns. The constituents are mostly connected with *and*; less frequently with *or*. Basically there are four etymological relations, that is, 'native word + native word,' 'loan-word + loan-word,' 'native word + loan-word,' and 'loan-word + native word.' But the so-called translation theory, which claims that a (recent) loan-word is followed and explained by a synonymous native word, is not really supported by *Samson Agonistes*. As far as the semantic relation between the elements is concerned, synonymy and antonymy are relatively rare, whereas complementarity is frequent. Milton uses few binomials that were formulaic and inherited from Old English (such as "day and night," 807; "man or woman," 844); mostly he was inventive and innovative and created his own binomials.[29]

Appendix

A list of the binomials and multinomials in *Samson Agonistes* (*SA*)

The list is divided according to binomials, trinomials, quadrinomials, and multinomials of more than four elements, and within those groups according to word-classes, that is, nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. The sequence follows their occurrence in the text of *Samson Agonistes*.

A1. Binomials: Nouns
"sun or shade" (*SA* 3); "scorn and gaze" (*SA* 34); "importunity and tears" (*SA* 51); "man or worm" (*SA* 74); "death and burial" (*SA* 104); "slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds" (*SA* 122); "man or fiercest wild beast" (*SA* 127); "proud arms and warlike tools" (*SA* 137); "bondage or lost sight" (*SA* 152); "long descent of birth / Or the sphere of fortune" (*SA* 171–172); "friends and neighbours" (*SA* 180); "Counsel or consolation" (*SA* 183); "a word, a tear" (*SA* 200); "That specious monster, my accomplished snare" (*SA* 230); "shield and spear" (*SA* 284); "taint

---

/ Of sin, or legal debt" (*SA* 312–313); "our woe, our bane" (*SA* 351); "spies, / And rivals" (*SA* 386–387); "day nor night" (*SA* 404); "repose and rest" (*SA* 406); "honour and religion" (*SA* 412); "Their captive, and their triumph" (*SA* 426); "Dishonour, obloquy" (*SA* 452); "idolists and atheists" (*SA* 453); "pains and slaveries" (*SA* 485); "Contempt and scorn" (*SA* 494); "abyss and horrid pains" (*SA* 501); "thy country and his sacred house" (*SA* 518); "prayers and vows renewed" (*SA* 520); "youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts" (*SA* 524); "Of birth from Heav'n foretold and high exploits" (*SA* 525); "pleasure and voluptuous life" (*SA* 534); "head and hallowed pledge" (*SA* 535); "wine and all delicious drinks" (*SA* 541); "gods and men" (*SA* 545); "fountain or fresh current" (*SA* 547); "strongest wines / And strongest drinks" (*SA* 553–554); "a gaze / or pitied object" (*SA* 567–568); "vermin or the draff of servile food" (*SA* 574); "anguish of the mind and humours black" (*SA* 600); "wounds and sores" (*SA* 607); "cooling herb / Or med'cinal liquor" (*SA* 626–627); "cruelty and scorn" (*SA* 646); "The close of all my miseries, and the balm" (*SA* 651), "The angelic orders and inferior creatures mute" (*SA* 672); "gifts and graces" (*SA* 679); "thy countenance and thy hand" (*SA* 684); "heathen and profane" (*SA* 693); "dogs and fowls" (*SA* 694); "sickness and disease" (*SA* 698); "image of thy strength, and mighty minister" (*SA* 706); "sea or land" (*SA* 710); "My wife, my traitress" (*SA* 725); "doubtful feet and wavering resolution" (*SA* 732); "fear and timorous doubt" (*SA* 740); "all faith, all vows" (*SA* 750); "virtue or weakness" (*SA* 756); "strength and safety" (*SA* 780, 799); "safe custody and hold" (*SA* 802); "cares and fears" (*SA* 805); "day and night" (*SA* 807); "pity or pardon" (*SA* 814); "malice, not repentance" (*SA* 821); "God or man" (*SA* 835); "man or woman" (*SA* 844); "the magistrates / And princes" (*SA* 850–851); "of civil duty / And of religion" (*SA* 853–854); "feigned religion, smooth hypocrisy" (*SA* 872); "of my tribe / And of my nation" (*SA* 876–877); "Parents and country" (*SA* 886); "law of nature, law of nations" (*SA* 890); "These false pretexts and varnished colours" (*SA* 901); "want of words, no doubt, or lack of breath" (*SA* 905); "leisure and domestic ease" (*SA* 917); "many a care and chance" (*SA* 918); "my redoubled love and care" (*SA* 923); "gins, and toils" (*SA* 932–933); "Thy fair enchanted cup and warbling charms" (*SA* 934); "my flower of youth and strength" (*SA* 938); "words and doings" (*SA* 947); "illustrious women, faithful wives" (*SA* 957); "winds and seas" (*SA* 961); "repulse and hate" (*SA* 966); "[With] odours visited and annual flowers" (*SA* 987); "honour and reward" (*SA* 992); "folly and shameful deeds" (*SA* 1043); "wind and rain" (*SA* 1062); "prodigious might and feats performed" (*SA* 1083); "camp or listed field" (*SA* 1087); "ornament and safety" (*SA* 1132); "spells / And black enchantments" (*SA* 1132–1133); "chafed wild boars, or ruffled porcupines" (*SA* 1138); "slaves and asses" (*SA* 1162); "no violence nor spoil" (*SA* 1191); "friends and guests" (*SA* 1196); "strength sufficient and command from Heav'n" (*SA* 1212); "a man condemned, a slave enrolled" (*SA* 1224); "all their ammunition / And

feats of war" (*SA* 1277–1278); "armories and magazines" (*SA* 1281); "tyranny or fortune" (*SA* 1291); "sceptre or quaint staff" (*SA* 1303); "this great feast, and great assembly" (*SA* 1315); "conscience and internal peace" (*SA* 1334); "fool or jester" (*SA* 1338); "sorrow and heart-grief" (*SA* 1339); "feats and play" (*SA* 1340); "sending and command" (*SA* 1394); "supplication prone and father's tears" (*SA* 1459); "revenge and spite" (*SA* 1462); "God and State" (*SA* 1465); "Noise call you it, or universal groan" (*SA* 1511); "good or bad" (*SA* 1537); "providence or instinct of nature" (*SA* 1545); "breath / and sense distract" (*SA* 1555–1556); "his ransom now and full discharge" (*SA* 1573); "crown or shame" (*SA* 1579); "Upon their heads and on his own" (*SA* 1589); "feats and games" (*SA* 1602); "banks and scaffolds" (*SA* 1610); "pipes / And timbrels" (*SA* 1616–1617); "[armed guards / Both] horse and foot" (*SA* 1618); "wonder or delight" (*SA* 1642); "winds and waters" (*SA* 1647); "choice nobility and flower" (*SA* 1654); "bulls and goats" (*SA* 1671), "sport and play" (*SA* 1679); "mourning, / And lamentation" (*SA* 1712–1713); "Honour hath left, and freedom" (*SA* 1715); "himself and father's house" (*SA* 1717); "lavers pure and cleansing herbs" (*SA* 1727); "all my kindred, all my friends" (*SA* 1730); "silent obsequy and funeral train" (*SA* 1732); "laurel ever green, and branching palm" (*SA* 1735); "matchless valour and adventures high" (*SA* 1740); "captivity and loss of eyes" (*SA* 1744); "peace and consolation" (*SA* 1757).

A.2. Binomials: Adjectives (including some participles used as adjectives)
"close and damp" (*SA* 8); "So many, and so huge" (*SA* 65); "O'erworn and soiled" (*SA* 123); "Unclean, unchaste" (*SA* 321); "Deceivable and vain" (*SA* 350); "Select and sacred" (*SA* 363); "bound and blind" (*SA* 438); "Disglorified, blasphemed" (*SA* 442); "penitent and for thy fault contrite" (*SA* 502); "humble and filial" (*SA* 511); "over-just, and self-displeased" (*SA* 514); "famous now and blazed" (*SA* 528); "admired of all and dreaded" (*SA* 530); "translucent, pure" (*SA* 548); "in ancient and in modern [books]" (*SA* 653); "Just or unjust" (*SA* 703); "My rash but more unfortunate misdeed" (*SA* 747); "more cautious and instructed [skill]" (*SA* 757); "wisest and best" (*SA* 759); "inquisitive, importune" (*SA* 775); "fond and reasonless" (*SA* 812); "Incestuous, sacrilegious" (*SA* 833); "rife and celebrated" (*SA* 866); "unwary or accursed" (*SA* 930); "Living and dead" (*SA* 984); "wisest men and best" (*SA* 1034); "Adverse and turbulent" (*SA* 1040); "high-built and proud" (*SA* 1069); "assassinated and betrayed" (*SA* 1109); "single and unarmed" (*SA* 1111); "brute and boist'rous" (*SA* 1273); "Hardy and industrious" (*SA* 1274); "distracted and amazed" (*SA* 1286); "short and voluble" (*SA* 1307); "heartened and fresh clad" (*SA* 1317); "so broken, so debased" (*SA* 1335); "more execrably unclean, profane" (*SA* 1362); "Honest and lawful" (*SA* 1366); "Scandalous or forbidden" (*SA* 1409); "More generous far and civil" (*SA* 1467); "captive and blind" (*SA* 1474); "disturb'd and scarce consulted" (*SA* 1546); "patient but undaunted" (*SA* 1623); "more particular and distinct" (*SA*

1595); "incredible, stupendious" (*SA* 1627); "jocund and sublime" (*SA* 1669); "Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine" (*SA* 1670); "best and happiest" (*SA* 1718); "well and fair" (*SA* 1723).

A.3. Binomials: Verbs
"ordered and prescribed" (*SA* 30); "to visit or bewail" (*SA* 182); "sung and proverbed" (*SA* 203); "Acknowledged not, or not at all considered" (*SA* 245); "over-watched and wearied out" (*SA* 405); "acknowledge and confess" (*SA* 448); "comparing and preferring" (*SA* 464); "connive or linger" (*SA* 466); "arise and his great name assert" (*SA* 467); "evermore approves and more accepts" (*SA* 510); "drudge and earn" (*SA* 573); "ferment and rage" (*SA* 619); "forsook and giv'n me o'ver" (*SA* 629); "grew up and thrived" (*SA* 637); "Grow up and perish" (*SA* 676); "deceive, betray" (*SA* 750); "to submit, beseech" (*SA* 751); "Confess, and promise" (*SA* 753); "Again transgresses, and again submits" (*SA* 758); "To lessen or extenuate" (*SA* 767); "to endear, and hold" (*SA* 796); "To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes" (*SA* 897); "frown or smile" (*SA* 948); "envies or repines" (*SA* 995); "win or long inherit" (*SA* 1012); "to apprehend / Or value" (*SA* 1028–1029); "Smile she or lour" (*SA* 1057); "not swayed / By female usurpation, nor dismayed" (*SA* 1059–1060); "not to see but taste" (*SA* 1091); "Armed thee or charmed thee strong" (*SA* 1134); "To frustrate and dissolve" (*SA* 1149); "shalt see, or rather to thy sorrow / Soon feel" (*SA* 1154–1155); "to hold or break" (*SA* 1349); "to assail / And hamper" (*SA* 1396–1397); "To come and play" (*SA* 1448); "be paid / And numbered down" (*SA* 1477–1478); "are not ill-founded nor seem vain" (*SA* 1504); "run and see" (*SA* 1520); "overwhelmed and fall'n" (*SA* 1559); "to destroy and be destroyed" (*SA* 1587); "He tugged, he shook" (*SA* 1650); "Living or dying" (*SA* 1661); "Despised and thought extinguished quite" (*SA* 1688); "roosts / And nests" (*SA* 1693–1694); "Revives, reflourishes" (*SA* 1704); "favouring and assisting" (*SA* 1720); "to wail / Or knock the breast" (*SA* 1721–1722).

A.4. Binomials: other word classes
Adverbs: "Enough, and more" (*SA* 431); "to and fro" (*SA* 1649).
Pronouns: "thou and I" (*SA* 929); "thine or mine" (*SA* 1162).
Numerals: "first or last" (*SA* 1594); "no second knows nor third" (*SA* 1701).
Prepositions: "Within doors, or without" (*SA* 77); "before him and behind" (*SA* 1618).

