WORD ORDER PATTERNS IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

A SYNTACTIC AND PRAGMATIC STUDY

KRISTIN BECH

DISSERTATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR ARTIUM

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To
my friends
(they know who they are)

Nec quisquam melior medicus
quam fidus amicus
(Cato)

[E]all sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste, ða hwile ðe hi to nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit arædan.
All the youth now in England of free men, who are rich enough to be able to devote themselves to it, should be set to learn as long as they are not fit for any other occupation, until they are well able to read English writing.

(King Alfred in the preface to the translation of *Cura Pastoralis*)

The first of the vii sciences is gramaire ... wythout whiche science sikerly alle other sciences in especial ben of lytil recommendacion, by cause without gramaire ther may none prouffyte ... This is the scyence to forme the speche, be it in latyn, ffrenshe or englisshe, or in any other langage that men speke with. And who that coude alle gramaire, he coude make and construe euery worde and pronounce it by example. God made the world by worde, and the worde is to the world sentence.

(From Caxton's *Mirrour of the World*)

Forþon hit is god godne to herianne...

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As for the rest, family and friends, whose main contribution has consisted in efficiently taking my mind *off* the dissertation (not, if the truth be known, a very difficult task) – to them as well I extend my thanks, for demonstrating very clearly that there is more to life than dead languages.

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Malum est consilium quod mutari non potest (Publilius Syrus)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Aim and hypothesis

The aim of this work is twofold. The first is to describe the word order[1] of Old and Middle English declarative main clauses.[2] In other words, the main questions to be answered in this connection are whether word order in Old English (OE) can be systematized into patterns, and if so, how these word order patterns develop over time. Therefore, the early OE period is the point of departure for my investigation, which ends with the late Middle English (ME) period. The descriptive part then serves as a prerequisite for the second objective of this work, which is to look at word order in Old and Middle English from a pragmatic perspective, with a view to finding out whether pragmatic factors could have played a role in the typological change that English underwent in this period, from a language with a verb-second (V2) constraint to a verb-medial language.

Faarlund (1990) argues for the possible influence of pragmatic factors in language change when he writes:

> The appearance of new syntactic forms can be explained as a means of meeting functional requirements posed by communicative situations. In a pragmatic perspective one can furthermore assume that whenever two or more forms coexist in a language, there are functional reasons for using one rather than the other. (1990:49)

Also, according to Faarlund, the two vital questions to be answered in diachronic syntax are: 1) 'how a new form comes into existence', and 2) 'why the new form ends up taking over the whole domain that used to belong to the old form' (1990:49). In this dissertation, no reference will be made to the linguistic situation before the OE period. Rather, the focus is on the mechanisms that determine word order in the Old

[1]For the sake of simplicity, I shall use the term 'word order', although a more correct term would be 'constituent order'.

[2]I use Quirk et al.'s (1985:987) definition of main clause as 'a clause that is not subordinate to another clause'. Such clauses are also called 'independent clauses'.

and Middle English periods, and on the development and change of these word order principles.

My hypothesis is that OE was a language with a verb-second (V2) constraint, but that this constraint could be overridden by pragmatic factors. The term 'pragmatic factors' is a very wide and vague one, but in this context I am basically using it as a cover term to refer to the fact that at any given time, some clause elements are more important informationally than others. The elements that are less important will be called 'low IV elements', where IV stands for 'information value', whereas the more important elements in the clause I refer to as 'high IV elements'. The information value is determined primarily on the basis of contextual and semantic factors.[3] I shall claim that in OE, there was a strong functional aspect to word order, where the choice of a particular word order to a considerable extent was determined by the requirements of information processing; ie, different word orders served different pragmatic functions.[4] Furthermore, given that this was the case, it becomes difficult to discuss word order change without taking the influence of these factors into consideration, and my argument is that the pressure on word order from pragmatic constraints was an important factor in the typological change that English underwent, as manifested in the reanalysis of preverbal position as the subject position, and the resultant verb-medial syntax.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Word order typology

Although the study of word order in English is by no means of recent origin, it is particularly in the last three or four decades that scholars have become interested in word order from a typological perspective. Word order typology on the clause level basically means that languages are classified according to the position in the clause of the main constituents, such as subject, verb, object and adverbial. Although main clause word order is usually regarded as more basic than the word order of subclauses, linguists working within a generative framework sometimes take the opposite view and regard subclause word order as more basic (Comrie 1981:83). I shall be concerned with main clause word order only in this study.

Some main language types are: SVX[5] (also referred to as verb-third[6] or verb-medial), XV(S) (verb-second, V2), SXV (verb-final) and VSX/VXS (verb-initial).

[3]For a more detailed discussion of the theoretical background, cf section 5.2.
[4]Allen (1995:33) adopts a similar view.
[5]'X' refers to any constituent, or constituents, apart from the subject and the verb.

Modern English (ModE) is a verb-medial language, whereas Old English is generally considered to be a V2 language, or at least a language with some sort of V2 constraint.[7] In a V2 language, the verb occurs in second constituent position in the main clause:

(1.1) þa siglde he þonan suðryhte be lande
then sailed he from-there southwards along coast
'then he sailed southwards from there along the coast'
(*Or*, 14:16)

(1.2) Ðas gifu sealde seo ceasterwaru on Tharsum Apollonio þam tiriscan
This gift gave the citizens of Tharsus to-Apollonius the Tyrian
'This gift the citizens of Tharsus gave to Apollonius the Tyrian'
(*ApT*, 16:7)

We see that the verb occupies second clause position in OE, whereas in the ModE idiomatic translations there are two elements in front of the verb: the adverbial and the subject in (1.1) and the object and the subject in (1.2).[8]

It is important to have a clear idea of the difference between V2 and verb-medial, or SVX, syntax. Both V2 and verb-medial languages may have a large number of main clauses with SVX order. Vennemann estimates that in German, a consistent V2 language, more than 60% of the clauses are SVX, since '[t]he most common constituent before the verb in verb-second syntax is the subject' (1984a:634). In German, then, one may have a sentence like (1.3):

(1.3) Er fuhr nach Spanien am Montag.

In the corresponding English sentence, the word order is the same:

(1.4) He went to Spain on Monday.

However, if an adverbial is placed in initial position, the verb remains in second position in German, which means that the subject must follow the verb, whereas in English, the order of the subject and the verb is the same as in (1.4):

---

[6]The term 'verb third' may seem strange, inasmuch as the verb is not strictly speaking in third position here, but the term merely reflects the fact that 'in declarative main clauses, the subject precedes the finite verb, even if some other constituent (e.g. an adverbial or an object) occupies initial position' (Haugland 1992:1).

[7]See for instance Jespersen 1949b, Haiman 1974, Vennemann 1974 and 1984a, Stockwell 1977 and 1984, van Kemenade 1987, Breivik 1989 and 1991, Stockwell & Minkova 1991 and 1994, Lass 1987 and 1994, Platzack 1995, Pintzuk 1996 and Kroch & Taylor 1997.

[8]Note that here, and throughout this study, the discussion concerns surface structure only, unless I specifically state otherwise.

(1.5) Am Montag fuhr er nach Spanien.
(1.6) On Monday he went to Spain.

Thus, one could say that in (1.3), the verb is in second position because that is the syntactic position for the verb, whereas in (1.4), the verb is in second position because there happens to be just one element in front of it. These examples illustrate Stockwell & Minkova's point, namely that 'verb-second syntax is utterly different conceptually from SV syntax even though the surface strings may look alike much of the time' (1991:389).

1.2.2 The inconsistent V2 nature of Old English

As mentioned above, OE is usually classified as a V2 language, though everyone who has worked with OE has noticed that it is not consistently so. There are numerous instances of OE clauses which do not have V2 order. In (1.7) and (1.8), for example, the word order is XSV, and in (1.9) it is SXVX:

(1.7) For þrim þingum Hælend eode on westen
For three reasons Savior went into wilderness
'For three reasons the Savior went into the wilderness'
(*BlHom,* 29:18)

(1.8) Ðurh ða wunde he forliest ðone wlite his lioma
Through the wound he loses the beauty of-his limbs
'Through the wound he loses the beauty of his limbs'
(*CP,* 71:24)

(1.9) ic Apollonius se tirisca ealdorman eow cyðe þæt...
I Apollonius the Tyrian prince to-you proclaim that...
'I, Apollonius, the Tyrian prince to you proclaim that...'
(*ApT,* 14:20)

Generative syntacticians (for example van Kemenade 1987 and Pintzuk 1996) have attempted to explain these inconsistencies by appealing to a theory of clitics, which postulates that OE non-topicalized pronouns, as well as some short adverbs, are clitics. This takes care of a number of apparent counterexamples to the V2 hypothesis. For example, all clauses with XSV order in which the subject is a pronoun, as in (1.8), become V2 clauses, and so do clauses like (1.9), in which a pronominal object occurs between the subject and the verb. There may even be more

than one clitic element, as in (1.10), where the analysis of *hi* and *mon* as clitics means that this clause too has V2 word order.[9]

(1.10) For þon hi mon hæt on Crecisc Amazanas
Therefore them one calls in Greek Amazons
'Therefore they are called Amazons in Greek'
(*Or*, 29:34)

The inconsistencies of OE with respect to V2 word order have also led some scholars to classify it as a verb-medial language (eg Bean 1983, cf section 2.2.2.2.6) or not to classify it at all typologically (eg Mitchell 1964, 1985 and Danchev 1991, cf section 2.2.1).

Whichever line of reasoning one adopts, it does not change the fact that OE is different from other V2 languages, such as Old Norse, Modern Norwegian, German, Dutch, etc. Thus, it should be kept in mind that whenever OE is described as a V2 language, or a language with a V2 constraint, what is meant is not that it is V2 in an absolute sense, but rather that there are strong V2 tendencies in the language.

1.2.3 The loss of V2

In any study of language change it is of course of vital importance to establish what the language changed *from* and what it changed *into.* The latter we know the answer to, since we know that ModE is a verb-medial language. As regards the former, we have seen that the typological status of OE is a matter for discussion. However, we know that OE in many respects is quite unlike ModE as regards word order, and similar to V2 languages. The background assumption throughout this dissertation will therefore be that there was in fact a V2 constraint in OE. Note, however, that the classification of clauses in chapter 3 is independent of this presupposition, as my objective is *first* to describe what word order patterns occur, and *then* relate the findings to the V2 question.

As regards the question of when the V2 constraint was lost, there is little consensus among the scholars who believe that OE in fact had such a constraint. van Kemenade (1987) postulates that the development from (underlying) SOV to SVO order and the loss of V2 were in fact two different developments: the former was completed by 1200 and the latter by 1400 (1987:174). Her claim is supported by Stockwell & Minkova (1991). Kohonen's findings also give some support to this view. He, too, concludes that the SXV–SVX shift was completed by 1200, but he is unable to

[9]For further discussion of the clitic hypothesis, see section 4.2.3.

date the loss of V2 since it takes place after the period covered by his study (1978:133). Swan (1994:261) writes that 'the AVS structure … lived on for many centuries, and was a fairly strong option even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', and Bækken, in a study of XVS and XSV clauses in early Modern English, finds a relatively high proportion of inversion (19.3%) in clauses from the period 1480–1630 (1998:92). This data could indicate that the loss of V2 may in fact have been completed at a later date than 1400. Of course, strictly speaking, English has never really lost verb-second word order; we still find it in some clause types, but its use is very restricted. The present discussion concerns the loss of V2 order as a productive pattern in declarative main clauses.

1.3 The corpus

The corpus which forms the basis for the analyses carried out in this dissertation consists of 5,000 main clauses: 1,250 from early Old English (870–950), 1,250 from late Old English (950–1150), 1,250 from early Middle English (1150–1350) and 1,250 from late Middle English (1350–1500). The clauses are excerpted from 19 different texts, four from the early OE period and five from the other periods, and the texts are all prose texts, as the clause structure of poetry is often influenced by the requirements of rhyme and meter, and therefore does not lend itself very well to word order studies. During the process of excerption, the clauses were typed into FileMaker files and coded according to syntactic and pragmatic criteria, which allows for easy cross-searches (cf Appendix III for an example of a typical record).

In a study of historical material as old as this, the question of how representative the texts are must necessarily arise. The extant material is relatively scarce; it represents written language, which we know to be more conservative than spoken language, and it is in many cases translated from Latin. Thus, the question arises whether a study based on this material will provide us with knowledge about the actual language usage of these periods, or whether the insights gained will be skewed due to the limitations of the material. However, since the surviving manuscripts are all we have, we are left with no choice but to accept them as the basis of our studies. Moreover, whether the available texts are suitable or not depends on the purpose of the study. The present work deals with word order and word order development, and on the basis of our knowledge of other languages, we may deduce that it is not very likely that the written language of the manuscripts would differ in any fundamental ways from general language usage in this particular respect. Therefore, the risk is low that our inquiries into matters of word order with reference to the extant manuscripts would lead us astray in our conclusions. Finally,

although some of the Old and Middle English texts are translated from Latin, the English into which they have been translated does not share the characteristics of Latin with respect to word order. As Sweet (1871:xxxix) points out, 'the O. E. writers did not learn the art of prose composition from Latin models: they had a native historical prose, which shows a gradual elaboration and improvement, quite independent of Latin or any other foreign influence'. The non-literalness of the translations is also remarked upon by other editors (cf Sedgefield 1899:xxv and Bately 1980:xciii). In other words, to the extent that the Old English translations are influenced by the Latin originals at all, this influence is too insignificant to invalidate word order studies based on the available Old and Middle English manuscripts.

1.3.1 Early Old English texts

The texts from the early Old English period are:

- *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*Bede*,[10] 250 clauses),
- *King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* (*CP*, 250 clauses)
- *The Old English Orosius* (*Or*, 500 clauses)
- *King Alfred's Old English version of Boethius* (*Bo*, 250 clauses)

The two main manuscripts upon which Miller's (1890) edition of *Bede* is based are Tanner 10 and Cotton Otho B. xi, which Ker (1957) dates to the first quarter of the 10th century and the middle of the 10th century, respectively. While the translation of *Bede* was probably undertaken as part of King Alfred's scheme for improving the state of learning by commissioning translations of important Latin works into English, *Bede* is, according to Miller (1890:lvi-lix), not a West-Saxon, but an Anglian work, and he suggests that it might have originated at the monastery of Lichfield.

Sweet's (1871) edition of the translation of *Cura Pastoralis* provides two parallel texts; one mainly based on Cotton Tiberius B. xi, and one based on Hatton 20. Both manuscripts were written during the reign of King Alfred at the end of the 9th century (cf Sweet 1871:xiii-xiv and Ker 1957), and are from the West-Saxon dialect area. It is believed that the author of the original Old English translation was King Alfred himself. The excerpted clauses in my corpus have been taken from the edition of the Hatton manuscript.

Bately's edition of the *Old English Orosius* appeared in 1980, and it is based mainly on two manuscripts: Additional 47967 (pp 1-15 and 28-156) and Cotton

[10]The short titles of the Old English texts are those suggested by Mitchell, Ball & Cameron (1975).

Tiberius B. i (pp 15-28). The former is dated to the first quarter of the 10th century, while the latter manuscript is from the 11th century (1025–1075, cf Ker 1957). Thus, the last two thirds of the Ohthere interpolation and all of Wulfstan's report are supplied from the latter manuscript. The language of Add. 47967 has usually been regarded as early West-Saxon, but Bately (1980:xxxix) points to observations which might suggest a post-Alfredian West-Saxon. The language of C. Tiberius B. i is standard late West-Saxon, though it contains some 'early' features, which were probably taken over from the original source by the scribes (1980:xlix). The Old English version of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* is also taken to be the work of King Alfred himself. Sedgefield's (1899) edition is based on two manuscripts in particular: Cotton Otho A. vi, which is the main manuscript for the edition, and Bodley 180, which is used where there are missing parts in C. Otho A. vi. Ker (1957) dates C. Otho A. vi to the middle of the 10th century and Bodley 180 to the first quarter of the 12th century. The language of both manuscripts contains some Kentish forms, though C. Otho A. vi, at least, must have been copied from an early West-Saxon source (Sedgefield 1899:xxxv).

As will have become apparent, the clauses that represent the early OE period are mostly excerpted from manuscripts dating from the beginning of the 10th century, though the actual date of composition might be somewhat earlier. The reason for this is that pre-Alfredian material is extremely scarce, and mainly consists of glosses or fragments of manuscripts. Thus, the language of the early OE period is to a large extent synonymous with West-Saxon, with *Bede* as a notable exception.

1.3.2 Late Old English texts

The following texts from the late Old English period have been used:

- *The Blickling Homilies* (*BlHom*, 200 clauses)
- *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (*ÆLS*, 500 clauses)
- *The Old English Apollonius of Tyre* (*ApT*, 200 clauses)
- *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (*WHom*, 200 clauses)
- *The Peterborough Chronicle* (*OE Peterb.*, 150 clauses)

Morris' (1874–1880) edition of the Old English translation of the *Blickling Homilies* is based on the William H. Scheide manuscript, which Ker (1957) dates to the very end of the 10th century. In the manuscript itself, the date 971 is given. The manuscript probably originated in the north-east of England, and the dialect is thus Mercian.

The manuscript which forms the basis of Skeat's (1881–1885) edition of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* is Cotton Julius E. vii, which Ker (1957) dates to the very beginning of the 11th century. Ælfric flourished at the end of the 10th century, and the probable date of composition, or rather translation, of the *Lives of Saints* is given as 996 or 997 (Skeat 1890–1900:xxvii). As regards the language of the translation, we may note that the dialect is West-Saxon, Ælfric having been trained at Winchester. Furthermore, Ælfric's prose is noted for its frequent use of alliteration (cf Skeat 1890–1900:l-liii).

The *Old English Apollonius of Tyre* is edited by Goolden (1958) from Corpus 201, a manuscript which is dated by Ker (1957) to the middle of the 11th century. This manuscript is taken to be a copy of another, now lost, manuscript (Goolden 1958:xxxiv). The language is the Old English of the late West-Saxon period (1958:xxvii).

Bethurum's (1957) edition of *Wulfstan's Homilies* is based on Hatton 113, which Ker (1957) dates to the third quarter of the 11th century. In Bethurum (1957:4), the date 1070 is suggested. The manuscript was written at Worcester by the scribe Wulfgeat, under the direction of Wulfstan, and the language is conventional late West-Saxon, though with some Kentish and Anglian forms (Bethurum 1957:50).

The *Peterborough Chronicle* is part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and Clark's (1958) edition is based on Laud Misc. 636, which dates back to the second quarter of the 12th century. As Clark (1958:xi) notes, the text of the *Peterborough Chronicle* falls into three sections. The first section contains the entries up to 1121. These are all written in homogeneous hand and ink, which suggests that this part of the chronicle was copied from an earlier original. The language belongs to the Old English period, and may be described as standard West-Saxon (Clark 1958:xxxix). The clauses excerpted for my corpus were taken from the periods 1100–1102, 1110–1114 and 1118–1121. The second section of the *Peterborough Chronicle* is referred to as the First Continuation, and covers the period from 1122–1131, while the last section, the Final Continuation, contains the remaining entries up to 1154. The language of the First and Final Continuations differs considerably from that of the first annals. First, it is clearly from a different dialect area; ie, these sections were composed at Peterborough rather than just copied there. Most importantly, however, they mark the transition to the Middle English period (Clark 1958:xl). Therefore, I have used the First and Final Continuations of the *Peterborough Chronicle* as samples of early Middle English, to which we shall turn in the next section.

1.3.3 Early Middle English texts

The early Middle English clauses have been excerpted from the following texts:

- *The Peterborough Chronicle* (*ME Peterb.*, 250 clauses)
- *Old English Homilies* (*Homilies*, 200 clauses)
- *Vices and Virtues* (*Vices & Virtues*, 250 clauses)
- *Sawles Warde* (*Sawles W*, 200 clauses)
- *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt* (*Ayenbite*, 350 clauses)

As mentioned above, the last two sections of the *Peterborough Chronicle* fall into the Middle English period linguistically, and unlike the first part, they were composed at Peterborough (Clark 1958:xxxv). Thus, they belong to the Anglian dialect area. According to Clark (1958:xlix), there has been some discussion as to whether the First Continuation should be classified as Old or Middle English. However, Clark provides evidence in support of regarding it as a sample of early Middle English, with the Final Continuation representing a fulfillment of the tendencies shown in the First Continuation (1958:lviii).

In spite of the title, the *Old English Homilies*, translated from Latin, are from the early Middle English period. The manuscript upon which Morris' (1868) edition is based is Lambeth 487, which Morris dates to the latter half of the 12th century (1868:xviii). The language marks it as belonging to a Southern dialect area, although Morris points out that the criteria for this dialect cannot automatically be applied to a text from the 12th century (1868:xviii).

The Stowe 240 manuscript which forms the basis of Holthausen's (1888) edition of *Vices and Virtues* can be dated to approximately 1200. It is also a work translated from Latin, and the dialect of the manuscript can, according to Hall (1920:443), be traced to 'the northern border of the South-Eastern area'.

Millett & Wogan-Browne's (1990) edition of *Sawles Warde,* which is a free translation of the Latin treatise *De custodia interioris hominis*, has its basis in the Bodley 34 manuscript from the beginning of the 13th century, which was written in the West Midlands.

The last text chosen from the early ME period is *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience*, edited by Morris & Gradon (1866/1965) from the Arundel 57 manuscript. The exact date and provenance of the manuscript is given in the manuscript itself: it was completed by Dan Michel at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, on October 27, 1340, and it is a translation of the French *Somme le Roi* from 1280 (Gradon 1979:1).

1.3.4 Late Middle English texts

The late Middle English corpus used for the purposes of the present work consists of excerpted clauses from the following texts:

- *The English works of Wyclif* (*Wyclif*, 250 clauses)
- *Middle English Sermons* (*ME Sermons*, 150 clauses)
- *The Bodley version of Mandeville's Travels* (*Mandeville*, 300 clauses)
- *The works of Sir Thomas Malory: The tale of King Arthur* (*Arthur*, 300 clauses)
- *Caxton's Mirrour of the World* (*Mirrour*, 250 clauses)

The part of my corpus containing extracts from the works of Wyclif has been excerpted from three different tracts: nos XXVI, XV and XXIV in the edition by Matthew (1880). These three tracts are in turn edited from three different manuscripts: Lambeth 551, from the middle of the 15th century, Corpus Christi 290, from the 14th or early 15th century, and New College 95, from the 15th century. However, the actual dates of composition of the tracts are somewhat earlier, as Wyclif lived from approximately 1320 to 1384. According to Matthew, no external evidence exists to prove that XXVI was written by Wyclif, but if it was, it is likely to have been written early, sometime between 1365 and 1375 (1880:359). Tract XV, on the other hand, is clearly by Wyclif (according to Matthew 1880:226), and was written around 1381–1382. Tract XXIV is also considered as authentic, and of a late date as well (Matthew 1880:346).

The *Middle English Sermons* are edited by Ross (1940) from the mid-15th century manuscript Royal 18 B. xxiii. My corpus contains extracts from sermon 9, written during the Great Schism (1378–1417), sermon 15, written around 1370, and sermon 22, written sometime after 1382 (Ross 1940:xxxiv). The language indicates that the collection of sermons was compiled at Oxford University, though it contains some northern forms (1940:xxvi-xxxiv).

Seymour's (1963) edition of *Mandeville's Travels* is based on the Bodley E Musaeo 116, an East-Anglian manuscript from the first half of the 15th century. The original English translation of the Latin manuscript was, however, probably made between 1390 and 1425 (Seymour 1963:xii).

By the time we reach the end of the 15th century, and the writings of Sir Thomas Malory, the language is such that the modern reader who wishes to study the original will encounter no great difficulties. Malory completed his work in 1469–1470, and Vinaver's (1947) edition is based on a late-15th century manuscript which was discovered in the Winchester College library in 1934 (Vinaver 1947:vi).

Our final source from the late ME period is *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, translated from French in 1480, and edited by Prior (1913). Some would regard Caxton as belonging in the early Modern English period rather than in the late ME period, but as the boundary between these linguistic periods is rather fuzzy, both views are justified.

1.4 Organization of the dissertation

The dissertation is organized as follows: chapter 2 provides a summary of the most relevant previous research related to the work carried out in this dissertation. In chapter 3, I discuss some of the problems I encountered in the analysis, and the word order patterns I operate with are described and exemplified. Chapter 4 is the first of the two main chapters of this dissertation, and it is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to a description of the distribution of word order patterns in Old and Middle English, both in general, as well as in relation to the clitic hypothesis and the question of how to regard conjunct clauses. The second part deals with the distribution of constituent types in the various word order patterns, with a view to finding out whether there is any correlation between constituent type and word order. Chapter 5, the second main chapter, focuses on word order and information structure. The chapter starts with a discussion and presentation of the method for pragmatic analysis of the clauses, before the actual analysis is carried out with reference to some selected word order patterns. The last part of the chapter continues the discussion started in chapter 4 concerning the relationship between word order and conjunct clauses. It is argued that the fact that the proportion of conjunct clauses is higher in some word order patterns than in others can be attributed to an interplay between word order function and the particular function of conjunct clauses. Finally, chapter 6 offers a summary and some concluding remarks.

Quot homines, tot sententiae (Terence)

CHAPTER 2

Previous research

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a survey of some of the previous research on Old and Middle English word order and word order typology. As the amount of research within this field is vast, and encompasses approaches so different as to belong to separate paradigms, it is difficult to give a fair and representative picture of all of it. Therefore, rather than give a complete picture of existing research, this chapter outlines the more important works within the field, and exemplifies some of the approaches taken to word order in the history of English.

Section 2.2 is devoted to research done on word order and word order typology in the history of English. This section is divided into subsections, and the first, section 2.2.1, concentrates on pre-typological and non-typological works. The focus of section 2.2.2 is on word order typology, the typological status of OE, and its change into a verb-medial language. In section 2.3, I turn to research dealing with the pragmatic properties of Old and Middle English, and section 2.4 offers some concluding remarks.

2.2 Word order and word order typology in the history of English

2.2.1 Pre-typological and non-typological studies

Towards the end of the 19th century, comments on word order began to appear in the works of scholars interested in Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, as it was often called. However, Smith (1893:210) laments the lack of studies on word order in Anglo-Saxon prose, and contends that it is particularly the 'rhetorical aspect' of Anglo-Saxon word order that needs to be studied (1893:211). According to Smith,

> [t]here are three norms in the word-order of every language: 1) The syntactic, or grammatical, used as a "means of indicating grammatical relations;" 2) The rhetorical, used as a means of indicating "the relative weight and importance intended by the author;" 3) The euphonic. (1893:211)

Smith also notes that 'Anglo-Saxon, a highly inflected language, could better employ position for rhetorical purposes than modern English' (1893:211). Though Smith regards dependent clauses as more important than independent clauses for the study of word order (1893:210), he nevertheless distinguishes between a 'normal order', ie, the SVX order (1893:216) and an 'inverted order', ie, the XVS order (1893:221), in independent clauses.

In his 1898 grammar, Sweet points out that OE and Modern German word order follow the same general principles. According to Sweet, OE declarative main clauses have the same word order as ModE clauses, ie, SVX order, whereas the word order of dependent clauses is verb-final (1898:6). However, a bit further down the page, Sweet modifies his own view by saying that because OE had inflections, the word order was comparatively free, and thus OE was intermediate between Latin and Modern German. The rather free nature of OE word order was also pointed out by Dahlstedt (1901), though, as he says, 'this freedom was used within certain limits' (1901:15).

The view that OE word order was relatively free has also been held in more recent times. However, most scholars within this tradition recognize that the word order of OE main clauses conforms to certain patterns. Davis (1953) distinguishes between three main word order patterns, namely SVX and XVS in main clauses, and verb-final order in subordinate clauses and coordinate clauses joined by *and/ac* (1953:59f). However, he also comments that '[t]hese three varieties of orders are the basic types; but none of them is invariably observed, and much depends on the weight and rhythm of particular phrases and on the individual style of authors' (1953:61). Quirk & Wrenn (1957) observe that although OE word order is relatively free compared to ModE word order, it still conforms to certain patterns, which coincide with ModE usage (1957:87). Like Davis, Quirk & Wrenn note the frequent use of the SVX order, the XVS order after certain adverbs, and the verb-final order in subordinate clauses (1957:92ff). Another proponent of this view is Mitchell (1964, 1985, and Mitchell & Robinson 1992). Mitchell distinguishes between three main word orders: 'S.V.', where the verb immediately follows the subject, 'S. ...V.', with intervening elements between the subject and the verb, and 'V.S.' where the subject follows the verb (1964:119). This corresponds to the observations made by Davis and by Quirk & Wrenn, and like them, Mitchell makes no attempt at classifying OE in terms of word order typology. The works of these scholars are thus primarily descriptive; ie, their aim is to describe the structure of OE, rather than attempt explanations as to why certain word order patterns would have been preferred to others. Kohonen (1976, 1978) operates with the same main word order patterns as

Mitchell, but unlike previous studies, Kohonen attempts to explain word order usage by correlating word order and thematic structure. Another scholar who tries to explain word order in OE in terms of thematic structure is Firbas (1957, 1966, 1992), who states that OE word order is relatively free, though a number of word order patterns may be observed. Furthermore, Firbas claims that 'the FSP [functional sentence perspective] linearity principle ... plays the leading role in the Old English word-order system' (1992:128).[11]

Whereas Sweet focuses on the similarity between OE and German, Fourquet (1938), in his discussion of word order in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* notes the *difference* in word order between OE on the one hand, and German and Scandinavian on the other, where the verb consistently occurs in second position in main clauses. Fourquet finds that the word order in the first part of the *Chronicle* (ie, until 891) is due to three independent factors:

> le déplacement des éléments légers vers le début du groupe, l'existence de groupes nom-verbe fixés, représentant un ordre neutre, la mise en finale du nom en relief. (1938:90)

In other words, there is a tendency for light elements to be placed clause-initially, and for heavy elements to occur in clause-final position. In addition, certain nouns and verbs form groups when they are 'étroitement unis par le sens'; ie, when the noun and the verb are somehow related in meaning (1938:91). In the second part of the *Chronicle* (892–925), there is a stronger tendency for V2 word order, and Fourquet explains this as a consequence of rhythmical factors, as well as analogy. In the same tradition we find Bacquet (1962), who describes word order in the Alfredian period in great detail. For each clause type, Bacquet postulates a basic order (1962:64ff), and deviations from the basic order are explained as emphatic stuctures (1962:585ff).[12]

Fries (1940), a representative of American structuralism, discusses the word order in ACTOR–ACTION–GOAL constructions, and remarks that in OE, word order is of considerably less importance than in ModE, since 'taxemes of selection', ie, inflectional endings, distinguish between subject and object, thus rendering unambiguous a structure like *se mann þone beran sloh* 'the man the bear struck', where *se mann* is in the nominative case and *þone beran* in the accusative case (1940:199f). The word order development of English is thus seen as a result of the loss of inflections. This view was shared by most American structuralists of the 60s and

[11]Firbas' and Kohonen's views are presented in more detail in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

[12]Bacquet's study has been strongly criticized because he fails to distinguish between regular main clauses and clauses introduced by the conjunctions *ond* and *ac* (cf Campbell 1964:191, and Mitchell 1985:969).

70s,[13] and is still seen as an important factor in the word order change that took place in English. However, the opposite view is also found. Cassidy and Ringler (1971) claim that OE word order was by no means free, and that the basic word order was already S–O (Subject before Object) in the ninth century (1971:92f). Since S–O order had syntactic force at such an early stage, and was used to distinguish between subject and object, it was word order that contributed to the breakdown of inflections, not the other way round (1971:93). The view of the majority is, however, that the leveling of inflections preceded, and was a trigger for, word order change. This does not mean, of course, that it was the only factor, and one of the 'non-typological' works that discusses other potential causes of word order change in English is Danchev (1991). Danchev does not postulate the existence of any one dominant word order pattern in OE, but seems to embrace the view that word order was relatively free. Furthermore, he suggests that suprasentential factors should be taken more into consideration, for '[i]f it is true that Old English word order was relatively free ..., what obviously follows is that the order of elements in a given sentence would often depend less on sentential than on suprasentential factors' (1991:111). As regards the ModE SVO order, he explains it as a result of contact with French, and possibly Scandinavian: 'It is difficult to decide whether the fast stabilisation of verb-third order in Middle English is due to a creolisation process involving Scandinavian and French or to direct influence from French' (1991:115).

Whereas the word order of OE was the focus of interest for many scholars at the beginning of this century, Middle English word order received less attention in the 'pre-typological period', maybe because it is more heterogeneous than OE (Denison 1993:30) and thus defies neat classification to an even greater extent than OE. However, the works of Swieczkowski (1962) and Reszkiewicz (1962) could be mentioned in this regard. According to Swieczkowski, subject–predicate order is the dominant order in *Piers Plowman* and the *Middle English Sermons* (1962:109). Furthermore, he maintains that 'word order patterns depend on sematic load patterns, not the reverse' (1962:110). In other words, if the sentence starts with a semantically heavy element, a light element will follow, and vice versa. Reszkiewicz finds that, to judge by the *Book of Margery Kempe,* SVO order is not fully established by the middle of the 15th century (1962:27), as had been, and still is, in fact, often assumed. In other words, the subject cannot be identified in terms of word order (1962:30). However, if there is a sequence of two nominals, the subject is always next to the verb (1962:29), whether in pre- or postverbal position.

[13]Cf Saitz 1955, Shannon 1964, Pillsbury 1967, Carlton 1963 and 1970, Shores 1971a and 1971b, and West 1973.

To sum up this section, then, it could be said that interest in OE word order witnessed an upsurge towards the end of the 19th century. The variation in the word order of OE main clauses was noticed from the very beginning, especially the variation between SVX and XVS order in main clauses. Most of the works mentioned above are descriptive rather than explanatory, and where attempts at explaining the synchronic situation are made, they mostly refer to rhythm, emphasis and the position of light vs heavy elements. The favored explanation for the change from relatively 'free' word order in OE to relatively strict SVO order in ModE is the leveling of inflections and the resultant need for word order to distinguish between subject and object nominals.

2.2.2 Word order typology and the V2 status of Old English

2.2.2.1 Background

Sapir (1921) does not classify languages in terms of word order, but rather in terms of morphological types, and justifies typological classification in the following way: 'For it must be obvious to any one who has thought about the question at all or who has felt something of the spirit of a foreign language that there is such a thing as a basic plan, a certain cut, to each language' (1921:127).

It took a few decades, however, before the study of typology, and word order typology specifically, really took off, and it was one work in particular that triggered the development of typological studies, namely Greenberg's (1963) article on universals of grammar (cf also 1966 and 1974), where he establishes a general framework for the classification of languages. Greenberg's universals are mainly implicational; ie, predicting that 'given *x* in a particular language, we always find *y*' (1963:58). However, the inverse is not necessarily true. Some examples of word order universals are:

> *Universal 1*: In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object. (1963:61)
>
> *Universal 25*: If the pronominal object follows the verb, so does the nominal object. (1963:72)

Greenberg's ideas were later expanded, notably by Lehmann (1972, 1973) and Vennemann (1974, 1975), into holistic typological models, in which the position of one pair of elements, usually the verb and the object, can be used to predict the position of other pairs of elements. Lehmann posits a 'fundamental principle for the

placement of categorial entities which represent modifiers. By this principle, modifiers are placed on the opposite side of a basic syntactic element from its primary concomitant' (1973:48). Thus, in OV languages, modifiers will be placed after the verb, ie, on the opposite side of the primary concomitant, the object. In VO languages, modifiers will be placed in front of the verb.

Vennemann develops Lehmann's ideas further, and posits a 'principle of natural serialization'. According to this principle, languages are either XV languages, in which operators, ie, specifying elements, precede their operands, ie, specified elements, or they are VX languages, in which operands precede their operators (1974:347ff). Vennemann's natural serialization principle is based on Behagel's (1932:5) Third Law, which 'demands that the differentiating element precede the differentiated one' (Vennemann 1974:339). However, Vennemann expands this by saying that the specified–before–specifying order 'is an equally legitimate way of characterizing the specifying–specified relationship', and further claims that those two orders, being most basically manifest in the relative order of the transitive verb and the direct object, constitute the most fundamental way of characterizing languages (1974:343).

Greenberg is extremely cautious and does not claim that his universals hold true for all languages; in fact, he starts his 1963 article with the following warning: 'The tentative nature of the conclusions set forth here should be evident to the reader' (1963:58). Lehmann (1972:243), as well as Vennemann (1974:347), points out that there is rarely consistency in languages; ie, an OV language may display some characteristics of a VO language, and vice versa.

