THE USE OF VERB-INITIAL WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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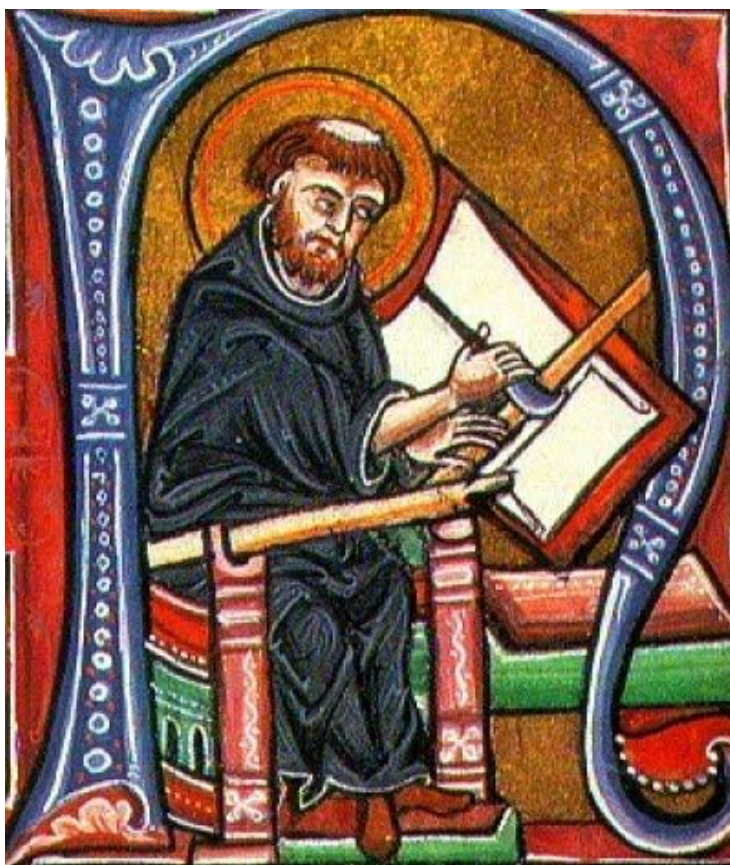
SUMMARY IN NORWEGIAN

Denne masteroppgaven tar for seg ordstillingen V1 i gammelengelsk, det vil si setninger som innledes av det finitte verbet. Studien undersøker hvordan ulike språklige faktorer, som nekting, sideordning, modus, verb-frasens struktur og semantikk/pragmatikk, samt ikke-språklige faktorer, som når tekstene ble skrevet og hvorvidt de er oversatt, påvirker bruken av V1-strukturer i gammel-engelsk prosa. Videre spør studien hvilke pragmatiske funksjoner V1-ordstillingen har her.

V1 forekommer i en liten, men betydelig, andel av gammelengelske setninger; likevel er denne setningsstrukturen understudert, og ett problem med studiene som *har* blitt gjort at de ikke opererer med samme definisjon av V1. Enkelte studier utelukker nektende setninger, andre utelukker subjunktive setninger eller sideordnede setninger (som følger konjunksjonen). Andre studier, igjen, teller setninger uten uttrykt subjekt som V1; disse vil enkelte lingvister analysere som V2.

I definisjonen av V1 som jeg bruker i denne studien, utelukker jeg spørresetninger, imperativ-setninger og setninger uten uttrykt subjekt, men inkluderer nektende setninger, sideordnede setninger og subjunktive setninger – det siste er kanskje mest kontroversielt. Både nekting, sideordning og modus ansees dermed som faktorer som potensielt kan påvirke bruken av V1.

Studien kaster lys på hittil understuderte sider ved V1-fenomenet, og erkjenner samtidig at det er rom for mer forskning på temaet.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General abbreviations

C   Conjunct clause

N-C   Non-conjunct clause

OE   Old English

OHG   Old High German

SOV   Word order: subject, object, verb

SVO   Word order: subject, verb, object

V1   Verb-initial

V2   Verb-second

V3   Verb-third

VP   Verb phrase

VS   Here: word order with initial verb directly followed by a subject, which may or may not be followed by other elements. Used by Sigurðsson (1984) to describe narrative inversion in Icelandic.

VSO/C   Used by Quirk & Wrenn (1965) to denote the word order verb, subject, object/complement.

VSX   Word order: verb, subject, other elements; equals Quirk & Wrenn's VSO/C word order.

VXS   Word order: verb, other elements, subject

YCOE   York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose

Primary sources used in the study

ChronA   The Anglo Saxon Chronicle A

LawAf 1   Laws of Alfred I

LawAfE1   Alfred's Introduction to Laws

LawIne   Laws of Ine

Bede   Bede's History of the English Church

Bo   Boethius

CP   Cura Pastoralis

Lch II (1–3)   Bald's Leechbook

Or	Orosius
ÆCHom I	Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I
ÆLS	Ælfric's Lives of Saints
ÆLet4 (SigewardZ)	Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard
LawICn	Laws of Cnut I
Mart 2.1	Martyrology
ApT	Apollonius of Tyre
BenR	Benedictine Rule
Gen, Exod, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg	Heptateuch
ÆTemp	Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni
Mt (WSCp), Mk (WSCp), Lk (WSCp), Jn (WSCp)	The West Saxon Gospels

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope

The present study is concerned with verb-initial (V1) word order in declarative main clauses in Old English (OE) prose, with factors facilitating the use of V1, and with the pragmatic function(s) of the structure. V1 word order is one of the syntactic patterns exhibited in OE declarative main clauses, occurring beside e.g. verb-second (V2) and verb-third (V3) as well as verb-late or verb-final word order. V1 word order – meaning, to avoid any misunderstanding, the marked verb-initial word order of declarative clauses, not the unmarked V1 word order of e.g. imperative constructions and questions – is not particularly common; in e.g. Bech's (2001:72) study of Old and Middle English word order patterns, only 5.8% of the declarative main clauses in the OE sample are found to be verb-initial.

As the label 'verb-initial' indicates, this type of structure has the finite verb as the initial clause element, as illustrated by example [1.1] below. If the verb phrase is complex, the non-finite verb(s) may follow the finite verb directly, as in example [1.2], or come later in the clause, as in example [1.3]. Importantly, the subject and any other clause elements follow the finite verb, so that the word order of V1 clauses is either VSX, see example [1.1], or VXS, as in example [1.4].

[1.1]   Dyde se   cyning swa hit ær   cweden wæs
        did   the king   as it before said   was
        'The king did as was already told;' (Bede 132.1)

[1.2]   &   wæs gesewen Godes wuldor uppon anre dune   þe   is gehaten Sinai.
        and was seen   God's glory upon a   mountain that is called   Sinai
        'and God's glory was seen upon a mountain that is called Sinai.' (ÆCHom I 354.17)

[1.3]   and næs   his fule   lic   afundan æfre siððan.
        and not-was his entire body found   ever since
        'and his entire body was never found since.' (ÆLS (Agatha) 213)

[1.4]   Comon þa syððan   his folgeras
        came   then afterwards his followers
        'Then, afterwards, came his followers.' (ÆCHom I 452.28)

As pointed out by Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:49–50), existing research on V1 is largely concerned with one of two perspectives, namely, with the factors facilitating the use of this word order, and with the pragmatic function(s) of V1. Accordingly, I will in the following work attempt to answer two research questions, formulated on the basis of previous inquiries into V1 word order in OE: firstly, how does the interaction of different linguistic and non-linguistic variables influence the use of V1 word order? Non-linguistic variables which will be investigated include time of composition (where distinction is made between early, i.e. up to 950, and late, i.e. after 950, OE) and translation status (where distinction is made between original OE compositions and texts translated from Latin). Linguistic variables which will be investigated as possibly relevant to the use of V1 word order are coordination, negation and mood – these are also central to the definition of V1, which varies between different studies – as well as verb phrase structure, the principle of end weight and verb type. Verb type is connected with pragmatic function, which in itself can be seen as a factor that might influence the use of V1. This leads us to the second research question: what are the pragmatic function(s) of V1 word order in OE? For example, to what degree does verb-initial word order in OE mirror pragmatic functions that this type of word order has in languages related to OE, such as Old and Modern Icelandic, or Modern Dutch?

It might be mentioned that the present thesis will be concerned with surface structure only. See Ohkado (2004) for a discussion of V1 from a transformationalist perspective.

1.2 Previous research

V1 word order in OE has not been subject to much previous research. Only three studies were found which dealt specifically with V1: Ohkado (2000), Ohkado (2004) and Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010). Although these proved a most useful starting point for my own work, their investigations build on rather smaller samples than the present study; furthermore, their definitions of V1 differ from the one I would use. These issues would lead one to expect their conclusions to potentially differ substantially from the ones reached in the present study.

A starting point for all of these works is Denison (1986), who makes claims about negation and light load verbs being factors facilitating V1 word order. While neither

Ohkado (2000, 2004) nor Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010) include negated clauses in their definition of V1, they all investigate the typology of verbs occurring in V1 position, as will the present study.

Ohkado (2000:272) compares V1 structures in a few OE prose texts, and concludes that in one of them, namely Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Bede), V1 structures are 'different in quality as well as in quantity from the corresponding constructions in other texts'. According to this study, then, in Bede, V1 constructions are more common than elsewhere. This claim is supported by e.g. Quirk & Wrenn (1965:94), who state that '[…] V in initial position […] is especially common, for instance, in the Ælfredian Bede'. Ohkado (2000:272) furthermore claims that Bede has in V1 position verbs that 'do not generally occupy the clause initial position'. Other OE texts, then, Ohkado claims, have more restrictions as to the types of verbs which can occur in V1 position than Bede does.

Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:56), on the contrary, claim that 'there is no restriction as to the typology of verbs appearing in [V1 position]' – in Bede or in the other texts they investigate. They do however argue that 'speaking and motion verbs, on the one hand, and verbs denoting a physical action, on the other, are those which more frequently occur' in V1 position (56). Calle-Martín & Miranda-García link this finding to the pragmatic function of V1 as described by Mitchell (1985§3933) as marking 'a turning point, a transition or a change of pace in the prose', and they argue that verbs in the above-mentioned semantic categories are the most compatible with this type of pragmatic function.

Ohkado (2004), investigating V1 structures in the first series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (ÆCHom I), expands on Mitchell's (1985) above-mentioned description of the pragmatic function of V1. He postulates a list of six pragmatic functions of V1, one of which is that of so-called 'narrative inversion', i.e. V1 word order used to 'mark transition from action to action as *þa* "then" usually does in prose' (Ohkado 2004:12). This type of function, which Ohkado furthermore compares to similar functions of V1 in other Germanic languages, will be the starting point of the investigation of the pragmatic function of V1 in the present study.

Along with verb type and pragmatic function, the extra-linguistic factors of time of composition and translation status have been suggested to be relevant for the use of V1

and other word order patterns. Furthermore, linguistic factors such as negation (as mentioned above), coordination, mood and whether the subject is expressed in a clause, have been claimed to influence the use of V1. There is, however, some controversy in the literature as to whether to include clauses where the initial verb is negated, or in the subjunctive mood, in the study of V1. There is also controversy as concerns whether to count as V1 conjunct clauses with an initial verb, or verb-initial clauses with an unexpressed subject.

Other works I have drawn on in which V1 is given more than passing attention are e.g. Bech's (2001) study on word order patterns in Old English and Middle English, as well as Cichosz's (2010) study on Old English and Old High German (OHG) word order patterns.

1.3 Methodology

To answer the first research question, concerning the effect of the above-mentioned non-linguistic and linguistic variables on the use of V1, I will carry out a corpus-based quantitative study. I will quantitatively analyse V1 clauses extracted from a corpus of selected texts from the YCOE (*York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* 2003), which will take up the main bulk of the thesis. To ascertain whether my findings are statistically significant, I will use Pearson's chi-square test. I do acknowledge that more sophisticated statistical tests, which unfortunately would be outside the scope of the present study, probably are better suited to the data because of large sample sizes; however, the chi-square, including phi-coefficient values, will still give valid assessment of the data.

To answer the second research question, I will qualitatively analyse a smaller selection of these V1 clauses, with a particular view towards discovering to what extent 'narrative inversion' is a pragmatic function of V1 in OE. Identifying pragmatic function(s) of any word order in a long dead language does of course rely on subjective interpretation. Furthermore, a far more thorough investigation than a master's thesis could undertake, including the analysis of a larger number of V1 clauses as well as a more in-depth analysis of their textual context, is needed to throw full light on the issue. Even so, the present study can hopefully contribute some useful knowledge to the field.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

The present thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 will briefly summarise previous research on V1 word order in OE, specifically as concerns factors which have been suggested to facilitate its use, as well as pragmatic functions which the structure has been proposed to have. Chapter 3 will discuss methodological considerations raised by the previous research, present the corpus of primary sources used in the present study, and describe the methodology used, in particular that of corpus linguistics. Chapter 4 will present and discuss the results of the study, while chapter 5 will summarise the previous chapters.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

Research on V1 word order in Old English (OE) has not been abundant. The tendency for V1 to be overlooked in the literature could be explained by the low frequency of this word order in the corpus, as well as by the high level of variation between OE texts both in terms of V1 frequency and in terms of apparent constraints on its use (Calle-Martin & Miranda-García 2010:49). The existent research on verb-initial declarative main clauses in OE is mainly concerned with one or both of the following two topics, as pointed out by Calle-Martín & Miranda García (2010:49): firstly, the factors facilitating the use of V1 structures (e.g. negation, coordination, type of verb, time of composition and translation status). These will be dealt with in section 2.2. Secondly, there is the matter of the pragmatic function(s) of V1 in OE texts, which will be dealt with in section 2.3. These two perspectives on the V1 phenomenon are closely connected. Specifically, certain linguistic factors, such as the lexico-functional properties of verbs which appear in clause-initial position, can be difficult to separate entirely from the pragmatic function of this type of structure.

I will however begin by examining these two topics separately. Where appropriate, i.e. in section 2.3 on pragmatic function(s), I will draw upon literature which compares V1 in OE with the proposed pragmatic functions of this type of word order in other Germanic languages, as well as in their common ancestors: Proto-Northwest Germanic and Proto-Indo-European. Section 2.4 gives some concluding comments, while section 2.5 summarises this chapter about previous research on V1 word order.

2.2 Factors relevant for V1 word order

In the literature, various linguistic and extra-linguistic factors have been proposed as influencing the use of V1 word order. Some of these are extra-linguistic, such as time of composition and translation status (section 2.2.1). Some are syntactic, such as negation (section 2.2.2) and coordination (non-conjunct clauses vs. second and subsequent conjunct clauses, cf. section 2.2.3), while some are semantic, such as type of verb (section 2.2.4). Section 2.2.5 briefly lists additional factors which may influence the use of V1

word order; although they are mentioned by the literature, I will not discuss them in any depth here.

2.2.1 Time of composition and translation status

Two extra-linguistic factors which have been suggested as relevant for the frequency of V1 word order are time of composition (early vs. late OE) and translation status (translation vs. original OE composition). As shown by e.g. Bech (2001:73), the relative frequencies of different word order patterns changed from the early to the late Old English period. Accordingly, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50) suggest that time of composition[1] (Alfredian or post-Alfredian OE) might be relevant to the use of V1 structures in the texts. Relying on their findings of high V1 frequencies in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Bede) and *Orosius* (Or) compared to in later texts, they conclude that the structure was most used in Alfredian OE and became less common in subsequent periods (52). This is in accordance with Bech's (2001:73) results, as well as with Cichosz' (2010:87) proposed possible scenario in which V1 before the 9th century may have been a productive pattern, used in everyday speech, before it gradually may have become more marked, disappearing from everyday speech in the late 10th century.[2] Although these results seem to show that V1 word order was less frequent in the late than in the early period of OE, I believe that time of composition is still worth investigating as a factor potentially influencing V1 frequency. In part, this is because it may interact with other factors, such as translation status (see below) in ways not yet sufficiently investigated. In this context there is a methodological problem with the first two of the above-mentioned studies. Bech (2001:7), although thorough, bases her statistics on the early OE period on excerpts from four texts which all are translated from Latin: Bede, *Cura Pastoralis* (CP), Or and *Boethius* (Bo). Accordingly, her study has no data on the word order of early OE texts that are not translations. Similarly, Calle-Martín

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[1] The terminology used by Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50) differs in some respects from the one I will use to comment on their work. While they use the term 'intra-dialectal variation' to refer to the Alfredian vs. the post-Alfredian OE period, I will use the term 'time of composition', which seems more appropriate as it refers to a diachronic continuum. Likewise, I will use the term 'translation status' to refer to whether texts are translated or original OE compositions, rather than their somewhat incongruous term 'genre variation', a term which may lead to confusion with e.g. the prose/poetry distinction.

[2] Cichosz states clearly that this is a 'possible scenario [which] may be as follows…' (87); that is, she does not claim that this is what happened to the language, but merely makes an informed guess, suggesting a possible explanation for the decline of V1 in OE. It is of course impossible to say anything definite about the 'everyday speech' of the OE period.

& Miranda-García (2010:51) use three of these same texts (Bede, Or and CP) and no OE originals from the early period.

Calle-Martín and Miranda-García (2010:50) do however mention translation status as a factor which is possibly relevant for V1. When comparing the frequency of V1 in the eight texts in their study (51–2), they find that the two original OE compositions *Ælfric's Letters* and *Wulfstan's Homilies h*ave a lower V1 frequency than the translated texts (Or and – particularly – Bede), but a higher V1 frequency than the other translations in their study. In other words, the discrepancy in V1 frequency between the different translated texts in their study is great. Accordingly, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García tentatively disregard this factor (52), without, however, having tested whether their results are statistically significant. As the study investigates no more than two original OE texts, though, both of them from the late period (as mentioned above), the evidence on which they disregard translation status as a factor for V1 seems rather slim.

Another study investigating translation as a factor for V1 is Cichosz (2010:116), who finds that while 11% of the non-conjunct declarative clauses in her original OE prose texts are verb-initial, only 3% of the non-conjunct declarative clauses in the translated prose texts have V1 word order. However, Cichosz makes it clear that she counts subjectless clauses as V1 – a track I will not follow (see section 3.2 for a discussion). Obviously, Cichosz' definition of V1 could conceivably result in very different V1 percentages as well as different conclusions from the ones reached by researchers who do not count subjectless clauses as V1. Cichosz' study compares OE and Old High German (OHG) syntax, and texts have been selected in order to be comparable with regards to e.g. genre (e.g. religious or secular as well as prose or poetry), translation status and sample size (52–5), which limits the number of texts for her to study. She only uses two translated OE texts, which are excerpts from two biblical translations, namely *Genesis* and the *West Saxon Gospels* (WSCp). This sample consists of 448 clauses altogether. Cichosz compares these translations with the complete *Alia Visio*, the complete *Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and excerpts from LawAf 1 and ChronA. Her sample of OE original compositions consists of 774 clauses. In other words, as with Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010), the OE sample Cichosz investigates is not very large. Nevertheless, this issue disregarded, as well as that of her definition of V1, her results suggest that

translation may be a relevant factor for OE word order. Ideally, this factor should be investigated using a larger sample of both translated and original OE texts.

2.2.2 Negation of the finite verb

Negation, Denison (1986:286) states, might be one factor leading to V1; out of the nine instances of V1 that he finds in his study of ChronA, two are negated. More recent studies, e.g. Bech (2001:41–2), who finds that of all the verb-initial clauses, 20.7% have the clitic *ne* 'not' + verb while 10.3% have a reduced form of *ne* merged with the verb, also indicate that negation is a factor facilitating V1 word order. Denison suggests, however, in light of Mitchell's (1985:§1599) claim that 'the negated verb is normally in initial position in principal clauses in the prose', that negated sentences should be treated as a class separate from affirmatives (Denison 1986:286). Calle-Martín & Miranda-Garcia (2010:50) accordingly exclude negated clauses from their study on V1 word order in OE. Indeed, they go as far as to state, somewhat inaccurately, that '[…] negative clauses have been accordingly ruled out because they exclusively appear in V1 positions' (50). As has been observed by Wallage (2005:111) and others, and as summarised in Walkden (2012:106), V1 is by no means obligatory for negated verbs. Negation of the finite verb by means of the clitic *ne*, then, must be seen as a factor facilitating but not determining V1 in OE.

Scholars such as Ohkado (1996), as well as van Kemenade (1987) and Stockwell & Minkova (1991) (in Bech 2001) have other reasons for not analysing clauses beginning with *ne*+verb as V1; I will return to this in section 3.2.1 below.

2.2.3 Coordination

According to e.g. Mitchell (1985:§1685), clauses following conjunctions such as *ond* 'and' and *ac* 'but', i.e. second and subsequent conjunct clauses, often have a word order which is 'basically subordinate', that is, S…V, rather than the word order of regular main clauses. This claim is disputed by Bech (2001:86–93), who points out that verb-final is in fact not the most common word order for conjunct clauses; SVX is more common in these than verb-final and verb-late clauses together (88). Still, however, she finds that verb final word order is more common in conjunct than in conjunct clauses, and concludes that as there are statistically significant differences between the verb order distribution in non-

conjunct and conjunct clauses, it is useful to distinguish between them in word order studies (93).