A.5. Multinomials – trinomials (3): Nouns
"evils, pains and wrongs" (*SA* 105); "report, thought, or belief" (*SA* 117); "gates of Azza, post and massy bar" (*SA* 147); "flattering prayer and sighs / and amorous reproaches" (*SA* 392–393); "Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud" (*SA* 436); "scandal / To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt / In feeble hearts"

(*SA* 453–455); "the flavour, or the smell, / Or taste" (*SA* 544–545); "entrails, joints, and limbs" (*SA* 614); "faintings, swoonings of despair, / And sense of Heav'n's desertion" (*SA* 631–632); "What murderer, what traitor, parricide" (*SA* 832); "Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty" (*SA* 870); "secrecy, my safety, and my life" (*SA* 1002); "thy spear, / A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield" (*SA* 1121–1122); "sinews, joints and bones" (*SA* 1142); "A murderer, a revolter, and a robber" (*SA* 1180); "our slave, / Our captive, at the public mill our drudge" (*SA* 1392–1393); "Blood, death, and dreadful deeds" (*SA* 1513); "mirth, high cheer, and wine" (*SA* 1613).

A.6. Multinomials – trinomials (3): Adjectives (including some participles used as adjectives)
"fresh-blowing, pure and sweet" (*SA* 10); "Betrayed, captive, and both my eyes put out" (*SA* 33); "That heroic, that renowned / Irresistible [Samson]" (*SA* 125–126); "captive, poor, and blind" (*SA* 366); "mute, / Irrational and brute" (*SA* 672–673), "bedecked, ornate, and gay" (*SA* 712); "Impartial, self-severe, inexorable" (*SA* 827); "vile, contemptible, ridiculous" (*SA* 1361); "Idolatrous, uncircumcised, unclean" (*SA* 1364); "Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable" (*SA* 1422); "dishonourable, impure, unworthy" (*SA* 1424).

A.7. Multinomials – trinomials (3): Verbs
"despise, or envy, or suspect" (*SA* 272); "Rankle, and fester, and gangrene" (*SA* 621); "Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise" (*SA* 625); "to be pleased, obeyed, or feared" (*SA* 900); "Loved, honoured, feared" (*SA* 939); "slight me, sell me, and forgo me" (*SA* 940); "easily contemned, and scorned, / And last neglected" (*SA* 943–944); "stay here or run and see" (*SA* 1520); "giv'n for lost, / Depressed, and overthrown" (*SA* 1697–1698).

A.8. Multinomials – quadrinomials (4): Nouns
"chains, / Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age" (*SA* 68–69); "fraud, contempt, abuse and wrong" (*SA* 76); "my chief affliction, shame and sorrow, / The anguish of my soul" (*SA* 457–458); "heart, head, breast, and reins" (*SA* 609); "sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games" (*SA* 1312); "Our God, our Law, my nation, or myself" (*SA* 1425); "Archers, and slingers, cataphracts and spears" (*SA* 1619); "no weakness, no contempt, / Dispraise, or blame" (*SA* 1722–1723).

A.9. Multinomials – quadrinomials (4): Adjectives (including some participles used as adjectives)
"Vast, unwieldy, burdensome, / Proudly secure" (*SA* 54–55); "Ensnared, as-saulted, overcome, led bound" (*SA* 365); "ignoble, / Unmanly, ignominious, infamous" (*SA* 416–417); "ridiculous, despoiled, / Shav'n, and disarmed" (*SA*

539–540); "idle, / Inglorious, unemployed, with age outworn" (*SA* 579–580); "Soft, modest, meek, demure" (*SA* 1036).

A.10. Multinomials – quadrinomials (4): Verbs
"To heave, pull, draw, or break" (*SA* 1626).

A.11. Multinomials – quadrinomials (4): Adverbs
"Presumptuously have published, impiously, / Weakly at least, and shamefully" (*SA* 498–499).

A.12. Multinomials – quintuplets (5):
  Nouns: "brazen shield and spear, the hammered cuirass, / Chalybean-tempered steel, and frock of mail" (*SA* 132–133); "Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests" (*SA* 1653).
  Adjectives: "blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonoured, quelled" (*SA* 563); "Solicited, commanded, threatened, urged, / Adjured" (*SA* 852–853).

A.13. Multinomials – more than five elements
  Nouns, 7x: "virtue, wisdom, valour, wit, / Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit" (*SA* 1010–1011); "all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet / And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon, / Vant-brace and greaves and gauntlet" (*SA* 1119–1121).
  Nouns, 10x: "sword-players, and ev'ry sort / Of gymnic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners, / Jugglers and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics" (*SA* 1323–1325).

A.14. Problematic cases (not included in the sums)
– "his nursling once and choice delight, / His destined" (*SA* 633–634) – perhaps a trinomial.
– "Painful diseases and deformed" (*SA* 699) – perhaps a split binomial.
– "With all her bravery on and tackle trim, / Sails filled, and streamers waving" (*SA* 717–718) – perhaps an extended quadrinomial.
– "she moves, now stands and eyes thee fixed" (*SA* 726) – perhaps an extended trinomial.
– "To gloss upon and, censuring, frown or smile" (*SA* 948) – a split trinomial (but "frown or smile" is listed under A.3 above).
– "stay here or run and see" (*SA* 1520) – can be regarded as either a trinomial (with an embedded binomial) or a binomial combined with another verb ("run and see" listed under A.3. above; "stay here or run and see" listed under A.5. above).
– "The feast and noon [grew high]" (*SA* 1612) – binomial, but semantic cohesion?

References

Primary sources

John Milton. 2004 [first published 1994]. *The English poems*. Introduction and notes by Laurence Lerner. Wordsworth Poetry Library. Ware, Hertfordshire.

Dictionaries

ODEE = The Oxford dictionary of English etymology, 1966 [many amended reprints]. Edited by C. T. Onions et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Studies

Arbusow, Leonid. 1963. *Colores Rhetorici*. 2nd edn. by Helmut Peter. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Berger, Christiane. 1993. *Altenglische Paarformeln und ihre Varianten* (Münsteraner Monographien zur englischen Literatur 13). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Bhatia, Vijay K. 1993. *Analysing genre: Language use in professional settings*. London: Longman.

Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, Elżbieta. 2013. *Much more than metaphor: Master tropes of artistic language and imagination* (Interfaces 3). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Gläser, Rosemarie. 1986. *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Grimm, Jacob. 1816. Von der Poesie im Recht. *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft* 2: 25–99. Reprinted in his: *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. 6, 152–191. Berlin: Dümmler. 1882.

Gustafsson, Marita. 1975. *Binomial expressions in Present-Day English: A syntactic and semantic study*. Turku: Turun Yliopisto.

Kopaczyk, Joanna. 2013. *The legal language of Scottish burghs: Standardization and lexical bundles (1380–1560)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kopaczyk, Joanna & Hans Sauer (eds.). (2017). *Binomials in the history of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koskenniemi, Inna. 1968. *Repetitive word pairs in Old and Early Middle English prose*. Turku: Turun Yliopisto.

Lausberg, Heinrich. 1967. *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*. 3rd edn. Munich: Hueber.

Leisi, Ernst. 1947. *Die tautologischen Wortpaare in Caxton's Eneydos: Zur synchronischen Bedeutungs- und Ursachenforschung*. Cambridge, MA: Murray.

Malkiel, Yakov. 1959. Studies in Irreversible Binomials. *Lingua* 8: 113–160.

Mollin, Sandra. 2014. *The (ir)reversibility of English binomials: Corpus, constraints, developments*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ogura, Michiko. (2017). Binomials, word pairs and variation as a feature of style in Old English poetry. In Joanna Kopaczyk & Hans Sauer (eds.), *Binomials in the history of English*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Sauer, Hans. 2014. Twin formulae and more in late Middle English: *The Historye of the Patriarks*, Caxton's *Ovid*, Pecock's *Donet*. In Michael Bilynsky (ed.), *Studies*

in Middle English: Words, forms, senses, and texts, 25–46. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Sauer, Hans. (2017). Flexible and formulaic: Binomials and multinomials in the late Middle English *The Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy*.

Sauer, Hans & Birgit Schwan. (2017). "Heaven and Earth, Good and Bad, Answered and Said": A survey of English binomials and multinomials. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae* 134: 83–96 (Part I); 185–204 (Part II). Available online at http://www.ejournals.eu/Studia-Linguistica.

Tyrkkö, Jukka. (2017). Binomials in English novels of the Late Modern Period: Fixedness, formulaicity and style. In Joanna Kopaczyk & Hans Sauer (eds.), *Binomials in the history of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Part Three

Phonology

Consonant cluster reduction and change of language type: Structural observations on phonotactic modification from Old to Middle English[*]

Ondřej Tichý, Jan Čermák
Charles University, Prague

1. Introduction

In recent decades, consonant group[1] modification has become an extensively discussed topic, both in English and cross-linguistically, in terms of synchrony and diachrony, universal and language-specific principles, variation and change, internal and external motivation. Modification of English consonant clusters in syllable-onset and syllable-coda positions has been analysed as a common process, subject to synchronic adaptation and historical change and determined by a complex agency of diverse factors. Scholarly debate, integrating insights mainly from language acquisition, historical linguistics, psycholinguistics, phonological theory and contact linguistics, has been taking into account factors as diverse as structural (phonetic, morphosyntactic) conditioning vs. social (e.g., contact- or substratum-induced) conditioning vs. psycholinguistic conditioning (lexical processing),[2] principles of sonority sequencing, canonical syllable structure, directionality, markedness, naturalness, iconicity, and others.

[1] In the broad category of consonant groups, we shall distinguish between consonant combinations, that is, occurrences of consonants forming a contiguous neighbourhood across a syllable boundary, and consonant clusters, that is, monomorphemic sequences of segments normally representing a major syllable constituent.

[2] Cf., for example, the cohort model as discussed by Marslen-Wilson and Tyler (1980, 1981).

In what is principally a philosophical and methodological study on language systems as (not representing) historical objects and on agencies of change in them, Nikolaus Ritt (2012) focuses, using evidence from established handbook accounts, on long-term trends in the history of English vowels and consonants. According to him, these trends – too discernible and conspicuous to be accidental – run to opposite ends to ensure that the overall stability of the language system does not come under threat. Ritt's analysis, centred around rhythmically induced duration adjustments, specifies a trend in English of gradual but steady reduction affecting its inventories of consonants and consonant clusters in the Middle English period by a series of "weakening processes" (Ritt 2012: 213), such as deletion and shortening, and dynamically links this trend to an observed tendency in vowels that appear undergoing strengthening since early on in the Middle English period through processes like lengthening, diphthongisation and consonant vocalisation.[3]

While the central importance of these prosodic processes in consonant cluster modification is not to be doubted (just as other facets of their phonetic and phonological conditioning), we propose to offer, in what follows, a preliminary descriptive probe into typological implications for consonant clusters and combinations stemming from the loss of endings in Middle English. This was one of the direct and most far-reaching consequences of the change in the nature of rhythm and the establishment of isochronously timed stress feet to which Ritt, as well as other linguists, ascribes the observed strengthening of vowels and weakening of consonants in Middle (as well as Modern) English.

The present paper will then focus on the interplay, observed in (particularly Early) Middle English and framed in terms of language typology, between the loss of endings as final unstressed syllables due to the overall rhythmical and prosodic changes, on the one hand, and the behaviour of consonant clusters in post-nuclear segments of the preceding syllables, on the other hand, that is, processes observable, in the Early Middle English period, in such OE lexical items as *ǣlc* (/æːltʃ/, 'each') and *swylc* (/swiltʃ/, 'such'). Comparing the behaviour of consonant combinations in Old and Middle English[4] and its respective typological relevance, we hope to contribute to the understanding of the "constructional" aspect of the emerging Middle English word-structure. The typological

---

[3] Following Dressler (1985: 41–51), Ritt (2012: 217) defines strengthening (or foregrounding), as opposed to weakening, as any process "which increases perceptibility, intensifies the expression of features inherent in individual segments and increases their phonological distinctiveness."