The many exceptions lead Hawkins (1983) to criticize Vennemann's natural serialization principle for being explanatory only to a limited extent, and hardly descriptive at all (1983:51). Hawkins then proceeds to reformulate Greenberg's implicational universals in order to make them exceptionless (1983:59ff). He also introduces the principle of Cross-Category Harmony (CCH), the basis of which is the observation that, as opposed to what Vennemann's natural serialization principle implies, 'a majority of languages do not serialize all their operators on a consistent side of their operands' (1983:133). The CCH principle states that 'there is a quantifiable preference for the ratio of preposed to postposed operators within one phrasal category (i.e., NP, VP/S, AdjP, AdP) to generalize to the others' (1983:134). In order to explain why prepositional and postpositional languages differ in some respects and agree in others, and why noun modifiers co-occur the way they do, ie, why some co-occurrences are allowed and not others, Hawkins posits two principles: the Heaviness Serialization Principle, which states that 'heavier noun modifiers occur

to the right' (1983:91) and the Mobility Principle, which predicts that certain modifiers are more mobile than others, and can 'move around their heads more easily' (1983:93).

So much for a sketch of some of the questions grappled with in the field of typology in general.[14] The main point to keep in mind for our purposes is the observation that the languages of the world are characterized by two contrasting word orders within the clause: verb-final and verb-non-final (Traugott 1992:273).

Let us now move to the field of English language history and see how research within this field was affected by the rise of typological studies.

2.2.2.2 Non-generative approaches[15]

The aim of a vast amount of research within the field of word order typology in the history of English has been to explain why OE was not a consistent V2 language, and why ModE is the only Germanic language that has lost V2 word order. However, there seems to be a difference in point of view between linguists working within a non-generative framework and generative linguists. Whereas non-generativists are often baffled by the inconsistency of OE and the numerous counterexamples to the V2 constraint, generativists tend to regard counterexamples as 'superficial' to a greater extent. Or to put it another way: 'with some measure of oversimplification we might say that data-oriented scholars see variation where their theory-oriented colleagues see regularity' (Haugland 1992:6). In any case, whichever approach is adopted, the answer to the question 'What type of language was Old English with respect to word order?' is crucial, and will in turn have consequences and implications for the questions asked and answers given with regard to the typological status of ME and ModE.

2.2.2.2.1 Strang

Strang (1970) offers a very detailed study of the development of English through the ages, and word order is only part of her account. She suggests that in early OE (770–970), the unmarked order in declarative main clauses is verb-final, with objects and complements preceding the verb, and the subject (if expressed) in initial position

[14]Work has been done in this field since 1983, see for example Vennemann 1984b, Hawkins 1986 and 1988, and Comrie 1986. However, it seems as if the research interests of scholars shifted to other areas in the 1990's, as it is difficult to find references to any major works on language universals in this decade.

[15]It should be noted that the term 'non-generative' here refers to studies that cannot be placed within a generative framework at all, as well as to studies that, though they may operate with concepts such as underlying structure, nevertheless do not use the highly formalized method associated with Government and Binding Theory, or the later Minimalist Program.

(1970:346). For this period, Strang also posits a newer ordering principle by which light elements are placed in initial position. Thus, there are two systems of word ordering principles in this period. For later OE, Strang claims that the unmarked norm in declarative sentences is SV, and that any deviation from this order is used as a means of obtaining emphasis or focus. Furthermore, the factors determining word ordering are partly syntactic, such as the loss of inflections, and partly rhythmical, with the difference between light and heavy elements playing an important role. Here Strang leans on Reszkiewicz (1966), who posits that there is a clausal pre-head position, filled by a short function word and followed by the subject and the verb, in that order. Then there are seven 'weight classes' which a word, phrase or clause can belong to, and the position of an element is determined by its weight, with light elements placed before heavy elements. The most important deviation from SV order is VS (Strang 1970:313). In the period 1370–1570 (late ME–early ModE), SVO becomes the normal order, according to Strang, and departures from this order are increasingly marked. Strang suggests that it is in this period that the structure of ModE is really established (1970:212). Preverbal position becomes identified as the subject position, to the extent that restructuring of sentences takes place, as in the case of clauses with impersonal verbs. Strang quotes Jespersen's (1949a:209) example *the king likede(n) pears*, which originally meant 'pears were pleasing to the king', but which, due to the reinterpretation of preverbal position as the subject position, came to mean 'the king liked pears' (1970:211).

Strang accounts for the development of English word order by having recourse to various factors, such as the existence of 'nuclear' (basic) word order, the difference between light and heavy elements, and the loss of inflections, which she suggests was to a large extent brought about by contact with Scandinavian (1970:281). Thus, her approach can be said to be eclectic. Some studies, however, try to incorporate the development of English into a more extensive and holistic theory of language change, and two of the more well-known are those by Vennemann (1974) and Stockwell (1977).

2.2.2.2.2 Vennemann

In his 1974 paper, Vennemann, in addition to establishing a typological framework for the classification of languages, also comments on the development of English. According to Vennemann, English has been a VX (or verb non-final) language at all stages of its recorded history, but it developed from an SXV language, which is the reason why OE displays so many inconsistencies with regard to its status as a VX language: 'The word order history of English is then recognized as a gradual

elimination of inconsistencies, i.e. of XV patterns, from this VX language, a process which has now nearly reached its completion' (1974:351). Vennemann suggests that the development from an SXV language towards an SVX language started 'in response to a topicalization problem resulting from the reduction of S–O morphology' (1974:360). In other words, as inflectional endings disappeared, it became necessary to distinguish between subject and object noun phrases by other means, and one way was for the verb to intervene, so that function became determined by word order rather than morphology. However, the finite verb does not shift directly from clause-final position to post-subject position; there is an intermediate stage, which Vennemann calls the TVX stage (T=topic(s)). Furthermore, he proposes that there are two types of TVX language: the 'verb-after-topics' type, and the 'verb-second' type, and contends that 'the latter seems to generalize from the former by generalization of the post-topic pattern with only one topic, which is probably the most dominant pattern anyway' (1974:361). OE, then, belongs to the verb-second type of TVX languages, and in the course of the ME period the topic position becomes restricted to the subject, with ModE SVX syntax as the result of this development.

2.2.2.2.3 Stockwell

Stockwell (1977) posits five stages in the transition between Germanic and ModE, with the starting point that Proto-Germanic was SOV in main clauses. The five stages may be summarized as follows:

Stage 1:	SO(V)v → vSO(V) by Comment Focusing (where v = modal, *have, be/become,* finite V (probably a restricted set of V, such as V of motion), and (V) = optional non-finite verb)
Stage 2:	vSO(V) → xvSO(V) by Linkage or Topicalization (where x = *then, there,* etc.)
Stage 3:	TvX(V) → SvX(V) by Subject = Topic
Stage 4:	SvX(V) → SvVX by Exbraciation
Final stage:	Subordinate Order → Main Order by Generalization (or, at least, elimination of whatever differences existed) (1977:291ff)

Stockwell notes that the first stage is only weakly supported by available evidence. However, he goes on to assume that the low frequency of verb-initial clauses is only superficial, and that 'many (even most) of the V-2nd sentences are really V-1st' (1977:297). According to Stockwell, the explanation for this is that V2 clauses

overwhelmingly begin with *þa, þonne* or *þær*, or they are SVO, and if these clauses are removed from the data, the number of V2 clauses becomes negligible. In my opinion, this is oversimplifying the matter a bit too much, and Stockwell does not give any reason why SVO clauses and V2 clauses with initial *þa, þonne* or *þær* should be removed, except that *þa, þonne* and *þær* are counted as 'linkage' elements (1977:297f). The article in which these stages are posited primarily deals with 'motivations for exbraciation in Old English', and Stockwell's main aim is to show how the brace construction came to disappear. In ModE we no longer find constructions like:

(2.1) ac þu hæfst beheafdunge geearnad
but you have decapitation earned[16]
'but you have earned decapitation'
(*ApT,* 6:28)

Briefly, according to Stockwell, rightward movement occurred to an increasing extent with objects and adverbial elements, with the effect that the finite and the non-finite verb came to be placed together in medial position (1977:295). In this connection we may note that there is a fundamental difference between Vennemann's and Stockwell's views of how the brace construction came to disappear: Vennemann assumes leftward movement of the verb, whereas Stockwell assumes rightward movement of adverbials and nominal elements.

2.2.2.2.4 Haiman

Another study, contemporaneous with Vennemann, which operates with the concept of stages is Haiman's book *Targets and Syntactic Change* (1974), in which he (following Perlmutter 1971) distinguishes between type A and type B languages. Type A languages, such as the Germanic languages (except Old Icelandic and Gothic), French, and Romansh, require overt subjects, while type B languages, eg, Spanish, Latin, Arabic, may dispense with them. Haiman's hypothesis is that '[o]nly those languages which have or have had the V/2 constraint can ever be type A languages' (1974:91). Consequently, English must at some stage have been a V2 language. Haiman refers to the V2 constraint as a *target,* which can be explained as 'a number of rules of various types [that] conspire to keep the verb in sentential second position' (Steele 1977:209). Haiman primarily focuses on dummy pronouns, and in order to explain the development of such pronouns, he posits four stages in the history of

[16]Except in conservative British and Irish English dialects, where it is retained with completive or 'resultative' meaning; ie, 'I have the book read' means 'I have finished reading the book' (cf Harris 1993:160 and Filppula 1997:230ff).

type A languages. However, he has to make a distinction between English and French on the one hand and the other type A languages on the other, since English and French have lost the V2 constraint. For English and French, then, he posits the following stages:

Stage 0: VSO base order
(a) fronting

Stage 1: SVO base order
(a) fronting
(b) subject-verb inversion (obligatory)

Stage 2: SVO base order
(a) fronting
(b) subject-verb inversion (optional)

Stage 3: SVO base order
(a) fronting
(b) ----------
(the rule is dropped)
(1974:137ff)

Stage 2 describes what Haiman calls 'medieval English', while stage 3 describes Modern English. It is unclear exactly what Haiman means by 'medieval English', ie, whether he by this term means Old and Middle English, or just ME. Earlier he refers to 'medieval and old English' (1974:136), which leads one to assume that medieval English refers to ME. If stage 2 is supposed to describe ME, one might infer that stage 1 describes OE. However, as is well known, subject-verb inversion was not obligatory in OE, and besides, Haiman talks about 'extrapolating backwards' to a stage 1 (1974:137), which implies that the postulation of stage 1 is not based on data, but inferred from stages 2 and 3. It is therefore possible that stage 2 is meant to refer to both OE and ME.

2.2.2.2.5 Breivik

Breivik (1989, 1990, 1991) focuses on existential *there* from a diachronic point of view, and uses both Haiman's and Stockwell's theories of syntactic change in his discussion. He hypothesizes that existential *there* was inserted as an empty topic in order to move the verb into second position. As English developed into a verb-medial language, existential *there* was syntactically reanalyzed as a subject-NP (1991:37). Haiman (1974:125f) claims that *there*-insertion did not exist in OE except in

those cases where it was necessary in order to retain the V2 rule. Breivik, however, presents data which shows that *there*-insertion existed in OE, and furthermore that it could occur in positions where it was *not* motivated by the V2 constraint:

(2.2) ne bið *ðær* nænig ealo gebrowen mid Estum, ac *þær* bið medo genoh
not is there no ale brewed among Estonians, but there is mead enough
'and there is no ale brewed among the Estonians, but there is mead enough'
(in Breivik 1991:37)

(2.3) 7 seððan *ðær* wæs standende wæter ofer þam lande
and afterwards there was standing water over the land
'and afterwards there was standing-water over the land'
(*Or*, 23:6)

We see that in the first clause in (2.2), existential *there* is inserted after the verb, where it is superfluous from a V2 point of view, whereas it is placed before the verb in the second clause, in accordance with the V2 constraint. In (2.3), the insertion of existential *there* also counteracts the V2 constraint since the verb ends up in third position. Breivik explains this variation by claiming that OE had reached Haiman's stage 2. In other words, dummy subjects had begun to appear optionally in positions where the verb-second constraint does not require them (1989:61).

As regards the pragmatic function of existential *there*, Breivik, following Kohonen (1978:180), comments on it in the following way: '*There*-sentences represent a compromise in the conflict between pragmatic and syntactic structure: the initial subject slot is filled by a dummy subject, while the logical subject, the communicative core, is shifted to post-verbal position' (1991:38).

2.2.2.2.6 Bean

Bean (1983) divides the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* into nine periods which stretch from approximately 730 to 1140, and gives the percentage figure for each word order in each period. In period I, the percentage of V2 clauses is 46%, while it ranges between 59% and 80% in the eight other periods. Even though Bean admits that one could argue that OE was a V2 language simply on the basis of the number of V2 clauses, she chooses to disregard this, and claims instead that OE was a V3, or SVX, language, for, as she says, '[t]he appearance of verb-secondness can be attributed to the nature of the *Chronicle* as the recording of a sequence of events' (1983:136). Because of the narrative nature of the *Chronicle*, clauses are often introduced by temporal or locative adverbs such as *þa* 'then', *her* 'at this date', 'in this place', and *þy ilcan geare* 'in the same year', and these adverbs 'become markers of new, consecutive/sequential

action and induce inversion in the basic SVX order' (1983:136). The fact that Bean overlooks her own data and claims that OE is an SVO language like ModE has led to strong criticism. Furthermore, she has, among other things, been criticized for not treating coordinated clauses as a separate category, and for not distinguishing pronouns from other NPs (Denison 1993:48).

Although Bean's study is mainly about word order in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* she also offers some comments on the emergence of SVX order, and suggests that it was due to the reduction of inflectional endings. However, in contrast to Vennemann (1974), but in accordance with Stockwell (1977), she proposes that it was not the verb which moved leftwards, but the noun which moved rightwards, since the movement towards SVX started in clauses with both a nominal subject and object. Thus, nominal objects moved rightwards and were placed postverbally in situations where ambiguity was likely to occur, and postverbal position in time became generalized to all objects (1983:139).

2.2.2.2.7 Others

Traugott (1992) claims that although there was more variation in word order patterning in OE than in ModE, word order in OE was by no means free, but 'rather, different word order patterns co-existed, and usage was consistent within a pattern' (1992:273). She further contends that whereas ModE is a VO language, the basic word order for OE is OV (1992:274). However, in main clauses, this basic word order is overridden by V2 order (1992:275). Traugott also suggests that basic OV order could be overridden by a preference for light elements clause-initially and heavy elements at the end of the clause (1992:276). Thus, we see that she takes both syntactic and pragmatic factors into account in order to explain the word order situation in OE.

In the second volume of *The Cambridge history of the English language* (1992), Fischer gives a general outline of word order change in Old and Middle English. According to Fischer (1992:370ff), it is unclear whether the underlying structure of OE was SOV or SVO, but there is general agreement that English became an almost pure SVO language in the ME period. Thus, although OE was not a consistent verb-final language, there is at least 'a strong tendency from verb final towards verb non-final in the course of the Middle English period, which coincides with the loss of the great variety of surface orders possible in Old English' (1992:371). As regards possible reasons for this change, Fischer cites Vennemann (1974) and Weerman (1987), who suggest that the changes could be due to the loss of inflections (1992:374). In addition, she mentions that pragmatic factors could have played a role, but she

does not give any further indications of what those pragmatic factors would be, nor how they could have influenced word order.

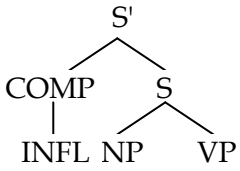
It seems as if the study of English from a typological perspective within non-generative linguistics has lost some of its impetus in the last decade, perhaps because progress has been slow, and arguments manifold and non-conclusive in this difficult matter. Within the more formal framework represented by generative syntax, however, research on Old and Middle English word order is productive and abundant, though consensus as regards what type of language OE was and how it developed has hardly been reached. The next section presents some of the work done by generativists. Of course, their arguments cannot be presented in full, but the sketch given will hopefully provide an idea of the main trains of thought within this paradigm.

2.2.2.3 Generative studies

2.2.2.3.1 van Kemenade

The first study within generative linguistics, or, more specifically, Government and Binding (GB) theory, that treats the question of the word order status of OE and word order development in English in some detail is van Kemenade (1987). van Kemenade posits an underlying SOV order for OE, with a V2 rule in main clauses. She observes that in Dutch, there seems to be complementary distribution between the position of the finite verb in V2 clauses and the position of the complementizer in *that*-clauses, and she claims that this is true for OE as well (1987:46f). The consequence of this is that the position of the finite verb cannot be within S, but must be in COMP. V2 order is then explained as a result of fronting of the verb, or in GB terminology: the verb has been moved to INFL in COMP because this position has to be lexicalized by the finite verb or by another base-generated complementizer (1987:49). In other words, in main clauses, INFL is lexicalized by the finite verb, whereas it is lexicalized by the complementizer in subclauses. This is the reason why subclauses do not display V2 order. The situation in OE is illustrated by means of the following diagram (1987:63):

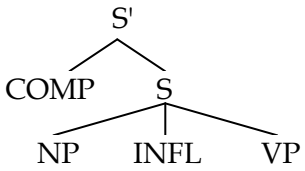
(2.4)



Of course, in order for a main clause to display V2 order, there must be a constituent in front of the verb, and this happens through topicalization of some constituent to the first position in COMP. In connection with this diagram, one may note that in clauses with a non-subject first constituent, and with the verb in second position, the subject remains in its base-generated position. Thus the notion of 'subject-verb inversion' is absent from van Kemenade's theory (although she keeps referring to it). When the subject occurs in initial position, it is topicalized.

As far as the change to ModE SVX order is concerned, van Kemenade postulates that two separate changes took place: first a change from underlying SOV order to SVO order, which was completed by 1200, and later the loss of V2 order, completed by 1400 (1987:174). The change from underlying SOV to underlying SVO order is explained as representing 'a resetting of the parameter for the directionality of θ-marking', with θ-roles being assigned from left to right instead of from right to left (1987:177). As regards the loss of V2, it comes about as a result of decliticization. The reason for the loss of clitics has to do with the loss of inflectional morphology: clitics are regarded as case affixes to case-marking heads, and are as such dependent on the presence of inflectional morphology (1987:204). As verbal morphology is lost, subject clitics cease to be interpreted as clitics, and become interpreted as noun phrases. As pronominal subjects usually occur to the left of the verb, the resultant situation is a predominance of the SVO pattern, ie, of clauses with a (non-clitic) subject in pre-verbal position, and given this situation, there is no longer reason to regard the position of the verb as a result of movement to COMP. The majority of such patterns in turn triggered the reinterpretation of the structure for S: INFL comes to be base-generated adjacent to the verb in S, instead of in COMP (1987:222). The diagram for ModE, then, looks like this (1987:63):

(2.5)



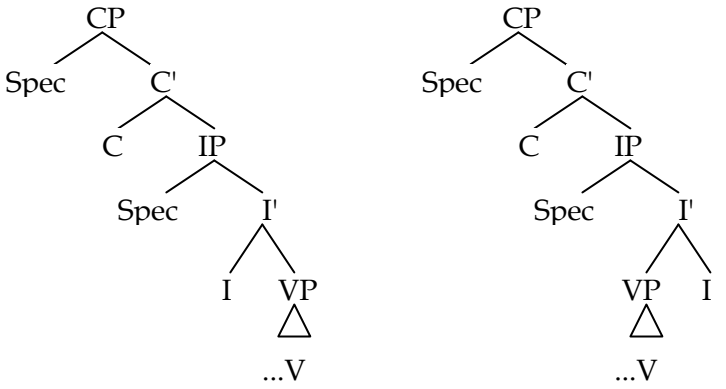
In van Kemenade (1997), the author employs an updated formal framework, but the main ideas are the same. The background assumption is that languages are either C-oriented or I-oriented (1997:327). Noting that OE is asymmetric with respect to V2 order; ie, V2 order occurs in main clauses but not in subclauses, van Kemenade predicts that OE is a C-oriented language, or to be more specific, a C-V2 language, rather than an I-V2 language (1997:333). ModE, on the other hand is an I-oriented language. As in her 1987 work, van Kemenade relates this change to loss of cliticization, or loss of asymmetry 'with respect to the position of the pronominal subject between topic-initial sentences and operator-initial sentences' (1997:348).

2.2.2.3.2 Pintzuk

While van Kemenade claims that OE is an asymmetric V2 language, Pintzuk (1991, 1995, 1996) has developed an analysis in which she suggests that OE is a symmetric V2 language. According to Pintzuk, the underlying position of INFL is variable in OE; ie, the underlying structure can either be INFL-medial, in which case INFL precedes its VP complement, as in (2.6), or INFL-final, in which case INFL follows its VP complement, as in (2.7) (1996:377). Verb-seconding is then explained as 'movement to clause-medial Infl, with topicalization to SpecIP, in both main and subordinate clauses' (1996:379). Main clauses in which the finite verb is in final position and preceded by at least two heavy constituents, and main clauses in which the verb is not in final position, but still is preceded by at least two heavy constituents, are taken as evidence for INFL-final structure (1995:240). As regards the argument for INFL-medial structure, Pintzuk uses the position of pronouns as a diagnostic for the position of the (finite) verb. Pronouns are analyzed as syntactic clitics which move to a position between COMP and IP and thus mark the left periphery of IP. In clauses where the verb appears after the pronoun, the verb must therefore be in INFL. In some 'exceptional clause types', ie, 'direct questions, verb-initial declaratives and imperatives, narrative-advancing clauses, and some clauses with negated verbs', in which pronominal subjects in general appear after the finite verb, the verb is

analyzed as having moved to COMP (1995:243). In Pintzuk's view, then, there was competition between two underlying structures in OE, and the development into ME is seen as a gradual increase in the frequency of INFL-medial structure at the expense of INFL-final structure until INFL-medial became categorical (1995:246).

(2.6) (2.7)



2.2.2.3.3 Lightfoot

Lightfoot's (1991) main argument is that children are 'degree-0 learners', by which is meant that they set their parameters on the basis of matrix clauses; ie, embedded clauses are not triggers in this context (1991:10). He bases his claims on data from diachronic changes, including data from Old and Middle English. The gist of his argument is that English word order could not have changed from underlyingly object–verb to verb–object if children were sensitive to embedded material in the process of setting their parameters, as embedded clauses were predominantly OV in the OE period, and would thus have provided abundant evidence for OV order at D-structure (1991:64). In main clauses, however, OV order was not as robust, and two changes in primary linguistic data are seen as particularly relevant for an explanation of the change from underlying OV to VO order. The first is that main clause verb-final order becomes gradually less frequent, which Lightfoot explains as a result of the verb moving to initial Y˚ to an increasing extent, yielding verb-second order and thus a greater number of verb–object sequences (1991:72). At the same time, however, there is an increase of clauses in which a phrasal adverb occurs in clause-final position, ie, following the verb, rather than being prefixed to it. According to Lightfoot, this would signal to a child that the underlying order is verb-final, and consequently that the verb has moved to the initial Y˚ position (1991:66). Thus, these

two changes work counter to each other: the decrease of object–verb order reduces the clues for underlying OV order, whereas the increase in clauses with a phrasal adverb in final position indicates the inverse. However, as particle position was variable, the existence of clause-final particles did not provide reliable evidence of underlying object–verb order, and the result was that the decrease in OV order in matrix clauses and the proportional increase in VO order finally made the learners set their verb-order parameter differently, with the result that the underlying order became verb–object (1991:67). Note that in contrast to van Kemenade, Lightfoot attributes the change to leftward movement of the verb rather than rightward movement of complements (heavy-NP shift, etc). However, like van Kemenade, Lightfoot considers the change of underlying word order and the loss of V2 as two separate phenomena. In Lightfoot's view, the change to underlying verb–object order was completed by the 12th century whereas the loss of V2 happened much later (1991:75).

2.2.2.3.4 Kroch & Taylor

Kroch & Taylor (1997) are the first to take the difference between northern and southern dialects into consideration in a systematic way. They accept Pintzuk's analysis of OE as an IP-V2 language, but they point out two major problems with this analysis. First, the frequency of subclauses with a non-subject first element and V2 word order is low in OE, which is not what we would expect in an IP-V2 language. Second, the other Germanic languages do not have the movement rule for clitics that Pintzuk proposes for OE. Kroch & Taylor therefore propose a revision of Pintzuk's analysis, and suggest that OE is indeed an IP-V2 language, but while the tensed verb moves to the I° position, the topic moves to Spec,CP rather than to Spec,IP (1997:305). As regards the difference between the northern and southern dialects[17] of ME, they argue that whereas the southern dialects of early ME kept the V2 syntax of OE, northern ME was a CP-V2 language, like German and modern Mainland Scandinavian (1997:312). The hypothesis is that northern ME became CP-V2 due to contact with Scandinavian. However, since Old Norse was most likely IP-V2, like Modern Icelandic, the northern CP-V2 grammar could only have arisen indirectly from such contact (1997:300). Kroch & Taylor suggest that imperfect second-language learning by the Scandinavian invaders led to an early reduction of verbal morphology in the north. Since V-to-I movement depends on rich agreement, and the

[17]Note that they use only one text, *The northern prose version of the rule of St. Benet*, as a basis for their analysis of northern ME. It is therefore possible that the word order patterning of this text reflects stylistic choices rather than being a manifestation of a different grammar (Warner 1997:389).

northern dialects did not fulfill this criterion, the IP-V2 grammar became reanalyzed into a CP-VP grammar (1997:318). This would have been a neat analysis if it had not been for the fact that it is contradicted by empirical data which indicates that northern ME in fact had V-to-I movement (1997:318). Kroch & Taylor therefore refine their analysis by adopting Pollock's (1989) split-I hypothesis, by which AgrS is the highest projection below COMP, and T(ense) the next highest. As regards northern ME, then, they propose that the verb moves to T, whereas the verb in southern ME moves to AgrS (1997:319). Furthermore, as AgrS is the locus for the V2 constraint, according to Kroch & Taylor, it is implied that the verb in northern ME will have to move further up, to COMP, since the constraint cannot be met at the level of T (1997:320). This explains the difference Kroch & Taylor observe with regard to northern and southern ME word order. In the northern ME text investigated, pronominal subjects follow the verb almost categorically in clauses with a topicalized element, whereas the situation in the southern ME texts is more variable, with pronominal subjects frequently occurring before the verb (1997:311ff). Kroch & Taylor furthermore propose that the CP-V2 grammar observed in northern ME dates back to the 10th century or earlier, which is when Scandinavians began to settle in the area, and verbal agreement endings consequently became unstable due to language contact (1997:320ff).

As regards the loss of V2, Kroch & Taylor suggest that it was a result of competition between the grammars of the northern and the southern dialects, but they leave open the question of the nature of this competition (1997:310).

2.2.2.3.5 Others

The approaches to word order in Old and Middle English presented above are meant to represent some of the work going on within the generative framework. Since van Kemenade's influential work, research on Old and Middle English word order has indeed been prolific; witness the contributions from, among many others, Colman 1988, Stockwell & Minkova 1991 and 1992, Koopman 1990, 1992, 1993, 1995 and 1997b, Haeberli & Haegeman 1995, Platzack 1995, Roberts 1997, and Warner 1997. The discussion mainly revolves around the question of how to derive the surface position of the finite verb in OE main and subordinate clauses, and the implications this has for the question of how the loss of V2 came to happen.

2.3 Old and Middle English word order from a pragmatic perspective

The idea that word order is determined by pragmatic principles is by no means a recent one. As early as 1909, Behagel comments:

> Was ist nun der letzte Grund dieser Neigung, das Bedeutsamere und das Umfangreichere gegen das Ende des Satzes zu rücken? Es scheint das Verfahren auf der einen Seite dem Hörenden Vorteile zu bieten. Je näher ein Satzglied dem Ende des Satzes steht, zumal wenn dieses zugleich Ende der Rede ist, desto leichter wird es behalten werden. Man wird also gerne das ans Ende rücken, was man wegen seiner Wichtigkeit dem Gedächtnis des Hörers besonders einprägen möchte, oder dasjenige, was wegen seines größeren Umfangs an sich nicht so leicht vom Gedächtnis aufgenommen wird. (1909:138)

Comrie (1981) argues that most grammatical relations, ie, the syntactic relations between clause elements, 'can be understood only in relation to semantics and pragmatics, or more specifically that grammatical relations cannot be understood in their entirety unless they are related to semantic and pragmatic roles' (1981:60).

So far, with some notable exceptions, as we shall see below, scholars working on the history of English word order have merely contented themselves with observing that there seems to be a difference in the clause position of light and heavy constituents. This has been noted by non-generativists and generativists alike, but apart from that, not much has been done to investigate the effect of pragmatic factors on word order, perhaps because it is difficult to establish criteria for what those pragmatic factors really are, and how evidence for them are manifested in historical texts. However, it has become increasingly clear that explanations which base themselves solely on structural criteria fall short of reaching their goals, and that hypotheses about word order distribution and development in the history of English must be based on a realization of the complexities of language production; ie, syntactic factors do not operate independently of other linguistic factors.

2.3.1 Firbas

Firbas is a representative of the Prague School of Linguistics, which has developed a theory of information flow known as 'functional sentence perspective' (FSP). According to this theory,

> sentence elements follow each other according to the amount (degree) of communicative dynamism (CD) they convey, starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to the highest ... By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element we understand the extent to which the

> sentence element contributes to the development of the communication ... The elements carrying the lowest degrees of CD constitute the theme, those carrying the highest degrees, the rheme ... In addition to the theme and the rheme, there is the transition, which in regard to CD carried ranks above the former on the one hand, and below the latter on the other. (Firbas, 1966:240)[18]

According to Firbas (1957, 1992), OE word order is comparatively free, which is the reason why the principle of FSP can apply to the extent it does (1992:127f). In other words, word order in OE can be manipulated in various ways to make the clause adhere to the principle of FSP, ie, to make it consistent with the theme–rheme perspective. Such clauses are regarded as unmarked and non-emotive, emotiveness being defined as 'not only the speaker's/writer's feelings but also his appeal to the listener/reader' (1957:81). However, not all clauses are consistent in this respect, and one of Firbas' major points is that clauses in which the rheme precedes the theme are emotive and marked (1957:78).

As regards the relationship between FSP, OE, and ModE, FSP is shown to play a lesser role in ModE, word order being determined by grammatical principles instead. Since word order in ModE is more fixed than it was in OE, Firbas claims that it cannot be used as a vehicle of emotion to the same extent as in OE (1957:93, 1992:133). However, he suggests that emotiveness in ModE is perhaps signaled by deviation from the grammatical principle rather than the principle of FSP (1957:93). Thus, where deviation from theme–rheme order signals emotiveness in OE, deviation from SVO order signals emotiveness in ModE.

2.3.2 Kohonen

Kohonen (1978) comments on the lack of attention given to contextual aspects of word order (1978:33), and sets about remedying the situation, with reference to OE and early ME religious prose around 1000 and 1200, as represented in 3897 clauses from *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies, Vices and Virtues,* and *Sawles Warde* (1978:75f).

In the first of the two main chapters of his dissertation, the emphasis is on syntactic aspects of word order. Kohonen distinguishes between main clauses, dependent clauses, and *and/ac* clauses (1978:85), and operates with three word order patterns: the SV pattern, the VS pattern, and the S..V../S...V pattern, which he regards as one type (1978:89). He then correlates word order with various semantic

[18]For a more thorough presentation and discussion of FSP, see section 5.2.

and syntactic properties of subjects, objects, subject complements, verbs and adverbials,[19] in order to find out whether the position of an element in the clause is related to these factors. Not unexpectedly, Kohonen's results accord with previous research on Germanic syntax; ie, light elements are preferred clause-initially, whereas heavy elements often occupy clause-final position (1978:132). All the details of Kohonen's findings need not concern us here, but a few main results may be of interest in connection with this dissertation. For example, there is more inversion in intransitive clauses, probably due to 'the tendency for adverbials to be fronted more easily than direct objects' (1978:98). Kohonen also finds a higher rate of inversion and a lower rate of verb-finality in clauses with a complex verb phrase, an observation which he relates to Wackernagel's Law[20] (1978:105).

Kohonen also discusses the change from SXV to SVX syntax, and finds that the development into SVX syntax began in main clauses, and then spread to dependent clauses. However, the actual establishment of SVX word order seems to have been quicker in dependent clauses, as inversion occurred in main clauses long after the shift into SVX syntax was completed, around 1200 (1978:133). Thus, Kohonen differentiates between the SXV–SVX change, and the loss of V2. As regards the reasons for the shift, Kohonen relates it to several factors. He begins by looking at clause elements, and notes for example that SVX syntax is most advanced in copular clauses, probably due to the principle of end-weight, the copula being too light to occur in final position (1978:125). Thus, Kohonen shows that type of element correlates with position in the clause, but it is unclear in what way this fact could be said to be part of an explanation for syntactic *change*, especially since pragmatic factors also seem to be involved.

A more relevant factor is Vennemann's (1973, 1974) hypothesis of ambiguity avoidance, where the central idea is that in clauses with both a nominal subject and a

[19]Kohonen distinguishes between pronominal, nominal and clausal subjects (1978:93). With objects as well, a distinction is made between pronominal and nominal elements, in addition to the direct/indirect distinction (1978:106ff). Subject complements are classified as either adjectival or nominal (1978:111). As regards verbs, Kohonen first analyzes them in terms of semantic categories (the copula, existential and local verbs, verbs of perception and cognition, verbs of saying, verbs of process and change, and activity verbs) (1978:97). However, the correlation between word order and the semantic properties of verbs proves inconclusive, 'apart from the clear tendency for the copulas to avoid final position … and the typical VS pattern in the existential sentences' (1978:97). More interesting results are reached when word order is correlated with the following verbal properties: the distinction between transitive/intransitive verbs, passive, existential and impersonal verbs, as well as the finite/non-finite distinction, simple vs compound verb phrases, and auxiliaries (1978:97). Adverbials, too, are analyzed according to semantic categories (eg disjuncts, adjuncts of time, place, etc) (1978:115f), as well as type of adverbial (ie, whether they are anaphoric, cataphoric, or lexical elements) (1978:119f), and length (1978:122).

[20]Wackernagel's Law states that second clause position is the least stressed position in Indo-European sentences (1892:406).

nominal object, the verb will intervene between the two, in order to avoid ambiguity (cf Kohonen 1978:127, and section 2.2.2.2.2). Kohonen, however, finds that Vennemann perhaps exaggerates the importance of ambiguity avoidance, as subjects and objects are usually distinguishable on the basis of their meanings (1978:128).

Another relevant phenomenon in relation to the SXV–SVX shift is the afterthought phenomenon, as suggested by Hyman (1975), and Bickerton & Givón (1976). This comes about when the speaker wishes 'to add something after he has finished the regular SXV syntax' (Kohonen 1978:30). Kohonen concludes, on the basis of his data, that the afterthought phenomenon could have played a role in the change into SVX syntax, but the conclusion is only tentative, and based on interpretation (1978:130). Thus, 'the importance of the afterthought phenomenon should perhaps not be exaggerated' (1978:131). In my opinion, it is very unlikely that evidence for the afterthought phenomenon should be found in written language, as the writer usually structures the sentence before writing it out. As regards spoken language, it probably occurs quite often that the speaker adds something as an afterthought, but it is hard to know to what extent this happens, and as we have no spoken data from Old and Middle English, the hypothesis cannot be proved for those stages of the language.

The final factor Kohonen discusses as a possible trigger for syntactic change is the length of the clause. He finds that SXV word order is more predominant in short clauses than in long clauses. Thus, there are rarely more than two constituents between the subject and the verb in this pattern (1978:131). Kohonen therefore concludes that 'the length of the clause was a further factor in the shift from the SXV to the SVX pattern' (1978:132), but it is unclear exactly how this factor could have had an effect. Did clauses become longer, so that SXV order became more rare and SVX more frequent? It is of course possible that clauses in fact became longer and more complex, as it is generally agreed that languages are paratactic before they become hypotactic.[21] I do not think, however, that clause length had much to do with the word order change we are investigating here. If SXV order disappeared, it was probably due to other factors that gradually caused this kind of structure to disappear.

In the second main chapter of his work, Kohonen examines 'the interplay between contextual factors and word order' (1978:138), and also looks at the SXV–SVX shift with reference to the given/new distinction. He basically uses the Prague School definition of givenness vs newness; ie, he defines given information 'in fairly broad terms, as referring to items mentioned in the preceding context, or derivable

[21]Mitchell 1985:696: 'It is a widely held opinion that parataxis preceded hypotaxis in the development of language'.

from the verbal, situational or pragmatic context, while new information [is] taken as referring to items not mentioned before' (1978:67). Kohonen finds that in general, clause elements are arranged in a given–new perspective, with elements conveying given information usually in initial and medial position and new elements in final position (1978:141). He further observes that subjects are more often given than other clause constituents, while direct objects and adverbials are more often new (1978:201). As regards the SXV–SVX shift, Kohonen claims that givenness is an important factor in this process, as new elements occur to the right of the verb to an increasing extent, thus producing more and more instances of clauses with SVX order (1978:149). He stresses, however, that the givenness factor cannot have been the sole cause of change in this respect; ie, the SXV–SVX shift must have been due to an interplay between several factors (1978:150), some of which have been referred to above.