In line with this, Cichosz (2010:71–2) maintains the distinction between what she terms 'non-conjoined clauses' and 'conjoined clauses' in her investigation of word order patterns in Old English and Old High German. As concerns V1, she finds that in original OE prose, non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses have the same V1 frequency, whereas in translated texts (cf. section 2.2.1) there is a considerable difference, as only 3 percent of non-conjunct clauses have V1 while 24 percent of conjunct clauses do. As mentioned above, Cichosz counts subjectless clauses as V1, and with respect to coordination, she states that the great majority of the conjoined V1 clauses she has found have unexpressed subjects (116). The discrepancy between her results and those reached if clauses with unexpressed clauses are excluded would be particularly great in cases like this, where subjectless clauses constitute such a large share of the total of clauses counted as V1. Still, Cichosz' findings show that the non-conjunct clause versus conjunct clause distinction could be worthy of investigation in relation to verb-initial word order.

It may also be mentioned that not all scholars, e.g. Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010), as well as Mitchell (1985§3932), count conjunct clauses where the finite verb follows the conjunction as V1, as they analyse the conjunction as the initial element in the conjunct clause. This issue will be discussed further in section 3.2.3 in the methodology chapter.

2.2.4 Type of verb and semantic weight

Properties shared by the verbs that occur in V1 position, and which therefore might be expected to increase the use of V1 word order, have been discussed in terms of semantic weight and content (Denison 1986, Ohkado 2004). Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010), as well as Cichosz (2010), have approached the topic by grouping V1 verbs according to semantic categories which can be tied to the pragmatic functions of the structure.

Denison (1986:286–7) claims that a factor which is more important than e.g. negation (cf. section 2.2.2) in facilitating V1 word order is the nature of the finite verb, i.e. the verb's semantic weight, or the degree of lexical meaning it carries. Referring to the weight principle, he states that 'light elements come early in the clause' (287).

Denison leans on Stockwell (1977:192), as well as Strang (1970:347), in suggesting that 'light, auxiliary-like, low-information-content verbs' in the course of the OE period became more likely to appear in clause-initial position than other verbs did, and that they therefore are less marked in this position than other verbs are. In support of his claims, eight of the nine verbs occurring in verb-initial position in the excerpt of ChronA that he investigates are of the lexemes *habban* 'have' and *beon/wesan* 'be' (286). Both, Denison notes, are verbs that regularly function as auxiliaries, forming compound tenses with lexical participles; this is the case with six of the nine clause-initial verbs in his study. This fact is taken up by Ohkado (2000:264), who overgeneralises that *all* of Denison's V1 verbs are either negated or auxiliaries, when two of Denison's cases of *beon* are in fact main verbs in simple verb phrases. From there, Ohkado (2000) inaccurately states that in ChronA, V1 is 'restricted to cases involving auxiliary verbs'. Although this claim appears to be too strong, Denison's few examples give grounds for investigating how much more often auxiliaries appear in V1 position than main verbs do.

Among Denison's V1 verb lexemes there is also one case of *cuman* 'come'. Although *cuman* is a lexical verb, Denison points out that it 'can also be used as a generalised verb of motion in construction with an infinitive' (287), i.e. it can function as an auxiliary. Notably, however, this case of *cuman* is accompanied by the clitic *ne*, so negation could also play a part here.

The factor of verb type has later been extended from the auxiliary–lexical verb continuum to include other semantic and structural aspects. Ohkado (2004:3), in his study on V1 in the first series of *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* (ÆCHom I)*, finds in initial position unaccusative[3] verbs, e.g. *weaxan* 'grow', and verbs of saying, e.g. *cweþan* 'say', in addition to *beon* and *habban*. In connection to his list of V1 verbs from ÆCHom I, Ohkado points out and immediately dismisses the fact that these verbs 'roughly correspond to those used in "inversion" constructions in Present-Day English' as a way of explaining the restrictions on use of V1 word order (3). Furthermore, Ohkado refers to transitivity when commenting on how in Bede there are no restrictions as to the type of verb occurring in initial position (4) (see, however, a discussion on verb types occurring

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[3] An unaccusative verb is defined as having a subject which semantically 'does not actively initiate or is not actively responsible for the action of the verb' (*Lexicon of linguistics*. 1996–2001, accessed February 25, 2015). Strangely, Ohkado (2004:3) identifies *cuman*, which he finds two examples of, as an unaccusative verb; this is on the contrary an unergative verb, as its subject is the semantic agent.

in V1 position in Bede and in other texts in section 4.5 below). In light of his findings, Ohkado dismisses the notion that the restrictions on the type of verbs appearing in V1 position can be accounted for by structural properties shared exclusively by these verbs (3–4).

Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:53), investigating eight OE texts, find in V1 position the same types of verbs as Denison (1986) and Ohkado (2004) do, as well as a wider range of lexical verbs. Accordingly, they propose an alternative, lexico-functional motivation for the use of verb-initial word order. They sort verbs appearing clause-initially into four groups based on lexical meaning (54): speaking verbs (e.g. *andswarian* 'answer', *biddan* 'ask, request', *cweþan* 'say' and *secgean* 'say'), motion verbs (e.g. *cuman* and *faran* 'go'), physical action (e.g. *sendan* 'send') and light load verbs (e.g. *beon/wesan*, *habban* and *weorþan* 'become'). They also operate with a 'rest/others' group with verbs such as *willan* 'will' and *witan* 'know'. Verbs from all five groups appear in the texts investigated, the ones mentioned here being the most frequent members of each group. Calle-Martín & Miranda-García follow up by linking this lexico-functional aspect to the pragmatic functions of V1, particularly as described by Mitchell (1985):

> The fact that both speaking and motion verbs become the most common types in V1 may be justified in view of the particular function that this type of constructions denotes, which is 'a turning point, transition or a change of pace in the prose' (Mitchell 1985, II:976). It is grounded, therefore, to think that speaking and action verbs are those which particularly denote that function. (Calle-Martín & Miranda-García 2010:54)

Cichosz (2010:83–5), however, building on Petrova (2006), recognises four types of verb frequently appearing in V1 constructions, namely verbs of motion, verbs of saying, verbs of (sensual and cognitive) perception and the verb 'to be'. It would seem an interesting track to investigate how the pragmatic functions of V1 might explain which verbs typically appear in these constructions. As pointed out by Calle-Martin & Miranda-García (2010:55), however, in deciding the pragmatic function of individual cases of V1, i.e. grouping each case into semantic categories, 'the load of subjectivity is an obstacle.' Furthermore, subjectivity is an issue with respect to establishing the semantic categories themselves, something which the different practices of these two studies serve to illustrate.

2.2.5 Other factors

Mitchell (1985:§3932/3933) mentions the individual writers' personal preferences as a possible factor for V1 in OE texts, which can be useful in authorship attribution studies (Calle-Martín & Miranda-García 2010:52) but which is outside the scope of the present master's thesis. In the same place, Mitchell also states that V1 is more common in OE poetry than in OE prose. Some would argue that poetry might not be an appropriate starting point for studying authentic syntax in a language; I will however not go into a discussion of how suitable different genres are to the study of authentic OE syntax. Still, I will leave out V1 word order in poetry for now, not because it is irrelevant for the study of V1 in OE, but because, again, it is outside the scope of this thesis.

2.3 Pragmatic functions of V1

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the second vein of research on verb-initial word order in OE concerns 'the particular functions of V1 in OE texts' (Calle-Martín & Miranda-García 2010:49), by which is presumably meant the pragmatic functions of the structure. I will begin by in section 2.3.1 presenting the proposed pragmatic functions of V1 in some languages that are related to OE. These functions, notably that of 'narrative inversion', may be comparable to the functions of V1 in OE. From there, I will continue to the pragmatic functions of V1 that have been proposed for OE. Central to this topic is Mitchell's (1985:§3933) description of V1 as marking 'a turning point, a transition or a change of pace in the prose', a statement which has been elaborated on by others and which will be discussed in section 2.3.2. Another suggested function of V1, which will be dealt with in section 2.3.3, is that of emphasis. The structure could function to emphasise the initial verb. Alternatively, V1 could function to de-emphasise; as has been argued to be the case in Icelandic, verb-initial word order could have the function of non-thematisation, or non-emphasis, of the subject of the V1 sentence.

2.3.1 V1 in other languages

Walkden (2012:107) argues that since V1 structures are found in all the early Germanic languages, it can be reconstructed for Proto-Northwest Germanic. Furthermore, Luraghi (1995) claims that verb-initial word order can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European,

stating that 'initial verbs typically occurred at junctures in the discourse, and indicated a shift in style', for example from description to narration (382). This function appears to be similar to the pragmatic function the word order serves in its descendants, e.g. as described by Mitchell (1985) for V1 in OE; see section 2.3.2. V1 word order is furthermore found in OHG (Cichosz 2010) and in Old and Present-Day Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1984, 1990, and Ohkado 2004) as well as in Present-Day Dutch (Ohkado 2004).

Verb-initial word order where the subject directly follows the initial verb (VS) and is not e.g. clause final (VXS) (see below) in declarative main clauses, is according to Sigurðsson (1984:1) particularly characteristic of narrative prose in Icelandic, and is therefore referred to as 'narrative inversion'. Ohkado (2004:9), comparing the pragmatic functions of verb-initial structures in Dutch and modern Icelandic and in OE, concludes that although there is some overlap, as narrative inversion is one pragmatic function of OE V1 structures, V1 structures in OE also have some functions not found in the other Germanic languages (listed as points [b]–[f] in section 2.3.2 below).

For Dutch, Ohkado (2004:10) cites Zwart (1997) as describing two uses of V1, namely topic drop and narrative inversion. Topic drop is a syntactic phenomenon where a clause element is omitted, but where its (personal) referent is saliently present in the discourse situation, as in this example from Zwart 1997:220,[4] where a 3rd person direct object is missing:

[2.1]   [Ø] Sla   ik voor zijn bek
        [Ø] strike I for his   mouth
        'Him I strike across the mouth.'

Citing Cardinaletti's (1990) assumption that 'topic drop constructions involve an empty operator binding a pronominal variable', Ohkado states that none of the V1 structures he has found in ÆCHom I can be analysed as topic drop, as they do not involve this type of missing clause element; that is, 'missing elements which can be interpreted as a pronominal variable' (Ohkado 2004:10). The other use of V1 in Dutch, narrative inversion (with inversion of subject and verb), is illustrated by the following example from Zwart 1997:220:

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[4] Glosses and translations for both examples [2.1] and [2.2] are my adaptions of Zwart's original translations, which seem to be a mix of idiomatic translation and gloss.

[2.2]   Sla   ik die vent voor zijn bek
        strike I that guy for   his   mouth
        'I strike that guy across the mouth.'

Den Besten (1989:62) describes this type of structure as typical for spoken Dutch and highly effective for e.g. opening a story. According to van Kemenade (1987:44), its function is comparable to the function of V1 constructions in OE. Ohkado states, however, that only a small portion of OE V1 structures can be analysed as corresponding to Dutch narrative inversion; many other examples cannot be said to have this function (2004:10).

For Old and Modern Icelandic, Ohkado (2004:11) refers to Sigurðsson's (1990:45) statement that narrative inversion constructions 'are most common in particularly cohesive texts, such as modern memoirs of various sorts, narrative letters and diaries, some argumentative texts, many folk-tales, and most of the Old Icelandic sagas'. Sigurðsson (1990:51) presents findings that V1 in Icelandic is common after *ok* 'and' but rare after *en* 'but', suggesting that this word order is a typical trait of cohesion rather than of contrast. This observation, Ohkado states, does not apply to V1 structures in ÆCHom I, of which 33.3% show clear contrast to preceding sentences (11). Ohkado argues that his findings 'suggest that at least substantial parts of V1 constructions in Old English are different in nature from corresponding constructions in Icelandic.' (11) It might also be mentioned that this description of Icelandic V1 is contrary to Mitchell's (1985) observation concerning V1 in OE, described below, i.e. that V1 word order marks as a 'turning point' in the discourse. The type of cohesive text that characterises Sigurðsson's examples of Icelandic narrative inversion would however be well in line with Ohkado's function [a] (see below) for V1 in OE, i.e. of marking the transition from action to action as *þa* 'then' usually does in prose.

2.3.2 Turning point

Mitchell (1985:§3933) describes V1 (after Robinson's suggestion) as marking 'a turning point, a transition or a change of pace in the prose' in the way a paragraph does in Present-Day English. Ohkado (2004:11) agrees, stating that although this observation is correct, it is also too unspecified, and should be elaborated. Accordingly, he presents six functions

of V1 in ÆCHom I, five of which (all except for [b]) can be said to be a variant of Mitchell's 'turning point' function (Ohkado 2004:12). These functions are as follows:

[a] mark transition from action to action as *þa* 'then' usually does in prose (narrative inversion)

[b] summarize the discussion

[c] introduce a type of something distinct from the types presented in the preceding sentence(s)

[d] introduce a sentence different from or adversative or in contrast to the preceding one(s)

[e] introduce a new character

[f] open a new paragraph

These functions, Ohkado says, are not mutually exclusive. Function [a] is comparable to narrative inversion in Dutch and (as mentioned above) in Icelandic.

2.3.3 Emphasis

Strang (1970), as well as Stockwell (1977), as paraphrased by Denison (1986:287), argue that 'by the end of the ninth century, VSX [was] a possible form of marking *any* verb.' Along the same lines, Lass (1994:221) describes V1 as topicalisation, a claim he exemplifies but does not explain. According to Crystal (1985:311), topicalisation takes place when 'a [constituent] is moved to the front of a sentence, so that it functions as topic'. The topic of a sentence he defines as '[that] about which something is said' (311). In other words, topicalisation is a way of giving emphasis to a constituent; in verb-initial constructions, the emphasised constituent would presumably be the initial verb. Mitchell (1985:§3931-3932), furthermore, discusses emphasis as a possible function of verb-initial structures, listing a number of OE examples that others have claimed to be emphatic. He concludes, however, that while he does not reject emphasis as an explanation for at least some of the quoted examples, he 'just do[es] not know how to test it' (§3932). Indeed,

determining the level of emphasis in OE clauses seems a difficult business, prone to subjectivity.

Another route to follow as concerns emphasis is that taken by Sigurðsson (1984), who regards V1 in Icelandic not as emphasising the clause-initial verb, but as a structure that facilitates the non-thematisation or the rhematisation of the subject/theme. Sigurðsson (1984:4–7) distinguishes two types of Icelandic verb initial declarative main clauses, not counting subjectless clauses, based on their word order: VS, where the initial verb is directly followed by subject, which he refers to as 'narrative inversion', and VXS, where another element, e.g. an adverbial, comes between the initial verb and the subject; see examples [2.3] and [2.4], respectively. This distinction he bases on a functional hierarchy where clause elements are ranked according to their informational value. This functional scale has four levels and is an extension of the theme–rheme distinction, 'ranging from dethematization through non-thematization and thematization to rhematization' (Sigurðsson 1984:h2).[5]

The clause initial position is normally where the theme is found in SVO and SOV languages, and fronting of (nominal) elements such as subjects to this position has the prime function of thematisation, according to Sigurðsson (1984:4). The theme is '"what the rest of the sentence is about"' (5), and presents known information. Rhematisation, however, happens when the subject is moved to clause final position, as in VXS clauses. In these, the subject always contains new information (6), and consequently extra emphasis, as in the Icelandic examples below (from Sigurðsson 1984:h3–h4):[6]

[2.3]   Hafa oft   komið hingað frægir landkönnuðir
        had   often come   to-there famous exploreres
        'Famous explorers had often come there.'

[2.4]   Fóru þá   margir Norðmenn   til Islands
        went then many   Norwegians to Iceland
        'Then many Norwegians went to Iceland.'

In narrative inversion clauses, or VS clauses, on the contrary, the subjects have not been thematised; they are 'latent themes' (5). According to Sigurðsson, this non-thematisation

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[5] A 'handout' with separate page numbering is supplied along with the article, as a part of it; 'h2' refers to page 2 of this 'handout' part (h3 and h4 likewise refer to pages 3 and 4 in the 'handout').
[6] The glosses are Sigurðsson's, as they were included in his original examples; the idiomatic translations are mine.

is due to the subject's low information content: 'there is an inverse relationship between the frequency of [narrative inversion] and the information value of the subject-theme: the lower information content of the subject, the higher probability of [narrative inversion]' (5).

2.4 Concluding comments

As mentioned in section 2.1, the previous research on V1 in OE is not abundant. I have been able to discover no more than three studies (Ohkado 2000, Ohkado 2004 and Calle-Martín & Miranda-García 2010) whose main topic is V1 word order in OE. Only the last of these studies makes use of corpus linguistics and the large amounts of data this method can offer for quantitative analysis. V1 is also dealt with in some studies on OE syntactic patterns (e.g. Denison 1986, Bech 2001 and Cichosz 2010); only, however, as one of many word order patterns. Perhaps the most salient problem, when regarding the previous research on V1 as a whole, is the lack of a common definition of V1 word order. This problem will be discussed further in section 3.2 and subsections in the next chapter.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented two lines of research on verb-initial word order in Old English: the factors facilitating V1 and the pragmatic functions of V1, referring to data from a number of studies. Covering every study that makes mention of V1 word order in OE has of course been neither possible nor desirable. Rather, it has been my intention to give an overview of the field, presenting the most salient perspectives, issues, results and assumptions that are relevant for my own study of the phenomenon.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this study on verb-initial word order in Old English declarative main clauses, I will attempt to answer two research questions, as mentioned in chapter 1. Firstly, how does the interaction of certain linguistic and non-linguistic factors relate to the use of V1 word order? Secondly, what seems to be the pragmatic function(s) of V1 word order? To answer the first question, I will quantitatively test for the relationship between factors that according to the previous research presented in chapter 2 may facilitate V1, and the use of V1 in a selection of OE prose. To answer the second question, I will perform a qualitative analysis of the pragmatic function of a selection of clauses with V1 word order.

As for the structure of the present chapter, I will in section 3.2 discuss the definition of V1 as well as related methodological issues raised by the previous research presented in chapter 2. Section 3.3 will deal with the selection of primary sources, while section 3.4 gives a detailed description of the corpus searches which were run in order to answer the research questions. Section 3.5 sums up the chapter.

3.2 Methodological implications of the previous research in terms of defining V1

A central concern when researching V1 is the definition of the structure; as mentioned in section 2.4, the studies on verb-initial word order described in chapter 2 have no such common definition. Although this lack of agreement as to the content of the term may be expected due to scholars' different perspectives, it complicates the comparison of results from the different studies. Furthermore, it shows the necessity of defining V1 before I begin my own investigation, i.e. that I decide which specific word orders to group together under this label and include in the study. The question of whether to include negated clauses will be addressed in section 3.2.1, while section 3.2.2 deals with mood, and section 3.2.3 with coordination; see section 4.3.5 in the results chapter for the consequences of defining V1 in terms of these three variables. Section 3.2.4 deals with whether to include clauses with an unexpressed subject, while section 3.2.5 briefly addresses the issue of subdividing V1 clauses according to the order of the other clause elements. Section 3.2.6 presents some perspectives on verb types and V1 which have implications for my investigation of the phenomenon but which seem to be absent from the literature.

3.2.1 V1 in negated clauses

As described in section 2.2.1, some scholars who study V1, e.g. Denison (1986:286), as well as Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50), do not include clauses where the initial verb is negated with the rest of the verb-initial declarative main clauses in their studies. Their argument is essentially that as negated clauses regularly display a distinct word order from other clauses, negated clauses often being verb-initial,[7] this word order is less marked for them than for non-negated clauses. Their conclusion is that negated clauses therefore are unsuitable for the investigation of verb-initial word order. In the present study, however, I will regard negated clauses together with other declarative clauses, and examine how negation of the finite verb (presumably) increases the use of V1 word order in these clauses.

Another objection from the literature to counting clauses with a negated initial verb as V1 comes from transformationalist scholars such as Ohkado (1996:277–8), who would analyse these structures as V2 rather than V1, claiming that 'the first position [is] occupied by an empty operator and the second position by the combination of negating particle *ne* and finite verb.' Topics in generative grammar are however outside the scope of the present thesis; I will limit my study of OE syntax to surface structure only, and like Bech (2001) and others regard negated clauses where the negated verb is the first element as V1.

I will furthermore adopt Bech's (2001:40–1) practice of consistently analysing *ne* as a clitic, i.e. not as a separate clause element when appearing clause-initially, like e.g. van Kemenade (1987) and Stockwell & Minkova (1991) do, according to Bech (2001). Consequently, I will count as V1 both clauses with *ne* (full form) + verb and clauses where the negative particle is merged with the verb.