[4] However, due especially to the fact that the Middle English demise of final weak syllables conveying grammatical meaning was a prolonged process diachronically as well as diatopically, we do not attempt, in terms of preliminary analysis, to break the Middle English period into individual phases.

perspective, contrasting, in the terminology of the Prague School typology (cf., e.g., Skalička and Sgall 1994), the primarily inflectional system of Old English (OE) with the emerging isolating system of Middle English (ME), can serve as a further useful dimension of analysis alongside the research into phonetic/ phonological and (purely) morphological or morphosyntactic conditioning of consonant cluster reduction in English.

The structure of our paper is bipartite: an analytical part, based on standard historical handbook accounts, is followed by a quantitative part, focusing on the means and limitations of quantitative methodology and demonstrating that this topic, though potentially of huge relevance, does not lend itself easily to empirical analysis.

2. Typological argument and focus

Standard typological considerations of consonant clusters, based in recent literature on comparison of numerous languages of diverse typological, genetic, and areal bearings,[5] revolve around their "marked" or "unnatural" status, that is, their less frequent and less stable status cross-linguistically. The processes of consonant cluster reduction are then seen as having a broad typological motivation in the sense that they stem from the less robust presence and lower historical stability of consonant clusters.

Variability in terms of high frequency and historical stability of consonant clusters and combinations represents the typological focus in this study as well. The difference of our approach consists, firstly, in contrasting Old and Middle English as two distinct stages in the history of one language, and secondly, in following facets of an interplay between the changing phonetic conditioning and transformations in morphological typology from Old to Middle English that took place in consonant clusters positioned in post-nuclear segments of syllables preceding the prosodically weak and historically doomed final syllables conveying grammatical information.

"Much accumulated words disallow consonantal complexity, i.e., a large accumulation of consonants,"[6] points out Vladimír Skalička (1964: 112), the founder of the Prague typological tradition, in his analysis of isolating languages. Put less cryptically, "words" in an isolating language, which tend to be both relatively numerous and short, do not allow for a conspicuous pres-

---

[5] For a discussion of geographical distribution in relation to the consonant-vowel ratio cross-linguistically, cf. Maddiesen (2013).

[6] "Die große Worthäufung verbietet eine phonologische Komplexität, d.h. starke Konsonantenhäufung" (translation into English ours).

ence of consonants including consonant clusters and combinations. On the other hand, abundance of monosyllabic words heightens the role of vowels, enlarging their inventory in a given isolating language (Skalička and Sgall 1994: 347).

These general observations principally pertain also to the situation in Early Middle English. That period saw a large-scale though gradual and regionally uneven deletion of final unstressed syllables, which increased the number of monosyllables dramatically. Although ultimately motivated by prosodic changes, namely, by a speech rhythm that established itself in the language through durational adjustments carried out on segments, the obscuration and demise of the prosodically weak syllables had important corollaries for the structure of the Middle English word with an impact on its morphological and lexical identity. Apart from cancelling most grammatical endings, apocopation brought about a dramatic rise in phonetically heavy codas in the immediately preceding syllables. Consonant clusters that inhabited them then came to be, very probably, exposed to risks of decreasing production time, articulatory costliness and/or perceptual salience.

To provide an example: the consonant cluster in OE *ǣlc* (/æːltʃ/, 'each') and *swylc* (/swiltʃ/, 'such'), which etymologically arose from a CVC structure and functioned, according to grammatical function, as a cluster (nom. sg.) or a combination (in the other forms of the paradigm), was an integral part of the Old English phonotactic and morphonological system. As such, it enjoyed a fairly high frequency and contributed to the stem allomorphy (-*ltʃ*- vs. -*lk*-) in the paradigm of both words. In Early Middle English, when the word structure came to be deprived of its prosodically weak final syllables that conveyed grammatical information as endings, the consonant combination, straddling the syllable boundary in the inflected forms of the words (as in /æːl-tʃes/, gen. sg. m., or /æːl-ka/, gen. pl.), occurred in a word-final position and changed into a pure consonant cluster. As such, it simplified, losing the *l* element through phonetic reduction. This individual example of decreased consonantal complexity can be linked to the typological changes in the Middle English morphology, that is, to the fact that a heavy cluster appeared in a post-nuclear segment word-finally. In Old English, the consonant group -*ltʃ*- in words such as *ǣlc* and *swylc* functioned as part of a stable phonotactic and typological environment (inflection with a strong introflectional component, manifest in rich allomorphy). In Middle English, the structure of the two words became, in the long run, monosyllabic, exposing the group to the word-final position. In this position and at this stage of development, clusters typically appear to have chosen from the following structural possibilities: they reduced (as did -*ltʃ*- in *ǣlc* and *swylc*), survived in the form of a cluster as part of a competing allomorph (as

did *welk*, 'to roll,' now obsolete), remained intact,[7] or developed in keeping with one of the available phonetic scenarios outlined in the subsequent sections (such as epenthesis or assimilation).

These scenarios, mostly operative in Middle English final post-nuclear environments and based on various deletion or insertion strategies of consonant cluster/combination modification, are attested in Old English already. However, as their function in Old and Middle English profoundly differs, it is first necessary to consider the status of consonant clusters and combinations as well as the role of these phonetic scenarios in the earlier period.

3. Consonant clusters and combinations in Old English

Even though consonant clusters as part of specific syllable structures (such as VCC) are relatively less frequent cross-linguistically as well as less stable historically, they have represented a salient phonotactic feature of the Germanic family. Old English, too, was a language characterized by a rich inventory of consonant groups both within the bounds of a single morpheme and at the morpheme boundary. The ways by which consonant clusters and combinations could arise were manifold. In a brief survey of these sources with examples presented in the following Table 1 (based on the *DOEC*), attention is paid to the complexity of consonant clusters and combinations, to their position in the word structure and to potential agency of sound change through which the given cluster or combination can be created (if so, the kind of sound change is duly identified with each example). For the sake of brevity and simplicity, no difference is made between geminated and other consonant clusters or between loanwords and items of Germanic origin. Translation equivalents in PDE are those given by Bosworth (2010).

---

[7] Of the lexical items containing the cluster *-ltʃ* and dated by the *OED* to Old English, only two native ones appear to have remained intact, *pilch* (v.) and *belch*, the latter being of an onomatopoeic origin. Others exhibit a foreign (*pilch*, n.) or unknown origin (*milch*), or are spelling variants of other lexemes (*abealch* as a spelling variant of *abealg*, cf. OE *abelgan*, 'to enrage'). *Which*, sharing the reduction of the consonant cluster with *each* and *such*, points to high frequency and lack of stress as potential factors in the phonotactic modification. Other attestations of the *-ltʃ* cluster in English are of post-Old English origin and typically occur in words of a foreign, imitative or unknown origin. For the possibility of an intact sound development, see also the following section.

Table 1. Consonant clusters in OE

No. of segments	Inside lexical roots/stems		Consonant groups at morphemic juncture					
			unmediated by SSC			mediated by SSC		
	unmediated by SSC[a]	mediated by SSC	stem-ending juncture	stem-stem juncture	prefix-base/base-suffix juncture	stem-ending juncture	stem-stem juncture	prefix-base/base-suffix juncture
Bisegmental	*hwilc* ('which'), *folc* ('folk'), *bestealcian* ('to proceed stealthily'), *columne* ('column'; loanword)	*gamnian* ('to play'; syncopation), *þunr-* (syncopation in the inflected stem of *þunor*, 'thunder'), *domne* ('lord'; loanword; syncopation)	*ānra* (gen. pl. of *ān*, 'one')	*deofol-witga*[b] ('wizard')	*geedcenned* ('regenerated')	*hēanne* (< *hēahne*; acc. sg. m. of *hēah*, 'high'; gemination by assimilation[c]); *cymþ* (3rd pers. sg. pres. of *cuman*, 'come')	*winman* (< *wīfman*, 'woman'; gemination by assimilation), *ðætte* (< *ðæt þe*, 'that' as relative and conjunction; gemination by assimilation in a fused syntactic combination[d]); *wildēor* (< *wilddēor*, 'wild beast; deer'; degemination)	*myrð* (> *myrgð*, 'mirth'; deletion)
Trisegmental	*milts* ('mercy')	*gandra* ('gander'; consonant epenthesis of *ganra*), *ehtre* ('persecutor'; syncopation of *ehtere*)	*flīhst* (2nd pers. sg. pres. of *flēon*, 'to flee')	*wælgri-mlīce* ('with the utmost bitterness')	*antrumnys* ('infirmity'), *angsumnes* ('anxiety'); *handle* ('handle'), *geedcwician* ('to come to life again after death'), *nēahsta* ('neighbour')	*stǣglne* (acc. m. of *stǣgel*, 'steep'; syncopation)		trisegmental: *cræftga* ('artificer'; syncopation); *geornes* (< *geornnes*, 'desire'; degemination)
Quadrisegmental and more complex	*wæstmbǣre* ('fruitful'); *bearhtmhwīl* ('moment')				*forhtra* ('more fearful')			

a) SSC, or synchronic sound change – that is, sound change whose occurrence is, in retrospect, observable in the historical record of Old English; for example, OE outcomes of West Germanic gemination (such as *biddan*, 'pray', and *æppel*, 'appel') would count as instances of diachronic sound change.

b) In examples containing more than one consonant sequence, the one under scrutiny has been underlined.

c) Example from Kim (1973: 83).

d) Both examples from Kim (1973: 83).

In order to illustrate the centrality of phonetic processes that bring about this "accumulation" (in Skalička's terms) of consonantal presence in Old English, let us first sketch out basic operational principles of gemination, syncopation, and others, largely based on Čermák (2004) except for diatopic and diachronic nuances, with tacit understanding that many of the processes and variations considered below had been continuations of older trends in the language.

One of the processes operative in the language from prehistoric times was syncope, which caused the loss of a vowel in medial unaccented syllables. The medial vowel was freely dropped after short syllables, when the loss caused a group consisting of consonant + liquid/nasal to arise: *yfle* (*yfel*, 'evil'), *medmian* (*medemian*, 'allot'). Disyllabic forms could appear as monosyllables (or, when inflected, as disyllables rather than trisyllables): *cyln* (*cylen*, 'kiln, oven'), *þyrl* (*þyrel*, 'hole'). Furthermore, complex consonant clusters arose in monosyllables created by the loss of an unaccented vowel after a short syllable before a consonant group (*ofst*, 'haste'; *world*). In Late Old English, syncopation achieved a more sweeping effect by occurring also after long syllables, both in originally open (*dēoflic*, 'devilish') and closed syllables (*ǣrndian*, 'to go on errand').

Diachronically, syncope, a phonological agent of complex motivation[8] represented a major source of consonant clusters and combinations (cf., e.g., *sceafþa* vs. *sceafoþa* ('shaving'; < *-*aþō*), *gōdne* ('good'; < **gōđanōn*)), which were, in their turn, often subject to simplification. Synchronically, syncope promoted rich inflectional and derivational allomorphy (*awle-/awel-*, 'hook'; *lifr-/lifer-*, 'liver').

Lack of syncopation appears to have been caused – apart from syllable weight and its distribution in the word – by a tendency to stem isomorphism via analogical reformations within the morphological paradigm (*aweles* beside *awles* on association with the nom. sg. *awel*) and by a tendency to avoid awkward or illegal consonant groups. The latter tendency can be demonstrated by numerous examples: gen. pl. of the adjective *frecne* ('terrible') had the form *frecenra* in the gen. pl., where the syncope was blocked by the illegality of the cluster which would have arisen had it taken place (**frecnra*). Similarly, the medial syllable was not syncopated in the inflected forms of *efes* ('eaves'), *geoguþ* ('youth'), etc., where contiguity of consonants was avoided even at a morpheme boundary. In a like manner, where the heavy syllable would have ended in a consonant cluster containing a final liquid, such as in *hyngrede* ('hungered'), there was normally no syncope. This propensity to resist illegal consonant groups had important morphological corollaries: for example,

---

[8] Lass treats syncope as a force aiming to "maximize certain apparently 'preferred' foot-configurations" (1994: 102); Hickey (1986) sees it determined, apart from phonological factors, by word-class status and by inflectional/derivational nature of the suffixes and their semantic relevance.

originally trisyllabic *ō*-stem nouns of the type *firen* ('crime'), *feter* ('fetter'), *cylen* ('kiln'), *spinel* ('spindle') rejected *-u* in the nom. sg., while they generally retained the medial vowel but syncopated it elsewhere, for instance, *firen* (**firenu*, **firn*) but *firene*, *firne* in oblique cases.