Kohonen also examines a number of transformations: passivization, extraposition, *it* and *there* insertion, left- and right-dislocation, ellipsis, and, most importantly, topicalization (which in his work is synonymous with fronting), as these 'have an important function of adjusting the sentence to its textual and situational context' (1978:192). As regards the latter, he concludes that topicalization either serves to connect the fronted element to the preceding discourse, or to emphasize it (1978:165). Furthermore, topicalization often involves inversion; ie, a majority of (main) clauses with a topicalized constituent have VS order (1978:171). The type of fronted element is significant in this respect, in that inversion is seen to be more frequent with subject complements, indirect objects and adverbials than with direct objects (1978:171). In addition, Kohonen notes, like many before and after him, that inversion is less frequent with pronominal than with nominal subjects (1978:172).

2.3.3 Schmidt

Schmidt's (1980) doctoral dissertation deals with the history of inversion in English. Schmidt's basic assumption is that OE was an SV language and that XVS was a marked order (1980:99). Schmidt starts by discussing inversion in ModE, before she goes back in time and looks at the same phenomenon in OE, Transitional English (the period 1066–1370), early ME (which she defines as the period 1390–1425), late ME and early ModE. In doing this, she takes into consideration what type the initial element is, for example whether it is an adverbial or an object, and if it is an adverbial, whether it is locative or temporal, or a prepositional phrase. She also distinguishes between different verb types (and operates with existential verbs as a separate class), and classifies subjects according to whether they are indefinite or

definite, thematic or non-thematic. Schmidt's conclusion is that inversion in OE had other functions than inversion in ModE. In OE, there is a distinction between optional inversion, which is used to stress the subject, and obligatory inversion, which has variable stress (1980:298).[22] In clauses with optional inversion, the initial element is usually thematic, which means that the subject is the likely candidate for stress. In clauses with an initial non-thematic element, inversion does not occur to the same extent, since the non-thematic initial element will often be stressed (1980:121). Schmidt also finds that inversion often correlates with 'presentative and existential verbs' (1980:93). In ModE, there are two types of inversion as well, but the function of inversion has changed. In clauses with semi-inversion, stress is located on the initial constituent, and in clauses with full inversion, a new topic is introduced into the discourse (1980:298). As regards the question of when the change in the function of inversion occurred, Schmidt suggests that it happened some time between the end of the 13th century and the final quarter of the 14th century, and that influence from spoken language and from French were the most important factors in this change (1980:227ff). Schmidt's study is relevant to my own work, since she actually takes pragmatic factors into account. However, her background assumption, namely that OE was an SVO language, makes it difficult to compare her work directly to mine. Since I regard OE as a language with a V2 constraint, I do not operate with the concept of 'inversion'; I think XVS clauses are just that: examples of clauses with the verb in second position, not inversions. It is interesting, however, that Schmidt notes that clauses with a thematic initial element usually have a non-thematic subject, and that inversion usually occurs in such clauses. In other words, the observation is that clauses are ordered according to a given–new perspective.

2.3.4 Historical pragmatics

The works mentioned above are among those that deal most fully with the question of the influence of pragmatics on early English word order, and Kohonen in particular is still referred to quite extensively. After about 1980 and until recently, however, there have not been many studies in which the pragmatics of Old and Middle English word order is given a prominent place, apart from a few scattered articles, most of which deal with limited areas of word order, rather than its general aspects. The sparseness of studies in the past twenty years or so probably coincides with the end of the heyday of Prague School pragmatics, since this particular school offered a method suitable for investigating written texts. The field of pragmatics has

[22]These are presumably primarily clauses with initial *þa* or *þonne* (1980:135f). It is unclear what the function of inversion is in clauses where it is obligatory.

continued to develop, however, and rapidly so, but the emphasis has mostly been on spoken, present-day language. In the last half of the 1990's, however, historical pragmatics has finally become a field in its own right (cf Jacobs & Jucker 1995 and Jucker 1995).

2.4 Conclusion

Denison (1986:293) comments that '[w]ord order ... is controlled by a range of interacting factors, perhaps more fundamentally so than any other facet of syntax'. It is not difficult to agree with him. The presentation of relevant research given in this chapter should have demonstrated the complexity of the field and the great variation in the way scholars approach word order in the history of English.

Obviously, since the question of what determines the order of constituents in a clause involves so many factors, the present study can only hope to address some of the aspects related to word order and word order change. Recently, the call has been made for more work on the pragmatic constraints on word order in the history of English, and this is the main objective of the present work. We have seen that, with some notable exceptions, students of Old and Middle English word order mention pragmatic factors *en passant*, so to speak, referring to constituent weight and the distribution of given and new information, but without pursuing the topic in any depth. My intention, therefore, is to bring the field a little further by examining some of the pragmatic aspects of word order from a slightly different perspective than those who have gone before me, but without disregarding their findings.

Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit (Virgil)

CHAPTER 3

Word order patterns in Old and Middle English

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter consists of two main parts. Section 3.2 is devoted to a discussion of the problems I encountered in the syntactic analysis of the Old and Middle English clauses. I found it important to make it clear what these problems were and how I attempted to solve them, in order that readers who may wish to use my data know how the analysis has been carried out. Because of methodological incompatibilities, it is often difficult to compare data from different studies, but by explaining my method in some detail, I hope to make my findings useful to as many as possible.

In section 3.3 the word order patterns I operate with are presented. The criteria for analyzing a clause as having a specific word order are described, and examples of the various word order patterns are given. Note that the examples of each word order pattern are primarily meant to give the reader a general idea of what kind of clauses have been analyzed as 'SVX', 'XVS', 'XSV' and so forth. However, I have also tried to select examples that to a certain extent illustrate the variation within each word order pattern, such as differences in the structure and complexity of the clause elements. The lists of examples are not, however, exhaustive, as I have not found it necessary to describe every single aspect of every type of clause found within each word order pattern.

3.2 Problems of analysis

Most of the more serious problems of analysis that had to be dealt with concern OE, but the discussion of direct speech (section 3.2.4) and left-dislocation (section 3.2.7) is relevant for ME as well. It should also be pointed out that in addition to the problems brought up for discussion here, there were other, minor, problems that had to be solved along the way. However, as long as choosing one solution over another did not have consequences for the statistics shown in the tables, I found it unnecessary to discuss them here.

3.2.1 'Transitive' and 'intransitive' verbs

If we use the terms *transitive* and *intransitive* to describe verbs in OE, we immediately encounter difficulties of a terminological kind. The problem is that in OE the distinction is not between direct and indirect objects, but between accusative, genitive and dative objects (Mitchell 1985 I:651). Thus, the terminology used to describe ModE is in this case not transferable to the earlier stages of the language. Consequently, following Visser (1963), I distinguish between 'verbs with complement' and 'verbs without complement'. Verbs with complement are in my study verbs that take accusative, genitive and dative objects, or an object clause, whereas verbs without complement either occur in clauses with just a subject and a verb, or in clauses with adverbial elements. Visser classifies copulas as a subcategory of verbs with complement (1963:189), but I have put them into a separate category, for reasons which will become clear in chapters 4 and 5, which deal with word order distribution, and word order and information structure, respectively. Sometimes, however, clauses with a copular verb also have another complement, in which case I have classified the verb as both a copula and a verb with complement.

3.2.2 *Ne* + verb

Clauses in which the negative particle *ne* occurs initially, followed by the verb, present a problem with regard to the analysis of *ne*: should it be analyzed as a clitic or not? van Kemenade (1987) and Stockwell & Minkova (1991) choose to analyze *ne* in two different ways, according to where it occurs in the clause. If it occurs initially, as in (3.1), it is regarded as a topicalized constituent, on a par with *þa, þonne,* and *wh*-elements, and as such triggering V2 word order, whereas it is regarded as a clitic in other positions, cf (3.2). This makes both (3.1) and (3.2) V2 clauses, which is of course very convenient from a typological point of view.

(3.1) Ne ylde he hit þa leng
Not delayed he it then longer
'He delayed it no longer'
(*Bede,* 126:9)

(3.2) On þison geare ne bær se cyng Henri his coronan to Cristesmæssan ne to Eastron ne to Pentecosten
In this year not wore the king Henry his crown at Christmas nor at Easter nor at Pentecost
'This year king Henry did not wear his crown at Christmas, nor at Easter, nor at Pentecost' (*OE Peterb.*, 35:1 (1111[23]))

[23]The number in paretheses gives the year of the entry.

This approach leads to some problems, however. First, there is the question of what to do with clauses like (3.3), in which the negative particle is merged with the verb:

(3.3) Nis seo orþung þe we ut blawaþ
Not-is the breath that we out blow
'It is not our breath that we blow out'
(*ÆLS*, 22:214)

Here, *ne,* by itself, can hardly be construed as a topicalized constituent, but has to be analyzed as a clitic. In fact, *ne* is the one element in OE which best fits the criteria for clitics (cf section 4.2.3): it always occurs in one specific position, namely the position immediately in front of the verb, and it may be morphologically attached to the verb. Also, as Haugland (forthcoming) points out, the syntactic behavior of the full form of *ne* is identical to that of the reduced, proclitic form. She also observes that 'the syntax of negative interrogative and imperative sentences is normally the same as that of their positive equivalents, except the presence of *ne* immediately before the verb'. In view of this, I find it difficult to treat *ne* in (3.1) and (3.3) as different types of constituents, and I have consequently chosen to analyze all instances of the negative particle *ne* as clitics, regardless of clause position.[24] Thus, if anything is topicalized in (3.1), it is the negated verb rather than just the negative particle.

Note, by the way, that the *ne* discussed here is the negative particle, not the correlative conjunction or the negative additive adverb (cf Quirk et al. 1985:937). Thus, in (3.4):

(3.4) *Ne* man ne sceal drincan oððe dwollice etan binnan godes huse
Neither man not shall drink or foolishly eat within God's house
'Neither ought a man to drink or foolishly eat within God's house'
(*ÆLS*, 288:72)

the italicized *ne* is a negative additive adverb, and as such not obligatorily in preverbal position.

The approach I have chosen here has some consequences for the word order percentages which are presented in chapter 4, in that clauses like (3.1) are categorized as verb-initial clauses rather than V2 clauses. To be more specific, 20.7% (30 out of 145) of the verb-initial clauses in the OE corpus are clauses with *ne* (full form) + verb. Some may choose to regard these as V2 clauses. For the sake of comparison, it should be mentioned that 10.3% (15 out of 145) of the verb-initial clauses have the reduced form of *ne* + verb. In ME, 51.4% (18 out of 35) of the verb-initial clauses have *ne* +

[24]Allen (1995:34 (cf example (9)) and Denison (1986:286) also regard preverbal *ne* as a clitic.

verb, and 5.7% (2 out of 35) have the reduced form of *ne* + verb. All the ME instances occur in the early ME period. One interesting fact about negative verb-initial clauses in the OE corpus is that in *Bede*, which is the text with the highest proportion of verb-initial clauses (cf table 4.3), only 5.6% (3 out of 54) of the verb-initial clauses are negative, whereas in the other eight texts, negative verb-initial clauses are far more common: the average percentage is 48.4% (44 out of 91).

3.2.3 Subjunctives

Another problem which arose, and which has consequences for the number of verb-initial clauses in the corpus, is how to treat clauses with first and third person subjects and a subjunctive verb: should they be analyzed as declaratives or imperatives? As we know, in OE the true imperative only exists in the second person singular and plural. I have consequently analyzed all clauses with an imperative verb form, as well as clauses with a second person subject and a subjunctive verb, as imperatives. However, clauses with a subjunctive verb and a first or third person subject are included as declarative clauses, as it is often unclear to what degree they should be interpreted as direct commands, rather than simply pieces of advice. For example, a translation of (3.5) could be: *we should imitate...*, (3.6) could be translated as *he should be beheaded,* and (3.7) as *he should also fear his own*. So, even though there is an underlying exhortation in these clauses, they can still be analyzed as declarative clauses. It should be mentioned, perhaps, that it is particularly in *Cura Pastoralis* and the *Blickling Homilies* that the subjunctive verb is used in this way.

(3.5) [Men þa leofestan,][25] *onhyrgean* we þone blindan þe on lichoman wæs gehæled ge eac on mode
[Men the dearest,] imitate we the blind who in body was healed and also in mind
'[Dearest men,] let us/we should imitate the blind man, who was healed both in body and in mind'
(*BlHom,* 21:9)

(3.6) [and se ðe hine misræde,] *sy* he beheafdod
[and he who it misread,] be he beheaded
'[and he who shall misread it,] be he/he should be beheaded'
(*ApT,* 4:20)

(3.7) ac ðonne he bið ongieten æfstig wið oðra monna yfelu, *anscunige* he eac his agenu
but while he is recognized zealous with of-other men evils, abhor he also his own

[25]The brackets indicate that the element between brackets, in this case a vocative, is not part of the actual clause structure.

'but whilst showing himself zealous against the faults of others, let him/he should also fear his own'
(*CP*, 79:11)

Whether we choose to include the type of clause exemplified above (as I have) or not, the consequences for the statistics are not that great. If we exclude these clauses from the count, the proportion of verb-initial clauses decreases slightly, from 5.8% to 4.5% (34 out of 145 verb-initial clauses have a subjunctive verb), but for the other word order patterns the statistical changes are minimal. In the two texts where the subjunctive is used most often, however, the proportion of verb-initial clauses decreases considerably, from 5.6% to 1.3% in *Cura Pastoralis,* and from 12.0% to 4.9% in the *Blickling Homilies,* if clauses with a subjunctive verb are disregarded.[26]

3.2.4 Direct speech

In ModE, according to Quirk et al. (1985:1023f), 'there is a gradient from direct speech that is clearly independent to direct speech that is clearly integrated into the clause structure'. When the reporting clause is medial or final, the direct speech is more independent than when the reporting clause is initial. I have used this observation as a basis for my analysis of reporting clauses, although I do, of course, realize that observations made about ModE are not necessarily transferable to OE. In this case, however, it does not seem too risky to use criteria from ModE, as the behavior of OE and ModE reporting clauses is very similar.

In clauses like (3.8) below, I have analyzed *cwæþ* as a verb with complement, thus regarding the direct speech sequence as its object. In other words, this is a clause with SVX word order, in which *Ðæt mæden* is the subject, *cwæþ* the verb, and *Arleasnes þa scilde on me gefremode* the object. Furthermore, the direct speech sequence has been included as a main clause in its own right.

(3.8) Ðæt mæden cwæð: Arleasnes þa scilde on me gefremode
The maiden said: Impiety the crime against me perpetrated
'The maiden said: Impiety has perpetrated this crime against me'
(*ApT*, 4:3)

There are also some instances of a reporting clause occurring medially, and in these cases the direct speech sequence has been analyzed as a main clause, and the reporting clause as an adverbial in the main clause (cf Quirk et al. 1985:1023). In other words, *Ic wat geare, cwæð Orosius, þæt ic his sceal her fela oferhebban* in (3.9) has been

[26]In *Cura Pastoralis,* 11 out of 14 verb-initial clauses have a subjunctive verb, and in the *Blickling Homilies,* the corresponding number is 15 out of 24.

included in the statistics as an SVX clause, while *Ic wat geare, cwæð Orosius* has *not* been included as an XVS clause.

(3.9) Ic wat geare, cwæð Orosius, þæt ic his sceal her fela oferhebban
I know well, said Orosius, that I of-this shall here much omit
'I know well, said Orosius, that I must here pass over much'
(*Or*, 27:22)

3.2.5 Present participles: verbal or adverbial?

According to Mitchell (1985 I:272ff), structures with *beon/wesan* + present participle are probably not truly verbal in character. Mitchell suggests that the variation between the periphrastic form and the simple verb phrase is sometimes merely due to stylistic variation, but he also says that the periphrasis sometimes expresses duration (1985 I:274). In other words, this form can be interpreted in several ways, and in order to choose the right one, one has to rely on the information one gets from the other clause elements, and from the context. Consider the following examples:

(3.10) 7 mid ungemætlicre gewilnunge anwaldes he *wæs heriende 7 feohtende* fiftig wintra
and with immeasurable desire for-power he was plundering and fighting fifty winters
'and, from an immeasurable longing for power, he plundered and fought for fifty years'
(*Or*, 21:25)

(3.11) 7 he Uesoges, Egypta cyning, *wæs* siþþan mid firde *farende* on Sciþþie on ða norðdælas
and he Vesoges of-Egyptians king was afterwards with army marching upon Scythia in the northern-part
'and he, Vesoges, king of Egypt, afterwards went with an army upon the Scythians, in the northern part'
(*Or*, 28:24)

In (3.10), the adverbial *fiftig wintra* indicates that a durative interpretation is the most likely one. In (3.11), the use of the periphrastic form could be due to stylistic preferences, rather than a need to express duration, as the context does not indicate that duration is implied, unless, of course, the journey northwards lasted for a long while. The simple verb phrase *ferde/for* is used in other, similar, expressions:

(3.12) On þisum geare se cyng Willelm mid mycelre fyrde *ferde* norð to Cardeol
In this year the king William with great army marched north towards Carlisle
'This year king William marched north towards Carlisle with a great army'
(*OE Peterb.*, 19:1 (1092))

It is possible, however, that the use of the present participle in (3.11) and the use of the simple past in (3.12) mark a difference in perspective, with the emphasis being more on the process (of marching northwards) in (3.11), and more on the result (the arrival in Carlisle) in (3.12).

In most cases I have analyzed the combinations *beon/wesan* + present participle as verb phrases, but there are a few exceptions. (3.13), for instance, has been analyzed as an existential clause, with *hangiende* as an adverbial. The ModE translation would thus be: *On the priestly robe there were bells, hanging.* In verb phrases where the finite verb is not a form of *beon/wesan,* an adverbial interpretation of the present participle becomes more likely. In (3.14), *scomiende* can uncontroversially be regarded as an adverbial.

(3.13) On ðæs sacerdes hrægle wæron bellan *hangiende*
On of-the priest robe were bells hanging
'On the priestly robe there were bells, hanging'
(*CP*, 93:14)

(3.14) Ða ondetton eac Brettas *scomiende* þæt heo ongeton, þætte þæt wære soðfæstnesse weg þone Agustinus bodade
Then acknowledged also Britons feeling-shame that they knew, that that was of-truth way which Augustine declared
'Then the Britons also acknowledged with shame their conviction, that that was the way of truth which Augustine declared'
(*Bede*, 100:11)

As it is the finite verb that is most important for the categorization of clauses into word order patterns, the analysis of present participles as verbs or adverbials does not have any great consequences for the word order statistics. However, in cases where a distinction needs to be made between simple and complex verb phrases, an analysis of the present participle as verbal means that the verb phrase is complex, whereas the verb phrase is simple if the present participle is taken to have an adverbial function.

3.2.6 *beon/wesan/weorþan* + participle

According to Mitchell (1985 I:325ff), the distinction between *beon/wesan* and *weorþan* when used in combination with a participle is not clear-cut. There is perhaps a tendency for *beon/wesan* + participle to represent a state, and for *weorþan* + participle to represent an action, but there is great variation in this respect. Consequently, it is often difficult to determine whether the verb phrase is complex and passive, or whether it is a copula + adjective, especially in those cases where the participle is inflected. I therefore had to decide on a general system, and it works as follows: if an agent is overtly expressed, *beon/wesan/weorþan* + participle is regarded as a passive verb phrase:

(3.15) And þæræfter on morgen æfter Hlammæsse dæge wearð se cyng Willelm on huntnoðe fram his anan men mid anre fla ofsceoten
And thereafter in morning after Lammas day was the king William during hunting by his one-of men by an arrow shot
'And after that, while he was hunting in the morning after Lammas, king William was shot with an arrow by one of his own men'
(*OE Peterb.*, 27:5 (1100))

(3.16) Sume gedwol-menn wæron þuruh deoful beswicane
some heretics were by devil deceived
'there were some heretics who were deceived by the devil'
(*ÆLS*, 10:5)

Beon/wesan/weorþan + participle is regarded as copula + adjective if there is no expressed or implied agent and if the context does not indicate otherwise:

(3.17) Ær ðam dæge minra bridgifta ic eom mid manfulre scilde besmiten
Before the day of-my nuptials I am with sinful crime polluted
'Before the day of my nuptials I am polluted with sinful crime'
(*ApT*, 2:26)

(3.18) Ða wearð melantia micclum of-sceamod
Then became Melantia very ashamed
'Then Melantia became very ashamed'
(*ÆLS*, 34:178)

In (3.17) and (3.18), the participle has been analyzed as an adjective, and thus as a subject complement, as the stative interpretation is the more likely, in my opinion. In (3.19), on the other hand, the passive interpretation is clearly to be preferred, since there is an implied agent:

(3.19) On þæne þunresdæg he wæs ofslagen
On that Thursday he was killed
'On that Thursday he was killed'
(*OE Peterb.,* 28:27 (1100))

3.2.7 Left-dislocation

According to Quirk et al. (1985), left-dislocation, or *reinforcement*, as they call it, is a feature of colloquial style in ModE. They describe it as follows:

> [A] reinforcing or recapitulatory pronoun is sometimes inserted within a clause where it stands "proxy" for an initial noun phrase ... [I]n each case a complete noun phrase is disjoined from the grammar of the sentence, its role ... being grammatically performed by subsequent pronouns. (1985:1416f)

In OE, however, dislocation, and particularly left-dislocation, is a common feature even of formal written language, and I have extended the definition of dislocation to include certain constructions with a left-dislocated adverbial clause as well.

(3.20) is an example of left-dislocation of a noun phrase. Here, *se þonne ne ongyteþ þa þeostra his agenra synna* is the left-dislocated element, recapitulated by the pronoun *he* in the main clause. This clause has therefore been analyzed as a verb-initial clause (cf also (3.6) above).

(3.20) [Se þonne ne ongyteþ þa þeostra his agenra synna,] wite he þæt he bið wana þæs ecan leohtes
[He then not perceives the darkness of-his own sins,] know he that he is lacking of-the eternal light
'[He who perceives not the darkness of his own sins,] let him know that he shall be deprived of the eternal light'
(*BlHom,* 17:35)

In (3.21)–(3.24), the initial adverbial clause is recapitulated by the second correlative, ie, *swa, þa, þa,* and *þonne,* respectively. The word order of these clauses is consequently XVS.

(3.21) [Swa swa se lichoma leofað be hlafe and drence] . swa sceal seo sawl libban be lare and gebedum
[Even as the body lives by bread and drink,] so shall the soul live by doctrine and prayers
'[Even as the body lives by bread and drink,] so shall the soul live by doctrine and prayers'
(*ÆLS*, 288:89)

(3.22) [Ða ic þa þis spell ongeat,] þa weorð ic agælwed 7 swiðe afæred
[When I then this discourse understood,] then became I terrified and very frightened
'[When I understood this discourse,] then I became terrified and very frightened'
(*Bo,* 86:9)

(3.23) [and sona swa he þurh ofermodignysse þæt geðohte,] þa hreas he of heofonum
[and as-soon as he through pride that thought,] then fell he from heaven
'[and as soon as his pride led him to think so,] then he fell from heaven'
(*WHom,* 144:30)

(3.24) [Gif we willaþ nu on Drihten gelyfan, & hine ongytan,] þonne beo we sittende be þæm wege, swa se blinda dyde
[If we will now in Lord believe, and him know,] then are we sitting by the road, as the blind did
'[If we will now believe in the Lord and know him,] then do we sit by the way as the blind man did'
(*BlHom,* 23:7)

It is possible, however, that clauses like this should rather have been regarded as XXVS clauses, with the subclause and the second correlative as two separate initial X elements. This would have consequences for the word order statistics, in that the proportion of XVS clauses would decrease from 27.2% to 21.5% in OE, whereas the proportion of XXVS clauses would increase from 3.1% to 8.8%. In ME, the proportion of XVS clauses would go down from 17.3% to 15.7%, and the proportion of XXVS clauses rise from 2.1% to 3.7%.[27] I prefer the dislocation analysis, however, as the relation between the subclause and the second correlative clearly differs from that of other juxtaposed adverbials, where there is no 'transfer' of meaning from one adverbial to the other.

Note also that initial vocatives, such as *men þa leofestan* in (3.5) above, as well as the discourse marker *hwæt* 'lo!', 'behold!', have not been considered part of the clause structure either.

3.2.8 'Impersonal' constructions and anticipatory *hit*

Mitchell (1985 I:427) gives the following definition of impersonal constructions: '[A]n impersonal construction is one which has only the formal subject *hit,* … or which has no expressed subject and for which no subject other than the formal *hit* can be supplied'. He then discusses impersonal constructions in some detail, in the course of

[27]142 out of 680 OE XVS clauses have a left-dislocated adverbial clause. The corresponding number for ME is 40 out of 433.

which it becomes clear that it is not at all easy to distinguish between personal and impersonal uses of the verb. According to Mitchell's definition, however, the verbs in the clauses exemplified below are personal rather than impersonal, and this is the way I have analyzed them as well.

(3.25) Him gedafenað ðæt he geðence & geornlice smeage hu micel niedðearf him is ðæt...
Him behooves that he think and carefully consider how very necessary for-him is that...
'It behooves him to think and carefully consider how very necessary it is for him to...'
(*CP*, 75:4)

(3.26) Us is þonne nedþearf þæt we fæston
Us is then needful that we fast
'It is needful then for us to fast'
(*BlHom*, 27:27)

In (3.25) and (3.26), I have chosen to regard the subclause occurring at the end of the clause as the subject. Furthermore, I have regarded *hit* in clauses like (3.27) as anticipatory *hit,* and thus the formal subject, which means that the word order of (3.27) is SVX.

(3.27) Hit is gecweden þæt sunne aðystrað
It is said that sun eclipses
'It is said that the sun will eclipse'
(*WHom*, 125:45)

3.2.9 Existential constructions

There can be no doubt that existental *there,* or *þær,* existed in OE (cf Breivik 1990). However, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between existential *þær* and the adverb *þær* when no adverbial of location is present in the clause. Thus, *þær* in (3.28) can clearly be analyzed as existential, whereas there is more doubt about *þær* in (3.29); it could either be existential *þær*, or the adverb *þær.*

(3.28) 7 þær sint swiðe micle meras fersce geond þa moras
and there are very many lakes fresh beyond the hills
'and there are very many freshwater lakes beyond the hills'
(*Or*, 15:35)

(3.29) (Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel,)[28] 7 þær bið swyðe manig burh

[28]Clauses and clause elements that occur between parentheses are given in order to provide context for the subsequent clause(s).

(The Estonia is very large,) and there are very many towns
'(Estonia is very large,) and there are very many towns'
(*Or*, 17:1)

In view of this, I adopted the following method: if there is an additional locative adverbial present in the clause, *þær* is analyzed as existential *þær,* whereas if there is no locative adverbial, *þær* is analyzed as an adverb. As regards word order statistics, this means that clauses like (3.28) are analyzed as having SVX word order; ie, *þær* is the formal subject, whereas clauses like (3.29), where *þær* is regarded as an adverb, are analyzed as having XVS, rather than SVX word order.

3.2.10 Clauses introduced by *forþon*

These clauses are notoriously difficult, since *forþon* may be translated as *for,* which can be either a subordinating or a coordinating conjunction, or as *because,* which means that the following clause is a subclause, or as *therefore,* prompting an analysis of the clause as a main clause (cf Mitchell 1985 I:762, Haugland forthcoming). In the absence of any formal criteria which can be used to distinguish between the various usages of this word, I have had to rely on the context to provide clues as to whether *forþon* introduces a main clause or not. In (3.30), for example, the most likely interpretation is to regard *forþæm* as a conjunct, and the clause as a main clause. Clauses in which the meaning and function of *forþon* are opaque have not been included in the corpus.

(3.30) (þæt is micel syn to geðencanne be Gode, þætte ænig god sie buton on him, oððe ænig from him adæled, forðæmþe nan wuht nis betere þon he, ne emngod him. Hwilc þing mæg beon betre þonne his sceppend?) *Forðæm* ic secge mid ryhtre gesceadwis-nesse þæt þæt sie þæt hehste good on his agenre gecynde þætte fruma is eallra þinga
(That is grievous sin to believe concerning God, that any good be save in him, or any from him separated, because no thing not-is better than he, nor equally-good to-him. Which thing may be better than its creator?) *Therefore* I say with perfect reason that that be the highest good in its own nature which beginning is of-all things
'(But it is grievous sin to believe concerning God that any good exists save in him, or separate from him, for nothing is better than he, nor equally good. What may be better than its creator?) *Therefore* I say with perfect reason that that which is the beginning of all things is in its own nature the highest good'
(*Bo,* 84:31)

3.3 Description of the word order patterns[29]

In this section the word order patterns are presented, and the criteria for subsuming a clause under a particular word order category are described. It will be apparent from the examples given that at this point I have included conjunct clauses, and that pronominal elements have not been counted as clitics. In chapter 4, however, where I show the word order distributions, these factors will also be taken into account.

3.3.1 SVX

This word order consists of clauses in which the first element is the subject, followed by the verb, and usually one or more X elements, which may be objects, adverbials or subject/object complements. The verb phrase has to be contiguous; ie, if the verb phrase is complex, the non-finite verb must follow the finite verb immediately. In this pattern are also included clauses in which the X element is lacking, ie, clauses which have the word order SV, cf (3.35). Rather than operating with a separate word order category for these clauses, I chose to include them in the SVX pattern, since it is the order of the subject and the verb that is central, and since it is possible to add adverbials to these structures.

Old English:

(3.31) Se bið eallenga blind [se ðe noht ne ongiet be ðam leohte ðære uplecan sceawunge]
He is quite blind [he who nothing not understands of the light of-the sublime contemplation]
'He is quite blind [he who has no conception of the light of sublime contemplation]'
(*CP*, 65:6)

(3.32) 7 se wisdom 7 eac oðre cræftas nabbað nan lof ne nænne weorðscipe on ðisse worulde
and the wisdom and also other virtues not-have no praise nor no honor in this world
'and wisdom and other virtues besides have no praise nor honor in this world'
(*Bo*, 104:6)

(3.33) ac heo hæfde gecoren crist hyre to bryd-guman
but she had chosen Christ her to bridgeroom
'but she had chosen Christ for her bridegroom'
(*ÆLS*, 46:352)

[29]Though my word order categories are not identical to Bean's (1983), the basic method of classification owes much to her work.

(3.34) [Leofan men,] ic bidde eow þæt ge geþyldelice hlystan þæs ðe ic eow nu secgan wille
[Dear men,] I bid you that you patiently listen to-that which I you now tell will
'[Dear men,] I ask you that you patiently listen to that which I will now tell you'
(*WHom*, 143:21)

(3.35) 7 þa Wyliscean coman (7 wið þone cyng griðedon)
and the Welsh came (and with the king made-peace)
'and the Welsh came (and made peace with the king)'
(*OE Peterb.*, 36:4 (1114))

Middle English:

(3.36) Sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sum wile rice men
Some went on alms who were a-certain time rich men
'Some went on alms who were before rich men'
(*ME Peterb.*, 56:43 (1137))

(3.37) Hit mai ilimpen ðat sum mann, ðe ðis ȝeseðh oðer ȝeherð, þat he þen(c)þ: "..."
It may happen that some man, who this sees or hears, that he thinks: "..."
'It may happen that someone, who sees or hears this, thinks: "..."'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 41:11)

(3.38) [huo þet deþ þe wyl of myne uader of heuene :] he is my broþer and my zoster and my moder
[who that does the will of my Father in heaven,] he is my brother and my sister and my mother
'[whoever does the will of my Father in heaven,] he is my brother and my sister and my mother'
(*Ayenbite*, 89:16)

(3.39) I, Ion Maundeuyle, askid hem what was the cause and the skil whi that swich custoys weryn vsed ther
(*Mandeville*, 109:27)

(3.40) [And who that coude alle gramaire,] he coude make and construe euery worde
(*Mirrour*, 34:5)

(3.31) has right-dislocation of the noun phrase *se ðe noht ... sceawunge*.[30] In (3.38) and (3.40), on the other hand, the noun phrases are left-dislocated, and this is also the case with the vocative in (3.34). In (3.39), *I, Ion Mandeville* are appositives, ie, identical

[30]In Quirk et al. (1985:1417), such elements are called 'amplificatory tags'.

in reference (Quirk et al. 1985:1301). In such cases, I have analyzed them as one single constituent. The same analysis applies when two coordinated noun phrases function as subject, as in (3.32). (3.37) is a structure with anticipatory *it* (or *hit,* as it were), in which *hit* has been analyzed as the formal subject.

In most of the examples shown, the verb phrase is simple, except in (3.33), (3.37), and (3.40). In (3.40), we may note that there are two coordinated non-finite verbs. In (3.32) the verb phrase is negated, and the negative particle *ne* is merged with the verb.

There are no great differences between Old and Middle English SVX clauses, or indeed between OE and ModE SVX clauses. However, in (3.36), we see a structure that was quite common both in the OE and ME periods, but is rarely found in ModE, namely a structure with a split noun phrase, in which the head *sume* occupies the subject position, and the relative clause *þe waren sum wile rice men* is extraposed. This kind of extraposition might have been pragmatically motivated, as the noun phrase in its entirety would be too long and heavy to occupy clause-initial position.

3.3.2 XVS

In this word order pattern there is one (and only one) initial element, and it must be followed by the verb. The subject usually follows the verb, but in this pattern are also included clauses in which the verb is followed by one or more X elements, and with the subject in a later position (cf (3.44) and (3.45)). The subject may in turn be followed by other elements. If the verb phrase is complex, the finite and non-finite verbs need not be contiguous: in addition to clauses like (3.45) and (3.47), we also find clauses like (3.43), (3.46), (3.48) and (3.50), in which one or several elements intervene between the finite and the non-finite verb. It is the position of the finite verb in relation to the initial element that is important for our purposes.

Old English:

(3.41) þa gelomp þætte Gregorius betwoh oðre eac þider cwom
Then happened that Gregory among others also thither came
'Then it happened that Gregory, among others, also came there'
(*Bede*, 96:8)

(3.42) þa he onweg adrifen wæs, cwom he to Cent
When he away driven was, came he to Kent
'When he was driven away, he came to Kent'
(*Bede,* 112:25)

(3.43) [þa Darius geseah þæt he oferwunnen beon wolde,] þa wolde he hiene selfne on ðæm gefeohte forspillan
[When Darius saw that he overcome be would,] then would he him self in the battle destroy
'[When Darius saw that he would be overcome,] he wished himself to be killed in the battle'
(*Or*, 70:2)

(3.44) þa genam hine se awyrgda gast
Then took him the accursed spirit
'Then the accursed spirit took him'
(*BlHom*, 27:8)

(3.45) Ða wurdon geædniwode on ðam eahteoðan geare . þa forlætenan cyrcan
Then were restored in the eighth year the deserted churches
'Then, in the eight year, the deserted churches were restored'
(*ÆLS*, 40:268)

(3.46) Nu wylle we swa þeah for ðyses dæges mærðe eower mod mid þære gastlican lare onbryrdan eow to blisse þurh god
Now will we nevertheless for of-this day glory your minds with the spiritual teaching inspire you for happiness through God
'Nevertheless, we now desire, for the honor of this day, to inspire your minds by spiritual teaching for your happiness, by the grace of God'
(*ÆLS*, 10:3)

Middle English:

(3.47) [Gode men] nu beoð icumen þa bichumeliche daȝes and þa halige daȝes uppen us
[Good men,] now are come the acceptable days and the holy days upon us
'[Good men,] now are the acceptable and holy days come upon us
(*Homilies*, 11:9)

(3.48) ant þet schulen alle uuele fondin ant ifinden
and that shall all wicked experience and find-out
'and that all the wicked will experience and find out'
(*Sawles W*, 98:30)

(3.49) By þis slepe is vndirstond dedely synne
(*ME Sermons*, 46:22)

(3.50) [And yf he wille not come at your somons,] thenne may ye do your best
(*Arthur*, 7:26)

(3.51) Of this science were extrayt and drawen the lawes and decrees
whiche by nede serue in alle causes and in alle rightes and droytes
(*Mirrour*, 36:5)

As far as the initial elements in these examples are concerned, we may note that we find initial adverbial clauses that are part of the clause structure, as in (3.42), as well as left-dislocated adverbial clauses, as in (3.43) and (3.50), in which the left-dislocated clause is recapitulated by the adverbs *þa* (OE) and *thenne* (ME), respectively. The initial position may also be filled by prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials, as in (3.49) and (3.51), or simple adverbs, for example *þa* and *nu*. Objects, both nominal and pronominal, are also found in initial position, and one example of a clause with an initial pronominal object is given in (3.48).