3.2.2 Mood

In their aforementioned study, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50) also exclude clauses where the verb is in the subjunctive mood from their study of V1, which they explain by the somewhat mystifying assumption that these clauses have an 'explicit V2 word order'. A more indisputable reason for excluding subjunctive V1 clauses from the

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[7] Calle-Martin & Miranda-García's actual phrasing is that 'clause-types such as interrogative, exhortative and negative clauses have been […] ruled out because they exclusively appear in V1 positions (sic)' (2010:50). This claim is hardly accurate as concerns negated clauses.

present study would be the fact that a portion of the subjunctive clauses in the corpus are what Mitchell (1985:§883) calls 'jussive subjunctive,' i.e. the subjunctive mood functioning similarly to the imperative mood. As with imperative clauses, V1 may be argued to be the unmarked word order for these jussive subjunctive clauses. For example, Quirk & Wrenn (1965:93) state that 'The order VSO/C is regular […] in jussive and volitional expressions. […] The verb similarly comes first in imperative expressions'. Arguably, including clauses where V1 is the unmarked word order, such as questions, imperative clauses and, it would seem from this quote from Quirk & Wrenn, jussive subjunctive clauses, in a study on the *marked* V1 word order in OE, would be counter-productive. Excluding all subjunctive clauses from the study could be one resort; this would however also lead to the exclusion of a number of non-jussive subjunctive V1 clauses, whose unmarked word order might not be V1, and which therefore are relevant to the study of the V1 phenomenon. Example [3.1] shows a V1 subjunctive clause which may be analysed as jussive subjunctive, while example [3.2] shows a subjunctive V1 clauses which is not jussive subjunctive. [3.3], furthermore, shows an imperative clause with the unmarked V1 word order.

[3.1] ða   cwæð se bisceop him   to, Cume se blinda to me.
       Then said   the bishop   them to, come the blind to me.
       'Then the bishop said to them: "Let the blind come to me."' (ÆLS (Apollinaris) 178)

[3.2] sy him   ðæs a wuldor
       be him.D the eternal glory
       'To him be the eternal glory.' (ÆLS (Æthelthryth) 107)

[3.3] Nim ðu, Apolloni, þis gewrit
       take you Apollon   this writing
       'Apollon, you take this writing.' (ApT 21.8)

Analysing all subjunctive clauses in the corpus, V1 and other, qualitatively, would regrettably be outside of the scope of this master's thesis. By doing so, however, it would be possible to ascertain how many of them are in fact jussive subjunctive, and from there to discover the effect of this type of construction.

While acknowledging that the issue is controversial, then, the present study will count subjunctive verb-initial clauses as V1, and accordingly investigate how the

subjunctive mood influences the use of V1. See section 3.4.3 below for searches on this type of clauses and section 4.3.3 for results. Imperative clauses, on the contrary, will not be counted as relevant to the phenomenon under investigation here. For the sake of comparison, however, I will run searches to ascertain what the frequency of V1 is in indicative, subjunctive and imperative clauses.

3.2.3 Coordination

Furthermore, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50) state that 'clauses beginning with anything other than a verb, either a conjunction or an adverb, have also been excluded assuming an explicit V2 order'. The present study likewise regards adverbs as full clause elements, (obviously) counting clauses such as example [3.4] as V2. To support their exclusion of conjunct clauses from their definition of V1, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García cite Mitchell (1985:§3932), who disregards from his discussion of verb-initial clauses all sentences which begin with anything other than a verb, including clauses introduced by e.g. *ond* 'and' and *ac* 'but'. This is however not a practice I will follow, as the coordinating conjunction is not commonly analysed as part of the conjunct clause it introduces. Rather, I will analyse conjunctions like *&* 'and' in example [3.5] below as an element coordinating two independent main clauses (one non-conjunct and one conjunct), rather than as occupying the clause-initial position in the conjunct clause. Accordingly, I will analyse the conjunct clause in example [3.5] as V1.

[3.4]   Þonne mæg he libban.
        then   may he   live
        'Then, he may live.' (Lch II (3) 65.1.2.)

[3.5]   &   synt fyrmyste þa   ðe   beoð ytemeste
        and are   first   those that are   last
        '"…and first who will be last."'(Lk (WSCp) 13.28)

3.2.4 Expression of the subject

One salient difference between studies of V1 is whether or not they define clauses with a null subject and with the finite verb as the first expressed clause element as verb-initial. Denison (1986:285) limits his discussion to '…examples [that have] the verb first, immediately followed by an overt subject, giving VSX order.' Ohkado (2004:2) exclusively considers clauses where 'the finite verb occupies the initial position with the

subject following', while Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50) investigate clauses with 'an overt subject whose verb, either an auxiliary or a main verb, appears clause-initially'.

Cichosz (2010), on the contrary, as mentioned in section 2.2.1, includes subjectless clauses, although she admits that 'some linguists believe that such clauses cannot be treated as really V-1 since there is an "empty slot" before the finite verb, unoccupied by the subject, and all such clauses are "potentially V-2"' (94). Cichosz' (2010:116) statement (cf. chapter 2) that the great majority of the conjoined V1 declarative clauses in her sample have unexpressed subjects suggests that if these controversial clauses were left out, her data would be significantly altered. Axel (2007), furthermore, as paraphrased in Walkden (2012:107), describes 'preverbal null subjects' as a motivating factor for V1 in OHG, while Haugland (2007:133) states that 'it is not uncommon for [verb-initial declarative clauses] to have ZERO referential subject, particularly with initial main verbs'.

With this controversy in mind, I will restrict my investigation of verb-initial structures to clauses where the initial verb is followed by an expressed subject, either directly or later in the clause. This decision is also motivated by the fact that conjunction reduction, i.e. the deletion of subjects with a referent identical to that of the previous clause, which is typical of OE conjunct clauses, is an entirely different phenomenon from verb fronting.

3.2.5 The order of the other clause elements

Another, related, issue is whether to distinguish clauses with VS(X) and VXS word order, as Sigurðsson (1984) does for Icelandic. There is no doubt about whether to count both word orders as V1, even though e.g. Denison (1986:285), as mentioned in the previous section, only discusses VSX structures. Rather, the question is whether other aspects of element order than verb fronting should be paid attention to in the study of V1. VSX and VXS could be postulated as subcategories of verb-initial word order, and individual V1 clauses could be subdivided into these. Furthermore, subjects and other clause elements could be analysed with regards to semantic and structural weight. Both of these tracks of investigation could potentially be meaningful as a part of a qualitative investigation of

the pragmatic functions of V1. Regrettably, however, following them would be outside the scope of the present study.

3.2.6 Verb types and V1 frequency

One point of interest, which appears to have been neglected in the literature, is the frequency of certain verbs found in initial position relative to their overall frequency. Common lexemes like *beon* 'be' and *habban* 'have' seem to be the most frequent in these structures, as mentioned in section 2.2.4, but it might be questioned whether this is due to their (presumably) being the most frequent verbs in OE. Even if *beon* and *habban* are indeed more common in V1 position than other lexemes, is this still the case if instances where they function as auxiliaries, are disregarded?

Another issue is how and why verb type affects the use of V1 word order. As shown by Ohkado (2004) and Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010), a great variety of verbs occur in V1 position in OE texts, but with highly differing frequencies. In some texts the number of lexemes to occur in V1 position may appear to be limited, possibly due to constraints on verb type; in other texts, with Bede as the foremost example, there seem to be no restrictions on the types of verbs that can occur clause-initially, at least according to Ohkado (2004:4). Furthermore, as mentioned above, Calle-Martin & Miranda-García's lexico-functional grouping of verbs connects pragmatic functions of V1, such as e.g. narrative inversion, with other linguistic factors facilitating V1, such as semantic weight. This poses the question of whether a verb is used clause-initially because of its structural properties in a given context (e.g. being an auxiliary), or because its lexical meaning is compatible with typical pragmatic functions of V1. It seems likely that both of these reasons come into play. As concerns the typology of OE verbs appearing in V1 structures, then, rather than asking what factors categorically restrict its occurrence, it might be more fruitful to investigate how a combination of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, such as time of composition and translation, negation, coordination, mood, verb phrase structure and verb type, as well as pragmatic function, affect the use of V1.

3.3 Selection of primary sources

In selecting OE texts to use as primary sources in this study, my aim was to cover the two periods 850–950 AD (early OE) and 950–1050 AD (late OE), as well as to include an equal number of translations from Latin and original OE compositions. Furthermore, I wanted texts of a certain length in order for the data to be representative. None of the texts that were used is shorter than Ælfred's *Introduction to Laws* (LawAfE1, 1,966 words), the inclusion of which serves to highlight a slight problem, which is the shortage of original OE prose texts composed (with certainty) earlier than 950 AD. As shown in table 3.1 below, this first group is represented by three fairly short law texts in addition to early entries of ChronA. The reason for this is that the choice of texts which were suited to represent this group was severely limited. The other groups, in contrast, have at least five texts, representing a greater variety of genres as well as higher word counts. Altogether, the texts used as primary sources in this study count more than 600,000 words.

Table 3.1: Primary sources.

Text	Period	Translation	Word count
The Anglo Saxon Chronicle A (ChronA)	OE[8]	No	14,583
Laws of Alfred I (LawAf 1)	850-950	No	3,314
Alfred's Introduction to Laws (LawAfE1)		No	1,966
Laws of Ine (LawIne)		No	2,755
Bede's History of the English Church (Bede)		Yes	80,767
Boethius (Bo)		Yes	48,443
Cura Pastoralis (CP)		Yes	68,556
Bald's Leechbook (Lch II (1-3))		Yes	34,727
Orosius (Or)		Yes	51,020
Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I (ÆCHom I)		No	106,173
Ælfric's Lives of Saints (ÆLS)		No[9]	100,193
Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard (ÆLet4 (SigewardZ))		No	10,420
Laws of Cnut I (LawICn)		No	2,386
Martyrology (Mart 2.1)		No	4,391
Apollonius of Tyre (ApT)		Yes	6,545
Benedictine Rule (BenR)		Yes	20,104
Heptateuch (Gen, Exod, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg)		Yes	59,524
Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni (ÆTemp)		Yes	5,495
The West Saxon Gospels (WSCp: Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn)		Yes	71,104

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[8] In the following analysis, ChronA has been subdivided according to time of composition.

[9] Bech (2001:9) expresses the view that ÆLS, which the YCOE lists as a non-translation, is in fact a translation, something which reflects the fact that the distinction between translation and non-translation appears in many cases to be rather vague. For example, Rusten (2015:63), leaning on e.g. Fulk & Cain (2003:52–8), as well as on Kohonen (1978:74), states that many OE translations exhibit a high degree of independence from the Latin or Greek originals. However, rather than investigating each of the primary

Primary sources used in the study are listed in Table 3.1. Data on the texts concerning word counts, time of composition and translation status are taken from the YCOE website. Two of the primary sources require a few additional comments with regards to their inclusion in the study:

As ChronA consists of a number of entries which were written over several centuries, I decided to split the text in two, as mentioned in footnote 8. Entries dated up to year 950 have been grouped together with the early texts, while entries dated after 950 have been grouped with the late texts. Although this required some extra work in terms of finding the correct numbers of clauses (total and V1) for each period, the inclusion of ChronA is worthwhile as it contributes to genre variation, the rest of the early OE originals in the present corpus being law texts.

The high frequency of V1 word order in Bede has been pointed out by many scholars, e.g. Ohkado (2000:268, 2004:4) as well as Quirk & Wrenn (1965:94). One might worry that if such a long text has an unrepresentatively high V1 frequency, it could influence the statistics too much. Still, excluding a text because of its high V1 frequency from a study on V1 frequency would be problematic, and give a distorted picture of the phenomenon. Furthermore, as we will see in chapter 4, Bede does in fact not have the highest V1 frequency of the texts investigated here, at least following the definition of V1 used in the present study.

3.4 Searching the corpus

The rest of the present chapter will describe in detail the process of searching the corpus. Searches were run with the aim of testing for the effect on the frequency and use of V1 word order of the linguistic factors of coordination (cf. section 3.4.1), negation (section 3.4.2) and mood (section 3.4.3), as well as of verb phrase structure and type of verb (section 3.4.4). I have used the program *CorpusSearch 2* (2005–2013) to search for relevant structures in nineteen text files from YCOE *(The York-Toronto-Helsinki Corpus of Old English Prose* 2003).

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texts used in the present study with the aim of determining whether they should be classified as translations or as original OE compositions, I will follow the classification used by the YCOE. While Bech's (2001:9) stance concerning ÆLS may be a valid, then, I will in the present study follow the YCOE in classifying ÆLS as a non-translation.

3.4.1 Finding relevant clauses and all V1 structures

I began by extracting from the nineteen parsed corpus files all relevant clauses, i.e. declarative main clauses with an indicative or subjunctive finite verb, and with an expressed subject, using searches [3.5] and [3.6] below.[10] I first set the node (i.e. defined the search domain) to IP-MAT* (i.e. matrix clauses). Doing so excludes all subordinate clauses, as well as questions,[11] and includes all main clauses, also those which consist of direct speech (annotated IP-MAT-SPE, for which the wildcard * opens). The query in [3.6] contains two search-function calls: the first limits the query to nodes which designate matrix clauses and which immediately dominate (that is, which are immediately above in the tree structure) certain types of finite verbs. The second (beginning with AND) further limits the query to nodes *not* immediately dominating verbs that are ambiguously subjunctive or imperative, as the study limits its definition of V1 (ideally, but see section 3.2.2) to declarative clauses only.

[3.6]   node: IP-MAT*
    query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms
    BEP|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|*VBP* |*VBD*|*AXP*|
    AXD)
    AND (IP-MAT* iDoms !*BEPH|*VBPH))

Search [3.7] was run on the output from [3.6]. By doing this, I limited the scope to clauses with an overt subject, using the command file below to exclude clauses with an unexpressed subject:

[3.7]   node: IP-MAT*
    query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms NP-NOM)
    AND (NP-NOM iDoms ! *con*|*pro*|*exp*))

The first search function call in [3.7] asks for nodes which immediately dominate a nominative noun phrase, which normally functions as subject. Clauses with an unexpressed subject are however also annotated in the corpus as dominating an NP-NOM (nominative noun phrase), which again dominates an empty category. Simply searching

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[10] The queries presented here have been slightly modified from the original queries, as in order to save time I used a definition file instead of typing out long lists of tags for each query.
[11] However, I have noticed instances of questions among the hits, which points to the fact that annotation rarely is 100% faultless.

for clauses containing a nominative noun phrase is therefore insufficient. Accordingly, the second search function call in the query clarifies that the noun phrase must not contain an empty category.

There is a slight methodological problem here which ought to be mentioned: some clauses with an unexpressed subject contain a nominative noun phrase which functions as something other than subject, e.g. as an adverbial of time, as illustrated in [3.8]:

[3.8]   Wunede þa   sume feawa daga mid þam Godes þeowan binnon þære byrig
        lived   then some few   days with the God's servant   within the   city
        '…lived then a few days with God's servant in the city.' (ÆCHom I 401.38)

In the YCOE, subject function is marked only on non-nominative elements; therefore it is impossible to construct a search-function call which asks exclusively for clauses with a nominative noun phrase functioning as a subject. Clauses with nominative noun phrases but with no expressed subjects, then, must necessarily be included in the output of this search. The only way to discover how many clauses this issue pertains to would be to manually go through the more than thirty thousand clauses in the output of [3.7], which would be time-consuming indeed and well outside the scope of the present study. It would however appear from the more limited V1 output (cf. searches [3.11] and [3.12] below) that the number of clauses which have nominative noun phrases but no subjects, is marginal. The results, then, will be influenced by this methodological flaw, but presumably only to a very small degree.

All consecutive searches, apart from those concerning the imperative mood (see below), were based on the output from [3.7]. It is important to note that all statistics based on counts of different clause types, e.g. non-V1 as well as V1 non-conjunct and conjunct clauses, exclusively (or nearly so, cf. the previous paragraph) include finite main clauses with an overt subject. This exclusion of clauses with an unexpressed subject from the total count of clauses as well as from the definition of V1 will of course affect the results, compared to if the calculations were based on the total number of finite main clauses in the corpus.

As mentioned in section 2.2.3, non-conjunct and conjunct main clauses can be expected to exhibit different frequencies of various word order patterns, such as V1, particularly. Accordingly, from having a set of finite main clauses with expressed

subjects, I went on to separate them into non-conjunct and conjunct clauses. The query in [3.9] excludes clauses starting with a conjunction, while that in [3.10] limits the search to clauses starting with a conjunction.

[3.9] node: IP-MAT*
       query: (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst !CONJ)

[3.10] node: IP-MAT*
        query: (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst CONJ)

The next step was to run separate searches for V1 structures in each of the two groups of clause types, using searches [3.11] and [3.12] below for non-conjunct and conjunct main clauses respectively. The YCOE is designed to make searching for various word orders – or, as here, second and subsequent conjunct clauses – easy, rather than to give a linguistic analysis of OE. For this reason, conjunctions are found on the same level as e.g. the finite verb of a conjunct clause. V1 conjunct clauses accordingly must be searched for as if they had the conjunction, and not the finite verb, as the initial element. The use of the distinct queries in [3.11] and [3.121] was therefore necessary, as finding all relevant V1 structures required distinct search function calls for each of the two clause types. In addition, the use of [3.11] and [3.12] gave the desired separate results for non-conjunct and conjunct clauses, facilitating the investigation of the effect of coordination on V1 frequency.

The tag 'NEG' in addition to the types of finite verb listed ensures that structures with the clitic *ne*+finite verb are included, as the YCOE for practical reasons has *ne* annotated as if it were a separate clause element.

[3.11] node: IP-MAT*
        query: (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
        VBP|*VBD*|*AXP*| *AXD*|NEG)

[3.12] node: IP-MAT*
        query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst CONJ)
        AND (CONJ iPrecedes *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|*VBP*|
        VBD|*AXP*|*AXD*|NEG))

3.4.2 Extracting clauses with and without negation of the finite verb

As mentioned in section 2.2.2, negation, or, more precisely, negation of the finite verb of a clause by means of the clitic *ne* (rather than just any negative clause element), would be

expected to regularly front the negated verb to clause-initial position. Consequently, clauses with a negated finite verb presumably display a higher frequency of V1 word order than clauses where the finite verb is not negated. *Ne* can be either separate from the verb, as in example [3.13], henceforth 'separate *ne*+verb', or merged with the verb, as in example [3.14].

[3.13]   Ne ylde   he hit þa   leng;
         NEG *delayed he it   then longer;*
         'Then, he delayed no longer.' (Bede 126.9)

[3.14]   Petrus soþlice cwæð, Næbbe   ic seolfor ne gold,
         Peter truly   said   not-have I silver NEG gold,
         'Truly, Peter said: "I have neither silver nor gold",' (ÆLS (Peter's chair) 29)

The YCOE annotates the clitic *ne* as a separate element, NEG, when occurring separately from the verb, but as part of the verb, i.e. NEG+BEP* etc., when merged with it. It was therefore necessary to run to different types of searches for these different forms of verbal negation; see [3.15] and [3.16]. Finding separate results for clauses with merged and with separate *ne*+verb was furthermore desirable as it allowed for ascertaining whether one of the forms might lead to higher V1 frequencies than the other.

First, I searched for non-conjunct and conjunct clauses with separate *ne*+verb on the output from [3.11] and [3.12] above. For these searches I used command file [3.15].

[3.15]   node: IP-MAT*
         query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms NEG)
         AND (NEG iPrecedes *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
         VBP|*VBD*|*AXP*|*AXD*))

I then searched for non-conjunct and conjunct clauses with the finite verb negated by the clitic *ne* merged with the verb, henceforth 'merged *ne*+verb', still on the output from [3.11] and [3.12] above. For these searches I used command file [3.16].

[3.16]   node: IP-MAT*
         query: (IP-MAT* iDoms NEG+BEP*|NEG+BED*|NEG+HVP*|
         NEG+HVD* |NEG+MDP*|NEG+MDD*|NEG+VBP*|NEG+VBD*|
         NEG+AXP*|NEG+AXD*)

I then searched for V1 structures in the output of [3.15] and [3.16], using command files [3.17] to [3.20].

[3.17] V1 in non-conjunct clauses with separate *ne*+verb:

> node: IP-MAT*
> query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst NEG)
> AND (NEG iPrecedes *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
> *VBP*|*VBD*|*AXP*| *AXD*))

[3.18] V1 in non-conjunct clauses with merged *ne*+verb:

> node: IP-MAT*
> query: (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst
> NEG+BEP*|NEG+BED*|NEG+HVP*|NEG+HVD* |NEG+MDP*|
> NEG+MDD*|NEG+VBP*|NEG+VBD*|NEG+AXP*|NEG+AXD*)

[3.19] V1 in conjunct clauses with separate *ne*+verb:

> node: IP-MAT*
> query: (((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst CONJ)
> AND (CONJ iPrecedes NEG))
> AND (NEG iPrecedes *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
> *VBP*|*VBD*|*AXP*| *AXD*))

[3.20] V1 in conjunct clauses with merged *ne*+verb:

> node: IP-MAT*
> query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst CONJ)
> AND (CONJ iPrecedes NEG+BEP*|NEG+BED*|NEG+HVP*|NEG+HVD*
> |NEG+MDP*|NEG+MDD*|NEG+VBP*|NEG+VBD*|NEG+AXP*|NEG+A
> XD*))

From the results (see section 4.3.2) I was able to calculate percentages for the use of V1 word order in clauses with a negated verb.