Gemination, like syncopation, operated consistently throughout the Old English period. It worked in close collusion with syncopation: consonants doubled after a short syllable when the syncopation of vowels had brought them before *r* and *l*, thus re-creating conditions which caused doubling in West Germanic, as in Late West Saxon *miccle* (*micel*, 'great'), *buttor* (*butere*, 'butter'). Doubling also occurred after a long syllable, which had probably been shortened, and almost exclusively only after *r*, as in Late West Saxon *tuddre* (*tuddor*, *tūdor*, 'progeny'). Apart from these two conditioned phonological processes, gemination could also arise by syncope (when syncope deleted a vowel between two identical consonants), metathesis and assimilation, or through addition of an ending, suffix or, in compounding, of a lexeme beginning with a consonant (identical to the preceding one), thus straddling a morphological boundary.

Among the phonological processes that decreased the complexity of consonant clusters and combinations, the most significant ones included epenthesis, degemination and assimilation in consonant groups.

Epenthesis, or resyllabification, created a persistent variation in Old English, apparent from the very earliest texts. In later record, there was a marked tendency to develop *i* or *u* in a group consisting of a consonant and an approximant (*j*, *w*), such as in *hergas* > *herigas* (*here*, 'army'); *myrgþ* > *myrigþ* ('joy'), apparently aiming to break up an awkward consonant cluster. Similarly, epenthesis took place in a consonant cluster created by a dropping of an ending: compare, for example, *ceastru* > *ceaster* ('town') and other *ō*-stems with *l*, *m*, *r*, *n* before the inflexions. In Late West Saxon, *e* arose before *-re*, *-ra* of the strong adjectival and pronominal declension (*sumere*, *þissere*). Connecting vowels in compounds and derivations of the type *bærefōt* ('barefoot'; *a*-stem determinants), *goldefrætwe* ('golden ornaments'; long *a*-stem determinants) and *nihtelic* ('nocturnal'; consonant-stem determinants), which should phonologically be lost, may also have been due to the tendency towards avoiding overly complex or illegal consonant combinations.

Degemination mainly stemmed from the loss of stress in heavy medial syllables resulting from adding *-ne*, *-re*, *-ra*, *-līc*, *-nes*, *-dōm* (and other syllabic inflectional and derivational segments) before 900 AD: *gyldenne* < *gyldene* ('golden'), *dīgelic* < *dīgellic* ('secret'); low stress demonstrative forms *þises*, *þisum*, etc. After fully accented syllables, simplification was much rarer: *gelēaful* (< *gelēafful*; 'faithful'). After another consonant, simplification was the phonological norm, even in derivations and full compounds: *geornes* (< *geornnes*, 'desire'), *wildēor* (< *wilddēor*, 'wild beast; deer'). In triple consonant groups,

simplification generally took place in late texts though it was often concealed by conservative spellings under the influence of simple or etymological forms, as in *fǣmhādlic* vs. the more frequent *fǣmnhādlic* ('virginal'), on association with *fǣmne*, 'virgin.'

Assimilation in complex consonant clusters and combinations occurred throughout the Old English period, often in double consonant groups created by syncopation – in lexical and, even more frequently, morphological forms – and most typically involving devoicing: *geoguð > giohð-*, 'youth'; *rīdeþ > rīdþ > rītþ > rītt*, '(she/he) rides.' Examples with no previous syncope included *blīþs > bliss*, 'bliss', and *hrefn > hremn > hrem(m)*, 'raven.' Variation of syncopated and/or assimilated forms as well as forms based on paradigm analogy (due to the tendency to stem isomorphism) had considerable morphophonemic significance, giving rise to alternative stem shapes: *bepǣcð > bepǣhð*, as opposed to *bepǣcan* ('to deceive').

The most relevant of the more sporadic processes among those causing decrease of consonantal presence in Old English was dialectally determined regressive *r*-metathesis (*worhte > wrohte*, 'worked'). Generally, as Lass (1992: 66) notes, English has since Old English times shown a tendency to metathesis in the environments /VrC/ and /rVC/, where either configuration may yield the other, as in Old English *bird < bridd*, *briht < be(o)rht*, respectively.

In sum, the phonetic processes affecting the occurrence of consonant groups in the structure of Old English words can be synchronically classified into those that essentially increased the complexity of consonant clusters/combinations and those that had a decreasing effect on their complexity. Among the former ones, the most persistent were syncopation and gemination. The latter ones featured, most importantly, epenthesis (resyllabification), degemination, and assimilation and were generally aided by analogical reformations. These reformations tended to counteract the processes of sound change by exerting "corrective" iconicising power of the paradigm modelled principally on the stem of the nom. sg.

Together, all these processes affecting consonant groups, of phonetic and morphological nature alike, tended to create what can be described as principled variation that was built, typologically speaking, into an inflectional language system marked especially by the following features:

- abundance of competing forms in synchronic variation, due to interactions of phonology and morphology and manifested in rich stem allomorphy and homonymy as well as synonymy of endings;
- morphonological (introflectional) processes that operate across syllable and morpheme boundaries, with a varying tendency to fusion (in contrast to prevalently agglutinating morphologies, where individual segments tend to be clearly delimited and self-contained, with vowel harmony as the sole agent of fusion);

- the fact that phonetic factors tend to outweigh temporarily, in terms of synchronic variation, the morphological criteria.[9]

The sound changes affecting levels of consonantal presence in Old English, though primarily conditioned phonetically, that is, by retiming and change of articulatory gestures, can thus be seen as having had typological relevance as well.

In diachronic terms, the variation in consonant groups was due to a competition of two major tendencies. The one, conditioned phonetically, represented the general diachronic trend in the Germanic and the earlier history of English towards an ever shorter morphological word form, operating at the Late Old English stage in weak syllables mainly through syncopation and increasing the complexity of consonant groups. The other, of combined phonetic and morphological conditioning, aimed to decrease this complexity, frequently by vowel insertions and analogical reformations, thus making the morphological word form longer. At the same time, the latter often tended to reduce allomorphy, achieve isomorphism in the stem and establish a distinct phonological boundary between parts of the word (a feature which was not characteristic of typological inflection). The cumulative effect of these contradictory processes in consonant groups helped to increase the opacity of the morphonemic system as the language approached a major typological reshaping to isolation in the Middle English period.

4. Transition to Middle English

As will become apparent from the following descriptions, the phonetic processes that in Middle English acted as principal scenarios of consonant cluster phonotactic modification – epenthesis, assimilation, and others – represented continuations from Old English. However, despite the continuity, their function in the two periods under scrutiny was radically different. In Old English, these processes worked as variants in a common pool of principled variation that was a feature of the typologically inflectional system. In Middle English, however, these processes came to function as primary scenarios of phonotactic modification that served breaking up or deleting consonant clusters that became – due primarily to the dramatic impact of apocopation and the rise of heavy codas – costly in terms of articulation and/or less salient in terms of perception.

---

[9] Morphological blocking that prevents sound change, discussed by Lass in his treatment of Middle English (1992: 65) and apparent, for example, in morphological restrictions on -*n* in endings of weak noun plurals, is clearly a manifestation of typological systems moving away from inflection.

The phonotactic modification, aimed to decrease the complexity of consonant clusters medially or finally, also functioned as a means of preserving lexical continuity from the Old English times. This is, of course, not to say that variation was not abundant in Middle English. Its prolific nature is a well-known fact, but, very significantly, its structural implications (such as spelling variation) were primarily determined sociolinguistically (by dialect variation, lack of standardisation, etc.), not typologically.

The Early Middle English period, then, saw at work the following consonant cluster modification scenarios:

- deletion (simplification) (as in the case of *each*, *such*, and *mirth* discussed above);
- degemination (OE *dēagollīce* > ME *diʒeliche*, 'secretly');
- assimilation (OE *bærs* > ME *bass*; OE *fiðl-* /inflected stem of *fiðele*/ > ME *fiddle*[10]);
- dissimilation (OE *þēofþu* > ME *thefte*, OE *nosþyrl* > ME *nostril*[11]);
- epenthesis (resyllabification) (OE *ganra*/*gandra* > ME *gander*; OE *lýðre* vs. ME *lithere*[12]);
- assimilation followed by epenthesis (OE *byrðn-*, inflected stem of *byrðen*, > ME *burden*[13]);
- metathesis (OE *þerscan* > ME *thrashen*; OE *gærs* > ME *grass*).[14]

Often analysed and catalogued individually by historical linguists, these scenarios can be seen, through a unifying typological interpretation, as interrelated: interrelated in a variety of systemic ways to achieve desired phonotactic modification of consonant clusters in heavy post-nuclear segments of final syl-

---

[10] The latter example from Lass (1992: 64). – Assimilation is one of the mechanisms that historically tend to weaken the presence of the associative principle of lexical organisation (cf., e.g., Kastovsky 1994), formally distancing, for example, *mild* from *milts* or *blithe* from *bliss*.

[11] Examples from Lass (1994: 64), who observes that post-fricative strengthening of this kind is a long-term process in Standard English.

[12] Of a different functional kind is stop epenthesis, as in ME *þundre* < OE *þunre*, ME *empty* < OE *æmtig* < OE *æmetig*. Though motivated perhaps exclusively by phonetic (articulatory) reasons, it deserves a mention here as an important structural tendency that counteracts functional and formal reduction of consonant clusters. Although Lass (1992: 65–66) dates it to the 12th century, it appears attested in Old English already, as the above-mentioned example of *ganra*/*gandra* demonstrates. This would corroborate Lass's observation that this process is normal in casual speech in many varieties.

[13] Example from Lass (1992: 64).

[14] Metathesis was generally sporadic and of two types, /rVC/ > /VrC/; /VrC/ > /rVC/, as pointed out above. To the best of our knowledge, there is no quantitative or finer distributional assessment of the two types in early English available, but the frequency of the /VrC/ > /rVC/ developments appears significant enough to warrant this type of metathesis as a consonant cluster reduction scenario in Middle English.

lables at the time when a typologically novel, isolating word structure started taking shape in a prolonged process, complicated by intense language and dialect contact, on the one hand, and centrifugal tendencies in the evolution of the written language, on the other.

In addition, phonotactic modification had other paths available. Let us list, for the sake of brevity, at least the most conspicuous of them:

- a different allomorph in the pool of variants inherited from Old English was preserved, as in the case of *welk* (containing the cluster *-lk*, as opposed to *-ltʃ*, as cited above); this generally caused quantitative decrease in types and/ or tokens of consonant clusters;
- one consonant in the cluster underwent vocalisation, to become, ultimately, part of a diphthong; as examples like OE *folgian* vs. ME *followen*, OE *fæg/e/nian* vs. ME *fainen*, OE *feoht* vs. ME *fight* demonstrate, vocalisation was not limited to a specific position;
- the inherited cluster continued in an intact form, as in OE *cylen*, *cyln* > ME *kiln*(*e*) ('kiln, oven'); however, such cases tended to be accompanied by much variation across time and space, often well into the Modern period, and with various generalised results in the standard (cf., e.g., *kiln*[15] as opposed to *mill*).

Apart from these, other potentially relevant structural connections remain to be considered. Especially tempting would be to relate phonotactic changes in consonant clusters – at a time when much of the estimated 65–85% loss of Old English lexis (Minkova and Stockwell 2006) is thought to have been taking place – to lexical obsolescence and loss. However, linguistic analysis along these lines faces serious difficulties of material and methodological nature.

Links between cluster modification or loss and lexical change have been recognised. Schreier (2005: 35) notes that some traditional Germanic clusters, such as *fn-*, which featured in very few words only (as in OE *fnæst*, 'blast, breath'), disappeared in the later history of English when the lexical items that contained them died out. He goes on to observe that in such cases "it is more appropriate to consider cluster loss a direct consequence of lexical change and loss, rather than a manifestation of phonotactic language change" (2005: 69).