In (3.41), *þætte Gregorius betwoh oðre eac þider cwom* has been analyzed as the subject, and the construction is thus not regarded as an impersonal construction.

As regards the order of the verbs in the verb phrase, we have already noted that the verb phrase may be contiguous or non-contiguous. In addition, there are clauses like (3.48) and (3.51), in which the verb phrase is complex and consists of a finite verb and two coordinated non-finite verbs.

3.3.3 XSV

This word order pattern is associated with ModE verb-medial order, and it is the presence of clauses like this which has puzzled many scholars dealing with word order typology. A single initial element is followed by the subject, and the verb occupies third position. If the verb phrase is complex, the order of the verbs must be V_1V_2; ie, the finite verb must precede the non-finite verb immediately. There may of course be elements following the verb, as in (3.53) and (3.54).

Old English:

(3.52) Sua eac [se ðe oferspræce bið,] he bið nohte ðon læs mid ðære besmiten
Likewise [he who loquacious is,] he is not in-comparison less with that defiled
'Likewise he who is loquacious is not a whit the less defiled therewith'
(*CP*, 97:5)

(3.53) ac ðæt ðætte oðre menn unaliefedes dot he sceal wepan sua sua his agne scylde
but that which other men of-unlawful-things do he shall weep as his own sins
'but he must bewail the unlawful deeds of others as if they were his own sins'
(*CP*, 61:14)

(3.54) 7 on middeweardum hire rice hio getimbrede Babylonia þa burg
and in middle of-her reign she built Babylon the city
'and in the middle of her reign she built the city of Babylon'
(*Or*, 37:27)

(3.55) Nu ge habbað gehered hu se hælend be him sylfum spræc
Now you have heard how the Savior of himself spoke
'Now you have heard how the Savior spoke of himself'
(*ÆLS*, 10:11)

(3.56) Mid þi þe he naht elles ne onfunde buton þæt he ær geþohte, he cwæð þa to him silfum: "..."
When he nothing else not found save that-which he previously thought, he said then to him self: "..."
'When he found nothing except what he had thought before, he said to himself: "..."'
(*ApT*, 8:15)

Middle English:

(3.57) Ne we ne beoð iboren for to habbene nane prudu
Neither we not are born for to have no pride
'We are not born to have pride'
(*Homilies*, 7:26)

(3.58) [Ðu ðe wunest on ðære woreld, ...,] swa swa ðu wilt bien ȝeboreȝen, ðu aust te folȝin ðane rih[t]wise and onfald Iob
[You who dwell in this world, ...,] if you will be saved, you ought to follow the righteous and simple Job
'[You who dwell in the world, ...,] if you want to be saved, you ought to follow the righteous and simple Job'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 41:14)

(3.59) [Ase þe briȝtnesse of þe zonne makeþ þane uayre day :] alsuo þe briȝtnesse of grace and of guode liue : makeþ þe maydenhod uayr and likinde to god
[As the brightness of the sun makes the fair day,] so the brightness of grace and of good life makes the maidenhood fair and pleasing to God
'[As the brightness of the sun makes the day fair,] so the brightness of grace and of good life makes the maidenhood fair and pleasing to God'
(*Ayenbite*, 228:6)

(3.60) and in lenthe it may not ben mesoured
'and in length it may not be measured'
(*Mandeville*, 103:26)

(3.61) Soo the kynge retorned hym to the toure ageyne
(*Arthur,* 18:31)

(3.62) Yet ther is another thyng whiche ought not to be forgoten
(*Mirrour*, 44:37)

As was the case with XVS clauses, the initial element in XSV clauses can be of various kinds, from simple adverbs, as in (3.55), (3.57), (3.61) and (3.62), to more complex structures. In (3.52), *sua eac*, literally 'so also', but translated as 'likewise', has here been regarded as one single element. Note that in (3.57), the initial *ne* is a negative additive adverb, not the negative particle. Furthermore, in (3.61), which exemplifies a very typical structure in *Arthur*, *soo* is analogous with *then* (corresponding to Norwegian *så*: *så dro kongen tilbake*); it is in other words not a resultive conjunct (cf also 3.106).

As regards the more complex structures, we may for example find initial prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials, as in (3.54) and (3.60), as well as initial adverbial clauses, cf (3.56) and (3.58). In (3.58), there is also an initial vocative, which, as mentioned above, is not regarded as part of the clause structure. In (3.53), there is an initial direct object, in which the pronominal head *þæt* is modified by a relative clause.

Most of the examples given above have pronominal subjects, which reflects the fact that most of the subjects in this pattern are pronominal. In (3.52), there is a left-dislocated noun phrase, recapitulated by the pronoun *he* in the actual clause structure. In such cases, the subject has been classified as pronominal. Some scholars choose to analyze pronominal subjects in this position as clitics, and the clauses as V2 clauses (cf sections 1.2.2 and 4.2.3). However, XSV clauses with nominal subjects are not uncommon either, cf for example (3.59) and (3.61). In (3.62), the subject is existential *there* (or *ther* in this case). There is no additional locative adverbial present here, but it is nevertheless clear that *ther* is existential and not adverbial, probably because *another thyng* is an abstract entity which cannot occur in a specific location, as it were.

3.3.4 SXV

In this pattern, the finite verb occupies the absolute final position. Thus, if the verb phrase is complex, the word order within the verb phrase is V2V1, with the non-finite verb preceding the finite verb. In this pattern are also included clauses with XSXV order, cf (3.63), (3.65) and (3.68). Furthermore, there may be more than one element between the subject and the verb, as in (3.66).

Old English:

(3.63) Monigre geara tida ofer ealle Breotone ic flyma wæs
Many year's time throughout all Britain I fugitive was
'For many a year I have been a fugitive throughout all Britain'
(*Bede,* 128:8)

(3.64) ac hie nugiet ricsiende sindon
but they still reigning are
'but they are still reigning'
(*Or*, 38:7)

(3.65) Ac mid þon worde þæs godcundan gewrites he hine oforswiðde
But with the word of-the divine writ he him overcame
'But with the word of divine writ he overcame him'
(*BlHom*, 33:20)

(3.66) And se eorl Rodbeard her oð Cristesmæsse forneah mid þam cynge wunode
And the earl Robert here until Christmas almost with the king stayed
'And Earl Robert stayed here with the king almost until Christmas'
(*OE Peterb.,* 19:42 (1091))

Middle English:

(3.67) 7 te king it besæt
and the king it besieged
'and the king besieged it'
(*ME Peterb.*, 54:19 (1135))

(3.68) and þet ech wel wot
'and that each well knows'
(*Ayenbite*, 72:3)

(3.69) and foulys kyndely spekyn
'and birds kindly speak'
(*Mandeville*, 101:26)

In (3.64), the sequence *ricsiende sindon* has been analyzed as a complex verb phrase expressing duration. Thus, the present participle is verbal rather than adverbial (cf section 3.2.5).

The proportion of SXV clauses decreases from 8.6% in OE to 1.1% in ME (cf table 4.1), and the change in frequency is accompanied by a change in the character of these clauses. In ME, there is usually only one element between the subject and the

verb in SXV clauses, and that element is very often a pronoun. (3.67) is a typical example. (3.68) and (3.69), however, are examples of clauses in which the X element is an adverb.

3.3.5 SXVX

In this word order pattern, the verb is separated from the subject, but it is not in final position. The complex verb phrase must have contiguous V1V2 order, as in (3.72). As was the case in the SXV pattern, there may be one or more elements preceding the subject, as well as several elements between the subject and the verb. (3.70), for example, has the word order SXXXVX, with three elements, *him, æfter þæm* and *grimme*, intervening between the subject and the verb, as well as one long noun phrase following the verb. In (3.71), the word order is XSXXVX, with an initial adverbial and two pronominal elements, *hit* and *þe,* between the subject and the verb. The initial element can also be an adverbial clause, as in (3.73). In (3.74), (3.76), (3.77), and (3.79) as well, we see examples of clauses with one or more initial X elements and one or more medial X elements. What is intriguing about this word order is that it is not verb-second, verb-medial, verb-initial, or verb-final.

Old English:

(3.70) 7 hy him æfter þæm grimme forguldon þone wigcræft þe hy æt him geleornodon
and they him afterwards bitterly repaid the art-of-war which they from him learned
'and afterwards they repaid him bitterly for the art of war which they learned from him'
(*Or*, 22:1)

(3.71) Forðy ic hit þe secge eft
Therfore I it to-you say again
'Therefore I say it to you again'
(*Bo*, 84:12)

(3.72) and alexandria seo burh sona wearð afylled mid mycclum cristendome . and manegum cyrcum
and Alexandria the city soon was filled with much christianity and many churches
'and the city of Alexandria was soon filled with many Christian people and many churches'
(*ÆLS*, 40:276)

(3.73) Ða ða se cyngc þæt gehyrde þæt he his willes gehyran nolde, he swiðe irlicum andwlitan beseah to ðam iungan ealdormen (and cwæð: "...")
When the king that heard that he to-his will listen not-would, he with-a-very angry countenance looked on the young prince (and said: "...")
'When the king heard that he would not listen to his will, he looked on the young prince with a very angry countenance (and said: "...")'
(*ApT*, 6:5)

(3.74) Ðises geares eac se biscop Rannulf to þam Candelmæssan ut of þam Ture on Lunden nihtes oðbærst þær he on hæftneðe wæs
This year also the bishop Rannulf at the Candlemas out of the Tower at London at-night escaped where he in captivity was
'This year also, at Candlemas, bishop Rannulf escaped during the night from the Tower of London, where he was held in captivity'
(*OE Peterb.*, 30:26 (1101))

Middle English:

(3.75) 7 se king hine underfeng mid micel wurðscipe
and the king him received with great honor
'and the king received him with great honor'
(*ME Peterb.*, 47:14 (1125))

(3.76) [al swo ðe woreld-mann lihtliche lei(c)heð of ydelnesse ðe he isieð oðer iherð,] al swa ðe gastliche mann ðe hie on rixeð, lihtliche wepð oðer sobbeð, oðerhwile mid bitere teares, oðerhwille mid wel swete teares
[as the worldling lightly laughs at vanities which he sees or hears,] so the spiritual man whom it in reigns, lightly weeps or sobs, sometimes with bitter tears, other-times with very sweet tears
'[as the worldling lightly laughs at vanities which he sees or hears,] so the spiritual man, in whom it [ie, humility] reigns, lightly weeps or sobs, sometimes with bitter tears, at other times with very sweet tears'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 57:14)

(3.77) [Ase god made man of body an of zaule :] alzuo he him heþ y-yeue tuo manere guodes lostuolle
[as God made man of body and of soul,] so he him has given two kinds-of goods pleasurable
[as God made man of body and soul,] in the same way he has given him two kinds of pleasing qualities
(*Ayenbite*, 91:20)

(3.78) But a greffoun there is more and strengere than viii. lyonys of this contre and strengere than an hondered egellys here
'But a griffin there is greater and stronger than eight lions of this country and stronger than a hundred eagles here' (*Mandeville*, 97:30)

(3.79) and alweyes kynge Arthur on horsback leyd on with a swerd
'and always king Arthur on horseback led on with a sword'
(*Arthur,* 19:9)

As was the case with SXV word order, SXVX word order is less frequent in ME(4.7%) than in OE (8.2%), and there is also less variation within this pattern in ME. The element intervening between the subject and the verb is usually a pronoun, as in (3.75) and (3.77). Occasionally, however, other elements appear in this position as well, such as *lihtliche* in (3.76), *there* in (3.78) and *on horsback* in (3.79).

3.3.6 SV1XV2

This word order pattern is the so-called 'brace construction', in which the finite and the non-finite verb are separated by one or more elements. In this category are included both clauses in which the non-finite verb is the last element, as in (3.81), (3.82) and (3.83), and clauses in which the non-finite verb is followed by one or more elements, as in (3.80), (3.84) and (3.85). Note that in (3.83) there are two coordinated non-finite verbs.

Old English:

(3.80) Ða godan lareowas beoð oft genemnede on halgum gewritum wietgan
The good teachers are often called in holy writ prophets
'Good teachers are often called prophets in Holy Writ'
(*CP,* 91:5)

(3.81) [Ac se þe god onginneþ, & on þon þurhwunaþ oþ ende his lifes,] se bið hal geworden
[But he who good begins, and with that continues until the-end of-his life,] he he is safe made
'[But he who begins good and continues therein until the end of his life], he shall be saved'
(*BlHom,* 21:35)

(3.82) Ic eom soðlice of cynelicum cynne cumen
I am truly of kingly race come
'I am truly come of kingly race'
(*ApT,* 6:4)

Middle English:

(3.83) and ic wulle eow ireden and milcian

and I will you succor and have-mercy
'and I will succor you and have mercy upon you'
(*Homilies,* 13:36)

(3.84) & þou mayst wel see þat feiþ feiliþ hem
(*Wyclif,* 348:18)

(3.85) They shal neuer do harme ne grief to man but yf they ben angred
(*Mirrour,* 75:25)

It was mentioned above that the SXV and the SXVX patterns had become restricted by the ME period, and the same is the case with the SV1XV2 pattern. It is rare to find more than one element intervening between the two verbs in ME, and that element is typically a pronoun or a short adverb. Except for the clauses in which the X element is a pronoun, the word order of the ME SV1XV2 clauses is usually acceptable in ModE, as shown by (3.84) and (3.85).

3.3.7 Verb-initial

The criterion used for this word order pattern is that the finite verb must be in initial position. Thus, if the verb phrase is complex, the non-finite verb need not follow the finite verb, cf (3.91). The order of the following clause elements has not been taken into consideration here, although it might have been useful to distinguish between clauses in which the subject follows the verb immediately and clauses in which the subject occurs after other elements. Recall that I have regarded clauses in which the negative particle *ne* precedes or merges with the verb as verb-initial clauses as well, as in (3.88) and (3.90) (cf section 3.2.2). Recall also that clauses with a subjunctive verb and a first or third person subject have been included, as in (3.89) (cf section 3.2.3).

Old English:

(3.86) Heold he 7 rehte þa cyricean on þara casera tidum Maurici 7 Uocati
Ruled he and directed the church in of-the emperors time Mauricius and Phocas
'He ruled and directed the church in the time of the emperors Mauricius and Phocas'
(*Bede*, 94:6)

(3.87) Is wel neah in middre þære miclan cirican wigbed geseted
Is almost in middle of-the great church altar set
'Almost in the centre of the great church an altar has been set up'
(*Bede,* 106:6)

(3.88) Ne willað we in þæt bæð gongan
Not will we in that bath go
'We will not enter that bath'
(*Bede*, 112:16)

(3.89) ac geðence he ðone inncundan ege Godes
but consider he the inner fear of-God
'but let him/he should consider the inner fear of God'
(*CP*, 83:5)

(3.90) Nis hit no swa swa ðu wenst
Not-is it not-at-all as you think
'It is not at all as you think'
(*Bo*, 104:18

(3.91) and wearð micel reownes aweht
and was great storm raised
'and a great storm was raised'
(*ApT*, 16:18)

Middle English:

(3.92) Wurþen men suiðe ofuundred 7 ofdred
Became people very astonished and afraid
'People became very astonished and afraid'
(*ME Peterb.*, 54:4 (1135))

(3.93) ant snikeð in ant ut neddren ant eauroskes
and crawl in and out adders and water-frogs
'and adders and water-frogs crawl in and out'
(*Sawles Warde*, 92:4)

(3.94) bot [þo seruauntis þat han trewe or cristene lordis,] dispise þei not to serue hem
but [those servants that have true or Christian lords,] despise they not to serve them
'but [those servants who have true and Christian lords,] they should not despise to serve them'
(*Wyclif*, 228:6)

Particular attention should be given to the following examples: in (3.86) there are two coordinated verbs, of which the first is in initial position and the second occurs after the subject. In (3.87), *geseted* has been analyzed as a subject complement, and thus *is* functions as copula (cf section 3.2.6). In (3.92) as well, I have analyzed *ofuundred 7 ofdred* as subject complement. Finally, note the left-dislocated element (indicated by

square brackets) in (3.94). The pronoun *þei* in the main clause refers anaphorically to the left-dislocated noun phrase *þo seruauntis þat han trewe or cristene lordis.*

3.3.8 XXVS

The clauses included in the XVS pattern (cf section 3.3.2) have only one initial constituent, which means that they are V2 clauses in the strict sense of the word. However, I came across quite a few clauses with VS order, but with two initial constituents, ie, clauses which have some of the characteristics of V2 clauses, but which are not strictly speaking so. Consequently, I decided to include them in the analysis, but as a separate category.

XXVS clauses, then, are clauses in which there are two initial constituents, and in which the finite verb follows the second constituent. If the verb phrase is complex, the verbs may either be contiguous, as in (3.95), or non-contiguous, as in (3.98). Though the verb is not strictly speaking in second clause position, it is possible that at least some of these clauses should be considered verb-second clauses, depending on what the initial constituents are. In a V2 language like Norwegian, for example, it is perfectly possible to have two adverbials in initial position, and these adverbials often modify each other, as in the OE and ME examples given in (3.96) and (3.98). However, clauses like (3.95), where the second element is a subject complement, (3.97) and (3.99), where the second element is a pronominal object, and (3.100), which has an initial non-finite adverbial clause, followed by the adverb *there*,[31] are not possible in Norwegian. It is true that clauses like (3.97) and (3.99) may be regarded as V2 if the preverbal pronouns are analyzed as clitics (cf section 4.2.3), but even so, there are still instances of XXVS clauses in which the two initial contituents are completely independent of each other. The fact that the V2 status of XXVS clauses can be discussed in this way is the reason why I chose to place them in a separate category rather than include them in the XVS category.

Old English:

(3.95) þære tide Dinoð wæs haten þæs mynstres abbod
At-that time Dinoth was called this monastery's abbot
'At that time the abbot of this monastery was called Dinoth'
(*Bede,* 100:18)

[31]*There* is here ambiguous; it could also be interpreted as existential *there*. However, since there is no other adverbial present, I have analyzed it as an adverb.

(3.96) 7 be suþan þære byrig, on suðhealfe þæs sæs earmes þe man hæt Egeum, sindon Athena 7 Corintus þa land
and to south of-the city, on south-side of-the of-sea arm which one calls Ægæum, are Athenians' and Corinth the countries
'and to the south of the city, on the south side of the arm of the sea which is called Ægæum, is the country of the Athenians and of Corinth'
(*Or*, 18:10)

(3.97) And ðy us deriað 7 ðearle dyrfað fela ungelimpa
And then us harm and severely injure many misfortunes
'And then many misfortunes will severely harm and injure us'
(*WHom*, 124:20)

Middle English:

(3.98) Ðes ilces gæres on þone lententide wæs se eorl Karle of Flandres ofslagen on ane circe
The same year at the Lentseason was the earl Charles of Flanders killed in a church
'The same year, at Lent, Earl Charles of Flanders was killed in a church'
(*ME Peterb.*, 48:12 (1127))

(3.99) þis ous wytnesseþ saynte paul
This us witnesses Saint Paul
'About this Saint Paul bears witness to us'
(*Ayenbite,* 89:26)

(3.100) and for to getyn therof there comyn oftyn Cristene men and othere
and in-order to get thereof there come often Christian men and others
'and in order to get thereof [ie, gold and silver] Christian men and others often come there'
(*Mandeville,* 105:5)

3.3.9 XXSV

Clauses with XXSV word order also have two initial elements, but here the relative order of the subject and the verb is SV. If the verb phrase is complex, the non-finite verb must follow the finite verb immediately. Thus, these clauses seem to have the characteristics of verb-medial clauses. However, if we compare Old and Middle English occurrences of this word order to ModE, we see that not all of the Old and Middle English structures are possible in ModE. This is for example the case with (3.101), where *simle* precedes the verb phrase in OE, whereas it would be placed between the finite and the non-finite verb in ModE. Furthermore, in (3.102), the object *hit* precedes the subject *man,* and the word order of (3.105), though not ungrammatical in ModE, would be considered very archaic. Thus, rather than

include XXSV clauses in the XSV word order pattern, a separate category was established.

Old English:

(3.101) Forðæm he bið gesett to bisene oðrum monnum, simle he sceal ætiewan on his lifes gestæððignesse hu micle gesceadwisnesse he bere on his breostum
Because he is set as example to-other men, always he shall show in his of-life consistency how much prudence he carries in his heart
'Since he is set as an example for other men, he must always show in the consistency of his life how much prudence he cherishes in his heart' (*CP*, 77:13)

(3.102) for ðy hit man hæt Wislemuða
therefore it one calls Vistulamouth
'therefore it is called the mouth of the Vistula'
(*Or*, 16:36)

(3.103) þa mid þy þe hit nealæhte þære tide, Hælend genam his twelf þegnas sundor of þæm weorode
Then when it drew-near that time, Savior took his twelve disciples apart from the company
'Then, when the time was nigh at hand, the Savior took his twelve disciples apart from the company'
(*BlHom*, 15:4)

(3.104) Ðeah, þurh his geapscipe oððe þurh gærsuma, he begeat þone castel æt Sancte Waleri
However, through his cunning or through riches, he obtained the castle at Saint-Valéry
'However, through his cunning or through riches, he obtained the castle at Saint-Valéry (-sur-Somme)'
(*OE Peterb.*, 17:5 (1090))

Middle English:

(3.105) ah efter þet Ich mei ant con, þertowart Ich chulle reodien
but as far as I may and can, theretoward I will strive
'but as far as I may and can, I will strive towards it'
(*Sawles Warde*, 90:24)

(3.106) So whan all masses were done all the lordes wente to beholde the stone and the swerd
(*Arthur*, 13:1)

3.3.10 Miscellaneous

In this category are included the clauses which for various reasons do not fit into any of the other categories. However, this category does not consist of a completely heterogeneous group of clauses; there are some recurring patterns, but the clauses in question do not occur often enough to merit a separate category.

One of the clause types that occurs more than once is that exemplified in (3.112). It cannot be classified as an XSV clause, since the order of the finite and the non-finite verb is non-contiguous. In other words, clauses like this are typical neither of V2 nor of verb-medial languages. Related to (3.112) are the clauses exemplified in (3.108) and (3.118). In (3.108), the verb phrase is non-contiguous, and the adverb *ða* intervenes between the subject and the finite verb, giving the word order SXV1XV2. Thus, the clause cannot be subsumed under the SV1XV2 pattern. In (3.118), the verb phrase is non-contiguous as well, and there is an object, *eou,* intervening between the subject and the finite verb. There is also an initial adverbial, *nu*. This clause as well, then, has neither V2 nor verb-medial word order. The same applies to (3.114), which has two initial elements, *forðam* and *gif hit gewurðan mæg*, followed by SV1XV2 order.

Another construction which occurs several times is the one exemplified in (3.107), where the clause has a complex verb phrase consisting of three verbs, and in which the verbs are not contiguous. The word order is SV1XV2V3. In (3.120) as well, the verb phrase consists of three verbs, and here the word order is SV1V2XV3. These clauses, then, do not comply with the SV1XV2 pattern. They could, however, strictly speaking be classified as V2 clauses, since the finite verb is in second position, but they are not typical of V2 languages like German and Norwegian.

In (3.109) and (3.117), the verb phrase is complex and occurs at the end of the clause, but the finite verb precedes the non-finite verb. Therefore, these clauses are not verb-final, as the criterion for verb-final clauses is that the *finite* verb must occupy final position. In (3.110), on the other hand, the non-finite verb precedes the finite verb, but the adverbial *xx wintra* follows the finite verb. This means that the clause cannot be analyzed as an SXVX clause, since the criterion for complex verb phrases in such clauses is that the finite verb must precede the non-finite verb.

In the above categorization of word order into patterns, I included clauses with two initial elements (cf sections 3.3.8 and 3.3.9). There are, however, some clauses with as many as three initial elements, and with either VS order, as in (3.115), or SV order, as in (3.121). It is possible that these should be regarded as V2 or verb-medial clauses, respectively, but, along with other clauses in the miscellaneous category that could be V2 or verb-medial, they have been disregarded in the present study.

Some of the clauses that ended up in the miscellaneous category did so because they did not fit in anywhere else, and did not show any kind of regularity. (3.111) and (3.116) are two examples. In both clauses, the initial element is a prepositional complement: in (3.111), *him* is the complement of *ongean,* and in (3.116), *him* is the complement of *togænes.* Also, in both clauses, the finite verb is in second position, but in (3.111), the preposition follows the subject, and in (3.116) the preposition precedes the subject. In (3.113), the non-finite verb is in initial position, followed by the subject and the finite verb. This word order is possible in ModE, though it would be marked. In (3.122), we have a construction with existential *there,* and here the real, or notional, subject occupies initial position. Actually, only part of the noun phrase is in initial position: the clausal postmodifier *that ben called manticora* is in clause-final position. Finally, some clauses show an altogether unclassifiable word order, (3.119) being a case in point.

Old English:

(3.107) heo sculon of Godes yrre beon abrogdene
they shall from God's wrath be rescued
'they shall be rescued from God's wrath'
(*Bede*, 96:28)

(3.108) Ond he ða ongon mid broðorlice lufan heo monian 7 læran
And he there began with brotherly love them admonish and teach
'And there he began to admonish and teach them with brotherly love'
(*Bede*, 98:16)

(3.109) ac we him ne cunnon æfterspyrigean
but we them not can follow
'but we cannot follow them'
(*CP*, 5:16)

(3.110) Ær þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wære xxgum wintrum, Læcedemoniæ 7 Mesiane, Creca leode, him betweonum winnende wæron xx wintra
Before Rome built was twenty winters, Lacedæmonians and Messenians, of-Greeks peoples, them between fighting were twenty winters
'Twenty years before the building of Rome, the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, peoples of Greece, had been at war with each other for twenty years'
(*Or*, 34:28)

(3.111) 7 him urnon ealle hellwaran ongean
and him ran all dwellers-in-hell towards
'and all the dwellers in hell ran to meet him' (*Bo*, 102:27)

(3.112) & forþon gylte we wæron on þysne wræc-siþ sende
and for-that sin we were into this exile sent
'and for that sin we have been sent into this banishment'
(*BlHom*, 23:5)

(3.113) Fleon he mæg
Flee he can
'Flee he can'
(*ApT*, 10:14)

(3.114) Forðam gif hit gewurðan mæg, ic wille me bedihlian on eowrum eðle
Therefore if it be may, I will myself conceal in your country
'Therefore, if it may be, I will conceal myself in your country'
(*ApT*, 14:4)

(3.115) 7 ðonne sona foroft byð þæt brocc lyðre
and then immediately very-often is the affliction bad
'and then, very often, the affliction becomes very bad immediately'
(*WHom*, 148:87)

Middle English:

(3.116) 7 Him com togænes Willelm eorl of Albamar
and him came against William earl of Aumale
'and against him came William, Earl of Aumale'
(*ME Peterb.*, 57:2 (1138))

(3.117) 7 te lundenissce folc hire wolde tæcen
and the belonging-to-London people her would capture
'and the people of London wanted to capture her'
(*ME Peterb.*, 58:21 (1140))

(3.118) [Nu leoue broðre] nu ic eou habbe þet godspel iseid anfaldenliche
[Now dear brethren] now I you have the gospel said in-the-first-place
'[Now, dear brethren,] I have in the first place repeated to you the gospel
(*Homilies*, 5:12)

(3.119) ne ich iboreȝen a none wise ne mai bien
nor I saved in any wise not may be
'nor may I be saved in any wise'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 39:20)

(3.120) and te fulitohe wif mei beon Wil ihaten
and the unruly wife may be Will called
'and the unruly wife may be called Will'
(*Sawles Warde*, 86:9)

(3.121) þan for-asmeche as God biddeþ vs vake vhan we preye, þer-fore I will tell you and declare þe vij dedely synnes
(*ME Sermons*, 49:13)

(3.122) Another maner of bestes ther is in Ynde that ben callyd manticora
(*Mirrour*, 73:20)

3.4 Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter some of the problems that had to be solved for the categorization of clauses into word order patterns were discussed. The second part presented the actual word order patterns I will operate with in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. I do not expect every reader to agree with the decisions I have made, but the above presentation will enable others working on Old and Middle English word order to see where their method differs from mine, and thus make it easier for them to compare both their data and the results of their investigations to mine.

Quin tu istanc orationem hinc veterem atque antiquam amoves? (Plautus)

CHAPTER 4

Word order distribution in Old and Middle English

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on two aspects of word order distribution in declarative main clauses in Old and Middle English. The first is treated in section 4.2, where I show the distribution of word order patterns in the Old and Middle English periods, both in general, as well as in the individual texts. In the statistics presented in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, clitics are not taken into account, nor is a distinction made between conjunct clauses and non-conjunct clauses. In section 4.2.3, however, the clitic hypothesis is discussed, and the distribution of word order patterns under this hypothesis is shown. Section 4.2.4 focuses on the word order of conjunct clauses vs non-conjunct clauses, and section 4.2.5 brings together the results of the two previous sections by giving the statistics for word order distribution under both the clitic hypothesis and the conjunct clause hypothesis. In this way I hope to have catered for as many tastes as possible. The second aspect of word order distribution is dealt with in section 4.3. Here I look at what types of constituent are found in the various clause positions in the word order patterns under investigation. The purpose of this part is to find out whether there is any correlation between constituent type and word order.

4.2 Word order distribution

4.2.1 Distribution of word order patterns in general

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of word order patterns in Old and Middle English in general. As we see, the word order pattern with the highest frequency in OE is XVS, but SVX word order is almost as common. ME has a lower proportion of XVS clauses, though they are still quite frequent, and considerably higher proportions of SVX and XSV clauses, as we would expect if English changed from a V2 to a verb-medial language. If we add up the percentages for the word order patterns with the verb in second position (SVX, XVS, SV1XV2), we end up with a total of 55.6% for OE. One question that may be asked is how to classify SVX clauses: are they verb-second or verb-medial? If OE is a V2 language, SVX clauses must be classified as V2 clauses, since the verb indeed occurs in second clause position. But if we use this argument,

we cannot at the same time use SVX clauses to prove that OE was a V2 language, since the argument then becomes circular: SVX clauses are V2 because OE was a V2 language, and one of the reasons OE can be regarded as a V2 language is the high frequency of SVX clauses. In other words, if OE is to be classified as a V2 language, it must be on the basis of other criteria. As pointed out already, the most frequent word order is the XVS order, a typical word order in V2 languages, and therefore a good indication that OE was, if not a pure V2 language, then at least a language with a V2 tendency.

Table 4.1: Word order distribution in Old and Middle English.

	Old English		Middle English	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%
SVX	627	25.1	936	37.4
XVS	680	27.2	433	17.3
XSV	288	11.5	652	26.1
SXV	214	8.6	28	1.1
SXVX	204	8.2	117	4.7
SV_1XV_2	83	3.3	36	1.4
verb-initial	145	5.8	35	1.4
XXVS	78	3.1	52	2.1
XXSV	28	1.1	71	2.8
miscellaneous	153	6.1	140	5.6
	2500	100.0	2500	99.9

Table 4.1 also shows that XSV, SXV, SXVX and verb-initial clauses are not uncommon, making the word order of OE rather heterogeneous. In ME, the word order situation is more homogeneous, with 80.8% of the clauses being either SVX, XVS or XSV, compared to 63.8% in OE.

A chi-square contingency table test for OE vs ME word order gives a chi-square value of 533.63 ($p=0.0001$, $df=9$, two-tailed). In other words, the null hypothesis, ie, that there is no difference between word order distribution in Old and Middle English can, not surprisingly, be rejected.[32]

Table 4.2 shows the distribution of word order patterns in the early and late periods of Old and Middle English, and the picture of the direction of the word order development now becomes clearer. As regards the major patterns, the development

[32]In the following, the term (statistically) significant means that what is being tested is significant on at least the 0.05 level. In cases where the actual values are not given in the text itself, please refer to Appendix IV.

is as expected: the SVX and XSV patterns increase, whereas XVS and SXV, as well as verb-initial, clauses become less frequent. The late ME period is particularly interesting, in that the XSV pattern jumps to 33.3%, and the SXV, SV_1XV_2, and verb-initial patterns virtually disappear. The late ME period is thus the most homogeneous of the four periods represented in table 4.2, with 86.1% of the clauses being either SVX, XVS, or XSV.

Table 4.2: Word order distribution in the early and late Old and Middle English periods.

	Old English				Middle English			
	Early OE		Late OE		Early ME		Late ME	
w.o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	267	21.4	360	28.8	463	37.0	473	37.8
XVS	368	29.4	312	25.0	246	19.7	187	15.0
XSV	160	12.8	128	10.2	236	18.9	416	33.3
SXV	105	8.4	109	8.7	25	2.0	3	0.2
SXVX	92	7.4	112	9.0	89	7.1	28	2.2
SV_1XV_2	33	2.6	50	4.0	27	2.2	9	0.7
verb-initial	90	7.2	55	4.4	33	2.6	2	0.2
XXVS	35	2.8	43	3.4	28	2.2	24	1.9
XXSV	18	1.4	10	0.8	20	1.6	51	4.1
miscellaneous	82	6.6	71	5.7	83	6.6	57	4.6
	1250	100.0	1250	100.0	1250	99.9	1250	100.0

If we run chi-square tests on this data to find out if the differences in word order distribution between the periods are so great as to be statistically significant, we find that they are indeed. The chi-square values are as follows (p=0.0001, df=9, two-tailed throughout):

1) early OE–late OE: 39.82
2) late OE–early ME: 127.84
3) early ME–late ME: 162.06

In other words, the word order distribution differs significantly between the early and late OE period, between the late OE and the early ME period, and between the early and late ME period. As we see from the lower chi-square value, word order was more stable in the early OE–late OE period than in the other periods. This fits

well with the hypothesis that the change to verb-medial word order took place in the ME period.

In tables 4.1 and 4.2, I combine the figures for all the different texts in order to get a general picture of the word order situation in Old and Middle English. By letting different authors and text types be represented in the corpus, it is hoped that the data presented above will give a reasonably accurate picture of the development of Old and Middle English word order, at least as it was in the written language. However, we cannot escape the fact that the different texts vary greatly with respect to word order distribution, probably because of such factors as text type, style, dialectal differences, and the preferences of each individual author. I therefore found it necessary to include statistics for the individual texts as well, and this is the topic of the next few sections.

4.2.2 Distribution of word order patterns in the individual texts

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show how word order patterns are distributed in the texts from the early and late OE periods, respectively, and tables 4.5 and 4.6 show the distribution in early and late ME. I will not comment on every single detail of the distribution, but concentrate on what I see as the most important differences between the texts.

4.2.2.1 Early Old English

Table 4.3: Word order distribution in texts from early Old English.

	Early Old English texts							
	Bede		*Cura*		*Orosius*		*Boethius*	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	21	8.4	67	26.8	110	22.0	69	27.6
XVS	69	27.6	66	26.4	146	29.2	87	34.8
XSV	11	4.4	51	20.4	54	10.8	44	17.6
SXV	34	13.6	7	2.8	62	12.4	2	0.8
SXVX	22	8.8	21	8.4	35	7.0	14	5.6
SV_1XV_2	5	2.0	4	1.6	15	3.0	9	3.6
verb-initial	54	21.6	14	5.6	11	2.2	11	4.4
XXVS	9	3.6	4	1.6	20	4.0	2	0.8
XXSV	4	1.6	5	2.0	9	1.8	0	0
miscellaneous	21	8.4	11	4.4	38	7.6	12	4.8
	250	100.0	250	100.0	500	100.0	250	100.0

If we consider table 4.3, we see that as regards word order, *Bede* seems to be a rather special case. The proportion of XVS clauses is approximately the same as in the other texts, but there are considerably fewer SVX and XSV clauses, as well as an unusually high proportion of verb-initial clauses. There are also great differences between the texts as regards the distribution of SXV, or verb-final, clauses, with considerably higher percentages in *Bede* and *Orosius* on the one hand than in *Cura Pastoralis* and *Boethius* on the other. Chi-square goodness of fit tests show that all these differences are statistically significant.