The next step was finding the frequency of V1 in clauses where the finite verb is not negated, in order to be able to compare them with the frequency of V1 in clauses with a negated verb. Using command file [3.21], I ran searches on the output of [3.9] and [3.10] above for non-conjunct and conjunct clauses with no negation of the finite verb.

[3.21]   node: IP-MAT*
query: (IP-MAT* iDoms !NEG|NEG+BEP*|NEG+BED*|NEG+HVP*|
NEG+HVD*|NEG+MDP*|NEG+MDD*|NEG+VBP*|NEG+VBD*|
NEG+AXP*|NEG+AXD*)

I then searched for V1 structures in the two output files from [3.21], using command files [3.22] and [3.23] respectively to find the V1 frequency for these non-negated non-conjunct and conjunct clauses.

[3.22]   node: IP-MAT*
query: (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|
MDD|*VBP* |*VBD*|*AXP*| *AXD*)

[3.23]   node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst CONJ)
AND (CONJ iPrecedes *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
VBP|*VBD*|*AXP*|*AXD*))

As with for clauses with negated finite verbs, I was then able to calculate V1 frequencies for clauses with no negation of the finite verb.

3.4.3 Mood

To find the frequency of V1 in subjunctive clauses, I used command file [3.24] on the output of searches [3.9] and [3.10], extracting all non-conjunct and conjunct main clauses with an unambiguously subjunctive verb (and an overt subject). I subsequently did the same for indicative clauses, using [3.25].

[3.24]   Subjunctive:

node: IP-MAT*
query: (IP-MAT* iDoms *BEPS|*BEDS|*HVPS|*HVDS|*AXPS|*AXDS|
*MDPS|*MDDS|*VBPS|*VBDS)

[3.25]   Indicative:

node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
VBP|*VBD*|*AXP*)
AND (IP-MAT* iDoms !*BEPS|*BEDS|*HVPS|*HVDS|*AXPS|*AXDS|
*MDPS|*MDDS|*VBPS|*VBDS))

Then, I repeated the searches of [3.11] and [3.12] above, this time on the output from [3.24], and [3.25], in order to find all unambiguously subjunctive V1 clauses as well as all indicative V1 clauses. From the results (cf. section 4.3.3), I was able to calculate V1 frequencies for subjunctive and indicative clauses.

For the imperative mood, it was necessary to extract a new set of clauses from the parsed corpus files, as command file [3.6] asked for indicative and subjunctive clauses only. Command file [3.26] was used to find all matrix clauses in the corpus with an imperative verb and an expressed subject.

[3.26]   node: IP-MAT*
       query: (((IP-MAT* iDoms *BEI|*HVI|*AXI|*MDI|*VBI)
       AND (IP-MAT* iDoms NP-NOM))
       AND (NP-NOM iDoms !*con*|*pro*|*exp*))

Subsequently, command files [3.9] and [3.10] (see above) were used to separate out non-conjunct and conjunct imperative main clauses from the output of [3.26]. Then, [3.27] and [3.28] extracted non-conjunct and conjunct V1 clauses respectively from the output of the previous two searches.

[3.27]   node: IP-MAT*
       query: (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst *BEI|*HVI|*AXI|*MDI|*VBI|NEG)

[3.28]   node: IP-MAT*
       query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst CONJ)
       AND (CONJ iPrecedes *BEI|*HVI|*AXI|*MDI|*VBI|NEG))

From the results of these searches I was able to calculate the frequency of V1 word order in imperative clauses.

3.4.4 Non-conjunct, non-negated indicative V1 clauses

In an attempt to replicate Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's (2010) results (cf. section 4.3.4) I needed to extract all non-conjunct, non-negated, indicative V1 clauses. For this, I used command file [3.29], which asks for clauses with initial verbs that are not unambiguously subjunctive (i.e. indicative or likely indicative), on the output file from [3.22] above (which contains only non-negated non-conjunct clauses).

33

[3.29]   node: IP-MAT*
         query: ((IP-MAT* iDomsFirst
         BEP|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|*VBP*|*VBD*|*AXP*|
         AXD)
         AND (IP-MAT* iDomsFirst *BEPS|*BEDS|*HVPS|*HVDS|*AXPS|
         *AXDS|*MDPS |*MDDS|*VBPS|*VBDS))

I then divided the number of hits by the word counts given for each text, as this was the
method used by Calle-Martin & Miranda-García to calculate V1 frequency.

3.4.5 Verb types, verb function and V1 frequency

As mentioned in section 2.2.4, the verbs *beon* and *habban* (as well as other 'light load'
verbs) have been claimed to be typical for V1 structures. However, as I suggested in
section 3.2.6 above, the high frequencies of these lexemes in V1 structures could
conceivably be due to their being the most common verbs in the Old English language. I
therefore decided to compare the overall frequencies of various verbs and types of verbs
with their frequencies in V1 structures. Accordingly, I ran separate searches for each of
the verb types distinguished by the YCOE: the lexemes *beon* and *habban*, what I here
will call formal auxiliaries,[12] modal verbs as well as a 'rest' category of other verbs. These
searches were done on the output file of [3.6] above, containing finite (but not imperative)
clauses with an overt subject. Presumably, the percentages would be very similar if the
searches were done on all finite clauses or on the whole corpus. Command file [3.30]
shows the search for *beon*; the rest of these searches follow the same model.

[3.30]   node: IP-MAT*
         query: (IP-MAT* iDoms *BEP*|*BED*)

The second set of verb type searches was identical to the first, but was done only on all
V1 clauses, i.e. on the results from searches [3.11] and [3.12]. From the results of these
searches, I was able to calculate the distribution of the five different verb type categories,

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[12] The YCOE uses the term 'auxiliary verb' not for all verbs functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb
phrases, but to denote a limitied set of verbs: *aginnan* 'begin', *onginnan* 'begin', *beginnan* 'begin', *cuman*
'come', *becuman* 'become, come', *feran* 'go', *gan* 'go', *gegan* 'pass over, come to pass' and *gewitan*
'understand, know'. The YCOE regards these as 'auxiliaries' when they are 'used with a bare infinitive, or
[…] with a participle.' (*York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*, 2003) When these
verbs are used with a to-infinitive, however, they are annotated as lexical verbs. In the present study I will
refer to verbs annotated this way as 'formal auxiliaries'; these are not to be confused with auxiliary verbs,
i.e. verbs functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases (cf. section 4.4.3).

overall and in V1 clauses. I was also able to calculate the V1 frequency for each of the verb types; see results in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 below.

As part of my investigation of the relation between different verb types and V1, I wanted to consider separately verbs functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases. As auxiliary verbs are semantically light, they would be expected to appear early in the clause, according to the principle of end weight. The YCOE is however not annotated to distinguish directly between verbs (e.g. beon, habban and modal verbs) functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases and as main verbs. To find clauses containing auxiliary verbs, I therefore ran a series of searches for clauses, total and V1, containing *beon*, *habban* modal verbs and formal auxiliaries as well as a non-finite verb, using command files [3.31]–[3.34].

[3.31]   node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *BEP*|*BED*)
AND (IP-MAT* iDoms *BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|*MD|*VB|
*VAG|*VBN))

[3.32]   node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *HVP*|*HVD*)
AND (IP-MAT* iDoms *BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|*MD|*VB|
*VAG|*VBN))

[3.33]   node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *MDP*|*MDD*)
AND (IP-MAT* iDoms *BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|*MD|*VB|
*VAG|*VBN))

[3.34]   node: IP-MAT*
query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *AXP*|*AXD*)
AND (IP-MAT* iDoms *BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|*MD|*VB|
*VAG|*VBN))

From the output from these searches, I was able to calculate V1 frequencies for verbs of the above-mentioned types functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases.

For comparison, I also extracted clauses where each of the five annotated verb types function alone in simple verb phrases. In order to do this, I used command file [3.35], which asks for clauses with a finite verb and no non-finite verbs, on the output files from [3.30] above.

[3.35]   node: IP-MAT*
          query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
          VBP| *VBD*|*AXP*|*AXD*)
          AND (IP-MAT* iDoms !*BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|*MD|*VB|
          *VAG|*VBN))

Furthermore, I used [3.36] on the output of [3.6] as well as of [3.11] and [3.12] to run a search for clauses (V1 and general) with complex verb phrases that are either split, with other clause elements interceding between the finite verb and the non-finite verb(s). Then, I used [3.37] on the same output files to find clauses (V1 and general) with 'non-split' complex verb phrases, where the finite verb immediately precedes the non-finite verb(s).

[3.36]   node: IP-MAT*
          query: […](*BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|*VBP*|*VBD*|
          AXP|*AXD* iPrecedes *BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|*MD|*VB|
          *VAG|*VBN))

[3.37]   node: IP-MAT*
          query: […] (*BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|*VBP*|
          VBD|*AXP*| *AXD* iPrecedes *BE|*BAG|*BEN|*HV|*HAG|*HVN|
          *MD|*VB|*VAG|*VBN))

For results of these searches concerning V1 and the structure of the verb phrase, i.e. whether each of the annotated verb types function as auxiliaries in split or non-split complex verb phrases or as main verbs in simple verb phrases, see section 4.4.3 below.

3.4.6 Extracting clauses for lexico-functional grouping of verb and qualitative analysis of pragmatic function

To obtain a suitable sample of V1 clauses on which to base a lexico-functional grouping of V1 verbs (cf. section 4.5), I extracted all V1 clauses from the corpus with non-negated indicative verbs. To do this, I used command file [3.37], which asks for matrix clauses with finite but not subjunctive verbs, on the output from [3.22] and [3.23] above, which contains non-negated non-conjunct and conjunct V1 structures.

[3.37]   node: IP-MAT*
        query: ((IP-MAT* iDoms *BEP*|*BED*|*HVP*|*HVD*|*MDP*|*MDD*|
        VBP |*VBD*|*AXP*|*AXD*)
        AND (IP-MAT* iDoms !*BEPS|*BEDS|*HVPS|*HVDS|*AXPS|*AXDS|
        *MDPS |*MDDS|*VBPS|*VBDS))

From the output file, I manually excluded a few interrogative clauses, such as the second clause in example [3.38]. These clauses appear to have been erroneously annotated as matrix clauses (cf. footnote 11 above).

[3.38]   þa   ahsode Pilatus hine, eart þu Iudea cining.
       then asked Pilate him, are you Jews' king
       'Then Pilate asked him: "Are you the king of the Jews?"' (Luke (WSCp) 23.3)

I subsequently grouped the remaining verbs according to lexico-functional categories; see section 4.5. From the same output files, I extracted and qualitatively analysed a sample of V1 clauses from Bede and from the Bible texts in the corpus, see section 4.6.

3.5 Summary

The present chapter opened with a discussion of a few methodological issues raised by the previous research on V1 in OE. Then were presented the primary sources to be used in the study, as well as the criteria for their selection. Finally, a detailed description of the performed corpus searches was given. The results of these searches will be presented and analysed in the next chapter.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Presenting the results of a quantitative and qualitative corpus-based investigation of various linguistic and extra-linguistic variables which have been suggested to influence the use of V1, the present chapter will attempt to answer the research questions stipulated in chapter 1: firstly, how does the interaction of these variables relate to the use of V1 word order, and secondly, what seems to be the pragmatic function(s) of the V1 word order in OE? These questions cannot be answered altogether separately; some of the syntactic and lexical factors which may influence the use of V1 are directly connected to pragmatic function. Furthermore, pragmatic function can be seen as a factor for V1 in its own right.

Section 4.2 below presents the results of the quantitative research for each of the texts in the corpus as well as the results concerning the extra-linguistic factors of time of composition and translation status. Section 4.3 presents and discusses the results pertaining to syntactic factors: coordination, negation and mood, while section 4.4 deals with V1 and the principle of end weight, in relation to the structure of the verb phrase. Section 4.5 undertakes a lexico-functional grouping of a portion of the V1 verbs in the corpus, while section 4.6 presents a qualitative analysis of the pragmatic functions of selected V1 clauses. Section 4.7 summarises the chapter.

4.2 Extra-linguistic factors for V1

The corpus used for the present study consists of nineteen OE prose texts (twenty as ChronA is split according to time of composition); section 4.2.1 below gives the V1 results for each text. As described in section 3.3, this corpus was delimited as to be representative of the existent corpus of OE prose texts in terms of two extra-linguistic variables, i.e. time of composition and translation status, which are discussed in section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 The texts

Table 4.1 shows the twenty texts under investigation grouped according to time of composition and translation status. The table also gives the number of clauses relevant to

the present study, as well as the number of V1 structures and the relative frequency of V1 word order for each text.[13]

Table 4.1: *Total V1 frequency for each text.*

OE period and translation status	Text	Clauses	V1	% V1
Early, non-translation	ChronA (0-950)	1,016	22	2.2%
	LawAf 1	102	3	2.9%
	LawAfE1	70	9	12.9%
	LawIne	96	8	8.3%
Early, translation	Bede	3,177	509	16.0%
	Bo	2,318	160	6.9%
	CP	2,284	171	7.5%
	Lch II	652	63	9.7%
	Or	2,355	34	1.4%
Late, non-translation	ChronA (Entries dated after 950)	82	3	3.7%
	ÆCHom I	6,256	384	6.1%
	ÆLS	5,611	235	4.2%
	ÆLet4	505	17	3.4%
	LawICn	99	17	17.2%
	Mart 2.1	310	3	1.0%
Late, translation	ApT	403	11	2.7%
	BenR	933	160	17.1%
	Heptateuch	4,126	321	7.8%
	ÆTemp	347	15	4.3%
	WSCp	5,761	321	5.6%
	TOTAL	**36,503**	**2,466**	**6.8%**

As can be seen from the table, there is considerable variation between texts as concerns the occurrence of V1 word order, with frequencies ranging from 1% of the relevant clauses (Mart 2.1) to 17.2% (LawICn). The average V1 frequency for all the texts is 6.8% of the relevant clauses, a result which was not unexpected, as e.g. Bech (2001:72) found a similar V1 frequency, of 5.8%, in her study on OE (and Middle English) word order patterns. Furthermore, texts with very high and very low frequencies of V1 word order are found in all combinations of the variables translation vs. non-translation and early vs. late time of composition.

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[13] By 'relevant clauses' is meant declarative main clauses with an (unambiguously) indicative or subjunctive (i.e. not imperative) finite verb and an expressed subject. As mentioned in chapter 3, all other clauses are excluded from the data.

4.2.2 Time of composition and translation status

In order to ascertain how the use of V1 word order varies according to time of composition and translation status, the texts were divided into four groups according to each possible combination of these two variables. Table 4.2 shows average V1 frequencies for each of the four groups, calculated on the basis of the combined number of clauses and V1 structures in each group.

Table 4.2: V1 frequency for time of composition and translation status.

Text group	Clauses	V1 structures	V1 frequency
Early, original OE	1,284	42	3.3%
Early, translated	10,786	937	8.7%
Late, original OE	12,836	659	5.1%
Late, translated	11,570	828	7.2%

The percentages given in table 4.2 indicate that V1 word order is more common in texts translated into OE from Latin than in original OE compositions (cf. also table 4.4 below). For time of composition, however, there is not as clear a connection to V1 frequency; the two groups of early texts display the highest and the lowest V1 frequencies, i.e. early OE originals have a V1 frequency of 3.3% while early translations have a V1 frequency of 8.7%, with the late texts – whether translations or non-translations – ranked in between.

In an attempt to further clarify how the two variables relate to the use of V1 word order, table 4.3 shows average V1 frequencies for late vs. early texts, while table 4.4 shows V1 frequencies for original OE compositions vs. translated texts.

Table 4.3: V1 frequency according to time of composition.

Time of composition	Clauses	V1 structures	V1 frequency
Early	12,070	979	8.1%
Late	24,433	1,487	6.1%

Table 4.4: V1 frequency according to translation status.

Translation status	Clauses	V1 structures	V1 frequency
OE original	14,147	701	5.0%
Translation	22,356	1,765	7.9%

From tables 4.3 and 4.4 it would appear that V1 is more common in early than in late texts, and (as also indicated by table 4.2) more common in translated texts than in original OE compositions. To test whether the differences are statistically significant, chi-square

tests were performed, with the results shown below.[14] Note that the present study follows the classic definition of statistical significance, i.e. that the p-value is lower than 0.05, which means that there is a 5% chance that a finding is due to chance. In supplement of the p-value, effect size is also reported, by means of the phi coefficient. As concerns phi coefficient value, I will follow Cohen (1988:355) in regarding 0.10 as a small effect size, 0.25 as a medium effect size and 0.40 as a large effect size. A phi coefficient value below 0.10, then, indicates little if any association between the variables tested.

Chi-square of late vs early time of composition.[15]

Phi	Pearson
+0.03	45.65
P	<.0001

Chi-square of translation status: OE original vs translation.

Phi	Pearson
-0.05	104.5
P	<.0001

The chi-squares show that the differences in V1 frequency according to late vs. early time of composition and to OE original vs. Latin translation are indeed highly statistically significant; for both factors the p-value is <.0001. This result may however be caused by the fact that the sample sizes are too large for the chi-square test *not* to show such high statistical significance. The low phi coefficients, at +0.03 and -0.05, indicate that there is very little if any association between the binary variables of the two factors.

Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:52), then, may be right to disregard translation status as a factor influencing V1 word order. Furthermore, as the group of early OE original compositions has the lowest V1 frequency of all the texts groups in table 4.3 above, while the group of early translations has the highest V1 frequency, the influence of time of composition on the use V1 appears to be uneven at best.

In order to determine with more certainty whether the use of V1 is affected by translation status and time of composition, the use of more sophisticated statistical tests would be needed. This would however be outside the scope of the present study.

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[14] Df=1 in all chi-square tests rendered in the present study.
[15] The results of all chi-square testes were obtained by the online calculator at vassarstats.net (Lowry 1998–2015).

4.3 Syntactic factors

Syntactic variables which have been presented above as possibly having an effect on the use of V1 word order are coordination, which will be discussed in section 4.3.1, negation, which will be dealt with in section 4.3.2, and mood, which will be discussed in section 4.3.3. As the inclusion of conjunct, negated and subjunctive verbs in the study of V1 word order is somewhat controversial, the consequences of defining V1 according to these factors are dealt with in section 4.3.4.

4.3.1 Coordination

As mentioned in section 3.2.3, some scholars, e.g. Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:50), as well as Mitchell (1985:§3932), consider the coordinating conjunction to be the first element in the clause, rather than e.g. the verb following the conjunction. Again, such an analysis defies the common practice, which the present study will follow.

Table 4.4 below shows the total number of non-conjunct and conjunct main clauses in the investigated texts, as well as observed and relative frequencies of V1 word order among these clauses. Example [4.1] shows a non-conjunct V1 clause, while example [4.2] is a conjunct V1 clause.

[4.1]   Is þæt ealond welig   on meolcum &   on hunige
        is that island wealthy in milk   and in honey
        'That island is rich in milk and in honey;' (Bede 30.8)

[4.2]   &   comon wilde beran &   wulfas
        and came   wild   bears and wolves
        'and then came bears and wolves.' (ÆCHom I 317.5)

Table 4.5: *V1 frequency in non-conjunct (N-C) and conjunct (C) clauses.*

Text	N-C	V1 in N-C	% V1 in N-C	C	V1 in C	% V1 in C
ChronA (early)	498	10	2.0%	518	12	2.3%
LawAf 1	88	2	2.3%	14	1	7.1%
LawAfE1	53	6	11.3%	17	3	17.6%
LawIne	89	7	7.9%	7	1	14.3%
Bede	2,192	498	22.7%	985	11	1.1%
Bo	1,807	148	8.2%	511	12	2.3%
CP	1,660	141	8.5%	624	30	4.8%
Lch II	511	41	8.0%	141	22	15.6%
Or	1,487	17	1.1%	868	17	2.0%
ChronA (late)	40	1	2.5%	42	2	4.8%
ÆCHom I	4,688	316	6.7%	1,568	68	4.3%
ÆLS	3,819	173	4.5%	1,792	62	3.5%
ÆLet4	278	10	3.6%	227	7	3.1%
LawICn	36	5	13.9%	63	12	19.0%
Mart 2.1	185	3	1.6%	125	0	0.0%
ApT	299	9	3.0%	104	2	1.9%
BenR	802	146	18.2%	131	14	10.7%
Heptateuch	2,677	239	8.9%	1,449	82	5.7%
ÆTemp	270	10	3.7%	77	5	6.5%
WSCp	4,026	268	6.7%	1,735	53	3.1%
TOTAL	**25,505**	**2,050**	**8.0%**	**10,998**	**416**	**3.8%**

As is clear from table 4.5, the frequency of V1 word order is on the whole more than twice as high in non-conjunct clauses as in conjunct clauses. Apart from this overall tendency, however, there appears to be no system to the variation in the use of the structure, the ratio between V1 frequency in non-conjunct and conjunct main clauses being far from consistent between individual texts. A number of the texts have a higher V1 frequency in conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses, such as Lch II, with 8% in non-conjunct clauses and 15.6% in conjunct clauses, and Ætemp, with 3.7% in non-conjunct clauses and 6.5% in conjunct clauses. Other texts have V1 frequencies in non-conjunct clauses which are several times higher than the V1 frequencies in conjunct clauses, such as Bo, with 8.2% for non-conjunct clauses and 2.3% for conjunct clauses, and particularly Bede, with 22.7% for non-conjunct clauses and 1.1% for conjunct clauses. Conceivably, this variation could be due to the personal preferences of the individual authors; alternately, it could be coincidental.