Against the backdrop of our analysis, an intriguing question arises: could the direction of the conditioning be – just as well – seen as reversed? In other words, it may be worth our while to inquire whether the observed tendency to consonant cluster modification in Early Middle English could function as an agent of contemporaneous lexical obsolescence and loss, as a triggering factor that could – in cases when the modification did not, for a variety of potential reasons, take place – have conditioned demise of individual lexical items. To

---

[15] Cf., however, also the standard pronunciation variant that lacks the final *-n*.

put it differently: if, for one reason or another, none of the available scenarios of consonant cluster reduction, discussed above, applied – if, for example, the phonetic strategy in point failed to diffuse far and wide enough to affect a particular lexical item, leaving it intact – it may theoretically well have been the case that the lexical item containing an illegal cluster (which started to be perceived costly in terms of articulation or insufficiently salient in terms of perception) became obsolescent.

Unfortunately, not even tentative answers to this question can at present be given. Not only do they fall outside the scope of this article, but this reverted conditioning relation remains extremely hard to prove. First of all, not infrequent appear to be cases when cluster loss in English occurred in some lexical items only.[16] Next, it is practically impossible to follow lexical conditioning exclusively, that is, to isolate one type of motivation in lexical obsolescence and mortality (such as semantic factors, distribution according to text, text type or region, etc.). Last but not least, such analysis would crucially need to consider the factor of frequency, and quantitative assessment of Early Middle English records (including incomplete phonetic change, through partial lexical diffusion) remains notoriously limited.

Whichever direction the conditioning, it seems, however, that the relation between articulation efficiency and information content is highly salient. In a sense, this is just another iteration of Zipf's law, as shown on a different material by Piantadosi et al. (2010).

5. The quantitative approach, its means and limitations

In retrospect, Early Middle English is a paradoxical period in the history of English. So much is known to have happened then, both in terms of structural/typological changes and changes induced by the transformed linguistic situation after the Norman Conquest, and yet it is a period which continues to baffle – despite the ever more sophisticated analyses of the manifold variation in Updated Old English and Early Middle English – the linguists' understanding of how exactly the radical change proceeded. This is because so much appears to have happened "off-stage." The nature of Early Middle English textual records – remaining of limited accessibility, scanty, and unevenly distributed in time and space – does not provide a neatly organised, continuous, and consistent reflection of language change in progress. Naturally, these and other limitations – such as the seemingly boundless spelling variation, including various sorts of

---

[16] See above, fn. 7.

reverted spellings – significantly hamper any quantitative analysis of the period, however pertinent the questions it aspires to solve and however powerful the technologies it can rely upon.

What follows is therefore conceived in broad quantitative terms only. A more fine-grained quantitative analysis would require and entail much manual disambiguation of consonant clusters and combinations. Only then would it be possible to demonstrate clearly which consonant clusters and to what extent prove more robust over time and whether the text frequency of consonant clusters indeed drops on the way from Old to Middle English, as should be expected from a typological and cross-linguistic perspective.

In an attempt to approach the problem quantitatively in the time and space provided, we have selected two corpora for comparison: *The Dictionary of Old English* corpus and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (2nd edition).

The first analysis we have carried out on the two corpora was to determine how the overall vowel to consonant ratio changed from Old to Middle English. While seemingly simple, this comparison is tricky to carry out due to the complicated representation of sound by spelling in both periods in question.

If we vastly simplify the matter and simply measure the ratio of two sets of characters, the first representing mostly vowels[17] and the second representing mostly consonants,[18] the difference between Old and Middle English is almost negligible (Figure 1).
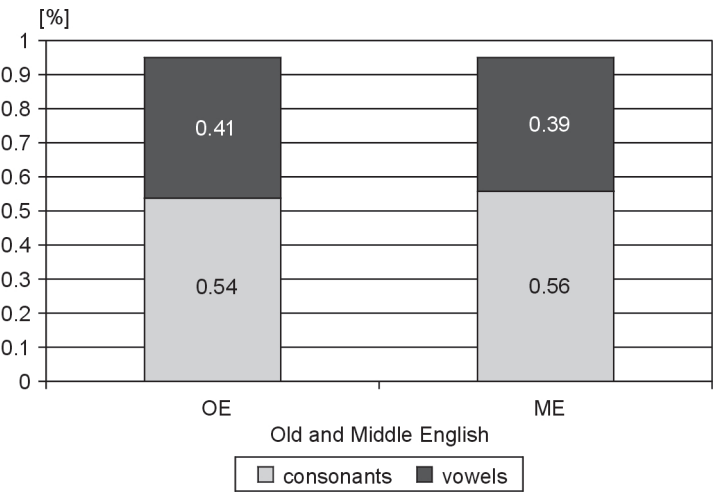
Figure 1. Vowel to consonant character ratio

Clarification: The remaining 5% (0.05) is made up by non-literal characters like spaces, punctuation or numbers.

---

[17] <a>, <æ>, <e>, <i>, <o>, <œ>, <u>, <y>.

[18] <b>, <c>, <d>, <f>, <g>, <ȝ>, <h>, <j>, <k>, <l>, <m>, <n>, <p>, <q>, <r>, <s>, <t>, <þ>, <ð>, <v>, <w>, <p>, <x>, <z>.

The problems of this simplification are, however, easy to notice, when we look at the actual data. In the second analysis, we have selected those character combinations that make up more than 50% of all the occurrences of the combinations of two and more consonantal characters in either corpus (Figure 2).
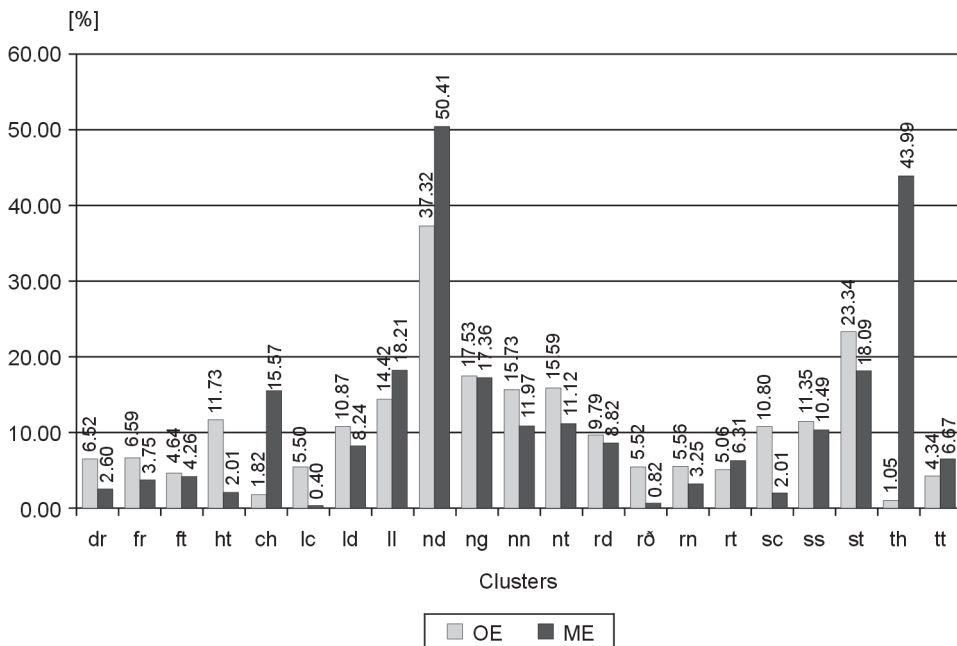
Figure 2. Frequent clusters comparison (per thousand tokens)

The few surprising cases of extreme difference between the periods, like/ such as <th>, <ch> or <sc>, are easy to explain, being direct consequences of the previously mentioned simplification – all of them are, in fact, digraphs, and not combinations of consonants. Out of the other 18 examples, only in four cases is the ME frequency higher than the OE frequency. This seems to confirm our assumption that consonantal combinations were more common in Old than Middle English.

To confirm this, we have calculated the relative frequency of consonantal combination per token and per type in both corpora, removing all combinations likely to be digraphs (Figure 3).[19]

---

[19] For OE these were: <sc>, <cg> and <th>, for ME: <th>, <ss>, <sh>, <sch>, <ch>, <wh>, <qw>, <gg>, <dg>, <gh>, <ck>.
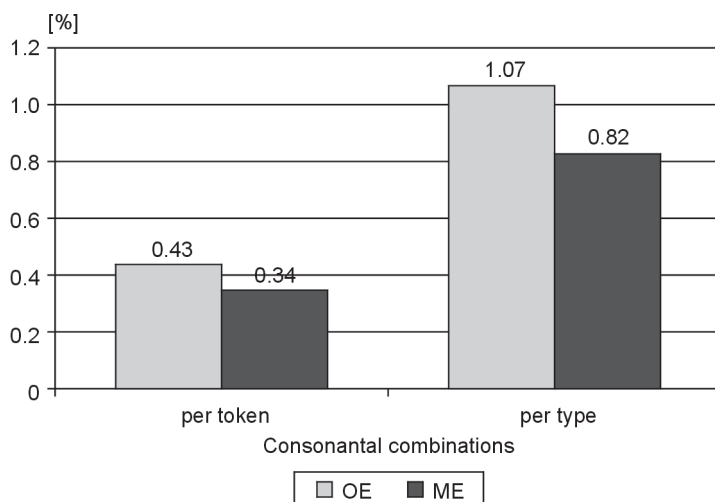
Figure 3. Relative frequency of consonantal combinations

In both cases (i.e., calculated per token or per type), the loss between Old and Middle English is over 20%. This seems to be significant enough to warrant a quantitative confirmation of our assumption, although our method still greatly simplifies the intricate problem of sound representation by characters.

First, to be able to identify digraphs accurately, we would have to consider each occurrence of the combination separately and often decide case to case whether the occurrence is a combination or a digraph (due to scribal variation or because the two characters usually representing a digraph may occur across a morphological boundary). Second, some of the consonantal characters may actually represent vowels in a specific context (e.g., <w> in *owr* is a part of a digraph representing the vowel sound /uː/).

With the principal decrease of the presence of consonantal combinations from Old to Middle English quantitatively though tentatively confirmed, a few general observations, based on a preliminary "qualitative" inspection of our data, appear qualified at this stage of research:

a. Some of the consonant clusters or combinations appear almost exclusively situated at a morphemic juncture (e.g., *ðl*, as in OE *griðlēas*, 'unprotected,' or OE *gecūþlǣcan*, 'to make friends with,' or *rdn*, as in OE *cneordnys*, 'diligence').
b. Larger than bisegmental groups appear almost exclusively situated at a morphemic juncture.
c. Larger than bisegmental groups stand a radically worse chance of survival into Middle English.

d. Groups positioned at the boundary between a lexical and a grammatical morpheme stand a radically better chance of survival into Middle English.[20]

6. Conclusions

We have attempted to relate consonant cluster modification, generally seen as a phonetically (i.e., in particular, prosodically) conditioned process affecting cross-linguistically marked and historically unstable consonant structures, to the well-known typological transformation of English, with a focus on the transition between Old and Middle English.

We hope to have shown that the modification of consonant clusters at this time can be seen as a typological way to systemically adapt these structures to formal and functional challenges caused by the loss of unstressed endings conveying grammatical information and by the consequent rise of heavy syllabic codas.

The adaptation strategies employed by consonant clusters in individual word-structures were part of the principled variation, marked by complex interactions between phonetic and morphological constraints, in the typologically inflectional system of Old English. In (Early) Middle English, however, they started functioning as means of preserving phonotactic feasibility and lexico-semantic identity of the surviving word-structures.

The (non-)survival of the word-structures itself has been clearly linked to (non-)modification of their original consonant clusters, but the direction of causality in this relation has not been sufficiently established.

The principal adaptation scenarios, typically based on deletion or insertion strategies to break up the heavy consonant clusters, jointly contributed to a relative decrease of the text frequency of consonant clusters in Early Middle English and served as tools of the complex process through which a new, isolating structure of the English word started being established at a time of profound intralinguistic and extralinguistic changes.