If we perform chi-square contingency table tests to see if the four texts differ significantly from one another with respect to word order, we find that each text differs from each of the other three texts in a statistically significant way, except *Cura Pastoralis* and *Boethius,* in which the differences are not so great as to be significant. Our first impression, that *Bede* is the text which deviates most from the other texts, is borne out by the fact that the chi-square values are higher for the combinations *Bede – Cura Pastoralis, Bede – Orosius* and *Bede – Boethius,* than for *Cura Pastoralis – Orosius* and *Orosius – Boethius*. Note that in computing the contingency table tests, I have, for table 4.3, as well as for tables 4.4–4.6 below, combined the frequencies in rows four to ten (SXV–miscellaneous), in order to avoid having expected frequencies below five. Thus, what I am testing here are the differences between the texts as regards the word order categories SVX, XVS, XSV, and 'others'.

4.2.2.2 Late Old English

The first thing that strikes us about table 4.4 is the fact that *Blickling* seems to be more heterogeneous than the other texts with regard to word order; ie, clauses are distributed in approximately equal proportions between the SVX, XVS, XSV, SXV, SXVX and verb-initial patterns. Furthermore, *Ælfric LS* has the highest proportion of SVX clauses of the OE texts, and in this respect it differs significantly from the other late OE texts, apart from *Wulfstan.* In *OE Peterborough,* on the other hand, the proportion of SVX clauses is significantly lower than in the other texts, with the exception of *Blickling*.

If we compare each text with each of the other texts by means of a chi-square test, we find that some texts differ significantly from each other, while others do not. The following combinations are *not* significant: *Blickling – OE Peterborough, Ælfric LS – Wulfstan* and *Apollonius – Wulfstan.*

Table 4.4: Word order distribution in texts from late Old English.

	Late Old English texts									
	Blickling		*Ælfric LS*		*Apollonius*		*Wulfstan*		*OE Peterbor.*	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	37	18.5	194	38.8	48	24.0	61	30.5	20	13.3
XVS	36	18.0	131	26.2	54	27.0	53	26.5	38	25.3
XSV	26	13.0	38	7.6	24	12.0	25	12.5	15	10.0
SXV	29	14.5	27	5.4	22	11.0	4	2.0	27	18.0
SXVX	29	14.5	40	8.0	19	9.5	15	7.5	9	6.0
SV1XV2	5	2.5	28	5.6	7	3.5	8	4.0	2	1.3
verb-initial	24	12.0	14	2.8	10	5.0	5	2.5	2	1.3
XXVS	2	1.0	6	1.2	8	4.0	10	5.0	17	11.3
XXSV	2	1.0	0	0	1	0.5	1	0.5	6	4.0
misc.	10	5.0	22	4.4	7	3.5	18	9.0	14	9.3
	200	100.0	500	100.0	200	100.0	200	100.0	150	99.8

In general, then, the OE texts show great variation in word order patterning, and the SXV pattern stands out in this respect, with percentages varying between 0.8 (*Boethius*) and 18.0 (*OE Peterborough*). The XVS pattern, on the other hand, seems to be more stable than the other patterns. Apart from *Boethius* at 34.8% and *Blickling* at 18%, the percentage of XVS clauses only varies between 25.3 and 29.2. Also, if we look for clues as to when English began to change into a verb-medial language, what is striking is that as far as the individual texts are concerned, it is difficult to discern any development in any one direction in OE. The frequency of XVS clauses is still high in the late OE texts, whereas the verb-medial XSV clauses are still quite infrequent. In other words, according to this data, at least, the change to verb-medial syntax had apparently not quite taken off yet by the late OE period.

4.2.2.3 Early Middle English

If we consider table 4.5, we see that the ME part of the *Peterborough Chronicle* is quite different from the OE part as regards word order. In particular, the frequency of SVX clauses is significantly higher, and the frequency of SXV clauses is significantly lower. However, this does not say much about *ME Peterborough*, as it is *OE Peterborough* that is unusual with respect to both these word orders. But it is interesting that the word order of the ME part of the *Peterborough Chronicle,* ie, the First Continuation and the Final Continuation, differs so much from the OE part of the chronicle. As regards the relationship between *ME Peterborough* and the other

early ME texts, *ME Peterborough* shows a significantly higher proportion of XVS clauses than the other texts, except *Vices*.[33] In this respect, then, the word order of *ME Peterborough* points back to OE rather than forward to the developments in ME.

Table 4.5: Word order distribution in texts from early Middle English.

	Early Middle English texts									
	ME Peterb.		*Homilies*		*Vices*		*Sawles W.*		*Ayenbite*	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	78	31.2	61	30.5	83	33.2	85	42.5	156	44.6
XVS	75	30.0	33	16.5	54	21.6	31	15.5	53	15.1
XSV	40	16.0	48	24.0	52	20.8	32	16.0	64	18.3
SXV	8	3.2	2	1.0	7	2.8	1	0.5	7	2.0
SXVX	12	4.8	23	11.5	12	4.8	16	8.0	26	7.4
SV_1XV_2	4	1.6	5	2.5	9	3.6	5	2.5	4	1.1
verb-initial	11	4.4	5	2.5	6	2.4	9	4.5	2	0.8
XXVS	9	3.6	1	0.5	6	2.4	4	2.0	8	2.3
XXSV	2	0.8	5	2.5	4	1.6	5	2.5	4	1.1
misc.	11	4.4	17	8.5	17	6.8	12	6.0	26	7.4
	250	100.0	200	100.0	250	100.0	200	100.0	350	100.1

If we use the same procedure for table 4.5 as we have for tables 4.3 and 4.4, and test word order differences by means of chi-square contingency table tests, we find that there is less significant variation between the early ME texts than there was between the texts from the early and late OE periods. The following combinations are *not* significant: *ME Peterborough – Vices, Homilies – Vices, Homilies – Sawles Warde,*[34] *Vices – Sawles Warde* and *Sawles Warde – Ayenbite.* In other words, word order distribution in early ME seems to be more homogenous across the various texts than was the case in OE.

[33]A goodness of fit test comparing *ME Peterborough* and *Vices* gives a chi-square value of 3.42, and a probability of 0.0645, which means that the difference is almost significant.

[34]A goodness of fit test gives a chi-square of 7.54 and a probability of 0.0567, which means that it comes very close to being significant.

4.2.2.4 Late Middle English

As regards the late ME texts, one thing immediately strikes us about table 4.6, namely all the empty cells, indicating that verb-final and verb-initial clauses have become extremely rare. Furthermore, with the exception of *Mandeville* and *Mirrour*, XSV clauses have become very frequent, and XVS clauses much less frequent. The reason why the proportion of XVS clauses is higher in *Mandeville* and *Mirrour* probably lies in the nature of these two texts as largely descriptive texts. In this type of text, existential sentences are very frequent, and the existential sentence was in fact one of the last bastions of XVS word order. The relationship between clause type and word order will be elaborated on in section 4.3, as well as in chapter 5.

The chi-square contingency table tests show some significant variation between the late ME texts, but the following texts are *not* significantly different from one another: *Wyclif – ME Sermons, Wyclif – Arthur, ME Sermons – Arthur* and *Mandeville – Mirrour.*

Table 4.6: Word order distribution in texts from late Middle English.

	Late Middle English texts									
	Wyclif		*ME Serm.*		*Mandeville*		*Arthur*		*Mirrour*	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	81	32.4	54	36.0	132	44.0	109	36.3	97	38.8
XVS	25	10.0	9	6.0	62	20.7	26	8.7	65	26.0
XSV	109	43.6	63	42.0	72	24.0	119	39.7	53	21.2
SXV	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	2	0.7	0	0
SXVX	8	3.2	3	2.0	3	1.0	6	2.0	8	3.2
SV_1XV_2	1	0.4	1	0.7	3	1.0	2	0.7	2	0.8
verb-initial	2	0.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
XXVS	2	0.8	1	0.7	11	3.7	3	1.0	7	2.8
XXSV	10	4.0	8	5.3	5	1.7	23	7.7	5	2.0
misc.	12	4.8	11	7.3	11	3.7	10	3.3	13	5.2
	250	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.1	300	100.1	250	100.0

On the basis of our observations of the ME texts, we may conclude that although there is variation in word order patterning in this period as well, it is much less pronounced than in OE. Also, the late ME period seems to be the period when verb-medial word order really becomes established in the language. However, XVS clauses are still not uncommon, but this need not mean that verb-second syntax is still productive. It could equally well mean that verb-second word order in this

period is restricted to a limited, but nevertheless much used, set of clause types, for example existential sentences.

4.2.3 Word order and the clitic hypothesis

As mentioned in section 1.2.2, the inconsistent nature of OE with respect to V2 word order has led some scholars, most of whom work within a generative framework, to operate with a distinction between clitics and full noun phrases, with non-topicalized pronouns and some short adverbs being analyzed as syntactic clitics. However, there is no agreement as to how exactly clitics should be defined. Haegeman (1991:577) defines them as elements that attach obligatorily to a head with which they form a lexical unit. Clearly, a large number of OE pronouns do not fit this definition. Koopman (1997a) focuses on the question of how clitics can be recognized, and uses Kayne's (1975) eight criteria for French pronouns as the basis for his discussion. According to Kayne, a pronoun must meet the following criteria in order to be a clitic:

1) a clitic occupies a special position (full NPs do not occur there)
2) it must occur in this special position
3) it must be adjacent to its host (V in French)
4) the host must be present (the clitic cannot occur on its own)
5) it cannot be modified
6) it has no stress
7) it cannot be conjoined
8) clitics occur in a fixed and special order, which often deviates from the order of corresponding full NPs
(cf Koopman, 1997a:75)

Koopman then applies these criteria to OE pronouns, and finds that none of the proposed OE clitics satisfies all eight criteria, and that

> personal pronouns can be found in a variety of positions, only some of which appear inaccessible to nominal NPs. It is in these that coordination and modification seem to be impossible as well, and it is here, not elsewhere, that personal pronouns come closest to clitics. (1997:91)

Koopman's overall conclusion, then, is that personal pronouns are sometimes clitics, and that adverbs are unlikely to be clitics. As regards Kayne's criteria, he comments that 'it could be that the criteria Kayne proposed for French clitics are not sufficiently cross-linguistic' (1997a:89).

In a discussion of Koopman's paper, Kroch says that OE, and European languages in general, have pronouns that 'exhibit behavior intermediate between Kaynean clitics and full noun phrases' (1997:145). Thus, in addition to ordinary 'strong' pronouns, which 'bear stress, are usually emphatic, and appear in the position of full noun phrases', there is another non-clitic category of pronouns, namely the 'weak' pronouns, which do not have these characteristics. Furthermore, unlike clitics, which are syntactic heads or affixes, weak pronouns are full phrasal projections, but with a special syntax that is 'related to some prosodic or structural deficiency' (1997:145). To sum up, then, there are three kinds of pronouns in OE: clitics, weak pronouns, and strong pronouns. According to Kroch, such a distinction is useful in the study of OE, since it allows us to explain many apparent counterexamples to the V2 hypothesis. However, some things remain unclear from his presentation. First, as Kroch himself points out, there is no morphological difference between the different types of pronouns in OE (1997:146), and, needless to say, we lack information about stress and emphasis. How, then, do we distinguish between the three types? I assume that strong pronouns would be treated like full NPs syntactically, but what about weak pronouns? If weak pronouns are full phrasal projections, they presumably cannot be 'left out' when the question of the V2 status of a clause is raised. Thus, the only pronouns that can be 'disregarded' in this way are clitics, which takes us back to the question of how to recognize clitics, only now the matter has been further complicated by the existence of weak and strong pronouns as well.

In any case, even if we accept that some OE pronouns are clitics, it does not change the fact that OE is quite different from other V2 languages, such as German or Norwegian, whether we consider surface structure *per se*, or surface structure in relation to some underlying structure. In German and Norwegian, XSV clauses are rare, even when the subject is a pronoun, and it is therefore not necessary to have recourse to a clitic hypothesis to ensure their status as V2 languages. Also, if the motivation for positing a special status for pronouns is to make OE become a more consistent V2 language, it has only proved moderately successful so far, since there is neither agreement as to what clitics really are, nor what they are in OE. The arguments in favor of the clitic hypothesis have, in other words, not quite convinced me, but in order that the results of this dissertation may be compared with the findings of scholars who take a different view, table 4.7 gives the word order distribution for Old and Middle English when the relevant pronouns have been counted as clitics. I have not counted short adverbs like *þa* and *þær* as clitics, as their status as clitics is even more questionable than the clitic status of pronouns. Also, I

have only counted as clitics non-initial pronouns that are adjacent to the verb, or that are adjacent to another pronoun that is adjacent to the verb. In other words, a pronoun which occurs following an initial element, and which is followed by an element other than another pronoun or a verb, has not been counted as a clitic.

Note, by the way, that late ME pronouns are usually not regarded as clitics: according to van Kemenade, '[c]liticization on INFL in COMP remains stable up to about the mid-fourteenth century and then disappears, subject to some dialectal variation' (1987:219). However, in order to make it possible to compare table 4.7 to table 4.2, I have analyzed the relevant late ME pronouns as clitics as well.

Table 4.7: Word order distribution in Old and Middle English under the clitic hypothesis.

	Old English				Middle English			
	Early OE		Late OE		Early ME		Late ME	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	288	23.0	402	32.2	529	42.3	473	37.8
XVS	374	29.9	319	25.5	260	20.8	187	15.0
XV	137	11.0	120	9.6	218	17.4	256	20.5
XSV	37	3.0	26	2.1	37	3.0	160	12.8
SXV	96	7.7	85	6.8	10	0.8	3	0.2
SXVX	69	5.5	76	6.1	20	1.6	28	2.2
SV_1XV_2	33	2.6	50	4.0	27	2.2	9	0.7
verb-initial	90	7.2	55	4.4	33	2.6	2	0.2
XXVS	29	2.3	36	2.9	14	1.1	24	1.9
XXV	8	0.6	7	0.6	17	1.4	28	2.2
XXSV	7	0.6	3	0.2	2	0.2	23	1.8
miscellaneous	82	6.6	71	5.7	83	6.6	57	4.6
	1250	100.0	1250	100.1	1250	100.0	1250	99.9

In order to find out what happens to word order statistics if the clitic hypothesis is taken into account, we need to compare table 4.7 to table 4.2 above. Starting at the top of table 4.7, we see that the proportion of SVX clauses increases slightly compared to table 4.2. This is due to the fact that SXV and SXVX clauses are analyzed as SVX if there are clitic X elements. Consequently, the percentages for these word order patterns decrease somewhat. The following examples illustrate the point:

SXV → SV (X not realized – cf section 3.3.1):

(4.1) nænig anweald deaþes *him* sceðþað
no power of-death it hurts
'no power of death will hurt it'
(*Bede,* 94:16)

(4.2) & se arcebiscop Ansealm *hi him* bewæddade
and the archbishop Anselm her to-him wed
'and archbishop Anselm wed her to him'
(*OE Peterb.,* 29:49 (1100))

SXVX → SVX:

(4.3) and he *us* tahte ðat we scolden forsaken ða unwraste ileaue of hæðen-dome
and he us taught that we should forsake the frail belief of heathendom
'and he taught us that we should forsake the frail belief of heathendom'
(*Vices,* 31:6)

As regards the XVS pattern, the changes are very slight in table 4.7 compared to table 4.2. Some clauses with the word order XXVS, where the second X element is a pronoun, move to the XVS category:

XXVS → XVS

(4.4) And to ðam *hy* gesceop God ælmihtig, þæt...
and to that-end them created God Almighty, that...
'and to that end God Almighty created them, that...'
(*WHom,* 144:36)

As the reader may have noticed, there is a new word order category called 'XV' in table 4.7. It was necessary to establish this category for XSV clauses with a pronominal, and thus clitic, subject, as well as for XXSV, XSXV and XSXVX[35] clauses with a pronominal subject and where the second X element is a pronoun, ie, clauses with two proclitic elements. The reason why these clauses are not included in the XVS category is that there is no postverbal subject. Consider the following examples:

[35]Recall that in the tables XSXV and XSXVX are not separate word order categories, but included under SXV and SXVX, respectively (cf sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5). Here, however, they have to be dealt with separately, since the subject is not in initial position and can therefore be regarded as a clitic.

XSV → XV

(4.5) Gif ic þe ne geþence þonne me bet bið, *ic* wisce þæt ic eft forlidennesse gefare and þinne gelican eft ne gemete
If I you not remember when with-me better is, I wish that I again shipwreck experience and your like again not find
'If I do not remember you when it shall be better with me, I wish that I again may suffer shipwreck, and not again find your like'
(*ApT*, 18:20)

XXSV → XV

(4.6) For þon *hi mon* hæt on Crecisc Amazanas
therefore them one calls in Greek Amazons
'therefore they are called Amazons in Greek'
(*Or*, 29:34)

XSXV → XV

(4.7) & æfter þære swinglan *hie hine* ofsleað
and after the scourging they him kill
'and after the scourging they shall slay him'
(*BlHom*, 15:9)

XSXVX → XV

(4.8) and þeruore *he ous* zente his blissede zone Ihesu crist in-to erþe
and therefore he us sent his blessed son Jesus Christ to earth
'and therefore he sent his blessed son Jesus Christ to earth to us'
(*Ayenbite*, 87:31)

If clitics are taken into account, the XSV pattern loses a great number of clauses to the XV pattern, hence the significantly lower proportion of XSV clauses in table 4.7 as compared to table 4.2. However, a small number of clauses are added to the XSV pattern under this analysis, namely XSXV and XSXVX clauses in which the second X element is a pronoun:

XSXV → XSV

(4.9) þeah he hit silf forswige, his gegirla *hine* geswutelað
though he it himself conceals, his raiment him betrays
'though he does not mention it himself, his raiment betrays him'
(*ApT*, 22:2)

XSXVX → XSV

(4.10) ȝif ic forlete þe preost *me* walde eskien on ester dei hwa me scriue er he me ȝefe husul
if I neglect the priest me will ask on Easter Day who me shrove before he me gives sacrament
'if I neglect the priest will ask me on Easter Day who shrove me, before he administers the sacrament to me'
(*Homilies,* 25:22)

The only patterns that have not been commented on by now are the verb-initial pattern and the new category which I have called XXV. The clitic analysis is irrelevant for the verb-initial pattern, as it is preverbal pronouns that are analyzed as clitics.[36] The XXV category is very small, and I only included it in order to be consistent in the analysis. XXSV clauses with a pronominal subject change to XXV under the clitic analysis, witness (4.11):

XXSV → XXV

(4.11) 7 þa hie hamweard wendon be westan þære ie Eufrate, ealle Asiam *hie* genieddon þæt hie him gafol guldon
and when they homeward went by the-west of-the river Euphrates, all Asia they forced so-that they them taxes paid
'and when they went homeward by the west of the river Euphrates, they forced all Asia to pay them taxes'
(*Or*, 29:7)

To sum up: the most important consequence of the data being analyzed according to the clitic hypothesis is that the proportion of V2 clauses (SVX, XVS, XV, SV1XV2) increases significantly, to 66,5% in early OE and 71.3% in late OE. However, although the clitic analysis takes care of a number of counterexamples to the V2 hypothesis, it does not remove all of them, and OE is still not a consistent V2 language. Consequently, where we before the 'invention' of clitics could talk about a tendency for V2 order in OE, we can now, under the clitic hypothesis, still only talk about a tendency, albeit, admittedly, a stronger one. Thus, the clitic hypothesis, if one accepts the premises behind it, is useful with regard to the question of the V2 status of OE, in that it allows a larger number of clauses to be analyzed as V2 clauses. As regards the study of word order change, however, its usefulness is rather limited, since the

[36]However, van Kemenade (1987:139) also analyzes the pronominal subject in a clause like *þa for he norþryhte be þæm lande* (*Or*, 14:7) as a clitic. The assumption is that 'cliticization on the left of INFL is blocked when INFL is lexicalized by *that*, or when there is a wh/neg constituent in COMP. We regard *þa* in V2 sentences as a wh element and thus as an operator'.

changes we observe in table 4.2 are still observable in table 4.7, and the difference in word order patterning between the periods is still statistically significant. Actually, table 4.7 serves to obscure the picture more than clarify it, since it becomes more difficult to see the development of the XSV pattern, a very central pattern in the discussion of verb-mediality. If it is the case that pronominal subjects are clitics until approximately 1350, this means that OE and early ME pronominal subjects in the XSV pattern are clitics, and consequently that such clauses must be analyzed as XV clauses, whereas they would be regular XSV clauses in late ME. In table 4.7, I treated late ME pronouns as clitics as well, for the sake of comparison. In table 4.8, on the other hand, the relevant pronouns have been counted as clitics in the first three periods, whereas the data for late ME is the same as in table 4.2; ie, no elements have been analyzed as clitics. This gives the following development for the XVS, XV and XSV patterns:

Table 4.8: The development of XVS, XV and XSV word order under the clitic hypothesis.

	Old English				Middle English			
	early OE		late OE		early ME		late ME	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
XVS	374	29.9	319	25.5	260	20.8	187	15.0
XV	137	11.0	120	9.6	218	17.4	0	0
XSV	37	3.0	26	2.1	37	3.0	416	33.3

The percentages are calculated from a total of 1250 clauses in each period, as in tables 4.2 and 4.7. As we see, the proportion of XVS clauses decreases gradually over the four periods. The XV pattern, also a verb-second pattern, increases considerably in early ME; the reason for this is that XSV clauses, and consequently also XSV clauses with a pronominal subject (which must be analyzed as XV under the clitic hypothesis), become more frequent in this period. By late ME, however, pronominal subjects had ceased to be interpreted as clitics, so the proportion of this pattern drops to zero. This is where the clitic hypothesis really runs into a problem, since the fact that there is an increase in XSV word order, a verb-medial pattern, leads to a greater proportion of V2 clauses! As regards the XSV pattern, the result is rather extreme, with very low percentages in early and late OE, as well as in early ME, and then a leap to 33.3% in late ME. I do not think that the data as presented in table 4.8 really gives an accurate picture of word order development, but it is nevertheless the result if we choose to operate with the concept of clitics.

It is possible that there was a syntactic difference between pronouns and full NPs in OE and early ME. The point I wish to make here is that if we are to operate with such a distinction, we need to be aware of the consequences. In this dissertation, the focus is on word order development, especially the change from V2 to verb-medial syntax. For this reason, it is particularly interesting to follow the development of the XVS vs the XSV pattern. If some XSV clauses are regarded as V2 clauses, this will skew the picture, in my opinion, since there is in fact an important difference between clauses in which the subject is in second position, even if it is a pronoun, and clauses in which the verb is in second position. Therefore, rather than regarding XSV clauses with a pronominal subject as V2 in the early periods, and then verb-medial, I find it more natural to regard them as verb-medial all the way through, with the early occurrences reflecting the early stages of the development of English into a verb-medial language. Recall also at this point the hypothesis stated in chapter 1, namely that there was a V2 constraint in OE, but that it could be overridden by pragmatic factors, and that this might be the reason for the variation we see in OE, as well as a factor affecting word order over time. This topic is further elaborated on in chapter 5, where we shall look more closely at the XVS vs the XSV pattern, among other things.

When all this has been said, it must be mentioned that although I do not find the clitic hypothesis particularly useful for my purposes, I still think it might be useful to consider what types of element occur in the various clause positions, and this includes distinguishing between nominal and pronominal elements. The focus of section 4.3 below is on the relation between clause position and constituent type. First, however, we need to look at another aspect that has been said to influence word order, namely the presence of an initial coordinating conjunction.

4.2.4 The word order of conjunct clauses[37]

It has often been claimed, to the point of having become axiomatic, that Old English conjunct clauses typically have verb-final (SXV) order. Reference may be made to Campbell (1964:191), Mitchell (1964:119, 1985 I:694 and 1985 II:967), Kohonen (1978:36), van Kemenade (1987:177), Traugott (1992:277) and Pintzuk (1995:249ff), to mention but a few. Denison (1986) and Stockwell & Minkova (1990) distinguish between clauses introduced by *and/ac* with no expressed subject and clauses with an

[37]By conjunct clauses I mean clauses which are introduced by the coordinating conjunctions *and, ac,* and sometimes *oððe,* and which have an overt subject. This is the way the term is used in most works cited. Denison (1986) and Stockwell & Minkova (1990), however, use the term 'conjunct clause' for clauses introduced by *and/ac* without an expressed subject.

overt subject. Both studies find that the tendency for verb-final order is greater in the former. According to Stockwell & Minkova (1990:507), the proportion of verb-final order is 46% in conjunct clauses without an expressed subject, and 30% in conjunct clauses with an overt subject. However, they do not distinguish between verb-final clauses and verb-late clauses (eg SXVX clauses), but group them all under the label 'verb-final'. Also, the corpus consists of only one text, the 892–900 segment of the *Parker Chronicle,* which is also the text Denison bases his observations on.

The works mentioned above represent different theoretical frameworks; some, such as van Kemenade, Pintzuk and Stockwell & Minkova, are concerned with underlying as well as surface structure, while others deal with surface structure only. This makes it difficult to compare the studies, especially since generative syntacticians often fail to clarify whether it is underlying or surface structure they are discussing at any given point. Furthermore, as was mentioned above, the term 'verb-final' may have different meanings; within a generative framework, an SXVX clause may very well be regarded as verb-final, with the postverbal element(s) being derived from an underlying verb-final structure by postposition. Likewise, an SV1XV2 clause may be derived from an underlying verb-final structure by verb projection raising. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, it seems to be generally agreed that the tendency for conjunct clauses to be verb-final (in surface structure) is far greater than for other main clauses, and it is this claim that will be examined and discussed in this section. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, let me at this point remind the reader that I am concerned with surface structure only.

As far as explanations of the presumed verb-final order of conjunct clauses are concerned, only a few have been offered, and then usually rather sketchily. Kohonen suggests that in OE, the conjunctions *and/ac* 'had the effect of blocking topicalization[38] and causing a dependent clause word order (SXV), i.e., they shared properties of subordinating conjunctions' (1978:154). It is not clear, however, why the blocking of topicalization would lead to verb-final word order. It could just as well lead to SVX order, for example. Besides, there are many examples of conjunct clauses with the word order XSXV, ie, clauses with a coordinating conjunction followed by a topicalized (fronted) element.

According to Traugott (1992),

> co-ordinate clauses introduced by *and* are V2 if a locative adverbial phrase or an adverb like *ne* or *þær* is present … Otherwise, they tend to

[38]Topicalization being defined as the optional fronting of a constituent from a syntactically neutral position (1978:69).

> be verb-final, like subordinate clauses … This characteristic can be attributed to the fact that, from a discourse perspective, co-ordinate clause [sic] elaborate on the initial main clause and in this sense modify it, although they are not syntactically subordinate. (1992:277)

Traugott's suggestion that the discourse function of the conjunct clause has a bearing on its word order is probably right. However, even if it is the case that coordinate clauses, or subclauses for that matter, elaborate on and modify main clauses, this does not in itself explain the preponderance of verb-*final* word order in these clauses, as opposed to other word orders.

Pintzuk (1995) suggests that INFL-final, as opposed to INFL-medial, structure in conjunct clauses is due to syntactic parallelism; ie, conjoined constituents often have similar structures. Thus, if the first conjunct clause is INFL-final, the second conjunct clause is likely to be INFL-final as well (1995:249). Her data shows, however, that even if the first conjunct is INFL-final, a majority of the second conjuncts (58.6%) are INFL-*medial* (1995:250). So, although the probability that second conjuncts are INFL-final when the first conjunct is INFL-final may be greater than when the first conjunct is INFL-medial, the actual data shows great variation in this respect.

In any case, we have seen that many have claimed that conjunct clauses are typically verb-final, and that some have suggested reasons why this may be so. However, a question that does not seem to be raised in this context is whether the empirical facts are correct, ie, whether conjunct clauses in most cases really *are* verb-final, and this is the first of the questions I would like to address here.

Table 4.9 shows the word order of the conjunct clauses in my corpus. Although the discussion has mainly been concerned with OE conjunct clauses, I have also included the data for ME, for comparison. As we see, only 15.3% (122 out of 795) of the OE conjunct clauses are verb-final. If we include the SXVX clauses (the so-called 'verb-late' clauses) as well, the percentage rises to 26.5. This is still lower than the percentage for SVX: 27.9% of the conjunct clauses have this word order. We see that the word order of OE conjunct clauses varies greatly, and that the claim that they tend to be verb-final does not hold. What does seem to be case, however, is that conjunct clauses are slightly more likely to be verb-final than non-conjunct clauses, of which only 5.4% have SXV word order in the OE period (cf table 4.11).

Table 4.9: The word order of conjunct clauses.

	Old English		Middle English	
w. o. patterns	# of conjunct cl.	% of conjunct cl.	# of conjunct cl.	% of conjunct cl.
SVX	222	27.9	351	34.7
XVS	96	12.1	106	10.5
XSV	101	12.7	358	35.4
SXV	122	15.3	12	1.2
SXVX	89	11.2	52	5.1
SV_1XV_2	35	4.4	9	0.9
verb-initial	19	2.4	11	1.1
XXVS	19	2.4	23	2.3
XXSV	11	1.4	25	2.5
miscellaneous	81	10.2	65	6.4
	795	100.0	1012	100.1

So, how could the misconception that OE conjunct clauses generally have verb-final word order have arisen, then? Consider table 4.10, which shows the distribution of conjunct clauses in each word order pattern:

Table 4.10: The distribution of conjunct clauses in each word order pattern.

	Old English			Middle English		
word order patterns	# of clauses altogether	# of conjunct clauses	% of conj. clauses	# of clauses altogether	# of conjunct clauses	% of conj. clauses
SVX	627	222	35.4	936	351	37.5
XVS	680	96	14.1	433	106	24.5
XSV	288	101	35.1	652	358	54.9
SXV	214	122	57.0	28	12	42.3
SXVX	204	89	43.6	117	52	44.4
SV_1XV_2	83	35	42.2	36	9	25.0
verb-init.	145	19	13.1	35	11	31.4
XXVS	78	19	24.4	52	23	44.2
XXSV	28	11	39.3	71	25	35.2
misc.	153	81	52.9	140	65	46.4
	2500	795		2500	1012	

As we see, out of 2500 OE main clauses altogether, 795 are conjunct clauses. If we calculate for each word order pattern how many clauses are conjunct clauses out of

the overall number of clauses in that pattern, we get the following result: out of 214 SXV clauses, 122 (57%) are conjunct clauses. In other words, SXV clauses are much more likely to be conjunct clauses than for example XVS clauses, of which only 14.1% are conjunct clauses. I think this is what has led to the misconception that conjunct clauses are verb-final. Scholars working on word order have probably noticed that verb-final clauses often have an initial coordinating conjunction, and from that deduced that conjunct clauses are verb-final. However, it is important to distinguish between the two points of view: the fact that a majority of verb-final clauses are conjunct clauses does not mean that a majority of conjunct clauses are verb-final.

Although we can reject the claim that conjunct clauses are verb-final, this does not mean that the word order of conjunct clauses is not worth further consideration. In the following, I will comment on what I see as some of the more interesting features.

Consider the following data: out of 2500 OE main clauses, 795 are conjunct clauses, which gives a percentage of 31.8. In ME, 40.5% (1012 out of 2500) of the main clauses are conjunct clauses. We would expect the proportion of conjunct clauses in each word order pattern to reflect this: for example, the proportion of conjunct clauses in the OE SVX pattern should be approximately 32%, and in ME it should be approximately 41%. The same should be the case in the other word order patterns as well. However, if we look at the actual data, we see that some patterns deviate from this, notably the XVS, SXV and verb-initial patterns in OE, and the XVS, XSV and SV_1XV_2 patterns in ME. In some cases the proportion of conjunct clauses is higher than expected, and in some cases it is lower.

Also, if we compare tables 4.9 and 4.10, other interesting aspects of conjunct clause word order become apparent. It has already been noted that whereas only 15.3% of the OE conjunct clauses are verb-final, as many as 57% of the verb-final clauses are conjunct clauses. Thus, there is asymmetry in the relationship between conjunct clauses and verb-final word order, or to put it more simply, conjunct clauses do not favor SXV word order, but the SXV pattern favors conjunct clauses. The same kind of asymmetry, though not as pronounced, is seen with respect to XSV word order: 12.7% of the OE conjunct clauses have XSV word order, but 35.1% of the XSV clauses are conjunct clauses. As regards XVS word order, the situation is different: only 12.1% of the conjunct clauses have XVS word order, and only 14.1% of the XVS clauses are conjunct clauses. Here, then, there is symmetry, with few conjunct clauses displaying XVS word order, and few conjunct clauses in the XVS pattern. In other words, OE conjunct clauses do not favor XVS word order, and the XVS pattern does not favor conjunct clauses. In ME, the relationship between conjunct clauses and SXV

word order resembles that of OE, with many conjunct clauses in the SXV pattern, but few conjunct clauses with SXV word order. As regards XVS word order, on the other hand, we see that there are still few XVS conjunct clauses, but the proportion of conjunct clauses in the XVS pattern has increased slightly compared to OE. This increase is, however, not big enough to distort the symmetry: we can still say that the XVS pattern does not favor conjunct clauses. Another fact we may note about ME conjunct clauses is that they display XSV word order to a greater extent than in OE, but the frequency of conjunct clauses in the XSV pattern has increased proportionally, which means that the situation is still asymmetric.

What, then, may we deduce from this rather confusing collection of facts? Well, the gist of it is that some word orders seem to be more suitable for conjunct clauses than others, and I shall suggest that part of the explanation lies in the (pragmatic) function of the different word orders, as well as in the nature of conjunct clauses. By word order function, I mean that the way the various word order patterns are used depends to a certain extent on how the writer wishes to structure the information presented in the clause. As for the nature of conjunct clauses, the main idea is that conjunct clauses differ from other main clauses in that they usually follow another clause, and 'elaborate on and modify' it, to cite Traugott (1992) once again, which in turn has consequences for the way information must be structured in these clauses. We shall postpone further discussion of this matter until chapter 5, which deals with word order and information structure. What seems clear at this point, however, is that explaining conjunct clause word order by referring to the presence of an initial coordinating conjunction is simplifying the matter too much, since there is no reason to believe that the multiple factors that determine word order do not affect conjunct clauses as well.

So far, we have considered the distribution of word order in conjunct clauses and the distribution of conjunct clauses in each word order pattern. Although it has not been stated in so many words, the implication of the data presented above is that conjunct clause word order in some respects differs significantly from non-conjunct clause word order. What remains to be considered is to what extent the data for word order change will be skewed if we do not keep the two clause types apart.

Table 4.11: The word order of non-conjunct clauses.

	Old English				Middle English			
	Early OE		Late OE		Early ME		Late ME	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	175	19.8	230	28.0	336	38.4	249	40.6
XVS	321	36.3	263	32.1	204	23.3	123	20.1
XSV	101	11.4	86	10.5	145	16.6	149	24.3
SXV	50	5.7	42	5.1	15	1.7	1	0.2
SXVX	54	6.1	61	7.4	50	5.7	15	2.4
SV^1XV^2	20	2.3	28	3.4	21	2.4	6	1.0
verb-initial	80	9.0	46	5.6	22	2.5	2	0.3
XXVS	26	2.9	33	4.0	20	2.3	9	1.5
XXSV	13	1.5	4	0.5	15	1.7	31	5.1
misc.	45	5.1	27	3.3	47	5.4	28	4.6
	885	100.1	820	99.9	875	100.0	613	100.1

Table 4.11 shows the word order distribution for Old and Middle English when conjunct clauses have been disregarded. If, using chi-square contingency table tests, we compare each period in table 4.11 with the corresponding period in table 4.2, where conjunct and non-conjunct clauses have been lumped together, we get significant results for early and late OE, and for late ME, but not for early ME. In other words, early ME is the only period for which it does not matter, in statistical terms, that is, whether we distinguish between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses or not.

However, if we look at what kind of development the two tables show, it becomes clear that the development we see in table 4.2 is also visible in table 4.11, though the proportions differ somewhat. In general, the SVX and XSV patterns increase, whereas most of the other patterns decline. If we run chi-square goodness of fit tests to compare the individual word order patterns in the two tables,[39] we find that there is no significance in the SVX pattern in any of the periods, so for this pattern it does not matter whether we keep conjunct and non-conjunct clauses apart or not. In the XVS pattern there is significance in the OE periods and in late ME, but not in early ME; in the XSV pattern there is only significance in late ME, and in the SXV pattern there is significance in OE, but not in ME. In other words, the most notable consequences of distinguishing between conjunct clauses and non-conjunct

[39]I concentrate on the SVX, XVS, XSV, and SXV patterns here, though interesting observations may be made about the other patterns as well.

clauses are manifested in the XVS pattern, where the proportion increases significantly in three of the four periods when conjunct clauses are disregarded.[40]

To sum up, it has been shown that it is not the case that there is a strong tendency for conjunct clauses to be verb-final. There are, however, statistically significant differences between the word order distribution of conjunct clauses and non-conjunct clauses, which means that it is probably a good idea to distinguish between them in word order studies of Old and Middle English. When this has been said, it must be added that whether we keep conjunct and non-conjunct clauses apart or lump them together, the overall picture we get of word order development is the same, though the proportions of word order patterns may differ.