A chi-square test shows that coordination is highly statistically significant as a factor for V1 word order. As with the chi-square tests in section 4.2.2, however, the phi-

coefficient value is very low, weakening the results to the degree that there may be very little if any association between coordination and the use of V1 word order:

Chi-square for V1 and coordination.

Phi	Pearson
+0.07	196.09
P	<.0001

4.3.2 Negation

Another syntactic factor investigated for possible influence on the use of V1 is that of negation of the finite verb by means of the clitic *ne* 'not'. As negation has been claimed to substantially increase the use of verb-initial word order, to the extent that e.g. Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010) exclude negated clauses from their study on V1 (as mentioned above), one would expect the influence of this factor to be significant indeed. In OE, negated verbs can appear either separately from this clitic, as in example [4.3], or merged with *ne,* as in example [4.4]. In addition to the general influence of negation, this difference might (as mentioned in section 3.4.2) be expected to be relevant to the use of V1; one reason for this could be that separate *ne*+verb formally is a slightly heavier structure than its merged equivalent and might therefore be less likely to occur clause-initially due to the principle of end weight (cf. section 4.4 below).

[4.3]   ne gecneowon þeah   ða leorningcnihtas þæt hit se hælend wæs.
        NEG knew   however the disciples   that it   the saviour was
        'However, the disciples did not know that it was the saviour.' (Jn (WSCp) 21.4)

[4.4]   & nis   nan þing buton   him gesceapen.
        and not-is no   thing without him created
        'and there is nothing which is not created by him.' (ÆCHom I 212.188)

Accordingly (as described in chapter 3), separate searches were run for merged and separate negator+verb structures, overall in the corpus and with V1 word order. The results of these searches are presented in tables 4.6–4.8 below. Table 4.6 shows V1 frequencies for each of the four combinations of merged vs. separate negator+verb and non-conjunct vs conjunct negated clauses. Table 4.7, furthermore, shows V1 frequency

according to merged vs. separate negator+verb, while table 4.8 shows V1 frequency according to non-conjunct vs. conjunct negated main clauses.

Table 4.6: *V1 frequency in clauses with negated finite verb, according to merged vs. separate negator+verb, and coordination.*

Clause type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Non-conjunct separate	1,665	764	45.9 %
Non-conjunct merged	619	276	44.6 %
Conjunct separate	677	62	9.2 %
Conjunct merged	244	32	13.1 %
Total	**3,205**	**1,162**	**35.9 %**

Table 4.7: *V1 according to merged vs. separate negator+verb in clauses with negated finite verb.*

Negation structure	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Separate	2,342	826	35.3%
Merged	863	308	35.7%

Table 4.8: *V1 in clauses with negated finite verb according to coordination.*

Clause type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Non-conjunct	2,284	1,040	45.5%
Conjunct	921	94	10.2%

As the tables show, whether the verb and the negator are merged or not would in fact appear to have very little if any effect on the use of V1 word order, while non-conjunct clauses with negated finite verb have a much higher V1 frequency than conjunct clauses where the finite verb is negated. Chi-square tests were performed to ascertain that coordination is indeed a more important factor for V1 word order than whether the clitic *ne* and the verb being merged or not:

Chi-square for V1 and merged vs. separate negated finite verb.

Phi	Pearson
0	0.02
P	>0.8

Chi-square V1 for non-conjunct and conjunct negated main clauses.

Phi	Pearson
+0.21	195.42
P	<.0001

The chi-square tests show that even with the large samples used in the present study, it is not statistically significant whether the negated finite verb is merged with the negator or not. Coordination, however, is highly statistically significant, and the phi-coefficient at +0.21 is only slightly below medium, which is higher than in any of the chi-square tests presented so far in this chapter.

Table 4.9 shows V1 frequency in non-conjunct and conjunct clauses where the finite verb is not negated. As is clear from the tables, the frequency of V1 word order is almost ten times as high when the verb is negated as compared to cases where it is not. When exclusively regarding non-conjunct clauses, the frequency is more than ten times higher when the verb is negated than when it is not.

Table 4.9: V1 frequency in clauses with non-negated finite verb.

Clause type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Non-conjunct	23,220	1,010	4.3 %
Conjunct	10,076	322	3.2 %
Total	**33,296**	**1,332**	**4.0 %**

A chi-square test was performed on the total results from tables 4.6 and 4.9:

Chi-square for V1 and clauses with negated and non-negated finite verbs.

Phi	Pearson
+0.29	3356.15
P	<.0001

The chi-square shows that negation is a highly statistically significant factor for V1 word order. Furthermore, the phi-coefficient value, at +0.29, is high compared to the values in the above chi-square tests, indicating an above medium level of association between negation/non-negation and the use of V1.

From tables 4.8 and 4.9, it appears that negation has a stronger influence on non-conjunct clauses than on conjunct clauses in terms of conditioning V1 word order. Another chi-square test was therefore performed, to establish the significance of negation as a factor for V1 word order in non-conjunct clauses:

Chi-square for V1 and non-conjunct clauses with negated and non-negated finite verbs.

Phi	Pearson
+0.34	3121.7
P	<.0001

As the results from the chi-square show, not only is negation of the finite verb highly statistically significant for the use of V1 word order in non-conjunct clauses; the phi-coefficient, at +0.34, an effect size which is well above medium, indicates the strongest association between the binary variables (negation and non-negation) and V1 yet.

Figure 4.1 illustrates the frequencies of V1 for clauses (non-conjunct, conjunct and total) with and without negated verb, as well as the overall V1 frequencies from tables 4.1 and 4.2.

As indicated by the tables and the figure, and as confirmed by statistical tests, negation of the finite verb is indeed a factor which substantially influences the use of verb-initial word order. Seen from a different angle, it might also be said that coordination is a stronger factor for V1 among negated clauses than among non-negated clauses.
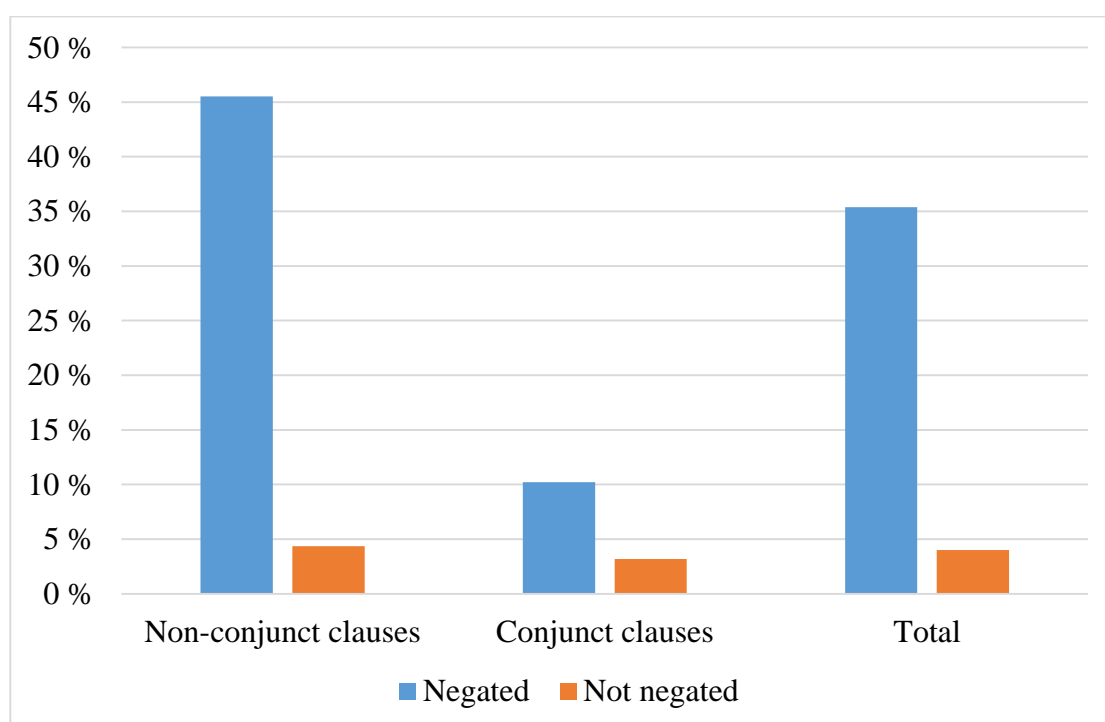

Figure 4.1: *Relative frequency of verb-initial clauses according to negation and clause type.*

4.3.3 Mood

The present study counts verb-initial subjunctive clauses as V1, although there is some controversy concerning this in the literature; see discussion in section 3.2.2. Imperative clauses, however, have been excluded, since (as in present-day English) their normal word order is verb-initial (Quirk & Wrenn 1965:93). In order to shed light on this issue, however, V1 frequencies have been calculated for subjunctive clauses, imperative clauses and indicative clauses. The results are shown in tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12 below. Examples [4.5] and [4.6], illustrate subjunctive V1 clauses, the first being jussive, the other not. Example [4.7] illustrates an imperative with unmarked V1 word order, while example [4.8] is a V1 clause in the indicative mood.

[4.5] &   slea mon þa hond of ðe   he hit mid gedyde.
and strike one the hand off which he it   with did
'…and one should strike off the hand with which he did it.' (LawAf 1 6)

[4.6] ne wurde ðu   hider geferod on þinum agenum fotum.
NEG be   you hither gone   on your own   feet
'"Not have you come here on your own feet."' (ÆLS (Maur) 176)

[4.7] Ne dem   ðu oðerne dom   þam welegan, oðerne ðam earman.
NEG judge you one   judgement the.D wealthy.D one   the.D poor.D
Do not pass one judgement on the wealthy, another on the poor. (LawAfEl 43)

[4.8] Com þa se þegen   mid feo   to þam apostolum.
came then the servant with money to the   apostles
'Then the servant came with money to the apostles.' (ÆCHom I 357.91)

Table 4.10*: V1 frequency in subjunctive clauses.*

Clause type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Non-conjunct	1,242	513	41.3%
Conjunct	439	139	31.7%
Total	**1,681**	**652**	**38.8%**

Table 4.10 shows the total number of non-conjunct and conjunct subjunctive main clauses as well as the total number of subjunctive clauses, with the observed and relative frequencies for V1 structures within each of these clause types. As can be seen from the table, almost four out of ten subjunctive clauses are verb-initial. Although the V1 frequency in subjunctive clauses is high, slightly higher even than the V1 frequency for

negated clauses (cp. table 4.6), the majority of subjunctive clauses are nevertheless not verb-initial.

Table 4.11: V1 frequency in imperative clauses.

Clause type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Non-conjunct	288	193	67.0%
Conjunct	50	29	58.0%
Total	**338**	**222**	**65.7%**

For imperative clauses, on the contrary, as shown in table 4.11, V1 is clearly the most frequent word order pattern; it is the word order found in almost two out of three clauses.

Table 4.12: V1 frequency in indicative clauses.

Clause type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Non-conjunct	24,263	1,537	6.3 %
Conjunct	10,559	277	2.6 %
Total	**34,822**	**1,814**	**5.2 %**

For indicative clauses,[16] the frequency of V1 word order is 5.2%, as shown in table 4.12. Figure 4.2 below shows V1 frequencies according to mood: for indicative, subjunctive and imperative clauses.

A chi-square test confirms that the difference between the subjunctive and the indicative mood is indeed highly statistically significant in relation to the use of the V1 word order. The subjunctive favours V1 more than the indicative does, a finding which is supported by the effect size being only slightly below Cohen's (1988) medium value.

Chi-square for subjunctive vs. indicative mood and V1 frequency.

Phi	Pearson
+0.22	1956.61
P	<.0001

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[16] Among the verbs analysed as indicative verbs in the present study are verbs annotated by the YCOE as 'ambiguous', i.e. ambiguously indicative or subjunctive. A series of searches revealed the V1 frequency of these ambiguous clauses to be 5.4%. On the basis on this result there seems to be little reason for treating these clauses apart from the unambiguously indicative clauses.
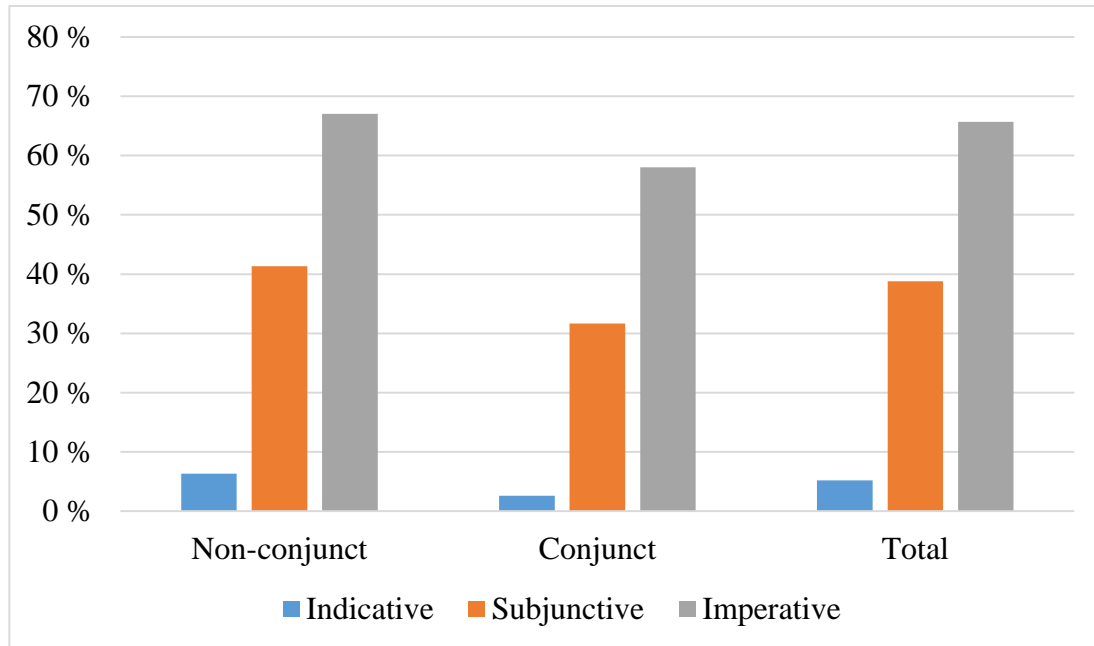
Figure 4.2: Mood and clause type as factors for V1.

Clauses in the subjunctive mood, then, do indeed have a substantially higher frequency of V1 word order than indicative clauses; this is particularly true as concerns conjunct main clauses. As with negation, however, there is no obligation that subjunctive verbs be clause-initial; indeed, as mentioned above, more than half of the occurrences in the present corpus are not.

Admittedly, however, as mentioned above, there may be valid reasons for not counting subjunctive clauses as genuine V1. As will be seen in the next section, the impact of defining V1 in terms of e.g. whether or not to include subjunctive clauses can be substantial, particularly for individual texts. However, V1 frequencies for indicative clauses, shown in table 4.12 above, indicate that excluding subjunctive clauses from the calculation would lower the overall V1 frequencies somewhat, but not overly much, i.e. from a total V1 frequency of 6.8% to one of 5.2%. Figure 4.3 illustrates the frequency of V1 (in non-conjunct clauses, in conjunct clauses and in total) in indicative clauses (cf. table 4.12) vs. in the clause types counted as V1 in the present study, i.e. indicative and subjunctive clauses (cf. table 4.5).
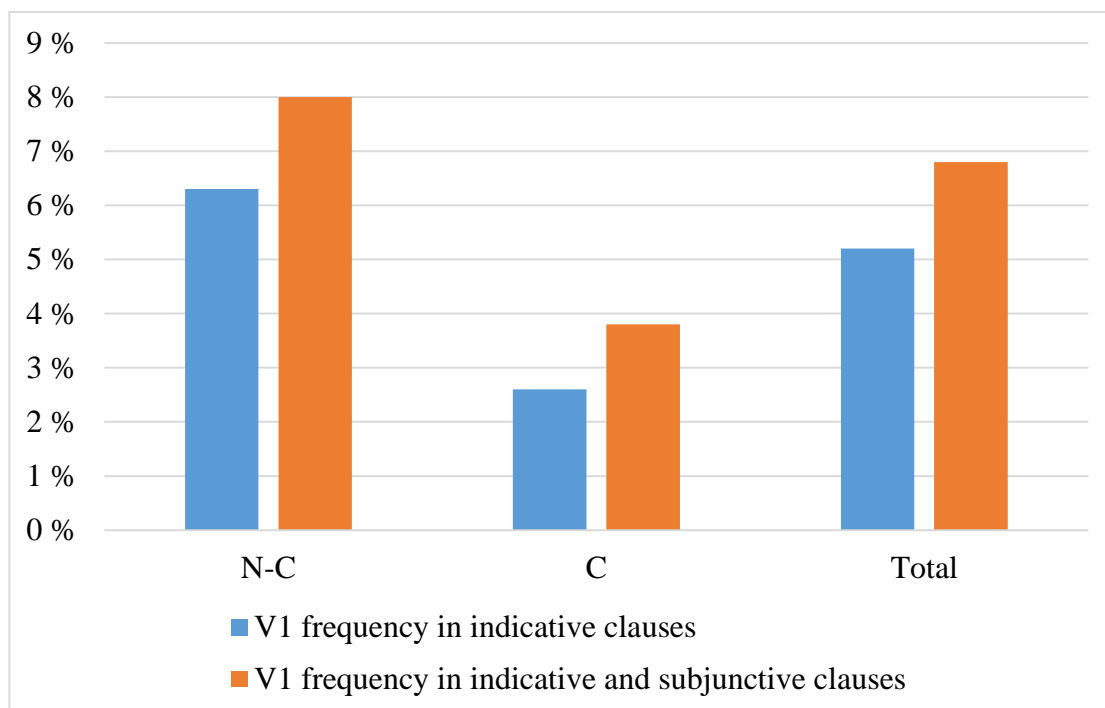
Figure 4.3: *V1 frequency in indicative clauses only vs. in indicative and subjunctive clauses.*

Rather than excluding verb-initial subjunctive clauses from the study of V1 word order, then, the present study includes them, regarding these clauses as an important part of the V1 phenomenon.

4.3.4 Syntactic definition of V1 and calculation of V1 frequency

The methodological consequences of defining V1 – in terms of whether or not to include verb-initial negated clauses, conjunct clauses and subjunctive clauses, in the definition – can be illustrated by means of an example from the literature. The example below additionally serves to illustrate the consequences of two different methods of calculating V1 frequency, which are based on different perspectives on the V1 structure.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010) exclude negated clauses as well as subjunctive clauses and conjunct clauses from the scope of their study on V1 in eight OE texts. As their study investigates six of the same OE texts as I do, namely Bede, CP, Or, BenR, ApT and WSCp, their results are directly comparable to mine. Table 4.13, which is adapted from their study to show these six texts, shows V1 occurrences per 10,000 words in the texts.

Table 4.13: *V1 per 10^4 words from Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:52).*

Text	Bede	Or	BenR	WSCp	CP	ApT
V1	543.6	73.4	4.7	4.1	1.4	0

Comparison of these results with the V1 frequencies found in the present study (cf. table 4.1) shows some substantial discrepancies, which must be due to methodology. The greatest gaps between Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's results and mine are between V1 frequencies for Or and for BenR. While Or has the second to highest V1 frequency in their study, in the present study it was found to have the second to lowest V1 frequency of the twenty texts, at 1.4%, which is second only to Mart 2.1, with 1.0% V1. BenR, however, has in Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's study a V1 frequency that while higher than in some of the texts, is very much lower than in Bede and Or. In the present study, on the contrary, BenR has the second highest V1 frequency of the twenty texts with 17.1% of relevant clauses being V1. Very much unlike in Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's study, its V1 frequency surpasses that of Bede, which in the present study has the third highest V1 frequency, at 16%.

Partly, these discrepancies can be explained by differing methods of calculating V1 frequency. Calle-Martín & Miranda-García normalise their number of V1 structures per 10,000 words for each text, dividing the number of V1 structures by the word count for each text and multiplying with 10,000. E.g. subordinate clauses and subjectless clauses appear to be included in the word counts used for this calculation. The V1 frequencies in the present study, on the contrary, are normalised per number of relevant clauses so as to show the percentage of these which have V1 word order. By 'relevant clauses' is meant main clauses with an expressed subject; other structures are disregarded from the calculation. The exclusion of e.g. subclauses and subjectless clauses and thereby of substantial amounts of text from the calculation opens for differing results.