---

[20] This ties in with Schreier's finding concerning the situation in PDE, based on Gimson (1994: 219–220). Schreier (2005: 37–38) points out that there are very few common monomorphemic words in the categories of words displaying word-final bisegmental consonant clusters (e.g., *act*, *axe*, *adze*, *lapse*, *corpse* as opposed to *left*, *dogs*, *fifth*, *product*) as well as in the category of words displaying word-final trisegmental consonant clusters (e.g., *text*, *next* as opposed to *acts*, *fifths*, *products*).

References

Altmann, Gabriel & Werner Lehfeldt. 1973. *Allgemeine Sprachtypologie: Prinzipien und Messverfahren*. München: Fink.

Bosworth, Joseph. 2010. *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary online*. Edited by Thomas Northcote Toller et al. Comp. Sean Christ & Ondřej Tichý. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 15 July 2010 (accessed 7.07.2016).

Brunner, Karl. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik*. 3rd revised edn. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Čermák, Jan. 2002. A diachronic perspective on Old English deadjectival nouns ending in -þ(u)/-t(u). *Brno Studies in English* 28: 19–25.

Čermák, Jan. 2004. Notes on consonant groups in late Old English. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philologica 2*, *Prague Studies in English* 23: 89–94.

Čermák, Jan. 2008. Ælfric's homilies and incipient typological change in the 12th-century English word-formation. *Acta Universitatis Philologica*, *Prague Studies in English* 25(1): 109–115.

Dance, Richard. 2013. Getting a word in: Contact, etymology and English vocabulary in the twelfth century. The 2013 Sir Israel Gollancz memorial lecture at the British Academy of Arts and Sciences delivered on 26 November 2013. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MBzzOnH1Sq4 (accessed 25.07.2016).

Dictionary of Old English corpus. 1981. [original release]. Compiled by Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell, Sharon Butler, Antonette diPaolo Healey (Toronto: DOE Project 1981); 2009 release compiled by Antonette diPaolo Healey, Joan Holland, Ian McDougall, David McDougall, with TEI-P5 conformant-version by Xin Xiang (Toronto: DOE Project 2009).

Dekeyser, Xavier & Luc Pauwels. 1989. The demise of the Old English heritage and lexical innovation in Middle English: Two intertwined developments. *Dutch Working Papers in English Language and Linguistics* 15: 1–21.

Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1985. *Morphonology: The dynamics of derivation* (Linguistica Extranea 12). Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Gimson, Alfred C. 1980. *An introduction to the pronunciation of English*. 3rd edn. London: Arnold.

Hickey, Raymond. 1986. On syncope in Old English. In Dieter Kastovsky & Aleksander Szwedek (eds.), *Linguistic across historical and geographical boundaries*, I, 359–366. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. *A grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. Semantics and vocabulary. In Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*. Volume I: *The beginnings to 1066*, 290–409. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kim, Suksan. 1973. Long consonants in Old English. *Linguistics* 102: 83–90.

Klaeber, Friedrich. 1903. Notes on Old English prose texts. *Modern Language Notes* 18: 185–221.

Lass, Roger. 1992. Phonology and morphology. In Norman Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, *Vol. II, 1066–1476*, 23–155. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lass, Roger. 1999. Phonology and morphology. In Roger Lass (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, *Vol. III, 1476–1776*, 56–186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lutz, Angelika. 1988. On the historical phonotactics of English. In Dieter Kastovsky & Gero Bauer (eds.), *Luick revisited*, 221–239. Tübingen: Günther Narr.

Maddieson, Ian. 2013. Consonant-vowel ratio. In *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available online at: http://wals.info/chapter/3 (accessed 25.06.2016).

Marslen-Wilson, William & Lorraine Komisarjevsky Tyler. 1980. The temporal structure of spoken language understanding. *Cognition* 8: 1–71.

Marslen-Wilson, William & Lorraine Komisarjevsky Tyler. 1981. Central processes in speech understanding. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* B 295: 317–332.

Mathesius, Vilém. 1939–1940. Příspěvek k strukturálnímu rozboru anglické zásoby slovní [A Contribution to Structural Analysis of English Wordstock]. *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 26(1): 79–84.

McSparran, Frances (ed.). ongoing. *The Middle English compendium.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Digital Library Production Service. Available online at: http://quod.ib.umich.edu/m/mec/ (accessed 25.06.2016).

Minkova, Donka & Robert Stockwell. 2006. English words. In Bas Aarts & April McMahon (eds.), *The handbook of English linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

OED Online. 2016, June. Oxford University Press. Available online at: http://www.od.com/ (accessed 13.06.2016).

Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English. 2000. 2nd edn. Compiled by Anthony Kroch & Ann Taylor. Available online at: http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-3/index.html.

Pilch, Herbert. 1970. *Altenglische Grammatik*. Munich: Max Hueber.

Piantadosi, S. T., H. Tily & E. Gibson. 2011. Word lengths are optimized for efficient communication. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108(9): 3526–3529.

Plank, Frans. 1999. Split morphology: How agglutination and flexion mix. *Linguistic Typology* 3: 279–340.

The production and use of English manuscripts 1060 to 1220. 2010 (last update 2013), Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan & Elaine Treharne (eds.). University of Leicester. Available online at: http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220 (accessed 25.06.2016).

Ritt, Nikolaus. 2012. How to weaken one's consonants, strengthen one's vowels and remain English at the same time. In Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, David Denison, Christopher McCully & Emma Moore (eds.), *Analysing Older English*, 213–232. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sgall, Petr. 1995. Prague School typology. In Masayoshi Shibatani & Theodora Bynon (eds.), *Approaches to language typology*, 49–85. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Schreier, Daniel. 2005. *Consonant change in English worldwide. Synchrony meets diachrony*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Skalička, Vladimír. 1964. Konsonantenkombinationen und linguistische Typologie. *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* 1: 111–114.

Skalička, Vladimír & Petr Sgall. 1994. Praguian typology of languages. In Philip A. Luelsdorff (ed.), *Prague school of structural and functional linguistics: A short introduction*, 333–357. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Trnka, Bohumil. 1982 (1967). The phonemic organization of morphemes. In Vilém Fried (ed.), *Bohumil Trnka: Selected papers in structural linguistics. Contributions to English and general linguistics written in the years 1928–1978*, 162–164. Berlin–New York–Amsterdam: Mouton.

Trnka, Bohumil. 1982 (1972). On the frequency and distribution of consonant clusters in Czech. In Vilém Fried (ed.), *Bohumil Trnka: Selected papers in structural linguistics. Contributions to English and general linguistics written in the years 1928–1978*, 195–201. Berlin–New York–Amsterdam: Mouton.

Labial-velar changes in the history of English and Netherlandic

Artur Kijak

University of Silesia

1. Introduction

The primary aim of this paper is to discuss and analyze labial-velar and velar-labial (historical) developments in two related languages: English and Dutch. However, in order to propose an explanation for such changes, first we need to address a problem of a somewhat unexpected phonological patterning of two articulatorily unrelated consonant classes and its high frequency. This research task presupposes the necessity to study the elemental make-up of velar and labial consonants in both languages. The assumption is that labials and velars must share a phonological element. This common-element solution explains their intimate relationship which is evident in the phonological activity of both classes. In short, simply because both classes interact phonologically, they are assumed to share an element. Additionally, the study aspires to provide a formal mechanism which is able to capture the changes in question and explain the context in which they occur.

The idea that labials and velars are represented by a common element (feature) is far from being new. For example, Jakobson and Halle (1956) propose the feature [grave] to capture the phonological relationship of both classes.[1] In the present study, however, we apply a more recent, Element Theory (ET) solution to the representation of labials and velars, that is, the one proposed in Backley and Nasukawa (2009) and Backley (2011). More specifically, we argue after Backley (2011) for the presence of the element |U| in the content of both velars and labials. This proposal deserves deeper thought as it stands in sharp contrast to a mainstream ET consensus which holds that velars are not

---

[1] For a cross-theoretical survey of the phonological representation of velars and labials see Kijak (in press).

specified for any resonance elements at all, for example, Harris and Lindsay (1995), Huber (2007). The choice of the model (apart from the author's personal preferences) is dictated predominantly by the fact that we analyze the historical data. Since ET is a theoretical model which holds that phonological behavior can say more about segmental structure than phonetic (articulatory) details, it makes the model a perfect choice for the analysis of the sound system of some earlier stages in the development of a language.

The reason why we have decided to take a closer look at Dutch[2] and English is that these languages represent two opposite patterns: labial > velar in Dutch, for example, MDu *after* > Du *achter* 'after' and velar > labial in English, for example, *laughen* > *laugh*, *laffe* 'laugh.' A preliminary observation is that in a rigidly specified context a labial fricative is potentially able to evolve into a velar one (Dutch), while a velar fricative can develop into a labial one (English), the choice of the direction being language-specific. What needs to be stressed at the outset is that we do not aspire to explain here the opposite pattern of the change in both languages, rather we are interested in providing an explanation of a close phonological relationship between labials and velars. This is a very broad topic, indeed. It covers various, apparently unrelated phenomena like, for example, OE breaking, ME diphthongization before the voiceless and voiced velar fricatives, for example, OE *dohtor* > ME *dohter* > *douhter/doughter* 'daughter' and OE *dragan*[3] > ME *dragen* > *drawen* 'draw,' respectively, OE gliding, for example, *furh* > *furuh*, 'furrow,' *burh* > *buruh* 'borough' or a historical vocalization which affected the velarized lateral and led to various qualitative and quantitative vocalic developments like, for example, the 15th-century diphthongization before [ł], for example, *balk* > *baulke* 'baulk/balk,' among many others. However, due to space limitations and because these phenomena have been analyzed elsewhere (cf. Kijak 2014, 2015), the following discussion is confined to the labial/velar developments in Dutch and English.

The general conclusion we draw shows that the relationship between labials and velars in both languages can be easily captured if we agree on the presence of the element |U| not only in the content of labials, the labial-velar glide [w] and the labial vowels [u o] but, first and foremost, in velars. What differentiates the two categories is the function played by this element, that is, in labials it functions as the head |U̲|, while in velars it is a dependent |U|.

---

[2] In this study Dutch stands for Standard Dutch and its dialects like, for example, West Flemish. In general, these are Low Franconian languages, hence they are grouped under the Netherlandic label in the title.

[3] The letter <g> in the intervocalic position was realized phonetically as the voiced velar fricative [ɣ].

2. Selected labial-velar developments in Dutch and English

2.1 Velar > labial shift in English

In the history of English velar spirants underwent various modifications. They were vocalized, they triggered diphthongization or gliding. All of these developments affecting velar spirants led to their annihilation in Modern English. More importantly for us here, the voiceless velar spirant was also labialized and this is depicted in (1).

(1)   ME labialization [x] > [f]/[ʊ ɔ] (Fisiak 1968: 69; Jordan 1974: 249; Wełna 1978: 203; Bonebrake 1979: 20)

a.   the regular pattern
ME dwergh   > [dwɔ:f]   *dwarf*   ME choughe > [tʃʌf]   *chough*
ME coughen > [kɒf]   *cough*   ME laughen > [lɑ:f]   *laugh*
ME trough   > [trɒf]   *trough*   ME rough   > [rʌf]   *rough*
ME enogh   > [ɪnʌf]   *enough*   ME tough   > [tʌf]   *tough*

b.   two different developments
ME slugh > [slʌf]   *slough* (the skin of snake)
but
ME slogh > [slaʊ]   *slough* (swamp)

c.   exceptions and unstable pronunciation
OE bōg/ME bogh   > [baʊ]   *bough*
OE plōh/ME plough   > [plaʊ]   *plough*
OE clōh/ME clough   > [klʌf]/[klaʊ]   *clough*

d.   before [t]
ME aughten   > [ɔ:t]   *ought*
ME doghter   > [dɔ:tə]   *daughter*
ME boht (part.)   > [bɔ:t]   *bought*
ME troute   > [traʊt]   *trout*
ME drought   > [draʊt]   *drought*
ME draught   > [drɑ:ft]   *draught*

e.   unstressed syllables
ME boru/borewes (pl.) > [ˈbʌrə]   *borough*
ME thurgh   > [ˈθʌrə]   *thorough*
ME thou/thow   > [ðəʊ]   *though (conj.)*

In (1a–b) the voiceless velar fricative [x] evolves into a voiceless labioden-
tal fricative [f] word-finally in Modern Standard English. The velar fricative
is also responsible for the development of diphthongs (1c) or back rounded
vowels in stressed syllables before [t] (1d). It can also be lost without a trace
(1e). Interestingly, the forms in (1e) preserved a diphthongal pronunciation in
General American, that is, [bɚːoʊ] and [θɚːoʊ]. Finally, note that [ç], the palatal
counterpart of [x], suffered a similar fate. Thus [ç] merged completely into the
preceding diphthong and disappeared, for example, *light*, *high*, *right*, etc. Since,
however, this is a palatal fricative, the development leads to quite a different
result, that is, the diphthong [aɪ].