4.2.5 Word order distribution under the clitic and conjunct clause hypotheses

To round off this part of chapter 4, I show in table 4.12 the distribution of word order patterns in Old and Middle English when clitics are taken into account, and conjunct clauses are disregarded. The SVX and XVS patterns behave as expected, showing a gradual increase, and a gradual decrease, respectively. The XV pattern, which, it will be recalled, mostly consists of XSV clauses with a pronominal (clitic) subject, shows higher percentages in ME than in OE. As mentioned in section 4.2.3, this is because there was an increase in the frequency of XSV clauses in general, including clauses with a pronominal subject. In the same section it was pointed out that it is particularly here that the clitic hypothesis leads to problems, in that an increase in XSV word order, a development we would expect if English was changing into a verb-medial language, implies an increase in XV (verb-second) word order in early ME. This is a highly unlikely scenario, in my opinion. In the XSV pattern, which in this table means XSV clauses with a nominal subject, there is a gradual increase, as expected, whereas verb-final and verb-initial clauses almost disappear completely, also as expected. Thus, apart from the obscurity that arises as regards the typological status of XV clauses, the development we see in table 4.12 runs along the same lines as the development observed in the previous tables.

[40]Denison (1986:283) makes the same observation.

Table 4.12: Word order distribution under the clitic and conjunct clause hypotheses.

	Old English				Middle English			
	Early OE		Late OE		Early ME		Late ME	
w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SVX	189	21.4	254	30.9	371	42.2	249	40.6
XVS	325	36.7	269	32.8	214	24.3	123	20.1
XV	90	10.2	73	8.9	128	14.6	78	12.7
XSV	22	2.5	24	2.9	30	3.4	71	11.6
SXV	43	4.9	28	3.4	5	0.6	1	0.2
SXVX	39	4.4	39	4.8	16	1.8	15	2.4
SV_1XV_2	20	2.3	28	3.4	21	2.4	6	1.0
verb-initial	80	9.0	46	5.6	22	2.5	2	0.3
XXVS	22	2.5	29	3.5	10	1.1	9	1.5
XXV	5	0.6	2	0.2	10	1.1	14	2.3
XXSV	5	0.6	2	0.2	5	0.6	17	2.8
miscellaneous	45	5.1	27	3.3	47	5.3	28	4.6
	885	100.2	821	99.9	879	99.9	613	11.1

4.2.6 Word order distribution: summary

So far in this chapter we have examined the word order distribution of Old and Middle English from various angles; ie, first we looked at word order in general, making no distinctions between clitic and non-clitic elements, or between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses. Then we considered the consequences of operating with a clitic hypothesis, and of discriminating between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses. It was found that word order distribution differs significantly according to which point of view one adopts. However, whichever way we look at it, the direction of word order development in Old and Middle English is unambiguous, with verb-second syntax declining in favor of verb-medial syntax, and with an increasing homogeneity in word order usage. As far as clitics are concerned, it was remarked that although operating with a clitic hypothesis may be useful with respect to the question of the typological status of OE, since it takes care of a number of counterexamples to the V2 hypothesis, it rather serves to obscure the picture when it comes to the question of word order development. As regards conjunct clauses vs non-conjunct clauses, it was found that there is in fact a difference in word order distribution between the two clause types, and it was suggested that this difference might have a functional explanation. This suggestion will be further elaborated on in chapter 5.

4.3 Constituent types in the word order patterns

This section is concerned with what types of subject, verb and X constituent are found in the various clause positions in the different word order patterns. I have restricted the analysis to the most central constituents of each word order pattern, as an analysis of every constituent would prove too time-consuming, as well as unnecessarily detailed for the purposes of this dissertation. The aim of the following investigation is to find out whether the distribution of constituent types differs in the various word order patterns, and also whether there is a difference between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses in this respect.

4.3.1 Types of subject

In this section we look at what types of subject are found in the various word order patterns, and a distinction is made between nominal, pronominal and clausal subjects. This distinction is quite straightforward, but in a few clauses the subject is both nominal and pronominal, as in (4.12), where the noun and pronoun are in apposition. Occurrences of this kind have consequently been left out of consideration.

(4.12) þa sæde he Pompeius þæt he þær drycræftas geleornode
then said he Pompeius that he there sorcery learned
'He, Pompeius, then said that he [Joseph] learned sorcery there'
(*Or*, 23:27)

A pronoun may also serve as head of a noun phrase and be postmodified by a relative clause or prepositional phrase. An example is given in (4.13), where the pronoun *þa* is postmodified by the relative clause *þe nu wepað*. Structures like this have been disregarded as well, as the intention is to show the distribution of true pronominal subjects vs other types of subject. The nominal category, on the other hand, includes both simple and modified nouns.

(4.13) Eadige beoþ þa þe nu wepað, forþon þe hi beoþ eft afrefede
Blessed are they who now weep, for they are afterwards comforted
'Blessed are they who weep now, for they shall be comforted afterwards'
(*BlHom*, 25:20)

It should also be mentioned that occurrences of existential *there* have been regarded as pronominal subjects in this context.

Table 4.13: The distribution of nominal, pronominal and clausal subjects in early and late Old English.

		Early Old English						Late Old English					
		nominal		pronom.		clausal		nominal		pronom.		clausal	
	w. o. patt.	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj. cl.	SVX	49	28.0	125	71.4	0	0	105	45.7	123	53.5	0	0
	XVS	155	48.3	144	44.9	16	5.0	175	66.5	60	22.8	21	8.0
	XSV	22	21.8	79	78.2	0	0	21	24.4	65	75.6	0	0
	SXV	15	30.0	30	60.0	0	0	20	47.6	21	50.0	0	0
	SXVX	17	31.5	31	57.4	0	0	34	55.7	25	41.0	0	0
	SV1XV2	7	35.0	12	60.0	0	0	11	39.3	17	60.7	0	0
	verb-init.	24	30.0	50	62.5	0	0	12	26.1	31	67.4	1	2.2
	XXVS	18	69.2	4	15.4	4	15.4	28	84.9	4	12.1	1	3.0
	XXSV	5	38.5	8	61.5	0	0	2	50.0	2	50.0	0	0
conj. cl.	SVX	39	42.4	52	56.5	0	0	68	52.3	61	46.9	0	0
	XVS	36	76.6	9	19.2	2	4.3	36	73.5	4	8.2	8	16.3
	XSV	14	23.7	45	76.3	0	0	2	4.8	39	92.9	0	0
	SXV	19	34.6	33	60.0	0	0	36	53.7	30	44.8	0	0
	SXVX	6	15.8	30	79.0	0	0	19	37.3	31	60.8	0	0
	SV1XV2	2	15.4	10	76.9	0	0	6	27.3	16	72.7	0	0
	verb-init.	6	60.0	4	40.0	0	0	5	55.6	3	33.3	1	11.1
	XXVS	7	77.8	2	22.2	0	0	8	80.0	2	20.0	0	0
	XXSV	2	40.0	3	60.0	0	0	1	16.7	5	83.3	0	0

Note that the percentages have been computed from the total number of subjects in each word order pattern.[41] For example, when 28% of the subjects in non-conjunct SVX clauses are nominal, this means 28% out of a total of 175 subjects (cf table 4.11).

[41]The total number from which the percentages have been computed does not appear in, and cannot be derived from, these tables, since some subjects have been disregarded for various reasons. However, table 4.11 shows the total number of non-conjunct clauses (and therefore, by extension, the total number of subjects in non-conjunct clauses), whereas the total number of conjunct clause subjects is found by subtracting the numbers in table 4.11 from the numbers in table 4.2. While this may be a somewhat cumbersome procedure to go through for those who may want to double-check the tables, it increases the readability of the tables by making them less complex. The total numbers for the tables showing the distribution of verbs, in the sections below, can be found in the same way.

Table 4.14: The distribution of nominal, pronominal and clausal subjects in early and late Middle English.

		Early Middle English						Late Middle English					
		nominal		pronom.		clausal		nominal		pronom.		clausal	
	w. o. patt.	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj. cl.	SVX	128	38.1	208	61.9	0	0	101	40.6	141	56.6	1	0.4
	XVS	136	66.7	53	26.0	7	3.4	97	78.9	24	19.5	1	0.8
	XSV	24	16.6	120	82.8	0	0	69	46.3	80	53.7	0	0
	SXV	6	40.0	9	60.0	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	0	0
	SXVX	29	58.0	21	42.0	0	0	15	100.0	0	0	0	0
	SV1XV2	4	19.1	17	81.0	0	0	1	16.7	5	83.3	0	0
	verb-init.	11	50.0	10	45.5	1	4.5	0	0	2	100.0	0	0
	XXVS	14	70.0	4	20.0	1	5.0	7	77.8	2	22.2	0	0
	XXSV	1	6.7	14	93.3	0	0	14	45.2	17	54.8	0	0
conj. cl.	SVX	56	44.8	69	55.2	0	0	94	42.0	123	54.9	0	0
	XVS	30	73.2	9	22.0	2	4.9	43	67.2	19	29.7	1	1.6
	XSV	7	7.7	84	92.3	0	0	89	33.3	177	66.3	0	0
	SXV	5	55.6	5	44.4	0	0	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0
	SXVX	14	36.8	24	63.2	0	0	11	84.6	1	7.7	0	0
	SV1XV2	0	0	6	100.0	0	0	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0
	verb-init.	5	45.5	6	54.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	XXVS	4	57.1	1	14.3	2	28.6	8	53.3	7	46.7	0	0
	XXSV	0	0	5	100.0	0	0	7	35.0	13	65.0	0	0

If we look at the data for Old and Middle English non-conjunct clauses first, we see that there is great variation between the different word order patterns as regards the distribution of nominal, pronominal, and clausal subjects. In the SVX and SXV patterns, for example, there is a majority of pronominal subjects throughout, but in late OE the proportion of nominal and pronominal subjects is more even than in the other periods. In the SXVX pattern, pronominal subjects dominate in the early OE period, whereas nominal subjects are more frequent in the other periods. And in the XSV pattern, there is a clear predominance of pronominal subjects in early and late OE, as well as in early ME, but in late ME the distribution evens out, and the proportion of nominal and pronominal subjects becomes approximately the same.

Apropos of the XSV pattern and the clitic hypothesis, we may note that even though pronominal subjects are most common in this pattern, nominal subjects are by no means rare: the mean percentage for early OE, late OE and early ME non-

conjunct clauses is 20.9. The fact that one fifth of the subjects in the XSV pattern cannot be clitics, but nevertheless occur in exactly the same position as the clitic elements, can hardly be overlooked, especially if a clitic position is defined as a position where only clitics can occur. Consequently, a theory of word order typology which seeks to incorporate the concept of clitics should perhaps also strive to explain counterexamples of this kind, which are so frequent that they can hardly be regarded as 'superficial'.

In most word order patterns, there is, as we have seen, variation in the distribution of nominal and pronominal subjects, but in most cases the proportion of pronominal subjects is higher than the proportion of nominal subjects. However, there are two word order patterns in which nominal subjects are predominant throughout, and these are the XVS and XXVS patterns. It is also in these patterns that we find clausal subjects. If OE had a V2 constraint, the fact that the subject follows the verb in clauses with an initial X element is not in itself surprising. However, the V2 constraint does not explain why the distribution of nominal and pronominal subjects should be different, ie, why we see the inverse situation in the XVS and XSV patterns, with more nominal and clausal subjects in the former, and more pronominal subjects in the latter. The clitic hypothesis has been mentioned several times already, and we might recall that according to this hypothesis, preverbal, non-initial position is a clitic position, which is the reason why we get XSV word order when the subject is pronominal. There are, however, also quite a few XVS clauses with a pronominal subject. In clauses like this the initial element is often *þa* or *þonne*: in my corpus, 87.8% (179 out of 204) of the Old English XVS non-conjunct clauses with a pronominal subject are introduced by one of these two adverbs. Several hypotheses have been put forward in order to explain the occurrence of clitics postverbally: van Kemenade suggests that *þa* and *þonne* are operators which block cliticization on the left of INFL (van Kemenade 1987:139; cf also note 5), and Pintzuk argues that in 'some exceptional clause types', among others 'narrative advancing clauses', the verb has moved to COMP, thus preventing the occurrence of preverbal clitics, which must occur between COMP and IP (Pintzuk 1995:243; cf also section 2.2.2.3.2).

The arguments of the generativists represent purely syntactic ways of analyzing word order phenomena. The aim of this dissertation, however, is to also take pragmatic considerations into account, and from this perspective the difference in the distribution of nominal and pronominal subjects in the XVS and XSV patterns makes sense, since clause-final, or 'clause-late' position is associated with heavier elements, both as regards weight and information value. Recall the hypothesis

proposed in chapter 1, that OE had a V2 constraint, but that it could be overridden by pragmatic factors. It is argued that such factors cause the positioning of pronominal subjects, where the lightness and low information value of the pronoun means that it is 'predestined' for a position early in the clause, and therefore placed in preverbal, rather than postverbal, position. The result is XSV word order.

But how do we explain the presence of postverbal pronominal subjects, then? We have already seen that postverbal pronominal subjects usually occur in clauses with the initial adverbs *þa* or *þonne.* These two words may, however, also function as subordinating conjunctions. As is well known, the word order of the clause can be used to determine whether *þa* or *þonne* is an adverb or a conjunction: if *þa/þonne* is followed by the subject it is likely that it is a conjunction, whereas it is likely to be an adverb if it is followed by the verb (cf for example Mitchell 1985 II:291ff). Thus, if the initial element is *þa* or *þonne,* it is necessary for the subject to occur postverbally, whether it is nominal or pronominal, in order for the clause to be interpreted as a main clause. In cases like this, then, the pragmatic principle that places low IV elements early in the clause is overridden by the more important principle of ambiguity avoidance.[42]

In ME, particularly in early ME, V2 word order continues to be used in structures with initial *þa/þonne/thenne*, on the pattern established in OE, although the conjunction and the adverbs cease to be identical, and the ambiguity thus disappears. In early ME, 67.9% (36 out of 53) of the XVS non-conjunct clauses with a pronominal subject are introduced by *þa/þonne/thenne,* whereas this is the case with only 29.2% (7 out of 24) of the late ME clauses of the same type. However, in the clauses that are not introduced by *thenne*, the initial element is very often another short adverb, such as *now, yet, thus,* and *so.* It is therefore conceivable that structures with an initial short adverb in general adhere to this pattern.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have looked at the distribution of nominal, pronominal, and clausal subjects in the various word order patterns, and I have suggested that one reason for the distribution we have seen can be found in the way pragmatic constraints influence word order. However, whereas pronominal constituents are always analyzed as low IV elements, nominal constituents may be either low IV elements, if they are contextually given, or high IV elements, if they are new. Consequently, we do not get an accurate idea of the information value of

[42]Whereas this suggestion implies that initial *þa* or *þonne* causes V2 order, Breivik (forthcoming), sees initial *þa* rather as a result of V2 syntax, where *þa* is inserted in order to make the clause comply with the V2 pattern, much like existential *þær.* However, there is not necessarily a conflict between these two views, as my proposal concerns *þa/þonne*-clauses with a pronominal subject, whereas Breivik is concerned with *þa*-clauses with a nominal (new) subject.

subjects just by looking at the distribution of nouns and pronouns. The comments made so far about the influence of pragmatic factors on word order therefore have to be supported by additional evidence from a more thorough investigation of information structure, but this will be postponed until chapter 5.

Before we leave the subjects, however, we shall briefly look at the distribution of nominal, pronominal, and clausal subjects in conjunct clauses. In general, conjunct clause subjects behave in the same way as non-conjunct clause subjects. However, the proportion of pronominal subjects in the XVS pattern is significantly lower in OE conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses. We saw above that a great majority of the OE XVS non-conjunct clauses with a pronominal subject have *þa* or *þonne* initially, but these elements are rarely found initially in conjunct clauses. Out of 350 XVS clauses with initial *þa/þonne* in OE, only 10 (2.9%) are conjunct clauses. If it is the case that *þa* is an 'action marker', as Enkvist (1972) suggests, or that clauses with initial *þa* are 'narrative advancing clauses', as Pintzuk (1995) claims, we would in fact expect most of the *þa/þonne* clauses to be non-conjunct clauses, since conjunct clauses have more of a modifying function. Consequently, if it is the case that to the extent pronominal subjects occur in XVS clauses, they occur in clauses with initial *þa/þonne,* for the reasons of ambiguity avoidance mentioned above, it is not surprising that there should be fewer pronominal subjects in OE XVS conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses.

4.3.2 Types of verb

In this section I operate with the following verbal categories: verbs with complement, verbs without complement,[43] copulas and 'verbs of appearance or existence on the scene'. This may seem like a rather gratuitous mixture of syntactic and semantic categories, but they are meant to reflect some aspects of verb distribution that I thought might be interesting to look at more closely in connection with the questions asked in this dissertation.

Verbs with complement are (active) verbs that take accusative, genitive and dative objects, or an object clause. There may of course be adverbial elements in the clause as well. In (4.14), for example, there are two objects, *us* and the clause *þæt we sceolan him þeowian,* in addition to the coordinated adverbial prepositional phrases *mid his fæstenne, & mid eallum his dædum.* (4.15) has two objects as well, *eow*, and *sibbe and gesehtnysse* which consists of two coordinated nouns.

[43]The reason why I do not use the terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive', but prefer Visser's (1963) distinction between 'verbs with complement' and 'verbs without complement' was discussed in section 3.2.1.

(4.14) Drihten us manode mid his fæstenne, & mid eallum his dædum, þæt we sceolan him þeowian
Lord us admonished by his fasting, and by all his works, that we should him serve
'The Lord admonished us by his fasting, and by all his works, that we should serve him'
(*BlHom*, 27:29)

(4.15) and ic forgife sibbe and gesehtnysse eow
and I give peace and reconciliation you
'and I will give you peace and reconciliation'
(*ÆLS*, 294:160)

In his discussion of verbs with complement, Visser (1963:189ff) operates with two categories, ie, verbs with object on the one hand, and copular verbs on the other. For the purposes of the present study, I have analyzed copulas as a separate category, mainly because I want to find out in which word order patterns copulas are most frequently found, and whether there is any difference between copulas and existential verbs in this respect, both being realized by *beon/wesan* to a great extent. Occasionally, however, copulas take another complement in addition to the subject complement, and in such cases the verb has been counted *both* as a copula *and* as a verb with complement in the tables below. The following two examples illustrate the point: in (4.16) there is an object, *ðe,* in addition to the subject complement *betere,* and in (4.17) *yrre* functions as subject complement, and *him* as object.

(4.16) ðe wæs þios hwearfung betere forðæm þæt...
you was this change better because that...
'This change was better for you, for the reason that...'
(*Bo,* 18:31)

(4.17) God him wearð þa yrre
God him became then angry
'God then became angry with him' (*ÆLS*, 298:225)

Verbs without complement occur in structures with only a subject and a verb, or in structures with subject, verb, and one or more adverbial elements. (4.18) is an example of the latter, with two adverbials: *ðurh his goddcundnesse* and *of deaðe*:

(4.18) and ðurh his goddcundnesse he aras of deaðe
and through his divine-nature he arose from death
'and through his divine nature he arose from death'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 25:25)

'Verbs of appearance or existence on the scene' is a category introduced by Firbas (1957, 1966, 1992; cf also section 5.2.3.2.1), and covers verbs that 'imply or even explicitly express "appearance – a kind of coming into existence – on the scene" (i.e. the scene created by the narrow, *ad hoc* context at the moment of utterance) or simply "existence" on this scene' (1966:243). For the sake of simplicity, I shall henceforth call these verbs 'existential verbs'. Existential verbs fall into the category of 'verbs without complement', and have been counted as such in the tables below. However, existential constructions are of special interest in connection with word order studies, in that verb-second word order seems to have been particularly persistent in this type of clause. I have therefore also shown the distribution of existential verbs in a separate column in the tables below.

The most frequent existential verb is *beon/wesan* 'be'. Others include *æteowian* 'appear', *cuman* 'come', *gelimpan/geweorðan* 'happen', *sittan* 'sit', *restan* 'rest', *dwell, grow, stand, live, lie,* etc.[44] Some examples are given in (4.19)–(4.24):

(4.19) Ða æteawde him sona se eadgesta aldor þara apostola Scs Petrus
Then appeared to-him immediately the most-blessed prince of-the apostles St. Peter
'Then presently there appeared to him the most blessed prince of the apostles, St. Peter'
(*Bede,* 114:15)

(4.20) 7 of his cynne eft com Sancta Maria
and of his people likewise came Saint Mary
'and Saint Mary likewise came of his people'
(*WHom,* 149:108)

(4.21) þa gelomp þætte Gregorius betwoh oðre eac þider cwom
then happened that Gregory among others also thither came
'then it happened that Gregory among others also came there'
(*Bede,* 96:8)

(4.22) þa sæt þær sum blind þearfa be ðon wege
then sat there a-certain blind beggar by the road
'then there was a blind beggar by the road'
(*BlHom*, 15:14)

(4.23) And in his hous arn ay dwellande vii. kyngis for to seruyn hym
(*Mandeville,* 103:18)

[44]For a more thorough discussion of existential verbs, see Breivik 1990:164ff.

(4.24) Ryght nygh vnto this contree groweth pepre alle whytte. (*Mirrour,* 71:4)

In some existential sentences, a dative pronoun, usually *him,* occurs. (4.25) is a typical example. In cases like this, the pronoun has not been analyzed as an object, as its function is rather adverbial; it says something about the location of *him* in relation to the surroundings. Another example is (4.19) above. In this case the function of *him* is more indeterminate: on the one hand one could say that it resembles that of recipient, but it is also possible to ascribe an adverbial function to *him,* as someone the 'appearance' is directed towards. In any case, the number of existential sentences in which a dative pronoun occurs is small: there are only 15 in OE, most of them in *Orosius* and in the same type of clause as (4.25). In ME, there are no examples of this type of construction. Thus, it has no great statistical consequences whether the verb is categorized as a verb with complement or a verb without complement, or whether the pronoun is analyzed as an object or an adverbial.

(4.25) 7 him wæs a widsæ on ðæt bæcbord
and him was always open-sea on the larboard
'and he always had open sea on the port side'
(*Or*, 14:23)

To sum up, then, the following has to be kept in mind when studying tables 4.15–4.18: first, recall that the percentages given are computed from the total number of verbs in each word order pattern (cf note 11). Second, sometimes a copula may have a complement apart from the subject complement. In such cases the verb is represented both in the column for 'verbs with complement' and in the column for 'copulas'. Third, keep in mind that existential verbs are also verbs without complement, and have therefore also been included in this category. And finally, with a few exceptions, passive verb phrases have been kept as a separate category which is not included in the statistics below. The exceptions are passive verb phrases with copular function or existential meaning, as in (4.26)–(4.28):

(4.26) The therde of the vii sciences is callyd Rethoryque
(*Mirrour,* 35:1)

(4.27) Fearlac Ich hatte
Fear I am-called
'I am called Fear'
(*Sawles Warde,* 88:35)

(4.28) 7 þær wæs ungemetlic micel licgende feoh funden on ðæm wicstowum
and there was immeasurable much ready money found at the camp
'and there was found immeasurably much ready money at the camp'
(*Or*, 69:3)

In some cases a passive verb phrase may imply 'appearance or existence on the scene' (cf Breivik 1990:168ff). (4.28) is an example of such a construction, and here the existential meaning is made even clearer by the presence of existential *þær.*

I will not comment on every aspect of the distribution as displayed in the tables; ie, there may be significant differences in the distribution of verb types in the various word order patterns, either between the periods or between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses, which are not further discussed. I shall rather focus on the features which I see as most relevant for the general purpose of this work.

Let us now look at the distribution of the verb categories presented above. Before we examine each period in some detail, it might be worth considering whether there are any aspects of verb distribution that are common to all four periods, as it is sometimes easier to keep track of the details when the general trend is known.

If we look at non-conjunct clauses first, and compare the distribution of verbs with and without complement, as presented in tables 4.15–4.18, we see that verbs with complement are in a clear majority in most word order patterns, apart from the XVS and XXVS patterns. In these patterns, verbs with complement and verbs without complement are either relatively evenly distributed, or verbs without complement are more frequent. There are two exceptions to this: in late OE XVS clauses and early ME XXVS clauses, there is a preponderance of verbs with complement. This does not, however, blur the general picture to any great extent. The higher proportion of verbs without complement in the XVS and XXVS patterns may be seen in connection with the fact that the proportion of existential verbs is greater in these patterns than in the other patterns. From a pragmatic point of view this is as expected, since the referent introduced in existential sentences is usually the subject, and in most cases conveys new information. As such, it is likely to occur in clause-late position. Recall that existential *there,* though attested as early as the early OE period, was not obligatory, and XVS word order was common with existential sentences beyond the Middle English period. If we look at another type of verb often realized by *beon/wesan,* namely copular verbs, we see that the proportion of copular verbs is highest in the SVX pattern in all four periods. In copular sentences, it is the quality attributed to the

subject that is central; thus, the distribution is as expected, with the subject complement in clause-late position.

As regards conjunct clauses, some general trends can be discerned, but all in all the picture is a bit more complex than it is for non-conjunct clauses. As is the case with non-conjunct clauses, the proportion of verbs without complement and existential verbs is high in the XVS and XXVS patterns (in the latter, however, there are too few tokens to allow us to draw any conclusions). Copulas are more frequent in the SVX pattern in early OE and late ME, but in late OE and early ME the proportions are approximately equal in the SVX and XVS patterns. The number of tokens is so small, however, that what may seem like significant differences between the periods are not always so. For example, although the proportion of copulas in the XVS pattern is 8.5% in early OE and 22.4% in late OE (cf tables 4.15 and 4.16), a chi-square goodness of fit test does not show significance at the 0.05 level. The only places significance is found with respect to the distribution of copulas in the conjunct clause XVS pattern are in the late OE and early ME periods compared to the late ME period. I shall not examine the reasons for this distribution in any detail. Suffice it to say that although SVX word order seems to be the most suitable word order for copular sentences, it is, of course, not the only way such sentences may be structured. For example, if the subject is heavy, as in (4.29) and (4.30), and/or if the initial position needs to be filled by another element than the subject, as in (4.30) and (4.31), we may get XVS word order rather than SVX:

(4.29) and un-fremful . bið þæt folc beo butan steora
and unprofitable is that people be without governor
'and it is unprofitable that the people be without a governor'
(*ÆLS*, 292:126)

(4.30) ac ðam wære betere þæt hi on heora bedde lagon
but for-them were better that they in their beds lay
'but it were better for them that they lay in their beds'
(*ÆLS*, 288:79)

(4.31) And þanne is þet lyf uayr and oneste
'And then is life fair and honest'
(*Ayenbite*, 75:21)

Thus, the interplay between syntactic rules and the way the clause constituents need to be organized for the purposes of efficient information processing also has a bearing on word order.

If we now go on to the particular periods, and start in the early OE period (table 4.15), we see that the proportion of verbs with and verbs without complement is approximately equal as far as non-conjunct XVS clauses are concerned, whereas the data for conjunct clauses in the same pattern shows a lower proportion of verbs with complement and a higher proportion of verbs without complement. We also see that, in line with the general trend, existential verbs are more common in the XVS and XXVS patterns than in the other word order patterns. This is especially true of conjunct clauses, which helps explain the high proportion of verbs without complement in this clause type. However, the proportion of existential verbs is quite high in the verb-initial pattern as well. A closer look at the individual occurrences reveals that most of them are found in *Bede,* a text in which verb-initial clauses in general are more frequent than in any of the other texts. Thus, the relatively high proportion of verb-initial existential verbs, and hence also of existential sentences, may be viewed in the light of this. As regards copulas, the highest proportion is found in the SVX pattern, and this applies to both non-conjunct and conjunct clauses.

Some possible reasons for the generally large proportion of existential sentences in the XVS pattern and copular sentences in the SVX pattern were sketched above. What has not been addressed, however, are the distributional differences between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses. Why, for example, is the proportion of existential verbs in the XVS pattern higher for conjunct clauses than for non-conjunct clauses? In order to find out why this is so, we need once again to look more closely at each of the four texts which represent the early OE period. When we do this, it turns out that 16 out of 20 of the existential conjunct clauses occur in Book I, chapter I of *Orosius,* which contains the stories of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, as well as a description of Greece and Italy. Thus, this part of *Orosius* is clearly descriptive, in an enumerative way, which explains the use of coordination as well. An example is given in (4.32):

(4.32) 7 on suðhealfe 7 on westhealfe þæs muðan sindon Mæsi, Creca leode – 7 be westan þære byrig sindon Traci
and on the-south-side and on the-west-side of-the mouth are the-Moesians, of-Greeks people – and on the-west of-the city are the-Thracians
'and on the south and on the west side of the mouth are the Moesians, a Greek tribe, and on the west of the city are the Thracians'
(*Or*, 18:9)

Table 4.15: Verb types in early Old English.

		Early Old English							
		with compl.		without compl.		copula		existential verb	
	w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj. cl.	SVX	66	37.7	26	14.9	78	44.6	12	6.9
	XVS	127	39.6	136	42.4	32	10.0	64	19.9
	XSV	61	60.4	24	23.8	13	12.9	4	4.0
	SXV	34	68.0	11	22.0	3	6.0	3	6.0
	SXVX	41	75.9	10	18.5	3	5.6	1	1.9
	SV1XV2	8	40.0	1	5.0	6	30.0	0	0
	verb-initial	42	52.5	16	20.0	17	21.3	12	15.0
	XXVS	8	30.8	10	38.5	3	11.5	8	30.8
	XXSV	11	84.6	1	7.7	1	7.7	0	0
conj. cl.	SVX	36	39.1	22	23.9	29	31.5	10	10.9
	XVS	13	27.7	24	51.1	4	8.5	20	42.6
	XSV	38	64.4	15	25.4	3	5.1	4	6.8
	SXV	33	60.0	17	30.9	2	3.6	5	9.1
	SXVX	28	73.7	6	15.8	7	18.4	0	0
	SV1XV2	5	38.5	5	38.5	0	0	1	7.7
	verb-initial	3	30.0	3	30.0	2	20.0	3	30.0
	XXVS	0	0	6	66.7	3	33.3	5	55.6
	XXSV	1	20.0	4	80.0	0	0	1	20.0

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to ask whether the data can be said to be representative, and whether generalizations are at all possible, if the distribution can be shown to be caused by distinctive features of the individual texts. Obviously, whether we can draw any general conclusions on the basis of a certain collection of data or not depends on the number of tokens; the more tokens there are, the safer it is to generalize. If the number of tokens is small, the impact of each text may become more noticeable, as we have just seen. So, should we include data like this at all, then? Can it tell us anything about the characteristics of the language? The answer to both questions is yes, I think. For example, even if the proportion of existential sentences may be inordinately high in the XVS conjunct clause pattern because of the particular nature of *Orosius*, it is still interesting that it is in this particular pattern that existential sentences occur, and that their structure consequently differs from the structure of existential sentences at later stages of the language. Thus, though the limitations of the data sometimes prevent us from making general statements, what

data we have may still point to potentially interesting features which may or may not be corroborated by larger samples. Though the focus of this dissertation is on the more general aspects of word order distribution, I shall also include comments on features of the individual texts if this is necessary in order to explain certain aspects of the distribution as they appear in the tables.

Let us now go on to the late OE period (table 4.16), which differs from the early OE period in some respects. As regards non-conjunct clauses, the one major difference is that although the proportion of verbs without complement in the XVS pattern is still quite high, the proportion of verbs with complement is even higher, and in this respect the late OE period differs from the ME periods as well. The proportion of existential verbs, on the other hand, is approximately the same as in early OE and early ME, ie, around 20%. It was mentioned above that the high proportion of verbs without complement in the XVS pattern to a certain extent correlates with the high proportion of existential verbs; ie, existential sentences have a predilection for XVS word order. Keep in mind, however, that existential sentences do not by any means account for all occurrences of clauses with XVS order, as the frequencies given in the tables clearly show: though the proportion of existental verbs, and thus existential sentences, is higher in the XVS pattern than in the other patterns, XVS word order is not restricted to this type of clause. If OE had some sort of V2 constraint, which is what we presume, we should find XVS word order used with a variety of verb types and thus a variety of clause types, and both the early and the late OE data makes it clear that this is in fact the case. Exactly what it is, however, that makes late OE differ from the other periods with respect to the distribution of verbs with and without complement cannot be deduced from the few categories operated with here. In order to explain this distribution, a more fine-grained analysis of verb types would have to be carried out, but as this would necessitate a more detailed and extensive analysis than the scope of this dissertation calls for, it shall not be attempted here, but rather left for future research.

Instead, we shall turn our attention to the late OE conjunct clauses, where we may notice first of all that with respect to the distribution of verbs with and verbs without complement in the XVS pattern, the situation is the inverse compared to non-conjunct clauses. The XVS conjunct clause pattern has a lower proportion of verbs with complement and a higher proportion of verbs without complement. As in early OE, the distribution may be seen in connection with the high proportion of existential verbs. If we look at the individual texts once again, it turns out that 10 out of 16 existential sentences occur in *Wulfstan's Homilies,* most of them of the kind exemplified in (4.33):

(4.33) 7 of ðære mægðe com se mæra mann Abraham
and from that tribe came the famous man Abraham
'and from that tribe the famous man Abraham came'
(*WHom*, 148:99)

Again, then, it seems that with the number of tokens being relatively small, the features of one text have greater consequences for the distribution than it otherwise would have had. In this case, however, the existential sentences do not occur in just one part of the text, as was the case with those in *Orosius*. Rather, they occur in various parts of the text, but in contexts where coordination would be natural, since the initial adverbial refers anaphorically to a constituent in the previous discourse.

Table 4.16: Verb types in late Old English.

		Late Old English							
		with compl.		without compl.		copula		existential verb	
	w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj. cl.	SVX	94	40.9	41	17.8	89	38.7	15	6.5
	XVS	133	50.6	89	33.8	33	12.5	51	19.4
	XSV	53	61.6	16	18.6	15	17.4	4	4.7
	SXV	30	71.4	12	28.6	1	2.4	0	0
	SXVX	42	68.9	18	29.5	2	3.3	3	4.9
	SV1XV2	13	46.4	3	10.7	2	7.1	3	10.7
	verb-initial	26	56.5	12	26.1	6	13.0	5	10.9
	XXVS	6	18.2	23	69.7	1	3.0	12	36.4
	XXSV	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	0	0	0
conj. cl.	SVX	45	34.6	52	40.0	29	22.3	18	13.8
	XVS	12	24.5	23	46.9	11	22.4	16	32.7
	XSV	25	59.5	11	26.2	6	14.3	3	7.1
	SXV	38	56.7	29	43.3	0	0	7	10.4
	SXVX	35	68.6	13	25.5	2	3.9	2	3.9
	SV1XV2	11	50.0	5	22.7	0	0	0	0
	verb-initial	4	44.4	1	11.1	2	22.2	0	0
	XXVS	5	50.0	2	20.0	1	10.0	2	20.0
	XXSV	2	33.3	4	66.7	0	0	1	16.7

Another way in which non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses differ significantly in late OE is in the distribution of copulas in the SVX pattern, with copulas being

more frequent in non-conjunct clauses than in conjunct clauses. It is rather puzzling why non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses should differ in this respect, considering that the texts are the same, and the number of tokens is quite high. Nevertheless, I shall venture a possible explanation, which, due to the rough categories operated with here, must necessarily be rather tentative.

The argument runs along the following lines: if it is the case that conjunct clauses often have a modifying and/or elaborating function, one would expect them to relate to the (immediate) previous context in a more direct way than non-conjunct clauses. This is not to say that non-conjunct clauses do *not* relate to the previous context, but it is not a necessary condition: non-conjunct clauses may for example introduce a completely new topic. The fact that non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses differ in this respect has consequences for what types of element may occur in the clause positions in the various word order patterns. The structure and semantics of SVX copular sentences,[45] where a quality is attributed to a noun phrase, and where that quality is presented in clause-late position, conspire to make it less likely for the clause to have a modifying function, with direct reference to the previous sentence, than for it to function as a frame or background for what follows. Consider the following examples:[46]

(4.34) a) John lives in poverty, but he is wealthy.
b) John is wealthy, but he lives in poverty.
c) John lives in poverty, even though he is wealthy.