Another, less important but related reason for the discrepancy could be different average word counts per clause between the texts, which would lead to lower V1 frequencies in texts with longer clauses following Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's method. Additionally, the total word counts used by Calle-Martín & Miranda-García are somewhat lower than those given by the YCOE; however, the effect of this would presumably be slight.

A third methodological reason for the discrepancies could be the construction of Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's corpus searches, as their V1 clauses were extracted by 'searching for any punctuation mark followed, in turn, by a finite verb, irrespective of accidence' (51). It is hard to estimate the exact extent to which such a methodology might influence the results, without reduplicating it, using their search program and corpora; conceivably, however, it could lead to a number of V1 structures being overlooked.

Arguably, the above-mentioned methodological choices made by Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010) reflect a perspective on V1 which dislodges it from its syntactic environment and sees it as part of a text constituted of signs and words rather than as part of the text's syntax. This is unfortunate; V1 is after all a syntactic structure. I will return to this issue towards the end of the present section.

However, even though these methodological differences are problematic, they alone are unlikely to account for the substantial discrepancies between their results and those from the present study, as they (presumably) affect all the texts to a similar extent. Rather, Calle-Martín & Miranda-García's above-mentioned exclusion of negated clauses, subjunctive clauses and conjunct clauses with verb-initial word order would be expected to alter drastically the V1 frequencies for the texts. For comparison, I calculated V1 frequencies per 100,000 words[17] for the same six texts from my own results. I subsequently excluded all clauses with negated finite verbs from the total number of V1 clauses, as well as conjunct clauses, and clauses that are not unambiguously subjunctive, and calculated V1 frequencies per 100,000 words based on the remaining number of V1 clauses. The data used for these calculations as well as the results are shown in table 4.14; furthermore, they are illustrated in figure 4.4 below.

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[17] Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010:52) state that their frequencies are V1 structures per 10^4, i.e. 10,000 words. However, the fact that they should have found more than 500 V1 structures in Bede per 10,000 words, almost ten times the number reached in the present study by following their method and definition of V1 seems incomprehensible, unless it can be accounted for by their above-mentioned, somewhat questionable methodology of searching for any finite verb following a punctuation mark.

Table 4.14: *V1 clauses per 100,000 words according to two different definitions.*

Text	Word count	V1 in the present study		V1, excluding negated, conjunct and subjunctive clauses	
		V1 clauses	per 10^5 words	V1 clauses	per 10^5 words
Bede	80,767	509	630.2	464	574.5
Or	51,020	34	66.6	5	9.8
BenR	20,104	160	795.9	4	19.9
WSCp	71,104	321	451.5	18	25.3
CP	68,556	171	249.4	1	1.5
ApT	6,545	11	168.1	1	15.3

Excluding conjunct, negated, and subjunctive main clauses from the definition of V1 leads to all texts, with the exception of Bede, having much lower V1 frequencies than those reported above, while Bede retains its high V1 frequency. Following the definition used in the present study, however, the differences between Bede and the other texts are not as substantial.
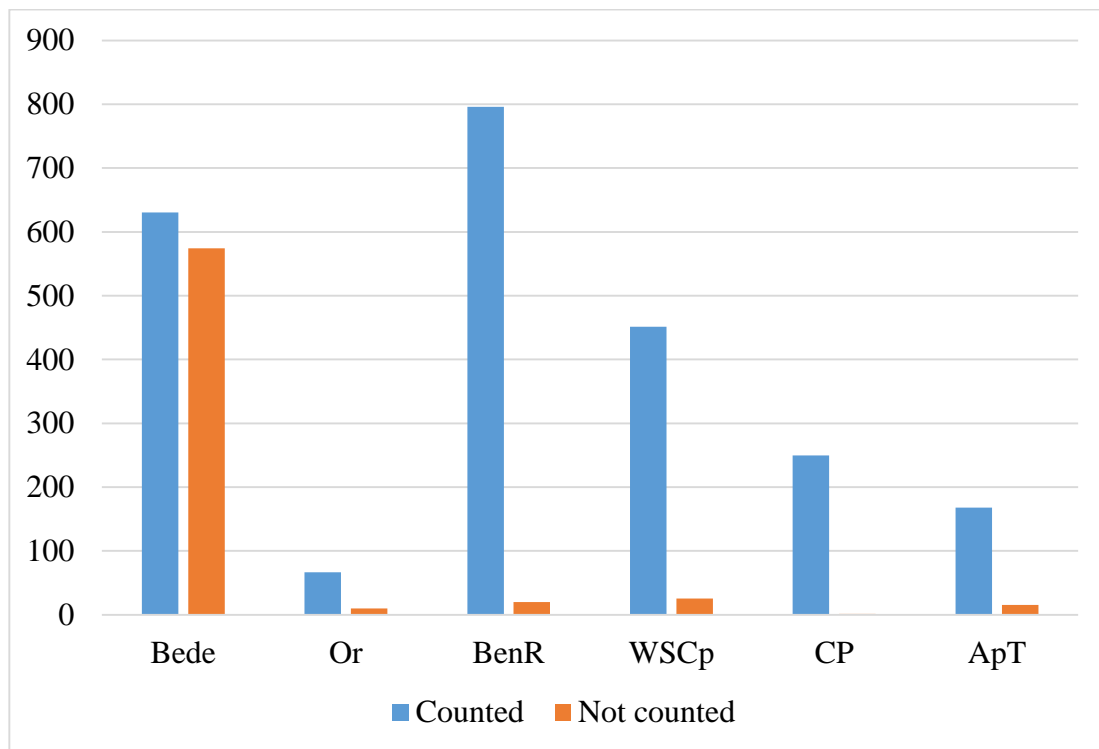

Figure 4.4: *Differences in V1 frequency in six texts, shown as V1 clauses per 10^5 words, according to whether negated clauses, conjunct clauses and subjunctive clauses are counted as V1.*

To conclude this section follows a comparison of the results reached by using the two above-mentioned methods for calculating V1 frequency: per total word count or per

number of relevant clauses. Figure 4.5 below shows the V1 frequencies from table 4.1 for these six texts, i.e. the percentages of relevant clauses which have V1 word order in each text. Due to different denominators, the V1 frequencies in figure 4.5 are of course not directly comparable to those in figure 4.4. However, as there are some obvious discrepancies between the figures, some comparisons can be drawn between them, i.e. between figure 4.5 and the 'included' columns in figure 4.4, both of which show V1 frequencies where negated, conjunct and subjunctive clauses are counted as V1.
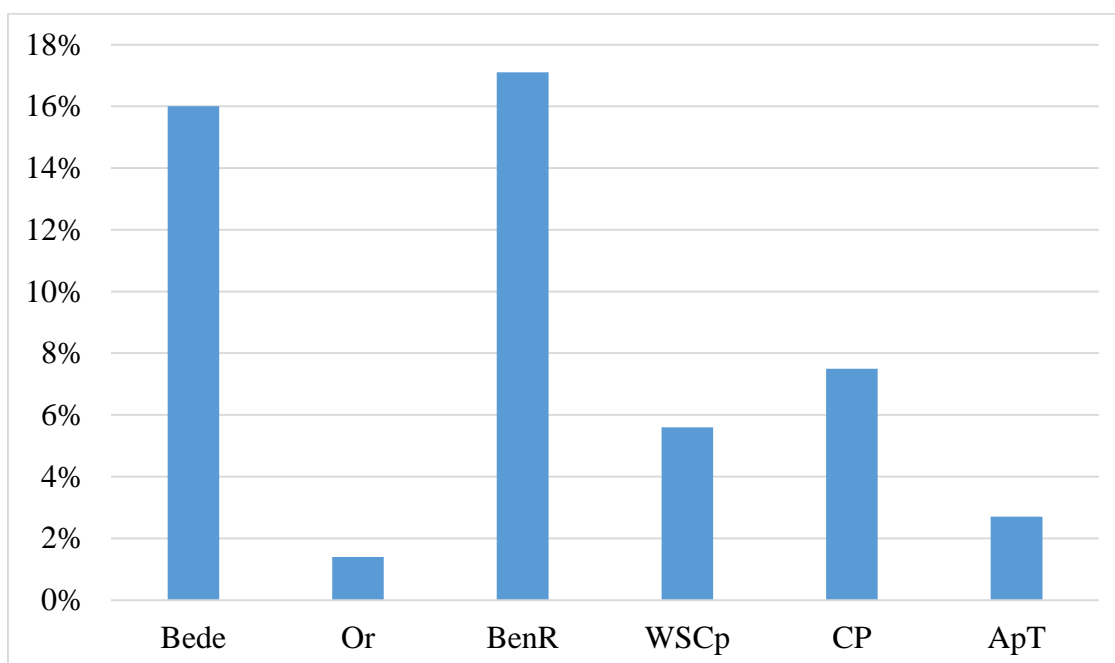
Figure 4.5: *V1 frequencies for six texts, illustrating results from table 4.1.*

The most noticeable of the differences between figures 4.4 and 4.5 is that in figure 4.4, particularly BenR and WSCp appear to have higher V1 frequencies compared to the other texts than they do in figure 4.5. For example, in figure 4.3 WSCp has the third highest V1 frequency of the texts, whereas in figure 4.5 it is surpassed by CP and is in fourth place out of the six texts.

It would seem that (to a lesser degree than how V1 is defined), which of these methods is used for calculating V1 frequency can substantially influence the results. Arguably, of the two methods, the one followed in the present study gives a clearer picture of the V1 frequencies in the texts, as it counts observed V1 structures as a subset of the total number of clauses which might have exhibited V1 word order, rather than including

in the calculation e.g. subordinate clauses and other syntactic structures which are irrelevant to the V1 phenomenon.

To summarise section 4.3.4, it has been shown that coordination, negation and mood all influence the use of V1 word order, and that the definition of V1 in terms of these variables therefore is of major importance in the study of this word order pattern. Furthermore, it has been argued that when investigating the use of a structure such as V1, more apt conclusions are reached by studying it as part of the syntax as a whole than by dislodging it from its syntactic environment.

4.4 V1 and the principle of end weight

Another factor that has been claimed to influence the use of V1, which is related to syntax, but also to pragmatics, is the weight principle, or the principle of end weight, according to which semantically (and structurally) heavy elements tend to appear late in the clause, while light elements such as auxiliaries tend to appear early in the clause. The principle of end weight is the reason assumed by e.g. Denison (1986) (cf. chapter 2) for certain verbs to appear more frequently in V1 position than others, with light load verbs such as *beon* 'be' and *habban* 'have' appearing relatively often in clause-initial position. The following sections present a quantitative investigation of this issue, i.e. how the principle of end weight, related to the structural functions of different verbs and verb phrases, is connected with the use of V1 word order. Section 4.4.1 deals with the distribution of verb types in V1 clauses and in OE in general, while section 4.4.2 deals with the frequency of V1 word order in clauses with each of the verb types annotated by the YCOE. Section 4.4.3 deals with the structure of the verb phrase and how the use of V1 is related to the use of simple and complex verb phrases.

4.4.1 The distribution of verb types in V1 clauses and in all finite clauses

In section 3.2.6 above, I asked whether the high number of some light load verbs such as *beon* and *habban* found in V1 position might at least in part be due to the fact that they (presumably) are very common in the Old English language. Accordingly (as described in section 3.4.5), searches were written to chart the distribution of the five types of verbs identified by YCOE annotation (*beon*, *habban*, formal auxiliaries (cf. footnote 12 above),

modal verbs and other verbs), in all finite clauses and in V1 structures. The results are shown in table 4.15, and presented graphically in figure 4.6.

Table 4.15: *The distribution of the verb types annotated by the YCOE, in all finite clauses and in V1 structures.*

Verb type	Clauses	% of all clauses	In V1 clauses	% of V1 clauses
Beon	9,753	26.7%	990	40.1%
Habban	885	2.4%	82	3.3%
Formal auxiliaries	220	0.6%	7	0.3%
Modal verbs	2,480	6.8%	260	10.5%
Others	23,166	63.5%	1,127	45.7%
Total	**36,504**	**100%**	**2,466**	**100%**
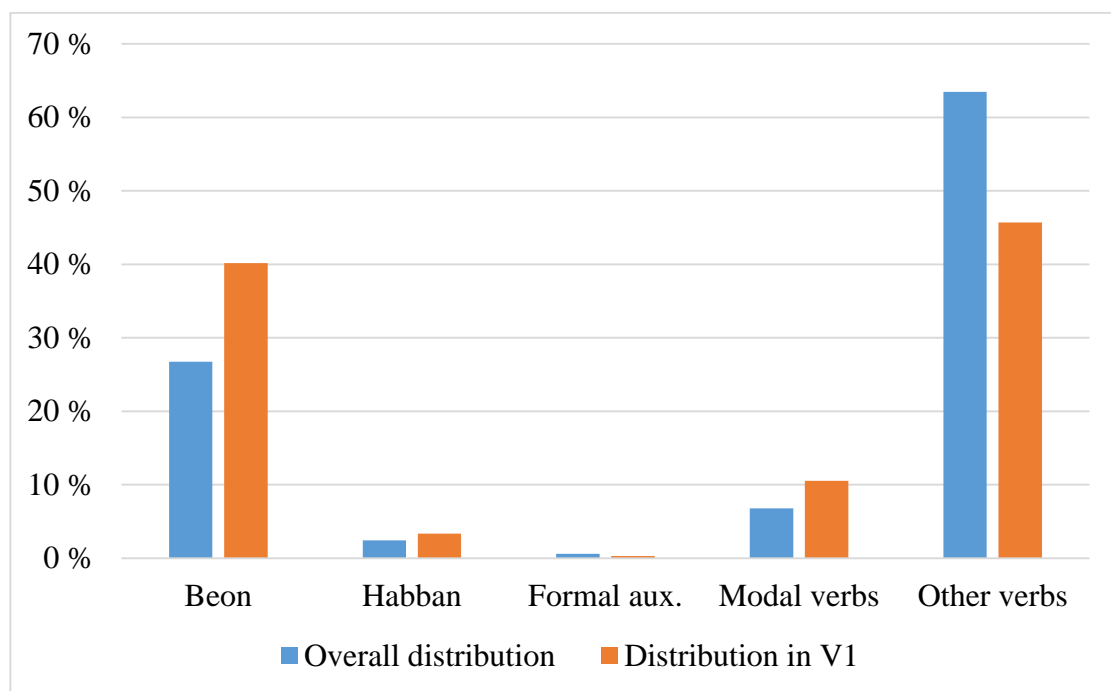
Figure 4.6: *The distribution of verb types in all finite clauses and in V1 clauses.*

From the results presented above, it would indeed seem that *beon* and *habban*, as well as modal verbs, are more frequent in V1 position than in finite clauses in general. Formal auxiliaries and the mixed group of 'other verbs', however, appear less often in these structures than in general. As concerns the 'other verbs' group, this could at least in part be due to the fact that many of these verbs are formally and semantically heavy. As such, according to the principle of end weight, they would be likely to often appear later in the clause than light load verbs. *Beon,* however, is 50.3% more frequent in clauses with V1

word order than in general; *habban* is 37.2% more frequent, and modal verbs are as much as 55.2% more frequent in V1 clauses than in finite clauses in general.

To answer the above-mentioned question from section 3.2.6, the high frequency of e.g. *beon* in V1 clauses must in part be due to its being the single most frequent verb in OE. However, as *beon* is indeed even more common in V1 clauses than in finite clauses in general, along with *habban,* and modal verbs, it seems clear that there is a connection between the use of these verbs and V1 word order.

4.4.2 Verb types and V1 frequency

The follow up question, then, is to what degree each of the three above-mentioned groups of verbs increases the use of V1 word order. Table 4.16 shows the frequencies of V1 word order for clauses where the finite verb is *beon*, *habban* and modal verbs, as well as for formal auxiliaries and for other verbs. Note that although table 4.15 above and table 4.16 present the same observed frequencies, these are used for different purposes; while table 4.15 shows the distribution of the five verb groups in general and across the total number of V1 clauses, table 4.16 shows the frequency of V1 word order in each verb group.

Table 4.16: V1 frequency in the five annotated verb groups.

Verb type	Clauses	V1 clauses	% V1
Beon	9,753	990	10.2 %
Habban	885	82	9.3 %
Formal auxiliaries	220	7	3.2 %
Modal verbs	2,480	260	10.5 %
Other verbs	23,166	1,127	4.9 %
Total	**36,504**	**2,466**	**6.8%**

Figure 4.7 illustrates the difference between these frequencies and the overall frequency for V1 structures.
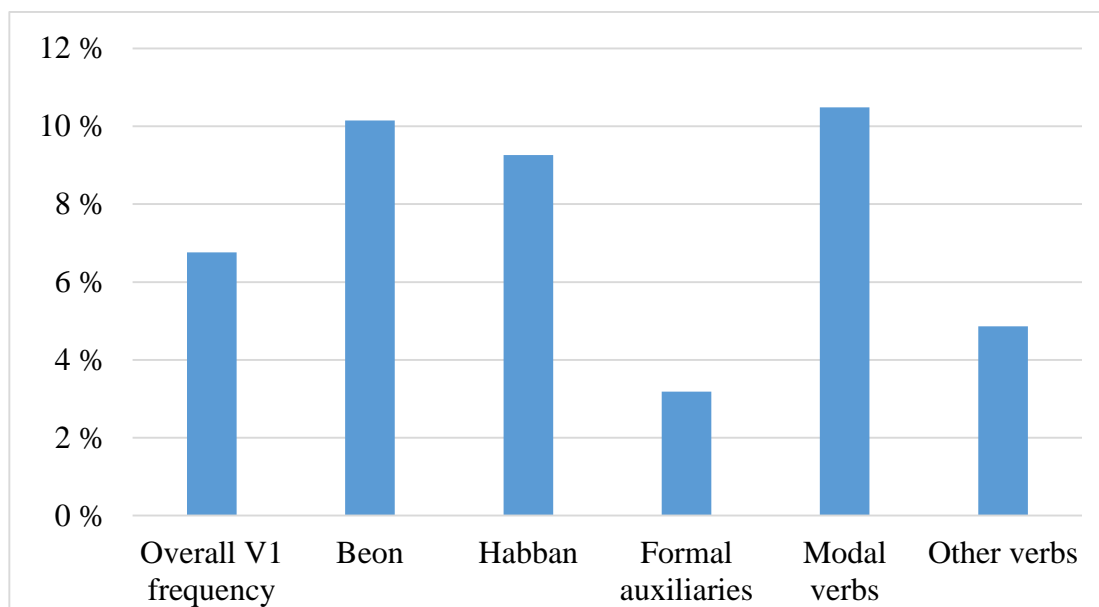
Figure 4.7*: V1 frequency: total, and with each verb type category.*

As can be seen from table 4.16 as well as from figure 4.7, modal verbs have the highest V1 frequency of the verb types annotated by the YCOE. Chi-square tests were performed to discover how statistically significant the differences were between this category and the categories of *beon*, *habban* and of 'other verbs':

Chi-square for V1 frequency in clauses with modal verbs vs. clauses with beon.

Phi	Pearson
0	0.19
P	0.662917

Chi-square for V1 frequency in clauses with modal verbs vs. clauses with habban.

Phi	Pearson
+0.02	0.87
P	0.350955

Chi-square for V1 frequency in clauses with modal verbs vs. clauses with verbs in the 'other verbs' category.

Phi	Pearson
+0.07	118.28
P	<.0001

The chi-square test results presented above show that the difference between modal verbs and *beon,* as well as between modal verbs and *habban,* as concerns V1 frequency, is not statistically significant. The difference between modal verbs and verbs in the 'other verbs'

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category, on the contrary, is highly statistically significant in this respect; the phi-coefficient, as with some of the statistical results given earlier in the present chapter, is however very low. It would seem that regardless of the high statistical significance shown by the chi-square, there may be little difference between modal verbs and 'other verbs' as concerns the use of V1 word order.

4.4.3 V1 and the structure of the verb phrase

The primary reason given by e.g. Denison (1986) that light load verbs should be expected to exhibit a higher V1 frequency than the average due to the principle of end weight is that these verbs often function as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases. As such, they carry less lexical meaning than main verbs do.[18]

However, the YCOE does not distinguish between finite *beon* and *habban* functioning as main verbs and these verb forms functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases. In the same way, the corpus annotation does not distinguish between modal verbs occurring alone as main verbs, and cases where they are followed by an infinitive.

As described in section 3.4.5, I therefore ran a series of searches aimed at extracting clauses containing both a finite and at least one non-finite verb, i.e. a complex verb phrase. Table 4.17 shows the number of clauses where *beon*, *habban*, formal auxiliaries or modal verbs function as auxiliaries in a complex verb phrase, as well as the number of these clauses that have the finite verb in initial position.[19]

Table 4.17: V1 frequency for beon, habban, *formal auxiliaries and modal verbs functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases.*

Verb type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Beon	2,955	309	10.5%
Habban	178	6	3.4%
Formal auxiliary	217	7	3.2%
Modal verb	2,275	240	10.5%

---

[18] According to e.g. Lowrey (2012:6), however, 'the modals in OE still conserve a certain number of the properties associated with full, lexical verbs;' i.e. they have more lexical meaning than auxiliaries do in Modern English.