2.2 Labial > velar shift in Netherlandic

A similar development took place in Dutch. What differentiates it from the case
of English, however, is the direction of the change. Thus, while in English it
is the velar spirant that is labialized, in Dutch we can observe a reverse pat-
tern, that is, the labial [f] changes into a velar and in the majority of cases
it winds up as [x]. Consider some examples in (2), which have been adopted
from Bonebrake (1979: 66).

(2)   MDu [f] > [x] shift

a.   labial   > velar changes
        OLF a**f**ter   > MDu a**ch**ter   *after*
        OLF ha**f**ta   > MDu ha**ch**te   *capture/captivity*
        OLF cra**f**t   > MDu cra**ch**t   *power*
        OLF gesti**f**toda > MDu ste**ch**ten   *found*
        OLF seni**f**te   > MDu za**ch**te   *soft*

b.   dialectal variation
        OLF heli**f**tron > MDu hal**ft**er *halter*
                             hal**ch**ter (Limburg)
                             ha**lt**er (South Limburg)
                             ha**ls**er (Southwest Limburg)
                             ha**ld**er (Zeeland)
                             hal**ft**er > hal**t**er > ha**ut**er (West Flemish)

c.   place names
        Al**f**tre   – Ale**ch**tre   *Alfter* (*Cologne*)
        Su**f**tele – Su**ch**tele   *Süchteln* (*Düsseldorf*)
        Cru**f**te   – Cro**ch**t   *Kruft* (*Cologne*)
        Ui**f**ta   – Ue**ch**ta   *Vichte* (*Kortrijk*)

It must be mentioned here that manifold reasons, which are discussed in Bonebrake (1979: 65), caused Dutch evidence to be far more scanty than that of English. Be that as it may, it does not influence the general conclusion that in Dutch we find the opposite direction of the change to that found in English. This becomes evident when we look at the examples under (2a–c). Additionally, (2b) illustrates some modifications found in various dialects. Interestingly, the general pattern is sometimes reversed or violated as in the labial > spirant [s] change in some dialects of Dutch (West Flemish), for example, MDu *nooddurft* > WFl *nooddorst* 'indigence.'

   Before we propose an explanation of the facts depicted in (1) and (2), however, we should first briefly outline the main assumptions concerning the internal structure of the consonants in question. This is done in the immediately following section.

3. Theoretical assumptions

3.1 Element Theory

In Element Theory phonological segments are built out of privative cognitive units called elements. Elements differ from the traditional features in that they are linked to the acoustic signal rather than to articulation. At the same time, however, they function as "abstract units of phonological structure which carry linguistic information about segments" (Backley 2011: 7). Another characteristic feature of elements is the autonomous interpretability which means that they are large enough to be phonetically interpretable when they occur alone in a segment. For example, a single element |I| linked to a vocalic slot is realized as the vowel [i]. The same element attached to the consonantal position is pronounced as the palatal glide [j]. Crucially, elements may combine with one another and appear together in a single segment forming complex expressions. For example, the two mid vowels [e] and [o] are combinations of |A I| and |A U| respectively. Moreover, in richer vocalic systems which maintain the opposition between the front mid closed vowel [e] and the front open vowel [æ], the head/dependent function is applied to mark the contrast. Simply put, the complex expressions like [e] and [æ], in, for example, English, are represented by identical elements, that is, |A I| which, however, are ascribed different functions. The vowel [e] is a compound |A I| where |I| is the head. The melodic make-up of [æ] is identical, that is, |I A|, but here the element |A| plays the

role of the head. Finally, the same elements which are used to describe vocalic systems are active in consonants. Thus, the three resonance elements |I|, |A|, |U| which define vocalic segments are active place definers in consonantal systems. However, in order to describe consonants some additional primes are required like, for example, |L|, |H|, and |ʔ|.[4]

The internal structure of segments may be affected by the position they occupy in the syllable structure.[5] The elemental make-up of a segment may be altered by adding a locally present element or by reducing the internal composition of a segment. Thus, spreading or composition consists in the addition of elements, while the result of delinking or decomposition is the deduction of elements. Both operations must have a local trigger or source and can be observed in vocalic as well as in consonantal systems. This can be illustrated by spirantization, a process often resulting in elision and involving the lenition of a stop to a glottal fricative, usually through a fricative stage, for example, [t] > [s] > [h] > [ø] = |H A ʔ| > |H A ʔ| > |H A ʔ| > |H A ʔ|. Similarly, in vowel reduction the elemental material is stripped away or the element status is reduced from head to dependent, for example, [o] > [u] = |A U| > |A U| and [i] > [ɪ] = |I| > |I| respectively.

Summing up, the vocalic as well as consonantal segments are composed of the same elements. Segments may undergo decomposition or composition, they suffer deletion or they may simply spread to neighboring positions. The behavior of segments depends on the context in which they occur (a strong or a weak site). A typical lenition site is associated with the position before the empty vocalic slot.[6]

3.2 Internal structure of labials and velars

From among many recent attempts to explain the relationship between labials and velars, it is Backley and Nasukawa's (2009) solution which deserves special

---

[4] It does not mean, however, that the latter cannot occur in a vocalic expression. Quite the contrary, in certain systems they are present in vowels as well.

[5] The analysis in this study is couched in the Strict CV framework. To make a long story short, this model recognizes a universally flat syllable structure which boils down to CV sequences. Any theory which assumes a universal CV syllable structure must be prepared to accept the presence of empty syllabic slots whose proliferation is curbed by various mechanisms (Scheer 2004 and Cyran 2010). The pre-empty position is generally recognized as the lenition site (Ségéral and Scheer 2001; Ziková and Scheer 2010).

[6] For more information concerning Strict CV and Element Theory, see Harris and Lindsey (1995), Charette and Göksel (1996), van der Torre (2003), Scheer (2004), Botma (2004), Bloch-Rozmej (2008), Cyran (2010), and Backley (2011) among others.

credit. Building on the idea introduced in Broadbent (1996), they argue for the presence of |U| in the internal structure of both labials and velars. What differentiates the two categories is the status played by the resonance element, that is, it is headed in labials |U̲|, but non-headed in velars |U|. In order to further support their proposal, Backley and Nasukawa (2009: 7) provide spectrograms revealing the presence of a falling spectral pattern identifying both labial and velar resonance. In short, labials and velars share the acoustic property of "dark" resonance. Labials, in opposition to velars, have "darker" acoustic properties and so they are represented by the headed element |U̲|. Velars, on the other hand, are represented by headless |U|.

Cross-linguistic findings unquestionably point to the fact that velars interact more readily with labials than coronals. Without going into details, this relationship is evident in some diachronic alternations between velars and labials in Germanic languages (Bonebrake 1979; Kijak 2014), Irish and Romanian (Hickey 1984, 1985), some varieties of spoken Spanish (Brown 2006), or dialectal variation in Swedish (Backley and Nasukawa 2009) among many others. Moreover, the examples of the relationship can also be found in some more exotic languages. For example, Ohala and Lorentz (1977) bring to light some data from Melanesian languages, for example, Ulawa, Common Melanesian, Fiji, and Uto-Aztecan and some dialects of Yoruba.[7]

Interestingly, the ET mainstream solution concerning the representation of labials and velars stands in sharp opposition to the one proposed by Backley and Nasukawa (2009). Thus, it is generally believed that labials and velars are represented by different primes (Kaye et al. 1985, 1990; Harris and Lindsey 1995). More exactly, labials, together with the high back vowel [u], contain the element |U|. Velars, on the other hand, are proposed either to be represented by a neutral element (Harris and Lindsey 1995: 29) or they are simply empty-headed, that is, they do not contain any resonance element at all (Huber 2007; Cyran 2010). Note that if we accepted the latter solution there would be no logical link that would favor velars and labials over velars and coronals. Moreover, the intimate phonological relationship of labials and velars would have to be treated as a pure coincidence. It means that the explanation could not lie in the absence of place element in velars as in this situation they could in principle interact with any other consonant or vowel including coronals which is actually a very rare case, indeed.[8] Therefore in what follows we agree with Huber (2007) that velars do not contain any headed resonance elements; however, this does not preclude the presence of resonance elements functioning as dependents. In short, velars do contain the resonance element |U| which defines velarity. Moreover, what links labials and velars is the very element |U| which plays a different

---

[7] For more cross-linguistic evidence, a thorough discussion and analysis see Kijak (in press).

[8] Velars may interact with coronals in various palatalization processes (see Kijak (in press)).

function in the two categories, that is, it is the head in labials but a dependent in velars (Backley and Nasukawa 2009; Backley 2011). Additionally, this representation may explain a particularly active phonological role of velars. They are susceptible to weakening and easily affected by neighboring segments, for example, labialization, palatalization, etc. Moreover, the solution advocated here can also account for their common alternations with labials. If we agree that the empty-headedness contributes to a general weakness of a segment, all the above mentioned phenomena are explained straightforwardly. Thus, velars, being empty-headed, are weak and hence in prosodically weak positions they undergo lenition and/or deletion more readily; the empty-headedness also means they are easily affected by assimilation processes like palatalization; and finally they contain the dependent |U| which can be promoted to the head position resulting in labials. Note that this representation can also explain the bidirectional shift, that is, velar > labial and labial > velar, which is simply the result of the presence of |U| in both classes. In velars |U| is a dependent which can be promoted to the head position in certain contexts. Moreover, it can explain the phonological patterning of labials/velars with the labial vowels and the glide [w]. All these segments are represented under (3).

(3)   Elemental make-up of labials, [u], [w], and velars

a.   high rounded vowel *u*   b.   the semivowel *w*

                    V   C
                    | |
                    | |
                   |U| |U|

c.   labials   d.   velars

                    C   C
                    | |
                    | |
                   |U| |U|
                   …   …

The element |U| linked to a vocalic slot is interpreted as the vowel [u] (3a), the same element associated with the consonantal slot stands for the glide [w] (3b). Now, in (3c) and (3d) the same element occurs in the internal make-up of labials and velars. Note that in a labial it plays the function of the head while

in a velar it is a dependent. Note also that labials and velars contain some additional elements indicated in (3c) and (3d) by the dots. They are ignored here as not relevant for the present discussion.

4. Analysis of the labial-velar changes

4.1 Verification of the research assumptions

Having cleared the theoretical ground a bit, we are ready to look at the labial-velar changes in English and Dutch from the perspective of the assumptions made above. Recall that in the regular pattern (1a), English voiceless velar fricative [x] alternates with the voiceless labiodental fricative [f] in the word-final position. We propose to explain this change as a reorganization of the melodic content of the velar spirant, that is, |H̲ A U| > |H̲ A U̲|.[9] To put it differently, the non-headed |U| of the velar spirant is promoted to the head position |U̲| which gives [f]. Since Backley (2011: 98) argues for the complex resonance representation of the labiodentals, that is, |A U̲|, we need to find a source segment for |A| in the near vicinity. Note that the donor of |A| could be the velar fricative itself as represented above.[10] Finally, note that it would be difficult to account for this change by means of the traditional, SPE-like binary features as the two fricatives do not have much in common articulatorily. In ET, however, elements are directly associated with the speech signal and since acoustically both velars and labials are characterized by a similar spectral pattern, they are represented by the same melodic prime, that is, the element |U|. It is the presence of this element in both the velar and the labiodental fricative that is responsible for the alternation in (1a) above. Moreover, this solution can easily account for the rest, less regular developments in (1). Note that the velar spirant can also disappear altogether. However, before it disappears, it often triggers a development of a diphthong with the labial second element, for example, OE *plōh*/ME *plough* > [plaʊ] 'plough' or a long vowel, ME *aughten* [ɔːt] 'ought.' Crucially, such developments always lead to a round vowel/diphthong. This situation is

---

[9] In Backley's (2011) version of Element Theory some segments may contain two headed elements, for example, English /p/ is represented as |U̲ ʔ H̲| where |U̲| stands for labiality and |H̲| occurs in all voiceless aspirated stops.