Although (4.34 a) is grammatically correct, (4.34 b) is the preferred structure, since the information is given in a more logical sequence. First we are given information about John's wealth, then contrast is signalled by the coordinating conjunction *but,* and finally we are informed about what it is he does that contrasts to his being wealthy. John's living in poverty is something he has chosen in spite of his wealth; ie, his wealth constitutes the background information in relation to which his living in poverty is seen. Therefore it is more appropriate to give information about his wealth in the first clause, and not in the last, as in (4.34 a). In (4.34 c), however, the information about John's wealth is given last, but (4.34 c) is nevertheless as acceptable as (4.34 b). The difference is that here we have a hypotactic structure, with

[45]Although the hypothesis that conjunct clauses are related to the previous context in a more direct manner than non-conjunct clauses presumably must hold true for a majority of conjunct clauses, exactly how this relationship manifests itself may vary in the different word order patterns. The discussion here only pertains to SVX clauses.

[46]Note that the examples reflect the fact that the discussion concerns SVX structures. It is of course not the case that an SVX non-conjunct clause (if followed by anything at all) must be followed by an SVX conjunct clause, or that an SVX conjunct clause is always preceded by an SVX clause.

a main clause containing a subclause. According to Quirk et al., 'the information in a subordinate clause is often placed in the background with respect to the superordinate clause' (1985:919). This, then, explains the acceptability of (4.34 c): even if the information that John is wealthy is given last, the fact that it is given in a subclause turns it into background information.

As tables 4.15–4.18 show, it is not the case that a copular sentence may never be a conjunct clause. However, when a copular sentence is also a conjunct clause, the previous sentence is often also a copular sentence, so that the sequence more or less becomes a listing of qualities, or a repetition of the same quality. A ModE example is given in (4.35), and an OE example in (4.36):

(4.35) John is tall, he is dark, and he is wealthy.

(4.36) Se fæder is angin . and se sunu is angin . and se halga gast is angin .
ac hi ne synd na þreo anginnu . ac hi ealle þry synden an angin
The Father is the Beginning, and the Son is the Beginning, and the Holy Ghost is the Beginning, but they not are not three Beginnings, but they all three are one Beginning
'The Father is the Beginning, and the Son is the Beginning, and the Holy Ghost is the Beginning, but they are not three Beginnings, but they all three are one Beginning'
(*ÆLS*, 10:14)

So far we have considered why the proportion of copulas is higher in SVX non-conjunct clauses than in SVX conjunct clauses. I have suggested that the forces at work can best be described as an interplay between clause type, clause function and clause structure, as well as semantic and pragmatic factors. However, if this is the case, we should expect to see the same distribution in the other periods as well. Tables 4.15–4.18 show that in the first three periods the proportion of copulas is indeed higher in SVX non-conjunct clauses than in the corresponding conjunct clauses. For late OE and early ME the difference is statistically significant. For early OE, there is not significance at the 0.05 level, but a goodness of fit test gives a chi-square value of 2.56 and a probability of 0.1094. In other words, if we discard the null hypothesis (ie, that there is no difference in the distribution of copulas in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses) the probability that we are wrong in doing so is about 10%. So, although there is no significance, we may here talk about a tendency; ie, in early OE, there is a tendency for copulas to occur more frequently in non-conjunct clauses than in conjunct clauses. In late ME, the distribution of copulas is approximately the same in the two clause types. However, a closer examination of the individual texts makes it apparent that *Arthur* in particular deviates from the

other texts in having twice as many copular conjunct clauses as non-conjunct clauses.[47] If we disregard the data from *Arthur*, the difference between conjunct and non-conjunct clauses does not become significant, but the tendency becomes approximately the same as in early OE (chi-square value=2.14, p=0.144). The reason why the distribution of copulas is different in *Arthur* probably has to do with style. There are, for example, several instances of the kind of repetitive sequence exemplified in (4.36) above. Furthermore, coordination is sometimes used in places where it is not strictly speaking called for. Consider (4.37):

(4.37) 'Wel,' said Merlyn, 'I knowe a lord of yours in this land that is a passyng true man and a feithful, and he shal have the nourysshyng of your child; and his name is sir Ector, and he is a lord of fair lyvelode in many partyes in Englond and Walys.'
(*Arthur*, 10:36)

Here, the coordinating conjunction in *and his name is sir Ector* is superfluous from a syntactic point of view; the sentence could just as well have read *His name is sir Ector.*

After this little detour into late ME in connection with the distribution of copulas in the SVX pattern, we shall return to late OE, and to the distribution of verbs without complement in the same pattern. As table 4.16 shows, the proportion of verbs without complement is higher in the SVX conjunct clause pattern, and significantly so, than in the corresponding non-conjunct clause pattern. This is also the case for early ME, whereas early OE and late ME show no such significance, although one may talk of a tendency in early OE (chi-square value=2.75, p=0.0973). In section 4.2.4, we saw that non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses differ with respect to the distribution of word order patterns, possibly due to the different functions of the two clause types. It was also suggested above that functional differences may help explain the distribution of copulas in SVX non-conjunct clauses vs conjunct clauses. The same mechanisms may be at work with respect to verbs with and without complement in the SVX pattern. The clauses in which a verb without complement occurs have the structure subject – verb – adverbial(s); ie, the clause describes an agent, an action, and the manner/time/place, etc, of that action, to put it very simply. Now, the difference between conjunct clauses and non-conjunct clauses is that whereas the former can be said to have an elaborating and modifying function, the latter are potentially more independent, and often need to provide information about what is going on, where/how/when it is going on, and perhaps

[47] 21 out of 33 SVX copular sentences are conjunct clauses.

most importantly, who/what is involved, and what characterizes them/it. Thus, they do not lend themselves as easily to structures in which most of the focus is on the adverbial(s), as in the structures we are discussing here. In conjunct clauses, on the other hand, the opportunity to focus on the adverbial(s) is greater, since the important information involving the whos and whats is often given in the preceding context. Note that I am not saying here that subject – verb – adverbial structures are usually conjunct clauses, or that we do not find conjunct clauses with verbs with complement, and thus objects. The actual frequency of non-conjunct clauses with the structure subject – verb – adverbial may in fact be higher than the frequency of conjunct clauses with the same structure (cf early ME), but the point is that, overall, conjunct clauses are more likely, and non-conjunct clauses less likely, to have this structure, due to their different functions.

If the explanation suggested above holds true, we should expect to find approximately the same distribution in all four periods. We have already seen, however, that late ME, where the distribution of verbs without complement is the same in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses, deviates from the other periods, just as it does with respect to the distribution of copulas. But whereas the late ME distribution of copulas to a great extent can be explained on the basis of the particular features of one text, *Arthur,* no such explanation can be found with respect to the distribution of verbs without complement. This probably has to do with the fact that the category of 'verbs without complement' is a much wider one; thus, if it is the case that the distribution of verbs without complement differs in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses due to the factors outlined above, the reason why late ME deviates from the general trend probably lies hidden in the wide spaces of that category, and can only be discovered with a more fine-grained analysis. That, however, is a can of worms which I shall not open at this point, as it could probably constitute the topic of an entire dissertation in itself. Instead, we shall move on to the early ME period. Most of the features of this period that merit comment have already been discussed in the preceding paragraphs, but a few observations still remain to be made.

Table 4.17: Verb types in early Middle English.

		Early Middle English							
		with compl.		without compl.		copula		existential verb	
	w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj. cl.	SVX	140	41.7	70	20.8	115	34.2	30	8.9
	XVS	79	38.7	85	41.7	28	13.7	45	22.1
	XSV	81	55.9	33	22.8	19	13.1	9	6.2
	SXV	13	86.7	2	13.3	0	0	1	6.7
	SXVX	44	88.0	3	6.0	4	8.0	0	0
	SV1XV2	11	52.4	3	14.3	2	9.5	1	4.8
	verb-initial	12	54.5	3	13.6	5	22.7	1	4.5
	XXVS	15	75.0	4	20.0	0	0	2	10.0
	XXSV	4	26.7	6	40.0	1	6.7	1	6.7
conj. cl.	SVX	55	43.3	40	31.5	29	22.8	18	14.2
	XVS	16	38.1	17	40.5	9	21.4	5	11.9
	XSV	55	60.4	31	34.1	5	5.5	7	7.7
	SXV	8	80.0	2	20.0	0	0	1	10.0
	SXVX	35	89.7	3	7.7	3	7.7	1	2.6
	SV1XV2	2	33.3	1	16.7	0	0	0	0
	verb-initial	7	63.6	3	27.3	1	9.1	0	0
	XXVS	6	75.0	1	12.5	1	12.5	1	12.5
	XXSV	2	40.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	0	0

It has already been noted that the distribution of verbs with and without complement in the early ME XVS pattern follows the general trend, with a relatively high proportion of verbs without complement compared to the other word order patterns. To a certain extent this can be seen as a result of the high proportion of existential verbs in this pattern, it was claimed. We also saw above that the proportion of existential verbs is higher in XVS conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses in early and late OE, and this was explained as a consequence of certain features of some of the texts from these periods. The observant reader will notice that in early ME, on the other hand, the situation is the inverse, with a lower proportion of existential verbs in XVS conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses. Note, however, that the difference between conjunct clauses and non-conjunct clauses in this respect is not great enough to be statistically significant. What is significant is the difference between early ME and the other periods; ie, there are significantly fewer XVS conjunct clauses with an existential verb than in the other periods (including

late ME, which has not yet been discussed). If the distribution in the other periods is a consequence of some texts providing favorable conditions for XVS existential conjunct clauses, then it seems clear that the texts which here represent the early ME period do not offer such conditions. Moreover, though the proportion of existential verbs is quite low in the XVS conjunct clause pattern, the proportion of verbs without complement remains high, though not quite as high as in the two previous periods. Consequently, in the early ME period, the correlation between the proportion of verbs without complement and the proportion of existential verbs is weaker than in the other periods.

The differences in the distribution of copulas and of verbs without complement in non-conjunct clauses vs conjunct clauses have already been discussed, and we may therefore, finally, move on to the late ME period. In doing so, we may observe that the early ME period, which we are leaving, is more similar to the late OE period than to the late ME period, which we are entering.

The most striking feature of table 4.18 is the very high proportion of existential verbs in non-conjunct XVS clauses, which correlates with the high proportion of verbs without complement in the same pattern. This indicates that a restriction in the use of XVS word order has taken place, and that it is now to a greater extent than before used with existential sentences, a clause type for which it is particularly suitable for pragmatic reasons. In section 4.2.2.4, table 4.6, we saw that two of the late ME texts, namely *Mandeville* and *Mirrour*, show higher proportions of XVS clauses than the other texts, and the reason for this distribution was taken to be the fact that they are both descriptive texts with a potentially high frequency of existential clauses. Table 4.18 shows that it is indeed the case that most of the XVS clauses are existential sentences, and a closer examination of the texts reveals that most of them (63 out of 74, ie, 85.1%) occur in *Mandeville* and *Mirrour*. It could be argued that the inclusion of two typically descriptive texts like these skews the picture. However, if we leave out these two texts and consider only the other three texts, the proportion of existential verbs in the XVS pattern decreases from 60.2% to 33.3%, but it is still higher than in any of the other periods. Thus, we can safely conclude that one of the characteristics of late ME is that XVS clauses are existential sentences to a greater extent than in the other periods. In texts with few existential sentences the proportion of XVS clauses is correspondingly low.

Table 4.18: Verb types in late Middle English.

		Late Middle English							
		with compl.		without compl.		copula		existential verb	
	w. o. patterns	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj. cl.	SVX	109	43.8	60	24.1	74	29.7	34	13.7
	XVS	17	13.8	86	69.9	6	4.9	74	60.2
	XSV	68	45.6	51	34.2	17	11.4	18	12.1
	SXV	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	0	0
	SXVX	9	60.0	4	26.7	1	6.7	3	20.0
	SV1XV2	5	83.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	verb-initial	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	XXVS	0	0	8	88.9	1	11.1	7	77.8
	XXSV	16	51.6	11	35.5	3	9.7	4	12.9
conj. cl.	SVX	90	40.2	57	25.4	61	27.2	24	10.7
	XVS	23	35.9	25	39.1	4	6.3	20	31.3
	XSV	150	56.2	78	29.2	21	7.9	25	9.4
	SXV	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	0	0
	SXVX	7	53.8	3	23.1	2	15.4	0	0
	SV1XV2	3	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	verb-initial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	XXVS	2	13.3	8	53.3	0	0	4	26.7
	XXSV	9	45.0	3	15.0	3	15.0	0	0

As regards XVS conjunct clauses, we do not see the same 'extreme' distribution as in non-conjunct clauses; in particular, the proportion of verbs with complement is higher, indicating that the use of XVS word order is not restricted to existential clauses to the same extent. A closer examination of the individual texts reveals that, in contrast to non-conjunct clauses, many of the XVS conjunct clauses have the initial elements *þerfore, herfore,* or *thus,* as in (4.38):

(4.38) [& for the riȝtful & witti dom þat salamon dide bitwixen tweie comyn wymmen, alle þe lond of israel drede hym.] & þerfore techiþ poul þat princes ben not to drede of good werk but of euyl
(*Wyclif,* 231:33)

These are conjuncts, and as such 'have the function of conjoining independent units rather than one of contributing another facet of information to a single integrated

unit' (Quirk et al. 1985:631). It is therefore not surprising that they are often found at the beginning of conjunct clauses, where they provide information on the relationship between the conjunct clause and the previous clause: in (4.38), for example, *þerfore* has a 'resultive' meaning (cf Quirk et al. 1985:635). As regards the word order of clauses with initial *þerfore/herfore/thus*, it is not the case that these adverbs are obligatorily followed by the verb: in OE they (ie, the corresponding OE forms) are sometimes followed by the verb, and sometimes by the subject, often depending on whether the subject is nominal or pronominal. The same pattern is found in ME. In other words, although the language is changing into a verb-medial language, verb-second (XVS) order is still, for various reasons, possible in some contexts, but it is probably to a greater extent a direct reflection of OE usage, rather than a productive word order. On the basis of this, then, it is conceivable that the process by which XVS word order largely becomes restricted to existential clauses first happens in non-conjunct clauses, whereas conjunct clauses 'lag behind' a little in this respect. The reason is that the function of conjunct clauses among other things entails that adverbs such as the ones mentioned above occur naturally in the initial X position. These adverbs are not compatible with the presentative (existential) construction, but the clauses in which they occur sometimes have verb-second word order, on the pattern of OE.

Note that this is not to say that existential conjunct clauses with XVS word order are rare: the proportion of existential verbs is quite high. Consequently, contrary to early ME, but similar to the OE periods, there is a correlation between the high proportion of existential verbs and the high proportion of verbs without complement in conjunct clauses. Not surprisingly, most of the existential clauses are found in *Mandeville* and *Mirrour.*

The distribution of copulas and verbs without complement in SVX non-conjunct clauses vs conjunct clauses was dealt with above. We noticed that, unlike the other periods, the proportions of copulas and verbs without complement are the same in the two clause types in late ME, and some attempts at possible explanations were made.

This, then, concludes the examination of word order patterns and verb types in the four periods, but before we leave the verbs, I shall try to give a brief summary of the most important findings of this section, as the foregoing pages present a picture that is quite complex and not easily accessible.

To sum up: in most word order patterns, the proportion of verbs with complement is higher than the proportion of verbs without complement, but the XVS pattern is a notable exception. In this pattern (as well as in the XXVS pattern), verbs

without complement occur more frequently, and this can in most cases be seen in connection with the high proportion of existential verbs in these patterns. The reason why the proportion of existential verbs, and hence of existential sentences, is higher in the XVS pattern than in the other patterns is taken to be largely due to pragmatic factors. Since the subject in existential clauses is the entity that is presented as 'appearing or existing on the scene', as it were, it generally conveys new information and is often 'weighty'. Consequently, it is destined for clause-late position, and XVS word order is therefore especially suitable for this type of clause. In fact, it is so suitable that by the time we reach the late ME period, a majority of (non-conjunct) XVS clauses are existential sentences. In other words, because of the pragmatic features of existential sentences, XVS word order survives longer in this type of clause than in other clauses. The discovery that most of the late ME XVS clauses are existential sentences also implies that this word order is no longer productive, at least not to any great extent, and that it is governed by pragmatic, rather than syntactic, principles.

Another interesting finding was that the proportion of copular verbs is highest in the SVX pattern. From a pragmatic point of view this is as expected, since it is usually the quality ascribed to the subject that constitutes the most important information in copular sentences. Consequently, the subject complement, whether represented by an adjective or a noun phrase, is likely to occur in clause-late, or clause-final position.

In section 4.2.4, we saw that there are differences in the word order distribution of non-conjunct clauses vs conjunct clauses, and the presentation given above has shown that verb types too are distributed unequally in the two clause types. If it is the case that non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses have different functions, as I suggest, it seems plausible that this would be reflected both in the way the clause elements are ordered and in what types of elements may occur in the various clause positions in the two types of clause.

Finally, it must be said that although several interesting facts about verb distribution have emerged in this section, some problems had to be left unsolved and some questions unanswered, due to the rough categories operated with. If I had made the original analysis more fine-grained, I would probably have been able to provide more satisfactory answers to some of the questions posed here, but it would also have meant that this dissertation would have taken on a different character than was the intention. I, therefore, with a relatively clear conscience, leave the unanswered questions for future research, and move on to the next section, which deals with types of element in the 'X' position(s).

4.3.3 Types of X element

In this section, the focus is on what types of constituent are found in the 'X' position(s) in the different word order patterns, ie, the positions which are not filled by the subject or the verb. I have chosen to comment in detail on the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns, whereas the other word order patterns are discussed in more general terms. There are several reasons for this. First, there are some X positions which are more interesting than others. It is, for example, more interesting to study in some detail what elements occur in the X position(s) in the SXV pattern than in the SVX pattern, since the SXV pattern is neither verb-second nor verb-medial, and since this pattern has all but disappeared from the language. Second, some word order patterns are more obvious candidates for comparison than others. For example, a comparison between the XVS pattern and the XSV pattern is particularly relevant in light of the aims of this dissertation. We have already seen that the difference between these two word order patterns is manifested in more than just the position of the subject and the verb: in the above sections it was shown that they also differ in the distribution of types of subject and verb. On this basis, we would not expect the distribution of initial constituents to be identical either.

These are just a few examples of the rationale behind the selection of data presented and discussed in this section. The motivations underlying the decisions made and the points of view adopted will become clearer in the course of the discussion in the sections below.

4.3.3.1 The XVS and XSV patterns

As mentioned above, one of the interesting things about the distribution of X elements is what kind of initial element is found in XVS clauses compared to XSV clauses. We have seen that the distribution of subject and verb types is not identical in these two word order patterns, so we would expect the distribution of the initial element to show some differences as well. In the study of these two word order patterns, I have only taken into consideration the initial X element, although there are, in a great many cases, other elements occurring in the clause besides the initial X element, the subject, and the verb. However, these are judged to be of lesser interest in the context of this work, and are therefore left out of the discussion.

Tables 4.19–4.22 show the distribution of the following constituent types: nominal objects, pronominal objects, adverbials realized by adverbs, adverbial prepositional phrases, adverbial clauses and subject complements. Object clauses are extremely rare in this position: in my corpus an object clause occurs initially only twice, in two late ME XSV clauses.

As regards objects, I have only distinguished between nominal and pronominal objects, and not between accusative, genitive and dative objects (in OE), although it certainly is possible that such a distinction could have yielded interesting results. Furthermore, postmodified pronominal objects have been disregarded, for the same reason that I disregarded postmodified pronominal subjects; ie, it is essential to make a distinction between nominal elements and true pronominal elements.

Adverbial elements are divided into three categories: adverbs, adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses. The adverbs *þa* and *þonne* are included in the first category. As regards adverbial clauses, recall that in correlative constructions, the adverbial clause is regarded as left-dislocated, and is therefore not part of the clause structure (cf section 3.2.7, and the examples given there). In cases like this, the second correlative, rather than the adverbial clause, is regarded as the initial element of the clause.

Subject complements are in most cases realized by adjectives, noun phrases, or proper names, all of which have here been lumped together into one category.

The percentages have been calculated in the same way as in the sections on subjects and verbs, ie, from the total number of XVS and XSV clauses in each period. The total number of clauses is thus in some cases slightly higher than the total number of initial X elements, since some X elements have been disregarded for various reasons. Postmodified pronominal objects, as well as initial object clauses, have already been mentioned. In addition, the dative pronoun *him* has been analyzed as an adverbial rather than an object in a few clauses in *Orosius* (cf section 4.3.2, example (4.25)). Finally, objects realized as direct speech, as in (4.39), have not been included either, since they are rare in initial position, at least in my corpus:

(4.39) 'Wa' ha ȝeieð
'"Woe" they cry'
(*Sawles Warde,* 94:7)

We shall now consider how the constituent types are actually distributed in the XVS and XSV patterns. As suspected, there is a pronounced difference between the two word order patterns with respect to type of initial constituent. If we look at early OE first (table 4.19), and start by considering the distribution of objects, we see that the proportion of nominal objects is greater in the XSV pattern than in the XVS pattern, with a particularly high proportion in XSV conjunct clauses. Pronominal objects, on the other hand, are more evenly distributed in the two word order patterns.

Table 4.19: The distribution of X elements in the early Old English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Early Old English											
	w. o.	nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
	patt.	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	XVS	2	0.6	8	2.5	237	73.8	52	16.2	19	5.9	3	0.9
conj. cl.	XSV	9	8.9	5	5.0	53	52.5	25	24.8	7	6.9	2	2.0
conj.	XVS	1	2.1	4	8.5	18	38.3	12	25.5	8	17.0	0	0
cl.	XSV	18	30.5	3	5.1	18	30.5	14	23.7	4	6.8	1	1.7

According to Jacobsson, in his study of inversion in early Modern English (1951), there are four principal motivations for placing an object in initial position, namely 'connection', which is taken to be the most important motivation, 'emphasis', often combined with parallelism and chiasmus, 'euphony', which pertains to sentence balance, and 'actuality', ie, when the object 'expresses the idea which is uppermost in the speaker's mind' (1951:134f). Although we may not automatically assume that the factors influencing the positioning of clause constituents in early ModE apply to OE as well, it nevertheless seems likely that some of the motivations posited for early ModE could also help explain the occurrences in OE, since initial position for objects is relatively rare, and thus probably not primarily motivated by syntactic factors.

If connection is the main motivation for placing an object in initial position, it is perhaps not surprising that the proportion of initial objects is greater in conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses. However, we also need to consider possible reasons why nominal objects should be more common in the XSV pattern than in the XVS pattern. In the following paragraphs, a tentative explanation is suggested on the basis of the most general pragmatic principles, but the reader is referred to section 5.3.1 for a more thorough and contextualized discussion, especially of topicalization. For the time being, however, we may start by considering the example given in (4.40):

(4.40) Earmra hungur he oferswiðde mid mettum
Of-the-poor hunger he assuaged with food
'The hunger of the poor he assuaged with food'
(*Bede*, 94:19)

In this clause, the subject is pronominal, as it is indeed in all but four of the 78 XSV clauses with an initial nominal object in my corpus. I shall propose that (4.40) exemplifies the optimal pragmatic structure for clauses with an initial nominal object. It is probably no coincidence that there are very few occurrences of clauses with an

initial nominal object followed by VS word order and where the subject is pronominal. This makes sense from a pragmatic point of view, in that clause-late position usually does not favor light, pronominal, elements, particularly not pronominal subjects. We have already seen that to the extent that XVS clauses have a pronominal subject, the initial element is usually *þa* or *þonne,* and in section 4.3.1, some reasons for this distribution were discussed.

As regards nominal subjects, they do not occur very frequently in XSV clauses with an initial nominal object, which, from a general pragmatic point of view, is hardly surprising. If both the object and the following subject are nominal, we get a cluster of heavy elements initially, which unbalances the sentence by violating the principle of end-weight. Furthermore, if one of the motivations for placing an object initially is to give it emphasis or express contrast, the effect is lost if it is immediately followed by another potentially high IV element, the nominal subject. In clauses with an initial nominal object, followed by VS word order, and in which the subject is nominal, the sentence balance is better than in an XSV clause with two initial nominal elements, but the problem posed by the presence of another nominal element remains. Again, if the purpose of placing the object initially is to achieve emphasis or foregrounding, for example, it is not likely that there would be a subject crying for attention in the same sentence, which indeed it does if it is nominal and occurs in clause-late position. And if the object is placed first for the purpose of connection, the entire clause is probably then so closely connected with the previous clause that the subject is most likely to be given, and thus pronominal. All in all, then, if we go by general pragmatic principles, we would expect clauses with an initial nominal object to have a pronominal subject, and consequently also XSV word order, and this is in fact what we see in the data.

Clauses with an initial pronominal object allow for greater variation, since the light pronoun is in initial position, one of the natural positions for light, low IV elements. The initial pronominal object may be followed by another pronoun without unbalancing the clause, which makes XSV order possible, and it may also occur in a clause with a nominal or clausal subject, which means that XVS order may be used. Consequently, whereas the XSV pattern has a higher proportion of initial nominal objects than the XVS pattern, for the reasons outlined above, the proportion of pronominal objects is more even in the two patterns.

If we now move on to the adverbial elements, we see that a majority of the adverbials are realized by adverbs, both in the XVS and XSV patterns, and both in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses. There are, however, considerable differences between the two word order patterns and the two clause types with

respect to the distribution of adverbs. The greatest proportion is found in XVS non-conjunct clauses, and this is largely due to the high frequency of *þa* and *þonne,* which make up 78.9% (187 out of 237) of the occurrences. In XSV non-conjunct clauses, *þa* and *þonne* are rare, so the proportion of initial adverbs does not become as markedly high as in the XVS pattern, but it is still 52.5%; after all, the initial position is a typical adverb position. In XVS and XSV conjunct clauses, the proportion of initial adverbs is lower than in non-conjunct clauses. We have already seen that initial objects are more common in conjunct clauses, especially in the XSV pattern, which may, to some degree, account for the lower proportion of adverbs. In the XVS pattern, initial objects are also slightly more common in conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses, but in addition, the proportions of adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses are also higher, though not in a statistically significant way. In fact, as regards adverbial clauses, we cannot test the difference between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses by means of a chi-square test, since one of the expected values falls below five, making the test unreliable. I would nevertheless venture to suggest that the percentages indicate that the distribution of initial adverbials is more heterogeneous in XVS conjunct clauses than in XVS non-conjunct clauses in this period, or perhaps it is more accurate to turn it around and say that the distribution of initial adverbials in XVS non-conjunct clauses is particularly homogeneous, due to the preference for *þa/þonne* in this position.

As regards subject complements, there are no great distributional differences between the two word order patterns, between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses, or between the different periods. Besides, the number of tokens is consistently small, which makes it risky to draw any conclusions on the basis of what differences we do see. We can only conclude that initial position does not seem to be the preferred position for subject complements, which should not surprise us if we recall from the discussion in section 4.3.2 that copular verbs mostly occur in clauses with SVX word order.

As table 4.20 shows, the late OE period is, with a few minor exceptions, very similar to the early OE period with respect to the distribution of initial constituents. As in early OE, nominal objects are more common in the XSV pattern, whereas the likelihood for pronominal objects to occur is about the same in the two patterns. The XVS conjunct clause pattern apparently has a higher proportion of initial pronominal objects than the XSV pattern, but the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 4.20: The distribution of X elements in the late Old English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Late Old English											
	w. o.	nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
	patt.	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	XVS	4	1.5	20	7.6	204	77.6	27	10.3	1	0.4	7	2.7
conj. cl.	XSV	12	14.0	5	5.8	35	40.7	25	29.1	5	5.8	4	4.7
conj.	XVS	2	4.1	9	18.4	15	30.6	17	34.7	4	8.2	2	4.1
cl.	XSV	9	21.4	2	4.8	16	38.1	8	19.1	6	14.3	1	2.4

As regards adverbials as well, late OE shows approximately the same distribution as early OE, the most noticeable features being the high proportion of adverbs in the XVS non-conjunct clause pattern (*þa* and *þonne* are still alive and kicking), and the lower proportions in the XSV pattern and in conjunct clauses. The distribution of adverbial prepositional phrases is also similar to what we see in early OE, except that the difference between the XVS and XSV non-conjunct clause patterns is in fact statistically significant. However, with the exception of *þa/þonne* in the XVS non-conjunct clause pattern, it is difficult to say why some types of adverbial should be more common than others in certain patterns without studying the texts in more detail.

The distribution of initial constituents in early ME (table 4.21) is more reminiscent of late OE than late ME, and this fits in very well with the picture we have formed after having considered the distribution of subjects and verbs. Nominal objects are still more common in the XSV pattern, whereas pronominal objects occur in both word order patterns. This observation is also made by Haukenes (1998), who finds that 'inversion [in Middle English] is far less frequent when the fronted direct object is nominal than when it is pronominal' (1998:102).

Table 4.21: The distribution of X elements in the early Middle English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Early Middle English											
	w. o.	nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
	patt.	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	XVS	7	3.4	7	3.4	139	68.1	33	16.2	6	2.9	12	5.9
conj. cl.	XSV	14	9.7	11	7.6	73	50.3	21	14.5	20	13.8	5	3.5
conj.	XVS	0	0	5	11.9	27	64.3	6	14.3	3	7.1	1	2.4
cl.	XSV	11	12.1	3	3.3	60	65.9	7	7.7	8	8.8	1	1.1

Adverbial elements are still the most common elements initially, and in early ME, there is a significant increase in the proportion of initial adverbs in conjunct clauses compared to the two previous periods,[48] which means that the proportions of other constituents have decreased. Initial objects, which are particularly common in conjunct clauses in early and late OE, become less frequent, although this decrease cannot always be shown to be statistically significant. However, when we get to late ME, we will see that initial objects have become very rare initially, so we would expect the early ME period to show some trace of this development. Early ME conjunct clauses also have a lower proportion of adverbial prepositional phrases, though the decrease is usually not so pronounced as to be statistically significant. In the XVS pattern, however, the difference between early ME and late OE comes very close to being significant on the 0.05 level (chi-square value=3.72, p=0.0538), while the chi-square test cannot be applied to the XSV pattern. In the case of adverbial prepositional phrases, we cannot talk of a development in any particular direction, since the proportion of adverbial prepositional phrases increases again in late ME. So what we have here, then, is a significantly higher proportion of initial adverbs in conjunct clauses compared to the previous periods, while the correspondingly lower proportions of the other constituents are significant in some cases (still compared to the previous periods) but in most cases not. In other words, several smaller facts join forces to make one fact significant.

As we have repeatedly noted, the late ME period is distinctly different from the previous periods, and this is also the case with respect to the distribution of initial constituents, as shown in table 4.22. As mentioned above, initial objects now only seldom occur in initial position, which might indicate that the positioning of objects has to a greater extent become subject to the demands of verb-medial, or SVX, syntax.

Table 4.22: The distribution of X elements in the late Middle English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Late Middle English											
	w. o.	nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
	patt.	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	XVS	5	4.1	2	1.6	54	43.9	61	49.6	0	0	1	0.8
conj. cl.	XSV	1	0.7	0	0	108	72.5	22	14.8	17	11.4	0	0
conj.	XVS	1	1.6	2	3.1	36	56.3	24	37.5	0	0	1	1.6
cl.	XSV	4	1.5	6	2.3	151	56.6	49	18.4	55	20.6	1	0.4

[48]Except in early OE vs early ME XVS conjunct clauses. However, the chi-square value is 2.96 and p=0.0854, so we may here talk about a tendency.

Another interesting feature of late ME is the distribution of initial adverbs in non-conjunct clauses. In the three previous periods, there was a high proportion of adverbs in the XVS pattern, and a lower proportion in the XSV pattern, but in late ME, the situation is the inverse. Furthermore, the proportion of adverbial prepositional phrases in the XVS pattern has increased considerably compared to the previous periods. If we recall what the investigation of verb distribution showed us, namely that the XVS pattern in late ME is dominated by existential clauses, the distribution of initial constituents makes sense. For, in existential clauses, there is usually a locative adverbial, and this adverbial is very often realized by a prepositional phrase. Consequently, we would expect the X element to be an adverbial prepositional phrase to a greater extent in late ME than in the other periods, and the proportion of initial adverbs to be lower, since the adverbs *þa* and *þonne* no longer dominate the category of adverbs. As regards the XSV pattern, the higher proportion of initial adverbs can be seen in connection with the fact that objects only to a very limited extent occur initially in late ME, whereas initial objects, especially nominal objects, were particularly frequent in the XSV pattern in early and late OE, and to a slightly lesser extent in early ME. In other words, the initial position has become increasingly dominated by adverbial elements, both in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses. Finally, note that adverbial clauses do not occur at all in the XVS pattern, whereas the proportion is considerable in the XSV pattern, particularly in conjunct clauses. This is another indication of the restricted use of the XVS pattern in this period.

Let us now attempt a brief summary of the most important findings of this section. First, it was shown that nominal and pronominal objects are distributed differently, with nominal objects being more likely to occur in the XSV pattern, particularly in conjunct clauses, whereas the proportion of pronominal objects is more even in the two patterns. This was explained as a consequence of the XSV pattern being more suitable for an initial nominal object, due to the pragmatic structure of this word order pattern. Moreover, it was mentioned that the particularly high proportion of nominal objects in the XSV conjunct clause pattern might correlate with the connective function of conjunct clauses. In chapter 5, however, we shall investigate more closely the relationship between the function of word order and the function of conjunct clauses. Finally, it was shown that initial objects are very rare in late ME, possibly as a result of the establishment of SVX syntax, according to which objects would normally occur after the verb, except in very restricted circumstances.

Initial adverbials are most often realized by adverbs in all four periods. In OE and early ME, the proportion of adverbs is highest in the XVS non-conjunct clause pattern, due to the predominance of *þa* and *þonne*. In late ME, on the other hand, the XVS pattern has a lower proportion of adverbs and a higher proportion of adverbial prepositional phrases than in the previous periods, which may be seen in connection with the fact that by late ME, the XVS pattern is dominated by existential sentences.

4.3.3.2 The SXV pattern

The focus of this section is on the elements that occur between the subject and the verb in the SXV, or verb-final, pattern. I operate with the same categories as in the previous section; ie, I will show how nominal and (non-postmodified) pronominal objects, adverbs, adverbial prepositional phrases, adverbial clauses and subject complements are distributed. Almost all the X elements in the SXV pattern belong to one of these categories. Object clauses do not occur in this pattern at all in my corpus. Object complements are extremely rare, and have therefore not been found worthy of inclusion as a category.

Before we start, some explanatory words about how the tables are constructed are necessary. 'InitX' means 'initial X element', and the rows called 'InitX' consequently show which categories initial X elements fall into. Recall from section 3.3.4 that I also included in the SXV pattern clauses with XSXV word order, ie, clauses with one or more elements preceding the subject. However, in the tables below I have only taken into consideration clauses with just one initial X element, for the sake of simplicity, mostly. After all, it is the elements occurring between the subject and the verb that are most interesting in this context. To give an example of how to read the table, then, the first row called 'InitX' should be read as follows: 'In verb-final non-conjunct clauses with one initial X element, this element is an adverb in 58.8% of the cases'.

'1stX' means 'first X element' and refers to: 1) the only X element in clauses with just one X element (*þæt mæden* in (4.41)), or 2) the first X element in clauses with several X elements occurring between the subject and the verb (*lustlice* in (4.42)).

(4.41) and he þæt mæden acwealde
and he that maid killed
'and he killed the maid'
(*ÆLS*, 48:413)

(4.42) Ond he lustlice hine onfeng
And he willingly him welcomed
'And he willingly welcomed him'
(*Bede,* 126:18)

Thus, the reading of the uppermost '1stX' row in table 4.23 should be as follows: 'In verb-final non-conjunct clauses with one or more X elements occurring between the subject and the verb, the X element, if there is just one, or the first X element, if there are several, is an adverb in 42% of the cases examined'. Likewise, '2ndX' means 'second X element', and refers to the second X element in clauses with either just two X elements (*hine* in (4.42)) or clauses with two or more X elements. Finally '3rdX' means 'third X element', ie, the third X element in clauses with three or more elements occurring between the subject and the verb. There are some instances of clauses with four, or even five, X elements, but these are so few that I did not find it necessary to operate with '4thX' and '5thX' rows in the tables.

The aim of this section is to find out whether there is any correlation between constituent type and the order in which they occur in this pattern. Note that the tables do *not* show us the relationship between constituents in the same clause; ie, we cannot see from the tables whether the second X element tends to be an adverb when the first X element is a pronominal object, for example. It would have been possible to do this, but it would have made the tables extremely complicated, and I doubt that the information provided by such tables would be so valuable as to justify the effort. Consequently, I settled for the simpler version, which will only tell us what constituents occur in initial, first, second, and third position in general in the SXV clauses.