[19] The observed numbers for verbs in the 'other verbs' group occurring as finite verb in complex verb phrases, which were very low, are excluded from the results because it is doubtful whether they can be analysed as auxiliaries.

As the table shows, auxiliary function *per se* appears to have very little effect on whether or not *beon,* modal verbs and formal auxiliaries appear clause-initially, V1 frequencies for these verbs being nearly identical to those shown in table 4.16 above. As concerns auxiliary *habban*, however, the frequency of V1 is much lower than for *habban* in general. For further comparison, table 4.18 shows the V1 frequencies for these verbs functioning as main verbs in simple verb phrases.

Table 4.18*: V1 frequency for* beon, habban, *formal auxiliaries and modal verbs functioning as main verbs in simple verb phrases.*

Verb type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Beon	6,798	681	10.0%
Habban	707	76	10.7%
Formal auxiliary	3	0	0.0%
Modal verb	205	20	9.8%

Conceivably, this failure of auxiliary (and thus semantically light) verbs to appear more often in clause-initial position could be because complex verb phrases are structurally heavy. As such, they might be expected to appear later in the clause rather than in V1 position. In order to counter this problem, I separated out those of the above-mentioned clauses with complex verb phrases where said verb phrases were split, with other clause elements interceding between the auxiliary verb and the main verb. Example [4.9] illustrates this type of split complex verb phrase in a V1 clause, while example [4.10] shows a V1 clauses with a complex verb phase which is not split (see also table 4.19 below).

[4.9]   and ne mihte nan hit næfre syððan   findan.
        and NEG might none it   never afterwards find
        'and never since could anyone find it.' (ÆLS (Martin) 474)

[4.10] &   wæs geworden æfen   &   mergen se ðridda dæg.
        and was become   evening and morning the third day
        'And it was evening and morning the third day.' (Gen 1.13)

Table 4.19 shows the total number of clauses with split complex verb phrases, as well as separate counts of clauses with *beon*, *habban*, formal auxiliaries or modal verbs functioning as auxiliaries in split complex verb phrases. The table furthermore shows observed and relative frequencies for V1 word order in these clauses.

Table 4.19: *V1 frequency for* beon, habban, *formal auxiliaries and modal verbs functioning as auxiliaries in split complex verb phrases.*

Verb type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Beon	1,781	282	15.8%
Habban	106	6	5.7%
Formal auxiliaries	193	7	3.6 %
Modal verb	1,458	234	16.0%
Total	**3,538**	**529**	**15.0%**

Table 4.20, furthermore, shows the total number of clauses with non-split complex verb phrases, as well as separate counts of clauses where *beon*, *habban*, formal auxiliaries and modal verbs function as auxiliaries in non-split complex verb phrases. In addition, the table shows V1 frequencies for these clauses.

Table 4.20: *V1 frequency for* beon, habban *and modal verbs functioning as auxiliaries in non-split complex verb phrases.*

Verb type	Clauses	V1	V1 frequency
Beon	1,174	27	2.3%
Habban	72	0	0%
Formal auxiliaries	24	0	0%
Modal verb	817	6	0.7%
Total	**2,087**	**33**	**1.6%**

Figure 4.8 below illustrates how the use of the lexemes *beon* and *habban,* as well as formal auxiliaries and modal verbs affects the use of V1 word order: as main verbs, as auxiliaries (whether in split or non-split complex verb phrases), as auxiliaries in split verb phrases and in non-split verb phrases.
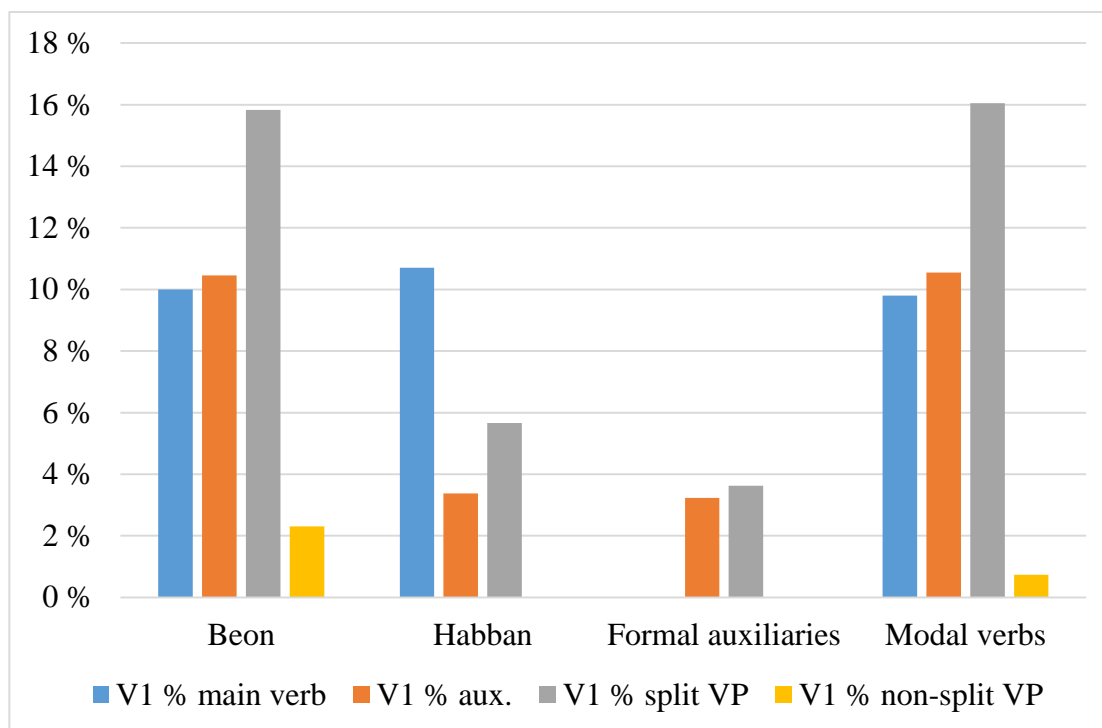
Figure 4.8*: V1 frequency for* beon*,* habban*, formal auxiliaries and modal verbs: as main verbs, as auxiliaries (total), and as auxiliaries in split and non-split complex verb phrases.*

As tables 4.19 and 4.20 above show, and as can also be seen from figure 4.8, verbs functioning as auxiliaries in complex verb phrases appear in verb-initial position in as much as 15% of the cases when the rest of the complex verb phrase is postponed to later in the clause. In clauses with a complex verb phrase which is not split, the frequency of V1 word order is much lower, at 1.6%. This tendency is in agreement with the principle of end weight.

To ascertain whether the difference in V1 frequency between clauses with split and non-split complex verb phrases is statistically significant, a chi-square test was performed based on the 'total' counts of clauses and V1 structures from tables 4.19 and 4.20:

Chi-square for V1 frequency and split vs. non-split complex verb phrases.

Phi	Pearson
+0.19	221.25
P	<.0001

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The test shows that the difference is highly statistically significant, and the phi-coefficient, at +0.19, is only slightly below what Cohen (1988) names as a medium effect size, which indicates that there is some level of association between the structure of the complex verb phrase and the use of V1 word order.

Denison (1986:287), then, is partly proven right in his assumption that 'those light, auxiliary-like, low-information-content verbs' are particularly likely to occur clause-initially, as his claim is founded on the principle of end weight. Rather than pertaining to 'the nature' (286), or semantic weight, of the finite verb, however, the weight principle appears to explain why the structure of the verb phrase is relevant to the use of V1 word order.

4.5 Lexico-functional grouping of V1 verbs

Section 4.4 above discussed semantic and structural weight of the verb phrase as a factor influencing the use of V1. Another conceivable reason for certain verb groups to appear more frequently in V1 position than other verbs, is, as mentioned in chapter 2, that the lexical meaning of these verbs may be compatible with typical pragmatic functions of the V1 word order. For example, if V1 word order often has the function of narrative inversion (cf. section 2.3.1), the verbs frequently found in V1 position might be expected to typically denote some form of dynamic action, rather than denoting e.g. a permanent state.

The five verb categories annotated by the YCOE, particularly the 'other verbs' category, are, however, unspecific; except for *beon* and *habban* they do not differentiate between individual lexemes. In order to perform a qualitative analysis of lexical meaning in relation to V1 word order, it was therefore necessary to manually group the verbs occurring in V1 position according to lexical meaning. The large sample of V1 clauses in the corpus (2,466 clauses), although advantageous as the basis of a quantitative analysis, was, however, too large to allow for such a manual lexio-functional grouping of the V1 verbs in these clauses, at least within the scope of this thesis. In order to arrive at a manageable sample size for a qualitative analysis, it was therefore necessary to reduce the number of clauses under investigation.

Since my aim in carrying out a lexico-functional grouping of clauses is to investigate how the lexical meaning of the finite verb may influence the use of V1 word order, it could be useful to exclude clauses whose V1 word order might likely be caused by other factors, e.g. by negation or by the clause being in the subjunctive mood. As has been seen earlier in this chapter, clauses where the finite verb is negated, as well as subjunctive clauses, have much higher V1 frequencies than clauses with non-negated, indicative verbs do. Accordingly, as described in section 3.4.6, I excluded all V1 clauses where the finite verb was either negated, or unambiguously in the subjunctive mood, from this part of the study. I furthermore excluded all clauses with complex verb phrases, in order to avoid auxiliary verbs holding (presumably) less lexical meaning than main verbs (cf. footnote 19 above).

Below are listed all non-negated, indicative V1 main verbs in the corpus. The V1 verbs in Bede have been separated from the rest for two reasons. Firstly, Bede contains more of these verbs in V1 position than all the other texts together. In this regard, studies claiming that Bede is special as concerns V1, such as Ohkado (2000, 2004), are proven right; if subjunctive and negated clauses are disregarded, Bede has a much higher V1 frequency than any other text in the corpus. Furthermore, Ohkado (2000, 2004) also claims that there are no constraints on which lexemes can occur in V1 position in Bede, while in other texts there are such constraints. The second reason for presenting the results for Bede and the other texts separately, then, is that it allows for investigating the accuracy of this claim.

From the present corpus, 627 V1 clauses were extracted whose finite verbs matched the above-mentioned criteria (indicative, non-negated main verbs). 365 of these V1 verbs, representing 60 lexemes, are found in Bede, while 262 verbs, also representing 60 different lexemes, are found in the other texts. These lexemes, which have been sorted according to lexical meaning, are listed below, along with their number of occurrences. The categories of lexical meaning are as follows: *beon*, verbs of communication (including verbs of saying), dynamic verbs, and static verbs. In the discussion of these categories following table 4.22, all references to V1 frequencies, unless otherwise stipulated, are to the above-mentioned sample of 627 V1 clauses.

Table 4.21: *Indicative, non-negated main verbs found in V1 position in Bede.*

Lexical category	Lexemes	Occurrences
	Beon 'be'	136
Verbal communication	*Andswarian/Ondswarian* 'answer'	11
	Bædan 'bid, compel'	6
	Biddan 'bid'	1
	Bodian 'preach, announce'	2
	Cweþan 'say'	51
	Cygan 'invoke, call'	1
	Frignan 'ask'	18
	Gehatan 'promise'	1
	Hatan 'bid'	1
	Secgan 'say	3
	Tellan 'tell, narrate'	1
	Wiþsacan 'deny, refuse'	1
Dynamic verbs	*Ahon* 'hang, crucify'	1
	Ætecan 'add to'	4
	Æteowian 'show, display'	2
	Becuman 'become'	1
	Blinnan 'cease'	1
	Bringan 'bring'	4
	Cuman 'come'	12
	Don 'do, make'	1
	Efencuman 'assemble'	1
	Faran 'go'	3
	Feohtan 'fight'	1
	(on)Fon 'take'	7
	Forgifan 'give'	1
	Forlætan 'leave, forsake'	3
	Forþfaran 'depart, die'	1
	Gan 'go, walk'	1
	Getrimbran 'build'	1
	Geþwarian 'reconcile'	1
	Hreosan 'fall'	1
	Lædan 'lead'	2
	Læran 'teach'	1
	Munan 'remember'	1
	Niman 'seize, take'	2
	Onginnan 'begin'	1
	Onhyrian 'imitate'	1
	Sellan 'give'	3
	Sendan 'send'	7
	(ge)Seon	6
	Settan 'place, set'	1
	Singan 'sing'	2
	þeodan 'join'	1
	Weaxan 'grow'	1
	Wendan 'turn, cause to move'	1

	Widscufan 'push far'	1
	Writan 'write'	4
Stative verbs	*Belimpan* 'be about, concern'	1
	Eardian 'dwell'	1
	Flowan 'flow'	1
	Habban 'have'	22
	Healdan 'hold'	1
	Lifian 'live'	3
	Sittan 'sit'	3
	Standan 'stand'	3
	þegnian 'serve'	2
	Warenian 'ward, be on one's guard'	1
	Willan 'will'	2
	(ge)Wunian 'dwell'	5

***Table 4.22**:Indicative, non-negated main verbs found in V1 position in the other texts.*

Lexical category	Lexeme	Occurences
Beon	*Beon* 'be'	111
Verbs of verbal communication	*Andswarian* 'answer'	1
	Cweþan 'say'	6
	Hatan 'bid'	1
	Secgan 'say'	3
	Sprecan 'speak'	1
Dynamic verbs	*Aflian* 'put to flight'	1
	Agyldan 'pay'	1
	Beran 'bear, carry'	1
	Beseon 'look'	1
	Blawan 'blow'	1
	Bugan 'bow'	2
	Cuman 'come'	14
	(ge)Don 'do'	1
	Dropan 'drop/drip'	1
	Faran 'go'	11
	Feallan 'fall'	3
	Fon 'take'	9
	Forlætan 'leave, forsake'	1
	Gan 'go'	9
	Gebyran 'colonise'	1
	Gedrefan 'trouble, vex'	1
	Gefelan 'feel, perceive'	1
	Gefyllan 'fill'	1
	Gehyran 'hear'	3
	Geopenian 'open, reveal'	1
	Gesamnian 'assemble'	2
	Heofan 'grieve, lament'	1
	Hnescan 'soften'	1

	Irnan 'run'	2
	Leornian 'learn'	1
	Losian 'perish'	2
	Niman 'seize, take'	2
	Onginnan 'begin'	7
	Ongitan 'perceive'	1
	Sadian 'satisfy, satiate'	1
	Sellan 'give'	3
	Sendan 'send'	1
	(ge)Seon 'see'	1
	Settan 'set'	1
	Standan (fram) 'stand (forth)'	1
	Stician 'stab, pierce'	1
	þinan 'thaw'	1
	Þyncan 'seem, appear'	2
	Underfon 'receive'	1
	Wanian 'wane'	1
	Weaxan 'grow'	4
	Wendan 'turn, cause to move'	1
	Winnan 'labour, toil'	1
Stative verbs	*Behealdan* 'hold near, possess'	2
	Gelyfan 'believe'	1
	Gemunan 'remember, consider'	1
	Habban 'have'	2
	Healdan 'hold'	1
	Latian 'delay, linger'	1
	Licgan 'lie'	3
	Ondrædan 'fear'	1
	Sittan 'sit'	3
	Standan 'stand'	2
	Wenan 'suppose'	5
	Witan 'know'	12
	Wunian 'dwell'	1

Beon, when functioning as a lexical main verb, as it does in the clauses included here, is of course a stative verb, but as it still (i.e. also when not used as an auxiliary) accounts for a large percentage of these non-negated, indicative V1 verbs, it has been analysed as a separate category. The lexeme *habban* functioning as a lexical main verb, on the contrary, does not have such a special position. Although it occurs in as much as 22 of these V1 clauses in Bede, i.e. in 6% of them, it occurs only twice in V1 position in the rest of the texts discussed in this section. As it can no longer be called a 'light load' verb, since auxiliary *habban* has been excluded, it has here been grouped together with the other stative verbs.

Verbs denoting acts of verbal communication are sorted together and identified as typically appearing in V1 structures by Calle-Martín & Miranda-García (2010), as well as by Cichosz (2010) (cf. section 2.2.4). In the present study, this category encompasses obvious members such as *cweþan* 'say' and *sprecan* 'speak', as well as lexemes that may be used to denote either spoken or written forms of communication, such as *frignan* 'ask', *andswarian* 'answer', *biddan* 'bid' and *wiþsacan* 'deny, refuse'. The lexeme *writan* 'write', denoting unambiguously written, not spoken, communication, is here sorted in the general group of dynamic verbs, although it might arguably have been sorted with the other verbs of verbal communication.

The categories 'dynamic verbs' and 'stative verbs' might well have been further subcategorised, e.g. into unergative, unaccusative and transitive verbs, or into verbs denoting momentary or repetitive action, or perception verbs. Unlike the above-mentioned category of verbs of communication, however, which of course is a subcategory of dynamic verbs, no other group of lexical verbs appears to stand out as particularly connected to V1 word order. A few individual lexemes, such as *cuman* 'come', *faran* 'go', *gan* 'go, walk' and *fon* 'take' admittedly have somewhat high concurrency rates; this could however conceivably be caused by these verbs being generally common in the language. Anyhow, the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs in V1 position seems to be more pertinent in regards to whether or not V1 word order is used in cases of narrative inversion or with similar pragmatic functions.

As mentioned above (cf. e.g. section 2.2.4), this type of lexico-functional grouping of verbs is potentially subjective. This is particularly the case with some verbs that may be classified as dynamic or stative dependant either on their textual circumstances, or even on subjective perspective. An example of the first is the verb *standan* 'stand', which commonly is a stative verb as it denotes the state of standing. However, it can also mean 'to stand up', or as in one clause in the present sample, 'to stand fort' (*standan fram*), in which case it must be classified as a dynamic verb. Furthermore, there are verbs such as *þegnian* 'serve', which normally denotes action, but which in the clauses in the present sample rather signifies a position held, i.e. a state. Particularly this last type of verb may be classified differently elsewhere.

With this issue of subjectivity as to classification in mind, percentages have been calculated for each lexical group presented above; these are presented in table 4.23.

Table 4.23: *Percentages of lexical verbs appearing in V1 in Bede and in the other texts.*

Category	Bede		The other texts	
	Occurrences	% of total occurrences	Occurrences	% of total occurrences
Beon	136	37.8%	111	42.5%
Other stative	45	12.5%	35	13.4%
All stative	**181**	**49.7%**	**146**	**55.9%**
Communication	97	26.9%	12	4.6%
Other dynamic	82	22.8%	103	39.5%
All dynamic	**179**	**50.3%**	**115**	**44.1%**
Total	**360**	**100%**	**261**	**100%**

As can be seen from the table, much is similar between Bede and the other texts as concerns the types of lexical verbs found in V1 position. Both *beon* and the rest of the stative verbs have similar rates; so do all dynamic verbs, when regarded as a group. If, however, verbs of verbal communication are regarded separately from the rest of the dynamic verbs, the difference between Bede and the other texts is substantial; verbs of verbal communication account for more than half of the dynamic verbs in Bede, while very few of the dynamic verbs in the other texts are of this subcategory.

As mentioned above, Ohkado (2000:275) suggests in his study on V1 in Bede vs. in other texts that the syntactic peculiarities of Bede can be attributed to influence from the Latin original of this text, as six of the ten V1 constructions he examines have V1 word order also in Latin. None of these has a verb of saying in V1 position, but the tendency of these to occur clause-initially in Bede could conceivably be explained by Latin influence as well. However, more investigation, outside the scope of the present study, is needed to ascertain whether this might be the case.

Also as mentioned above, Ohkado (2000) furthermore claims that V1 constructions in Bede are of a different quality than those in other OE texts, their use being not as tightly restricted in Bede as in other texts as concerns verb type. When disregarding negated and subjunctive clauses, the structure is certainly used more often in Bede than in the other texts. However, in the sample discussed here, the same number of different lexical verbs occur in the other texts (counted together) as in Bede, in a smaller number of clauses, and with great variation as to lexical meaning. Obviously, if one compares the 360 V1 verbs in Bede with the 59 V1 verbs in ÆCHom I, or with the 17 V1 verbs in ChronA, assuming the texts all vary to a similar extent in their use of different lexemes in V1 position, one is going to find a greater number of different

lexemes in Bede, simply because of the large number of V1 structures found in this text. From the present findings, then, it can be argued that Bede exhibits the same degree of constraint (or lack thereof) in regard of which verbs may occur in V1 position, as other OE texts do.

As concerns lexico-functional grouping of V1 verbs in relation to pragmatic function, particularly narrative inversion (which is the reason that the verbs above are grouped according to dynamic vs. stative meaning) it would seem that dynamic and static verbs are evenly distributed in the V1 clauses, with close to 50% of the verbs belonging to each of these two groups. It would be interesting to compare this result to how the distribution of dynamic and stative verbs are in other OE word order patterns, in order to ascertain whether V1 structures have a higher frequency of e.g. dynamic verbs than other clause types do. However, this would unfortunately be outside the scope of the present study.