[10] Kijak (2015) proposes, based on independent evidence, to include the prime |A| in the elemental make-up of the velar spirant. It is claimed that this element is responsible for the uvularized realization of the spirant.

explained here as the spreading of the element |U| from the velar fricative to the preceding vocalic position and merging with the original vowel. Consider the development of the diphthong [aʊ] in (4).

(4)   OE plōh/ME plough > [plaʊ] *plough*

```
a.                                    b.
C₁ V₂ C₂ V₂ C₃ V₃ C₄ V₄              C₁ V₁ C₂ V₂ C₃ V₃      C₄ V₄
   |  ø  |       \ /  |  ø              |  ø  |  |  ø  |         +   ø
   |     |        V   |                 |     |     |           |
   |     |       / \  |                 |     |     |           |
   p     l      o     x                 p     l     a      |U| << |U|
                                                           |A|
                                                           |H|
```
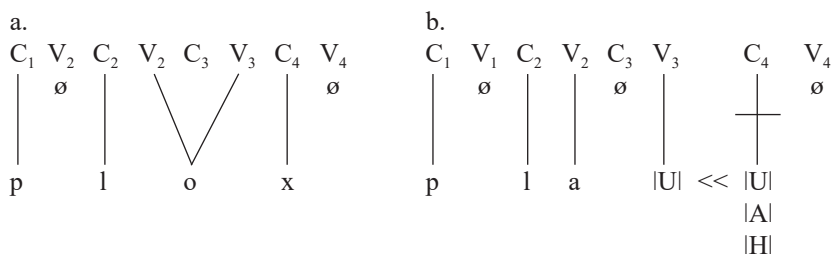
In (4b) the final velar spirant C₄ gets delinked while part of its content, that is, the element |U|, spreads to the left and docks onto the vocalic slot V₃. The original vowel is reduced to [a] and together with the incoming |U| it results in the diphthong [aʊ], hence [plaʊ]. This development represents a more general pattern which is also found in (1b–d). It starts with the lenition of the spirant which leads to a glide/vowel formation (vocalization), that is, [x] > [u] = |H A U| > |H A U| and later the resultative [u] contributes to the appearance of a diphthong or a long monophthong while the fricative gets annihilated. To translate it into the structural terms, the development consists in evacuation of the element |U| to a neighboring position and the deletion of the fricative. Now, even though it is possible for some similar forms to develop differently (1b),[11] the result is always either the labial consonant or a round vowel (see also 1c–d). Finally, the resultative schwa in forms under (1e) is explained as a consequence of a typical vowel reduction process observed in unstressed syllables. However, even in the latter scenario it is perfectly possible, at least theoretically, to assume the whole developmental path for the velar fricative, that is, vocalization > diphthongization > velar deletion > vowel reduction.

    Another observation which deserves a comment is the context in which the changes occur. Note that in the developments discussed above the velar spirant occurs in the pre-consonantal or final position. Now, in the Strict CV model these two positions are reduced to a single context, that is, before the empty vocalic slot and this, according to Ziková and Scheer (2010), is a common lenition site (see also fn. 4). Summing up, in a weak position the velar

---

[11] Bonebrake (1979: 28) points out that one of the reasons why these forms have developed differently may be a fundamental need to avoid homonymy.

spirant undergoes lenition which is a typical reaction of a segment to suffer in positional plight.[12]

Similarly to the switch in headedness exemplified by the [x] > [f] change in English (1), the consonants in Dutch also undergo the same change but in the opposite direction (2). Thus, the MDu [f] > [x] shift is the development in which the headed |U̲| is reduced to a mere dependent, hence, |H̲ A U̲| > |H̲ A U|, for example, OLF *craft* > MDu *cracht* 'power.' This pattern applies to the change from OLF to MDu (2a), and is further confirmed by dialectal developments (2b) and by place names (2c). Furthermore, the labial-velar change in Dutch occurs predominantly in the pre-consonantal position. As pointed out above, this is a typical lenition site and the head > dependent switch represents a lenition mechanism. Finally, the dialectal variation under (2b) illustrates the whole range of possibilities available to velars and/or labials. Thus, apart from the regular head > dependent switch, for example, OLF *heliftron*/MDu *halfter* > *halchter* (Limburg), we can observe the deletion of the labial, for example, *halter* (South Limburg), and labial vocalization + diphthongization, for example, *hauter* (West Flemish).[13] Interestingly, there are some examples of labial > spirant [s] changes, for example, MDu *nood-durft* > WFl *nooddorst* 'indigence' (West Flemish). The latter change can be explained as the loss of |U̲| in front of the alveolar [t], hence [f] > [s] |H̲ A U̲| > |H̲ A| (lenition). Identical explanation applies to *halser* (Southwest Limburg) < *halchter* (Limburg), with the difference that after the change [x] > [s] |H̲ A U| > |H̲ A|, the alveolar stop gets deleted.[14]

Finally, it must be stressed here that the solution discussed in this section can be applied to various apparently unrelated cross-linguistic phenomena some of which are briefly mentioned in the following section.

---

[12] What is left unanswered here is the question concerning the dependent > head switch and whether it is still a lenition process. Since it occurs in a typical weak context, we are forced to admit that it is a form of lenition rather than fortition.

[13] The development *halfter* > *halter* > *hauter* in West Flemish can be given an alternative explanation, namely, the labial [f] is deleted and the pre-consonantal [l], which with a high degree of certainty was velarized in this position, is vocalized to [u] resulting in [hauter]. For similar developments of the 'dark' *l* in English but to a far more massive scale see Kijak (2014) and the discussion in Section 4.1.

[14] Still a different scenario is possible here. Note that in such cases it may be the disappearing coronal which is the supplier of the phonological material. In consequence, we obtain the coronal fricative [s].

4.2 General applicability of the solution

The representation of labials and velars advocated in this study can be applied to diverse phenomena (both historical and contemporary) in various languages. For instance, it can explain the vocalic developments in the process known as Old English breaking. The traditional interpretation (cf. Campbell 1959: 54) boils down to the epenthesis of a protective back glide vowel between the preceding front vowel [æ], [e] or [i] and certain consonants or consonant clusters: /x/, /l/+C, /r/+C, and /x/+C. What is problematic here is the group of consonants triggering the back glide vowel formation – they simply cannot be captured as one single class. However, building on the idea that the pre-consonantal liquids were velarized in OE, it is possible to unify the group of consonants which trigger breaking by means of the element |U| (cf. Kijak 2015).

Furthermore, this solution may prove useful in the explanation and understanding of many other historical phenomena, for example, ME liquid vocalization which results in a diphthong or a long monophthong formation, for example, ME [a] + l(C) > [au] + l(C) > ENE [ɒu] > [ɔ:] as in *altar*, *malt*, *talk*, *walk* or ME [o/u] + l(C) > [ɔu] + l(C) > MoE [əʊ] in *colt*, *boll*, *shoulder*, *folk*. It can also be applied to ME diphthongizations before the voiced/voiceless velar fricative or the vocalization of [x], for example, OE *lahter* > ME *laughter* 'laughter' and OE *dragan* > ME *drawen* 'draw,' respectively. Moreover, it can explain various contemporary processes like vocalic developments before [ł] or liquids intrusion, among many others.

5. Conclusion

The solution advocated here offers a logical explanation for some historical developments and contributes to the understanding of the phonological proximity of two articulatorily distant classes, that is, labials and velars. It has been pointed out that, first, the missing element responsible for the close phonological relationship between labials and velars is |U|. Both labials (including the glide [w] and the round vowel [u]) and velars contain the element |U| in their melodic make-up. The element plays a different function in both classes. Second, the element |U| may be promoted to the head position (velar > labial shift) or demoted to a dependent (labial > velar shift). Third, the element |U| is responsible for various vocalic developments like diphthongization or the qualitative changes of the preceding vowels. Fourth, there is a direct link between the context and the process. The affected labial/velar undergoes weakening in a lenition site

which is a position before the empty vocalic slot (Ségéral and Scheer 2001; Ziková and Scheer 2010). And fifth, this solution can be successfully applied to various historical and contemporary processes.

References

Backley, Phillip. 2011. *An introduction to Element Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Backley, Phillip & Kuniya Nasukawa. 2009. Representing labials and velars: A single 'dark' element. *Phonological Studies* 12: 3–10.

Bloch-Rozmej, Anna. 2008. *Melody in government phonology*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

Bonebrake, Veronica. 1979. *Historical labial-velar changes in Germanic*. Umea: Acta Universitatis Umensis.

Botma, Bert. 2004. Phonological Aspects of Nasality: An Element-Based Dependency Approach. PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Broadbent, Judith. 1996. *The representation of coronal segments*. PhD dissertation, University College London.

Brown, Esther, L. 2006. Velarization of labial, coda stops in Spanish: A frequency account. *Revista de Lingüística Teórica y Aplicada Concepción* 44(2): 47–58.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cyran, Eugeniusz. 2010. *Complexity scales and licensing in phonology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fisiak, Jacek. 1968. *A short grammar of Middle English. Part One.* Warszawa: PWN.

Harris, John & Geoffrey Lindsey. 1995. The elements of phonological representation. In Jacques Durand & Francis Katamba (eds.), *Frontiers of phonology: Atoms, structures, derivations*, 34–79. London–New York: Longman.

Hickey, Raymond. 1984. On the nature of labial velar shift. *Journal of Phonetics* 12: 345–354.

Hickey, Raymond. 1985. Velar segments in Old English and Old Irish. In Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, 267–279. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Huber, Daniel. 2007. Velars and Processes: Their Treatment in Phonological Theory. PhD dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Jakobson, Roman & Morris Halle. 1956. *Fundamentals of language.* The Hague: Mouton.

Jordan, Richard. 1974. *Handbook of Middle English grammar: Phonology*. The Hague: Mouton.

Kaye, Jonathan, Jean Lowenstamm & Jean-Roger Vergnaud. 1985. The internal structure of phonological elements: A theory of charm and government. *Phonology Yearbook* 2: 305–328.

Kaye, Jonathan, Jean Lowenstamm & Jean-Roger Vergnaud Kaye. 1990. Constituent structure and government in phonology. *Phonology* 7: 193–231.

Kijak, Artur. (in press). *Labial-dorsal interactions: A phonologically-based approach*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Kijak, Artur. 2014. The internal structure of English velars. In Jolanta Szpyra-Kozłowska & Eugeniusz Cyran (eds.), *Crossing phonetics-phonology lines*, 75–92. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kijak, Artur. 2015. What links liquids and the velar fricative: The case of Old English Breaking. *Linguistica Silesiana* 36: 39–56.

Ohala, John & James Lorentz. 1977. The story of [w]: An exercise in the phonetic explanation for sound patterns. *Berkeley Linguistics Society, Proceeding of the Annual Meeting* 3: 577–599.

Scheer, Tobias. 2004. *A lateral theory of phonology. Vol. 1: What is CVCV, and why should it be?* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ségéral, Philippe & Tobias Scheer. 2001. La Coda-Miroir. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 96: 107–152.

Torre, Erik J. van der. 2003. Dutch Sonorants: The Role of Place of Articulation in Phonotactics. PhD dissertation, University of Leiden.

Wełna, Jerzy. 1978. *A diachronic grammar of English. Part One: Phonology*. Warszawa: PWN

Ziková, Markéta & Tobias Scheer. 2010. The Coda Mirror v2. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 57: 1–21.

Table of Contents

Part One: Medieval English Syntax

On the cover: an illustration and a fragment of the manuscript from the 12th-century historical treatise *Pantheon* by Gotfryd from Viterbo and the Bible of the collegiate church in Sandomierz. The collection of Diocesan Library in Sandomierz

About this book

9 788322 633106