Interestingly, the great majority of stative verbs both in Bede and in the other texts are indeed of the lexeme *beon*; the rest of the stative verbs constitute only 12.5% and 13.4%, respectively, of the lexical V1 verbs. The reason why *beon* is still more common in V1 position than in OE in general (cf. section 4.4.1), also when auxiliary *beon* is disregarded, is however difficult to explain with certainty. One explanation could be that forms of beon are short and therefore light, and that they consequently are subject to the syntactic (rather than e.g. the semantic) aspect of the principle of end weight, i.e. that 'shorter constituents precede longer ones' (Bussman 1998:520). Alternately, one could speculate that verb-initial *beon*, whether main verb or auxiliary, may have become idiomatic in OE, perhaps as a result of the high frequency of V1 auxiliary *beon*.

Anyhow, if *beon* is disregarded from the results given in the present section, the great majority of lexical V1 verbs denote dynamic action, which would be in line with V1 word order functioning to mark a turning point in the discourse (Mitchell 1985, cf. section 2.3.2), or being used in narrative inversion, i.e. of marking a 'transition from action to action as *þa* 'then' usually does in prose' (Ohkado 2004:12).

4.6 Pragmatic functions of V1 clauses

For a qualitative analysis of the pragmatic function(s) of V1 word order, an even more reduced sample of clauses was chosen: all non-negated, indicative V1 clauses with main

verbs (as in section 4.5) from the Bible texts in the corpus were used, *Genesis* (Gen), *Exodus* (Exod), *Leviticus* (Lev), *Numbers* (Num), *Deuteronomy* (Deut), *Joshua* (Josh), *Judges* (Judg), as well as *The Gospel of Matthew* (Mt (WSCp)), *The Gospel of Mark* (Mk (WSCp)), *The Gospel of Luke* (Lk (WSCp)) and *The Gospel of John* (Jn (WSCp)), altogether 56 clauses. Additionally, the same number of V1 clauses from Bede were also used for this qualitative analysis.

As in the grouping of dynamic and stative V1 verbs in section 4.5, the main focus in this part of the study is on the pragmatic function of narrative inversion, i.e. of marking a 'transition from action to action as *þa* 'then' usually does in prose' (Ohkado 2004:12). Each of the 112 V1 clauses were analysed and categorised according to whether it describes momentary action taking place in the narrative of the text in the manner which Ohkado describes, or if it describes action taking place over some time, or rather, if it does not refer to action but instead e.g. gives additional information.

4.6.1 Pragmatic functions of V1 in the Bible texts and in Bede

Table 4.24 sums up the pragmatic functions for the 112 V1 clauses under analysis here. A discussion of the classification follows the table, dealing first with pragmatic functions of V1 in the Bible texts and then with pragmatic functions of V1 in Bede.

Table 4.24: V1 clauses in the Bible texts and in Bede, with pragmatic functions.

Pragmatic function	Bible texts	Bede
Rendered speech (or written communication)	40	1
- *of which have ambiguous verbs*	*15*	
which may be jussive subjunctive:	*7*	
- *of which may be questions:*	*8*	
- *remaining clauses of speech:*		
Momentary action	14	29
- *of which are verbs of saying:*		19
Action taking place over some time	1	2
Description and additional information	1	24

As is clear from table 4.24, many of the verb-initial clauses in the Bible texts describe momentary action happening as part of the narratives of the texts, which can be classified as narrative inversion. Examples of this are [4.11] and [4.12]:

[4.11]   wurdon ða   behelede ealle ða   heahstan duna   under ealre heofenan.
          were   then covered all   the highest   mountains under all   heaven.G
          'all the high mountains under the entire heavens were covered.' (Gen 7.19)

[4.12]   &   com fyr of Gode
          and came fire of God
          'and God's fire came.' (Lev 9.24)

Even more of the V1 clauses in the Bible texts are found in passages of rendered speech
(40 clauses), as in examples [4.13–15] below. This fact is in line with Van Kemenade's
(1987:44) suggestion that V1 word order, typical for spoken Dutch, might also be typical
for spoken language in OE.

[4.13]   Bið ðonne se   min renboga on ðam wolcnum
          is then   that my rainbow in the   clouds
          '"Whenever my rainbow appears in the clouds,"' (Gen 9.16)

Some of these clauses containing speech, such as in example [4.14], are translated as
questions in modern Bible editions. It might however be argued that in the OE translation,
these examples are possibly not questions, but rather statements, i.e. the equivalent not of
'and are you so dull-witted?', but of 'and you are so dull-witted'. Although such a
supposition is by no means certain, as these examples might very well be questions also
in the OE translation, the possibility that they are not justifies their inclusion here.

[4.14]   þa   cwæð he, &   synt ge þus ungleawe
          then said   he and are you thus without understanding
          '"and you are so dull-witted," he said.' (Mk (WSCp) 7.18)

Furthermore, a number of these speech clauses are in modern Bible editions rendered in
the imperative mood, such as example [4.15]. The verbs found in all of these clauses are
annotated as ambiguously indicative or subjunctive (cf. footnote 16 above). Possibly, they
can all be classified as jussive subjunctive, which arguably has V1 as its unmarked word
order (Quirk & Wrenn 1965:93).

[4.15]   ga ge on minne wingeard
          go you in my   vineyard
          'You go in my vineyard.' (Mt (WSCp) 20.4)

Only one V1 clause in the Bible text sample, here example [4.16], does not refer to any action taking place, but rather contains a piece of additional information.

[4.16] Wæron þa Noes suna þe of þam arce eodan: Sem & Cham &
were   then Noah's sons that of the ark went: Shem and Ham and
The sons of Noah who came out of the ark were Shem, Ham and
Iaphet;
Japheth
Japheth. (Gen 9.18)

As indicated by table 4.24 above, the use of V1 word order in clauses of rendered speech is very different in Bede compared to in the Bible texts. The only V1 clause in the present sample from Bede which is close to containing speech is part of what could be read as an eye-witness account. It is found in a cited letter which describes the troubles of the Britons to their Roman rulers:

[4.17] wiþscufeþ us seo sæ to þam ællreordum
repels   us the sea to the   barbarians
'The sea drives us back to the barbarians' (Bede 48.5)

As shown in table 4.24, of the thirty V1 clauses in Bede describing momentary action, nineteen have verbs of saying in V1 position (cf. section 4.5), such as example [4.18]. The last ten of these twenty-nine clauses describing momentary action have other dynamic verbs, see example [4.19].

[4.18] Cwædon heo, þæt heo nænig þyssa don wolde
said   they that they none   of this do   would
'They said that they would not do any of these things' (Bede 102.17)

[4.19] Com se foresprecena   hungur eac swylce hider on Bryttas
came the aforementioned hunger also likewise hither in Britain
'The aforementioned famine also came here to Britain' (Bede 48.19)

Unlike in the Bible texts, a substantial number of the V1 clauses in Bede can, as concerns pragmatic function, be classified as providing additional information without any reference to action taking place, as in example [4.20].

[4.20] Comon hi   of þrim folcum ðam strangestan Germanie, þæt of Seaxum
Came   they of three peoples the   strongest   German,   that of Saxons
'They were of the three strongest peoples in Germany, namely Saxons,
& of Angle & of Geatum
and of Angles and of Jutes
Angles and Jutes.' (Bede 52.2)

4.6.2 Problems of classification

Finally, for a few of the V1 clauses in the present sample, the classification was necessarily more prone to subjectivity than for the rest. Among these were clauses describing action that is part of the narrative, but which is not momentary, such as Example [4.21]. These were classified in a separate 'middle' category, as denoting 'action taking place over time'. Also, there were clauses like example [4.22], which describe action but whose initial verbs give additional information about the action rather than pertaining directly to it. These were classified together with other clauses of description or information.

[4.21] &   heofodon hi
and mourned they
'and they were mourning.' (Lk (WSCp) 8.52)

[4.22] Wæs þis gefeoht wælgrimre & strengre   eallum þam   ærgedonum
was this fight   more destructive and stronger all.D   those.D before done
'This battle was more destructive and violent than any fought before.' (Bede 46.21)

4.6.4 Concluding comments on the pragmatic functions of V1

To conclude, narrative inversion, marking a 'transition from action to action as *þa* 'then' usually does in prose' (Ohkado 2004:12) appears to be a common pragmatic function of V1 word order in the Bible texts under survey here as well as in Bede, with a number of clauses describing momentary action taking place as part of the narratives of the texts. Apart from this similarity, there are noticeable differences between the texts in the use of V1 word order, as concerns pragmatic function.

Firstly, in the Bible texts, many of the V1 clauses contain rendered speech, which is not the case in the present sample from Bede. The Bible texts, the New Testament in particular, consist of direct speech, to a larger extent than Bede does. Arguably, this could be part of the reason for the above-mentioned discrepancy; still, it is noteworthy that none

of the V1 clauses in Bede contains rendered speech, while none of the clauses of rendered speech following the V1 verbs of saying in Bede is themselves V1.

Secondly, 24 out of the present sample of 56 V1 clauses in Bede do not refer to action, at least not in a way that can be interpreted as narrative inversion. Some of these may be said to be compatible with one or other of the other five functions of V1 described by Ohkado (2004:12), i.e. of summarising the discussion, of introducing a type of something distinct from the types presented in the preceding sentence(s), of introducing a sentence different from or adversative or in contrast to the preceding one(s), of introducing a new character or of opening a new paragraph. Others, however, cannot be said to have any of these functions, such as e.g. examples [4.23], which is part of a passage of historical facts concerning the emperor Constantine which it neither introduces nor concludes, and [4.24], which in a similar way is part of a passage of historical facts.

[4.23]   Writeð Eutropius þæt Constantinus se   casere   wære on Breotone acenned
         writes Eutropius that Constantinus the emperor was   in Britain   born
         'Eutropius writes that emperor Constantine was born in Britain' (Bede 42.17)

[4.24]   Hæfde ærest þisses gemetes   rice   Ælle Suðseaxna   cyning
         had   first this   measure.G kingdom Ælle South Saxons.G king
         'Ælle, king of the South Saxons, was the first to rule over these areas.' (Bede 108.28)

As mentioned in chapter 2, such classification according to pragmatic function is prone to subjectivity, as the exact function of many clauses is open to interpretation. However, it seems safe to say that Bede appears to use non-negated, indicative V1 word order not only more frequently by far than any other text in the present corpus, but in more contexts, in regard of pragmatic function, at least than the present Bible texts. In Bede, then, there appear to be few absolute constraints on the use of V1 as concerns context.

That being said, there is certainly room for more work on the issue of the pragmatic function of V1 word order. Further investigation of this topic would require qualitative analysis of a larger number of V1 structures, as well as a more in-depth analysis of their textual context.

4.7 Summary

The present chapter has presented and analysed how a number of factors, extra-linguistic as well as linguistic, influence the use of verb-initial word order in OE prose, and attempted to cast a little more light on the pragmatic functions of the structure.

While many of the factors discussed in sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 were shown to have a highly statistically significant relation to the use of V1 word order, the effect sizes for some of the results, namely those pertaining to time of composition, translation status, coordination and to the verb types annotated by the YCOE, were so low that although the results were shown to be statistically significant, there may be very little if any association between these variables and the use of V1. The effect sizes pertaining to the association between the use of V1 word order and the variables of negation of the finite verb, the indicative vs. the subjunctive mood, and, as concerns complex verb phrases, whether these are split or non-split, were high enough to confirm that these variables influence the use of V1 in OE.

The lexico-functional grouping of verbs performed in section 4.5 showed that auxiliary *beon* disregarded, the lexeme *beon* is still very common in V1 position. This section also showed that except from this lexeme, V1 clauses with simple verb phrases predominately have dynamic verbs in V1 position, which is in line with the pragmatic function of narrative inversion.

Finally, section 4.6 showed that many of the V1 clauses subjected to qualitative analysis with regards to pragmatic function do have the function of narrative inversion. However, a substantial number of these V1 clauses in Bede cannot be said to function in this way, and appear to be used in a greater variety of contexts than what is the case in the Bible texts to which they were compared.

To conclude, the present chapter has to a great extent answered the first research question, i.e. how various factors influence the use of V1. As concerns the second question, i.e. how this word order functions in OE prose, there is certainly room for more work. Hopefully, however, the present study has been able to shed some useful light on the issue.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This master's thesis has investigated the V1 word order pattern in Old English prose through a quantitative and qualitative corpus-based study based on nineteen OE prose texts. In the introduction, two research questions were posed: firstly (cf. section 5.2), how does the interaction of different linguistic and non-linguistic variables influence the use of V1 word order? Secondly (cf. section 5.3), what are the pragmatic function(s) of V1 word order in OE?

The subsequent thesis chapters presented the previous research on V1, described the methodology of the present study, and analysed the results, in an attempt to answer the above-mentioned questions. While the first research question was dealt with extensively, if not exhaustively, there appears to be room for a great deal more work concerning the pragmatic functions of V1.

The definition of V1 has been a central issue in this thesis; see section 3.2 with subsections for an in-depth discussion. The present study is concerned with declarative main clauses with the finite verb as the first element and where the expressed subject either follows the finite verb directly, or comes later in the clause. The verb may be negated or non-negated, and in either the indicative or the subjunctive mood. Conjunctions coordinating main clauses are not analysed as part of these main clauses; consequently second and subsequent conjunct clauses with an initial verb are analysed as V1.

5.2 Factors influencing the use of V1 word order

The factors investigated as possibly influencing the use of V1 word order, were the extra-linguistic factors of time of composition and translation status, as well as the syntactic factors of coordination, negation and mood, and the structure of the verb phrase. The latter is also related to the principle of end weight. Verb type as a factor for V1 is related to pragmatic function.

5.2.1 Extra-linguistic factors

The frequency of V1 word order is a little higher in late OE texts than in early texts, and a little higher in translated texts than in original OE compositions (cf. section 4.2.2).

However, the results pertaining to time of composition and translation status indicate that these factors do not exert a strong influence on the use of V1 word order; although statistical tests show that time of composition and translation status are significant, this is quite likely due to the large samples used, as the effect size values pertaining to these results indicate that there is little association between the factors and V1 frequency. More sophisticated statistical tests than what is within the scope of the present master thesis would be needed in order to arrive at more accurate results concerning the relationship between time of composition and translation status and the use of V1.

5.2.2 Syntactic factors

Coordination was suggested by e.g. Cichosz (2010), citing Mitchell (1985), as being relevant for the frequency of V1 and other word order patterns. The present study (cf. section 4.3.1) discovered that V1 word order occurs more than twice as often in relevant non-conjunct clauses than in relevant conjunct clauses. This result was highly statistically significant; still, however, it was weakened by a low phi-coefficient.

Not unexpectedly, negation of the finite verb by the clitic *ne* 'not' was shown to be highly effective as a factor facilitating V1 word order (cf. section 4.3.2). Statistical tests showed that the differences in V1 frequency between negated and non-negated clauses were highly statistically significant, and the phi-coefficient furthermore indicated a strong level of association between negation and V1 word order. Negation of the finite verb was seen to front the verb more often in non-conjunct clauses than in conjunct clauses; whether the negator was merged with the verb it negated or not, however, was shown to be of little importance in this respect.

As concerns mood, subjunctive clauses (cf. section 4.3.3) were shown to exhibit a high frequency of V1 word order. Almost four out of ten subjunctive clauses in the corpus exhibited verb-initial word order, while almost two out of three imperative clauses were found to have the verb in first position. In comparison, just above one in twenty indicative clauses were V1. This fact, together with the issue of some of the subjunctive clauses being 'jussive subjunctive', i.e. functioning similarly to imperative clauses, with V1 as their unmarked word order, put into question their inclusion in the present study. Excluding jussive subjunctive clauses only, however, would be possible only through qualitatively analysing each clause, which would be impossible within the scope of this

master thesis. The only alternative method for excluding jussive subjunctive clauses would be to exclude all subjunctive clauses. Although doing so might be defensible as it would exclude a number of potentially irrelevant clauses, it would also exclude a number of relevant V1 clauses which if omitted would be a loss to the study.

Denison (1986:286–7) claims that the most important factor influencing the use of V1 word order is 'the nature of the finite verb', in relation to the principle of end weight. As the principle of end weight (cf. section 4.4 and subsections) entails that structurally and semantically light elements come early in the clause, while heavier elements come towards the end, it was expected that light load verbs, specifically verbs that can function as auxiliaries, would be particularly frequent in V1 position. Accordingly, Denison explains that e.g. *beon* 'be' and *habban* 'have' are typical for V1 structures. The results given in this master's thesis show on one hand that these lexemes, along with modal verbs, are the most common in V1 structures in the present corpus, and that this is not simply because they are the most common verbs in the OE language, but that their use is more frequent in V1 clauses than in other finite main clauses. On the other hand, the effect sizes pertaining to the statistical tests of the relationship between verb type and the use of V1 are very low; consequently there may be no association between verb type and V1. As with the extra-linguistic variables mentioned above, then, there is a need for more sophisticated statistical testing of the effect of verb type on the use of V1.

Obviously, however, *beon*, *habban* and modal verbs do not always function as auxiliaries, and the findings of the present study indicated that *beon* and modal verbs functioning as auxiliaries only exhibit slightly higher V1 frequencies than the same verbs do when they function as main verbs, while auxiliary *habban* in fact has a much lower V1 frequency than *habban* functioning as a main verb in a simple verb phrase. Where these verbs function as auxiliaries, however, the structure of the complex verb phrase, i.e. whether or not other clauses elements intercede between the auxiliary and the non-finite verb(s), was shown to be of importance in relation to the use of V1 word order (cf. section 4.4.3). If the complex verb phrase is split, the light load auxiliary is almost ten times as likely to occur in clause-initial position as heavy, non-split complex verb phrases are. This result was shown to be highly statistically significant, which was supported by a high phi-coefficient value.

Denison's (1986:286–7) above-mentioned statement concerning verb type and end weight as important factors facilitating the use of V1, then, is partly confirmed by the present study; while the effect of verb type on the use of verb-initial word order is uncertain, end weight has been shown to have a clear influence on V1 frequency.

5.2.3 The typology of verbs appearing in clause-initial position

Auxiliaries being disregarded, it was expected that certain lexical verbs, particularly dynamic verbs, would be more likely to occur in V1 structures than stative verbs, as verbs denoting dynamic action arguably are better suited to convey the pragmatic function of narrative inversion, alternately of marking 'a turning point in the discourse', than verbs denoting a permanent state. A lexico-functional grouping of all lexical, non-negated, indicative V1 verbs showed that if *beon* was disregarded, the majority of these verbs were indeed dynamic (cf. section 4.5). It was however outside the scope of the present study to investigate how the distribution of stative and dynamic verbs in V1 structures compares to the distribution of these verbs in other OE structures.

On the side, it was noted that lexical *beon* is very common in V1 position, regardless of it being a stative verb. This fact could conceivably be explained by forms of *beon* being (for the most part) short and light, and therefore being fronted by the weight principle. An alternate reason could be that verb-initial structures with *beon* may have had a somewhat idiomatic status in OE. Such a theory would however be difficult to confirm with certainty.

5.3 The pragmatic function(s) of V1

A selected number of V1 clauses from Bede and from the Bible texts in the present corpus were qualitatively analysed with regards to pragmatic function. The main aim of this analysis was to discover how many of them could be claimed to exhibit the pragmatic function of narrative inversion.

It was concluded that V1 word order appears to be used in a wider variety of contexts in Bede than in the Bible texts. In Bede, 29 of the 56 clauses under qualitative investigation conveyed momentary action, and can be classified as exhibiting narrative inversion. However, 24 of these clauses in Bede contained descriptions and additional information; several of them could not be claimed to convey any of the six pragmatic

functions of V1 identified by Ohkado (2004) in his study on V1 in ÆCHom I. Of the 56 investigated clauses from the Bible texts, on the contrary, only two did *not* either convey momentary action or occur in rendered speech. These findings indicate that V1 is used in a different way in the Bible texts than in Bede, arguably being reserved for a limited set of contexts in the Bible texts. In Bede, on the contrary, there appears to be few or no restrictions on the use of V1 word order as concerns context.

5.4 Summary

In this master thesis, it has been shown that a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic variables influence the use of V1 word order, to varying degrees. Negation of the finite verb, mood, and the structure of the verb phrase (if it is complex: whether or not other elements intercede between the finite verb and the non-finite verb(s)) appear to have the most obvious effect on V1 frequency. Furthermore, V1 is used more often in subjunctive clauses than in indicative clauses; V1 it used even more often in imperative clauses, which have been excluded from the definition of V1 in the present study, due to this being their unmarked word order. The effect of time of composition and translation status, as well as of coordination, is less certain, and needs further testing. The semantic content of verbs, and the related pragmatic functions of V1, are possibly factors which influence the use of V1 word order; these are however topics on which there is room for more research.

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