The percentages for the 'InitX' rows are calculated from the total number of SXV clauses with one initial constituent, for the '1stX' rows from the total number of clauses with one or more X elements between the subject and the verb, for the '2ndX' rows from the total number of clauses with two or more constituents, and for the '3rdX' rows the percentages have been calculated from the total number of clauses with three or more constituents occurring between the subject and the verb.[49]

[49]Since some elements have been disregarded, the total number from which the percentages have been calculated does not always correspond to the total number of tokens in the different rows. Thus, in the 1stX non-conjunct clause and conjunct clause rows, the total numbers from which the percentages have been calculated are 50 and 55, respectively. In the other rows, the total number can be found simply by adding the number of tokens. In table 4.24, the total number for the 1stX conjunct clause row is 67.

Table 4.23: The distribution of X elements in the early Old English SXV pattern.

		Early Old English											
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	InitX	2	11.8	2	11.8	10	58.8	2	11.8	1	5.9	0	0
conj.	1stX	2	4.0	14	28.0	21	42.0	11	22.0	0	0	1	2.0
cl.	2ndX	3	10.0	2	6.7	15	50.0	7	23.3	2	6.7	1	3.3
	3rdX	4	26.7	0	0	2	13.3	7	46.7	1	6.7	1	6.7
	InitX	1	8.3	6	50.0	2	16.7	2	16.7	1	8.3	0	0
conj.	1stX	6	10.9	6	10.9	25	45.5	16	29.1	0	0	1	1.8
cl.	2ndX	7	19.4	4	11.1	14	38.9	11	30.6	0	0	0	0
	3rdX	1	10.0	0	0	4	40.0	4	40.0	0	0	1	10.0

We may now go on to consider the data, and as usual, we start in the early OE period, the data for which is given in table 4.23. If we, again as usual, look at the objects first, we see that in the non-conjunct clause pattern, the greatest proportion of pronominal objects is found in the 1stX position, whereas the greatest proportion of nominal objects is found in the 3rdX position. In other words, nominal objects tend to occur further back in the clause than pronominal objects, which is in line with general pragmatic principles. The distribution in conjunct clauses is more even in this respect. In the conjunct clause pattern, there is, however, another feature that merits comment, namely the high proportion of initial pronominal objects. Non-conjunct clauses, on the other hand, have a high proportion of initial adverbs and a low proportion of initial objects. So, what we have here, then, is a situation where non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses are diametrically opposed with respect to the distribution of initial adverbs and pronominal objects. Unfortunately, the number of tokens is so small that it is not possible to test the difference between the two clause types by means of a chi-square test. Nevertheless, I do not think that this distribution is coincidental, but rather that it has to do with the different functions of the two clause types. An object is more likely to be placed in initial position in a conjunct clause than in a non-conjunct clause, since the conjunct clause is more closely linked to the preceding clause, and the pronominal object in most cases has direct anaphoric reference. The initial adverbs in non-conjunct clauses, on the other hand, reflect the more independent status of these clauses, and the fact that they to a greater extent than conjunct clauses introduce new events, which have to be placed in time and space.

As regards the distribution of adverbial prepositional phrases in early OE SXV clauses, table 4.23 shows that the 3rdX position has a relatively high proportion of adverbial prepositional phrases, whereas they occur to a lesser extent in the other positions. However, the limited number of tokens makes it difficult to draw conclusions with any degree of certainty. Adverbial clauses and subject complements occur in even smaller numbers, so the only conclusion we can really draw about them is that they are rare in this pattern.

The small number of tokens is generally a problem in this section, since it means that our conlusions must necessarily be very tentative. However, the tables at least show which elements occur in which X positions in the SXV pattern, and gives an indication of how often they occur. Moreover, as regards early OE, it emerges fairly clearly that nominal objects occur further back in this clause than pronominal objects, and that pronominal objects to a greater extent are allowed in initial position in conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses in this period.

The distribution of X elements in the late OE SXV pattern (table 4.24) resembles that of early OE. In the 1stX position, there is a great proportion of pronominal objects, whereas nominal objects are rare in this position, particularly in non-conjunct clauses. The marked difference between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses with respect to initial pronominal objects and initial adverbs that we saw in early OE is not so apparent in late OE, but it is worth noting that in the few cases where pronominal objects occur initially, they do so only in conjunct clauses.

The proportions of adverbs and adverbial prepositional phrases are relatively even in the various positions in the two clause types, except that there are no adverbs in the 3rdX position in the conjunct clause pattern. Adverbial clauses occur only initially in non-conjunct clauses, whereas there are three occurrences of an adverbial clause in the 3rdX position in the conjunct clause pattern. In other words, to the extent that adverbial clauses occur, they either occur initially or in clause-late position, which is as expected.

Table 4.24: The distribution of X elements in the late Old English SXV pattern.

		Late Old English											
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	InitX	0	0	0	0	7	43.8	2	12.5	7	43.8	0	0
conj.	1stX	1	2.4	20	47.6	12	28.6	9	21.4	0	0	0	0
cl.	2ndX	3	14.3	5	23.8	7	33.3	6	28.6	0	0	0	0
	3rdX	1	12.5	0	0	4	50.0	2	25.0	0	0	1	12.5
	InitX	0	0	3	21.4	5	35.7	5	35.7	1	7.1	0	0
conj.	1stX	9	13.4	18	26.9	24	35.8	15	22.4	0	0	0	0
cl.	2ndX	6	20.0	2	6.7	14	46.7	8	26.7	0	0	0	0
	3rdX	1	20.0	0	0	0	0	1	20.0	3	60.0	0	0

So far, we have considered the distribution of X elements in the SXV pattern in early and late OE, and though the tables provide information about some interesting features, the number of tokens is generally too small to provide us with a solid foundation on which to base our conclusions. However, as we proceed to Middle English, one fact emerges with great clarity, and that is the remarkable difference between Old and Middle English with respect to the SXV pattern. We already know from the early sections of this chapter that SXV clauses only occur to a very limited extent in early ME, and hardly at all in late ME. In addition, table 4.25 shows that the SXV clauses that do occur have only one X element occurring between the subject and the verb.[50] In early ME this element is in most cases a pronominal object, as exemplified by (4.43), whereas the late ME occurrences have a short adverb in this position, cf (4.44)–(4.46):

(4.43) þe gryhond hym uolȝeþ
the greyhound him follows
'the greyhound follows him'
(*Ayenbite*, 75:28)

(4.44) and foulys kyndely spekyn (*Mandeville*, 101:26)

(4.45) and fyve alwayes watched (*Arthur*, 15:29)

(4.46) Unto that they all well accordyd (*Arthur*, 10:1)

[50]Except for two SXV clauses in the early ME text *Vices and Virtues*. The second X elements in these clauses are a nominal object and an adverb.

In other words, by late ME, pronominal objects are completely disallowed in preverbal position, which is another indication that SVX syntax had become established. Note that the adverbs in (4.44) and (4.45) may also occur in that position in Modern English, where, within the Government & Binding theory, they are explained as left-adjoined to VP.

Table 4.25: The distribution of X elements in the early and late Middle English SXV pattern.

		Early Middle English								Late ME	
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		adverb		advbl. PP		adverb	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj.	InitX	2	50.0	0	0	1	25.0	1	25.0	0	0
clauses	1stX	0	0	13	86.7	2	13.3	0	0	1	100.0
conjunct	InitX	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
clauses	1stX	1	10.0	5	50.0	3	30.0	1	10.0	2	100.0

This section has dealt with the SXV pattern and the distribution of X elements in this pattern. There is another pattern which has one or more elements occurring between the subject and the verb, but which has postverbal elements as well, namely the SXVX pattern, and it is this pattern we now turn to.

4.3.3.3 The SXVX pattern

The tables in this section are constructed in the same way as the tables in section 4.3.3.2. The only difference is the row called 'PvX', which means 'postverbal X element'. In clauses where there are several postverbal X elements, I have only included the first, ie, the element occurring immediately after the verb. Furthermore, as was the case with the SXV pattern, the SXVX pattern also includes clauses with one or more initial elements, ie, clauses with XSXVX word order (cf section 3.3.5), but here, as in the previous section, 'InitX' refers to the X element in clauses with only one initial element. By doing it this way, I hope to elicit the information that is most important, while keeping the tables relatively simple. The percentages are calculated in the same way as in tables 4.23–4.25.

The SXVX pattern is somewhat more complex than the SXV pattern, and there are cases where the pre- and postverbal X elements are not easily analyzable, or have to be disregarded for other reasons. First, postmodified pronominal objects have, as usual, been disregarded. Second, there are a few clauses in which the postverbal

element consists of a direct speech sequence, as in (4.47) (cf section 3.2.4 for a discussion of direct speech):

(4.47) Þæt mæden hyre andswerode: 'Leofe fostermodor, nu todæg forwurdon twegen æðele naman on þisum bure'
The maiden her answered: 'Dear foster-mother, now today perished two noble names in this room'
'The maiden answered her: 'Dear foster-mother, today two noble names perished in this room''
(*ApT,* 2:23)

I have not included direct speech as a category in the tables, since constructions like these do not occur very often: only in 2.8% (9 out of 321) of the SXVX clauses does the postverbal X element consist of a direct speech sequence. Third, some clauses may contain a split X element, as in (4.48) and (4.49):

(4.48) 7 heo ymb an ger ham hwurfon ðæs þe heo ær of Breotone ferdon
And they about one year home returned after they formerly from Britain went
'And they returned home a year after their departure from Britain'
(*Bede,* 116:8)

(4.49) Him ða Romane æfter þæm ladteowas gesetton þe hie consulas heton
To-them then Romans after that leaders appointed whom they consuls called
'After that the Romans appointed leaders for themselves, whom they called consuls'
(*Or*, 40:12)

In (4.48), the split element is *ymb an ger ðæs þe heo ær of Breotone ferdon*, with *ymb an ger* preceding the main verb, and *ðæs þe heo ær of Breotone ferdon* following it. In (4.49), the relative clause *þe hie consulas heton* is extraposed, while the antecedent *ladteowas* precedes the verb. Mitchell (1985 I:616 and 1985 II:182) suggests that extraposition was often due to a dislike of, and in the early stages even an inability to handle, heavy groups. I am not sure that it is so much a dislike of heavy groups as a stylistic device used in certain contexts, since examples of unsplit heavy groups are not hard to find:

(4.50) Ælc ðing ðe on þisse worulde gedon bið hæfð edlean
Each thing that in this world done is has reward
'Everything that is done in this world has a reward'
(*Bo,* 112:18)

(4.51) 7 hi þa hrædlice æfter þæm ofslogan ealle þa wæpnedmen þe him on neaweste wæron
and they then soon after that killed all the men who them in neighborhood were
'and soon thereafter they killed all the men who were in their neighborhood'
(*Or*, 29:22)

In (4.50), *ælc ðing ðe on þisse worulde gedon bið* must be said to be a heavy group, and it would certainly have been possible to extrapose the relative clause: *Ælc ðing hæfð edlean ðe on þisse worulde gedon bið.* Likewise, in (4.51), *ealle þa wæpnedmen þe him on neaweste wæron* is an unsplit element. Thus, if dislike of heavy groups is a factor, it does not always cause the groups to be split. In any case, the constructions in which one part of the element is placed between the subject and the verb and one part postverbally are not very common: in my corpus, this applies to only 4.4% (14 out of 321) of the SXVX clauses in the Old and Middle English periods. Such split elements have been excluded.

Table 4.26 shows the distribution of X elements in the early OE period. As we see, the distribution of preverbal X elements is very similar to the distribution in SXV clauses. The proportion of pronominal objects in the 1stX position is quite high, whereas nominal objects tend to occur later in the clause, particularly in postverbal position, where pronominal objects hardly ever occur. Object clauses occur only in postverbal position, and this is the case in all four periods.

As regards adverbial elements, we might note that they are common in almost all positions. However, adverbs are less common in postverbal position than in the other positions, especially the 1stX position, possibly because the category of adverbs includes the short adverbs *þa* and *þonne,* which normally occur early in the clause.

Subject complements are rare in this pattern, but to the extent that they occur, they are virtually limited to postverbal position in all four periods.

In general, then, there are clear differences with respect to which elements occur pre- and postverbally in this pattern. Pronominal objects and adverbs usually occur preverbally, whereas the (first) postverbal position to a great extent is filled by nominal objects, object clauses, and adverbial prepositional phrases, as well as by subject complements, whenever they occur. In other words, the distribution is more or less as expected from a pragmatic point of view, with the shortest and lightest elements in clause-early position, and the heavier elements in clause-late position.

Table 4.26: The distribution of X elements in the early Old English SXVX pattern.[51]

		Early Old English													
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		obj. clause		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj.comp.	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj cl.	InitX	2	11.1	0	0	0	0	8	44.4	5	27.8	3	16.7	0	0
	1stX	2	3.7	14	25.9	0	0	27	50.0	8	14.8	2	3.7	0	0
	2ndX	1	7.7	3	23.1	0	0	5	38.5	4	30.8	0	0	0	0
	3rdX	1	25.0	0	0	0	0	2	50.0	0	0	1	25.0	0	0
	PvX	16	29.6	1	1.9	6	11.1	8	14.8	14	25.9	3	5.6	4	7.4
conj cl.	InitX	0	0	1	14.3	0	0	4	57.1	0	0	2	28.6	0	0
	1stX	5	13.2	11	29.0	0	0	13	34.2	6	15.8	0	0	0	0
	2ndX	1	8.3	0	0	0	0	4	33.3	4	33.3	1	8.3	2	16.7
	3rdX	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0	0	0
	PvX	6	15.8	0	0	3	7.9	3	7.9	9	23.7	6	15.8	4	10.5

Table 4.27: The distribution of X elements in the late Old English SXVX pattern.[52]

		Late Old English													
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		obj. clause		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj.comp.	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-conj cl.	InitX	2	10.0	0	0	0	0	11	55.0	3	15.0	4	20.0	0	0
	1stX	2	3.3	25	41.0	0	0	27	44.3	5	8.2	1	1.6	0	0
	2ndX	1	14.3	1	14.3	0	0	4	57.1	1	14.3	0	0	0	0
	3rdX	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PvX	14	23.0	0	0	9	14.8	8	13.1	14	23.0	9	14.8	1	1.6
conj cl.	InitX	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	37.5	5	62.5	0	0
	1stX	5	9.8	13	25.5	0	0	22	43.1	9	17.7	1	2.0	0	0
	2ndX	2	20.0	1	10.0	0	0	7	70.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3rdX	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PvX	6	11.8	3	5.9	2	3.9	6	11.8	22	43.1	4	7.8	2	3.9

As has become apparent in the course of the discussion in the previous sections, the late OE period is similar to the early OE period; ie, the great changes that English

[51]The total number for the 1stX and PvX non-conjunct clause rows is 54, and for the corresponding conjunct clause rows, it is 38.

[52]In the rows for 1stX and PvX non-conjunct clause elements, the total number is 61, and in the conjunct clause 1stX and PvX rows, the total number is 51.

witnessed did not primarily take place in the OE period. Therefore, we would expect table 4.27, which shows the distribution of X elements in the late OE period, to be similar to table 4.26, and this it is indeed.

As in early OE, the proportion of pronominal objects is high in the 1stX position, whereas the later positions are more likely to be filled by a nominal object. We also see approximately the same distribution with respect to the adverbial elements as we did in early OE, and we may again note that adverbs are less common in postverbal position than in the other positions.

Table 4.28: The distribution of X elements in the early Middle English SXVX pattern.[53]

		Early Middle English													
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		obj. clause		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj. comp.	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	InitX	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	70.6	3	17.7	2	11.8	0	0
conj	1stX	0	0	41	82.0	0	0	4	8.0	3	6.0	1	2.0	0	0
cl.	PvX	8	16.0	1	2.0	6	12.0	8	16.0	13	26.0	7	14.0	4	8.0
	InitX	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	66.7	1	11.1	2	22.2	0	0
conj	1stX	0	0	31	79.5	0	0	4	10.3	3	7.7	1	2.6	0	0
cl.	PvX	10	25.6	2	5.1	4	10.3	5	12.8	10	25.6	2	5.1	3	7.7

In early ME (cf table 4.28), the SXVX pattern is beginning to change. First, a large majority of the clauses only have one element occurring between the subject and the verb. In my corpus there are only three early ME SXVX clauses with more than one preverbal X element. Furthermore, the element occurring between the subject and the verb is usually a pronominal object, just as in the early ME SXV clauses (cf table 4.25). The initial element in XSXV clauses is always an adverbial element, whereas objects could occur initially in the OE periods.

Table 4.29 shows the distribution of X elements in the late ME SXVX pattern. With two exceptions, the late ME SXVX clauses only have one X element between the subject and the verb, like the early ME SXVX clauses. However, unlike early ME, this element is always an adverbial; objects now only occur in postverbal position.

[53]The total number for the 1stX and PvX non-conjunct clause rows is 50, and for the PvX conjunct clause row, it is 39.

Table 4.29: The distribution of X elements in the late Middle English SXVX pattern.[54]

		Late Middle English													
		nom. obj.		pron. obj.		obj. clause		adverb		advbl. PP		advbl. cl.		subj.comp.	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	InitX	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
conj	1stX	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	53.3	6	40.0	1	6.7	0	0
cl.	PvX	6	40.0	0	0	3	20.0	0	0	2	13.3	0	0	1	6.7
	InitX	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
conj	1stX	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	53.9	4	30.8	2	15.4	0	0
cl.	PvX	3	23.1	4	30.8	0	0	2	15.4	1	7.7	0	0	2	15.4

The development in the SXVX pattern thus resembles the development in the SXV pattern (cf table 4.25). However, whereas the SXV pattern had all but disappeared by the late ME period, the SXVX pattern prevailed a little longer. One possible reason for this is the fact that if the preverbal element in an SXV clause had to be an adverbial, the verb would have to be a verb without complement. Consequently, there were not as many uses for this word order pattern as for the SXVX pattern, in which objects could be placed postverbally, and in which the verb therefore could either be a verb with or a verb without complement.

Note that we find clauses with SXVX word order in ModE as well, for example in a clause like: *John consistently sings off key.* The preverbal X element in a late ME SXVX clause is sometimes an element which would be allowed in that position in ModE as well, but not always. In (4.52), for example, the adverbial *by the advys of Merlyn* could occur in that position in ModE (although between commas), whereas *aȝeyns dyvers synnes*, in (4.53), would in all probability not occur in that position in the corresponding ModE clause, but rather be placed before the subject.

(4.52) So the Archebisshop by the advys of Merlyn send for alle the lordes and gentilmen of armes that they shold come by Crystmasse even unto London
(*Arthur*, 12:21)

(4.53) like-wize God almyghtye aȝeyns dyvers synnes ordeyns dyvers remedies þat was contrarius vn-to hem
(*ME Sermons*, 83:20)

[54]The total numbers for the non-conjunct and conjunct clause PvX rows are 15 and 13, respectively.

In other words, although verb-medial syntax had become relatively fixed by the late ME period, as indicated in the SXVX pattern by the fact that objects could no longer occur between the subject and the verb, word order still had to undergo further developments before it reached the stage we know as Modern English.

4.3.3.4 The SVX, SV1XV2, verb-initial, XXVS and XXSV patterns: general comments

In this section, the word order patterns that have not been dealt with so far with respect to the distribution of X elements are discussed, ie, the SVX, SV1XV2, verb-initial, XXVS and XXSV patterns. I have not found it necessary to deal with these patterns in the same detail as the other patterns, mostly because the low number of tokens does not justify setting up complicated tables from which it is hard to get statistically significant results. Instead, I shall discuss the general tendencies and most important aspects of the distribution. The SVX pattern is, it is true, a major pattern, but as the topic of discussion is the position of X elements, and all the X elements in this pattern occur postverbally, it was deemed to be of less interest to give a detailed account of their distribution.

There are, however, some aspects of the distribution of X elements in the SVX pattern that are worth mentioning, and this would perhaps be a good place to start. In sections 4.3.3.2 and 4.3.3.3 it was shown that in OE, pronominal objects have a strong tendency to occur preverbally, in a position between the subject and the verb. In early ME, pronominal objects can still occur preverbally, but this is disallowed in late ME. On the basis of this, we would expect to find fewer pronominal objects in the SVX pattern in OE and early ME than in late ME, and this hypothesis is borne out by the data. Pronominal objects are infrequent in postverbal position in OE, slightly more frequent in early ME, and most frequent in late ME. As regards other types of elements in postverbal position in this pattern, we find adverbials and object clauses, as well as nominal objects. Also, the SVX pattern is the pattern in which subject complements are most common.

The SV1XV2 pattern usually has one, but in a few cases several, X elements occurring between the finite and the non-finite verb, and often one or more elements occurring after the non-finite verb, ie, SV1XV2X word order. The element that occurs between the verbs is usually an adverbial, both in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses. Of these, single adverbs are most common, but adverbial prepositional phrases occur quite frequently as well. In addition, nominal and pronominal objects are found in this position, except in late ME, where this pattern is rare, and objects in 'interverbal' position even rarer. There are also some instances of subject

complements in this position, mostly in clauses like (4.54), which are all non-conjunct clauses in my corpus:

(4.54) þæs fæder wæs Octa haten
of-this father was Octa called
'the father of this [ie, Eormanric] was called Octa'
(*Bede*, 110:17)

The distribution of constituents in the position following the non-finite verb is slightly different from the distribution in the 'interverbal' position. Adverbials are common, in particular adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses. Nominal objects occur frequently as well, and there are also a few instances of object clauses. Pronominal objects, on the other hand, are rare. Thus, like the other patterns, the SV1XV2 pattern indicates that the distribution of elements is neither random, nor can it be ascribed merely to syntactic factors.

Note, by the way, that we find clauses with SV1XV2 order in ModE as well, but this pattern is subject to far greater restrictions than in the earlier periods of English. The 'interverbal' element is usually an adverb: *She has always been a good friend; He has probably left*, but prepositional phrases, and even clauses, may also occur in this position, though then between commas: *She will, in good time, finish her dissertation; She has, as far as I know, not given up yet.*

In the verb-initial pattern, all the X elements occur postverbally, needless to say.[55] In my description of the verb-initial pattern (cf section 3.3.7), I did not distinguish between clauses in which the subject follows the verb immediately (VSX order), and clauses in which there are other elements between the verb and the subject (VXS(X) order). As it is, in a great majority of verb-initial clauses, the subject, which is usually pronominal, occurs immediately after the verb. Pronominal objects are relatively rare in this type of verb-initial clause. In the verb-initial clauses in which the subject is preceded by one or more X elements, these elements are usually either adverbs or pronominal objects, and the subject is most often nominal. Thus, even in this pattern, the tendency to place light constituents, eg pronominal objects, early in the clause, and heavier constituents late in the clause may be discerned.

Now the only patterns that remain to be discussed are the XXVS and XXSV patterns. In the XXVS pattern, the first X element is usually an adverb, whereas the second is usually an adverbial prepositional phrase. But we also find the reverse distribution, with a prepositional phrase first, and an adverb in the second X

[55]Recall that I regard clauses in which the negative particle *ne* precedes or merges with the verb as verb-initial as well (cf section 3.2.2).

position. However, adverbials are not the only elements that may occur initially: a pronominal object quite often occurs as the second X element, especially in late OE and early ME, whereas there are no instances of this in late ME. The XXSV pattern is similar to the XXVS pattern in that the first X element is often an adverb and the second an adverbial prepositional phrase. But it differs from the XXVS pattern in that pronominal objects rarely occur in either of the two initial X positions. In other words, structures like (4.55) are not uncommon:

(4.55) Forði us warneð Iesus Crist
Therefore us warns Jesus Christ
'Therefore Jesus Christ warns us'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 61:27)

Structures like *Forði us Iesus Crist/he warneð*, on the other hand, with the object preceding a subject in preverbal position, are rare. It is, however, not uncommon to find structures with the object following the subject, cf (4.56):

(4.56) for þære wilnunga hie hit forlæton
through that desire they it abandoned
'through that desire they abstained from it'
(*CP*, 5:23)

In other words, if the subject and the object occur next to each other, the object will usually be closest to the verb, though there may be other elements intervening between the object and the verb, as in (4.57):

(4.57) and hyra hyred-cnihtas . hi eadmodlice cyston
and her servants her humbly kissed
'and her servants humbly kissed her'
(*ÆLS*, 40:249)

Another difference between the XXVS and the XXSV pattern is that in the ME period, adverbial clauses are quite common initially in the XXSV pattern, whereas this is not the case in the XXVS pattern. We have already seen that XVS word order became increasingly restricted to existential clauses in the ME period, and this happened to XXVS word order as well. Thus, we would not expect to see initial adverbial clauses in this pattern in ME to any great extent, but rather adverbs and adverbial prepositional phrases, and this is confirmed by the data. In these clauses both the initial adverbials are usually locative, with the second further specifying the first:

(4.58) And besydyn this ferly se, toward the desert, is a gret pleyne
grauelly among the mounteynys
(*Mandeville,* 101:15)

This concludes our investigation of the distribution of X elements in the SVX, SV1XV2, verb-initial, XXVS and XXSV patterns, and it now only remains to give a summary of the chapter as a whole, and point out the most important results that have been obtained.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with two topics: 1) the distribution of word order patterns in the Old and Middle English periods, and 2) the distribution of various constituent types within the word order patterns.

As regards the distribution of word order patterns, it was shown that while verb-second word order is a characteristic feature of OE, it is not completely dominant; in fact, OE word order is quite heterogeneous. The results of this study are thus in line with the results of a number of previous studies, which claim that OE is not a V2 language, but that it has V2 tendencies. In the course of the centuries, the proportion of typical verb-second clauses, such as XVS clauses, decreases gradually, but even in late ME, quite a few clauses with XVS order can be found. All in all, however, the late ME period is clearly the most homogeneous of the four periods, with 86.1% of the clauses having either SVX, XSV or XVS word order. SVX and XSV clauses are typical of verb-medial syntax, so a preliminary conclusion would be that verb-medial syntax to a great extent had become established by this period, and consequently that restrictions had been imposed upon the use of V2 order.

In connection with the discussion of word order patterns, I also discussed the hypothesis by which non-topicalized pronouns and certain short adverbs are analyzed as syntactic clitics. It was argued that this hypothesis is problematic in several respects: first because there seems to be no consensus on how clitics should be defined, and second because none of the definitions proposed can adequately be used to describe the OE data. Nevertheless, an analysis of word order distribution under the clitic hypothesis was given, and it was shown that although the differences between a clitic and a non-clitic approach have consequences for the picture we get of word order distribution and development, the general trends are the same under the two analyses, with the proportion of verb-second clauses declining in favor of verb-medial clauses. The concept of clitics is useful in the way that it takes care of a number of counterexamples to the V2 hypothesis in the OE period, particularly XSV

clauses with a pronominal subject. At the same time, however, it obscures the picture of word order development by requiring that XSV clauses be analyzed as verb-second clauses well into the ME period, when we would expect to see a development towards verb-medial syntax. Besides, it cannot be denied that whichever way we look at it, OE differs from other V2 languages in allowing this kind of word order, so rather than trying too hard to force OE into verb-second clothes which do not fit, we should perhaps try to find other ways of explaining this distribution.

Another aspect that had to be taken into account was the possible difference in word order between conjunct clauses and non-conjunct clauses. It has been claimed that conjunct clauses are usually verb-final, but in this chapter it was shown that this claim does not hold, and some possible reasons why the claim should have arisen in the first place were suggested. However, although the claim that conjunct clauses are verb-final was demonstrated to be incorrect, it became clear in the course of the investigation that conjunct clauses and non-conjunct clauses in many ways differ with respect to word order. It was suggested that the reason for this is partly functional, ie, having to do with the different functions of conjunct and non-conjunct clauses. This suggestion will be further elaborated on in chapter 5.

In the second part of this chapter, the focus was on constituent types in relation to clause position; ie, I looked at what types of subject, verb and X element occur in the various word order patterns in the four periods.

Subjects were divided into the following categories: nominal, pronominal and clausal. Not surprisingly, it was established that a majority of the subjects in the XSV pattern are pronominal, whereas the subjects in the XVS pattern are usually nominal or clausal, and some reasons for this distribution were suggested. As regards verb types, I operated with four categories: verbs with complement, verbs without complement, copulas and existential verbs. Among other things, it emerged that the proportion of verbs with complement is higher than the proportion of verbs without complement in most word order patterns, except in the XVS and XXVS patterns. The higher proportion of verbs without complement in these patterns may be attributed to the fact that many of them are existential verbs, and it was proposed that pragmatic factors make XVS word order particularly suitable for existential sentences. Furthermore, whereas the proportion of existential verbs is high in the XVS pattern in all four periods, late ME stands out in this respect, since not only a relatively large proportion, but in fact a majority of the XVS clauses belong to the category of existential sentences in this period. Thus, the preliminary conclusion reached in the first part of this chapter, namely that V2 order in late ME must have had restrictions imposed upon it, was confirmed: apparently, XVS order was no

longer a productive syntactic order, but was to a large extent limited to existential sentences, where it was required for pragmatic reasons.

In the sections on the distribution of X elements, the focus was on the way pronominal, nominal and clausal objects, subject complements, and various types of adverbial are distributed in the word order patterns. It was demonstrated that there is a general tendency for pronominal elements to occur early in the clause and for nominal and clausal objects to occur in clause-late position. Subject complements usually occur in clause-late or clause-final position. It also became apparent that the different types of adverbial, ie, adverbs, adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses, are not distributed randomly, but pattern in a way that cannot merely be ascribed to syntactic factors.

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of dealing with Old and Middle English word order. OE is not a clear-cut case of a verb-second language, neither is ME a full-fledged verb-medial language, but what is clear is that the language changed in the course of this period, and that the changes must have accelerated in the ME period, to the extent that late ME emerges as a radically different language than early OE. Furthermore, the sections on constituent types indicate that pragmatic and semantic factors have to be taken into account as well in a study of word order distribution and development in these periods. So far, I have dealt with possible pragmatic, and to a limited extent also semantic, factors in a rather superficial manner, by looking at light vs heavy elements, and by taking semantic content into consideration in order to explain certain occurrences. In the next chapter, however, I shall delve further into the realm of pragmatics in particular, though semantics must necessarily also play an important role, and try to find further evidence for my claim that pragmatic factors, especially in OE, were so strong that they could override syntax.

Praeparetur animus contra omnia (Seneca)

CHAPTER 5

Word order and information structure

5.1 Introduction

In the study of historical texts, scholars have mainly concentrated on syntax, semantics and phonology. Although reference is sometimes made to pragmatics, very few studies actually investigate historical texts on the basis of pragmatic principles, probably because it involves a lot of work, and because it is difficult to develop a method for pragmatic analysis that fulfills the criteria for accuracy and objectivity. At the same time, however, explanations of OE word order that base themselves solely on structural factors will have difficulties in accounting for all the facts, and consequently, calls have been made for more work on how pragmatic factors affect word order (cf Kohonen 1978, Bernárdez & Tejada 1995, Allen 1995 and 1998).

The focus of this chapter is on the question of whether there is a connection between word order and information structure in earlier stages of English. We have seen that word order, particularly in the OE period, is quite heterogeneous, which implies that word order typology, positing a V2 constraint for OE, is not a sufficient model of explanation, and that it might be a good idea to look to other areas of linguistics for additional explanations. In chapter 1, the hypothesis that syntax could be overridden by pragmatic factors was presented. If it can be shown that there is some correlation between discourse factors and word order in OE, there is also some likelihood that these factors would sometimes override the requirements of V2 syntax. It is also interesting to find out what the status of pragmatics is in relation to ME word order, and whether OE and ME differ in this respect. If verb-medial syntax had become largely established by the (late) ME period, we would perhaps expect the clauses which deviate from verb-medial syntax to do so for particular, possibly pragmatic, reasons.

I have used the term 'pragmatic factors' numerous times in this dissertation already, as a cover term to refer to the fact that some clause elements are more important than others from a communicative point of view. The claim is that this in turn has consequences for the way the utterance, or clause, is structured. But what does 'important' mean in this context? Basically, it means that in an utterance, not all

elements need to, or indeed may, be foregrounded to the same extent. In order for information to be coherent and dynamic, some things need to build on others; ie, some parts of the information must form the basis to which other parts are added. In Chafe's (1994) terms, the speaker structures information according to which elements she assumes are active, semi-active or inactive in the consciousness of the addressee. The idea of different levels of consciousness is, by the way, not a new one; just consider this quote from *Ælfric*:

> And swa styrigende is seo sawul þæt heo furðon on slæpe ne gestylþ, ac ðonne he smeað be rome byrig ne mæg heo þa hwile smeagen be hierusalem, oððe þonne heo smeað be anum þing ne mæg heo þa hwyle be oðrum þinge smeagen, ac biþ gebysgod mid þam anum ðinge oðþæt þæt geþoht gewyte and oðer cume
> 'So active is the soul, that even in sleep it rests not; but when it thinks of the city of Rome it cannot at the same time think of Jerusalem, neither when it is thinking about one thing can it at the same time think of another, but is busied with that one thing until that thought depart and another come'
> (*ÆLS*, 18:131)

However, it is not only the speaker/writer that plays a role in communciation; the hearer/reader has a task to perform, too. While most pragmatic theories focus on the role of the speaker, relevance theory, as developed by Sperber & Wilson (1995), assigns an active role to the hearer as well, where the hearer tries to interpret the utterance on the basis of what he thinks the speaker's communicative intentions are, and on the basis of a general presumption that the utterance is relevant to him (cf Andersen 1999:32), to put it briefly.

Since pragmatics is a relatively young field, and covers a broad spectrum of subject areas and approaches, some of which are better developed than others, there is great variation in the way terms and concepts are defined and understood. Consequently, any study that refers to pragmatics needs to contain a discussion in which the methodological basis of the study is developed and explicated. I shall limit the discussion to two well-known, comprehensive approaches, namely the theories of Firbas (1992) and Chafe (1994), since the method I will be using builds on their ideas and methods.

The chapter is organized as follows: section 5.2 discusses some theoretical issues and outlines the method which will be used for the pragmatic analysis of the data, whereas section 5.3 offers the actual pragmatic analysis, with a focus on the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns. In section 5.4, we return to conjunct clauses. On the basis of the observations made in section 4.2.4, as well as in section 5.3, I will

propose some possible explanations for the difference between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses with respect to word order patterning.

5.2 Methodological considerations

In the discussion of Firbas' and Chafe's works, I will mainly concentrate on those aspects of their theories that are directly relevant for my work, as the study of all aspects of their extensive works would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. I will have a closer look at the various claims they make, and then suggest a method for the pragmatic analysis of my corpus.

5.2.1 Firbas

As mentioned in section 2.3.1, Firbas (1992) is a representative of the Prague School of Linguistics, which is known for the theory of 'functional sentence perspective' (FSP). A central notion in this theory is the notion of 'communicative dynamism' (CD), by which is understood 'the relative extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication' (1992:8). In other words, an element carrying a high degree of CD contributes more towards the development of the communication than an element carrying a low degree of CD. In order to assess the degree of CD of an element, three factors have to be taken into consideration: 1) the contextual factor, 2) the semantic factor, and 3) linear modification (1992:10). In spoken language, prosody comes in as a fourth factor. Firbas, however, takes the written language, and more specifically, the clause, as his point of departure.

The contextual factor has to do with whether an element is retrievable or irretrievable from the immediately relevant verbal and situational context (1992:21). It is not entirely clear what Firbas means by the 'immediately relevant' context, but he cites Svoboda (1981:178) who finds that in general an element remains retrievable for the span of six or seven clauses. However, as Svoboda bases his observation on the study of just one OE homily, this makes generalization of his findings questionable. Firbas admits that '[i]t is perhaps not feasible to give a generally valid exact number of distributional fields that can intervene between two occurrences of a piece of information and do not obliterate the retrievability of the earlier occurrence' (1992:24). Firbas and Chafe agree that a piece of information is usually retrievable (or as Chafe would put it: in the consciousness of the addressee – cf section 5.2.2) for a very short period of time, and Firbas suggests that this is due to the continuous influx of new information into the communication (1992:30). If an element is retrievable from the immediately relevant context, it is context-dependent, whereas if

it is irretrievable, it is context-independent (1992:31). In this connection it is worth mentioning that an element can be 'heterogeneous' with regard to retrievability; ie, it can convey both retrievable and irretrievable information (1992:30). As we shall see later, this observation becomes especially relevant in the discussion of adverbials.

The semantic factor in FSP can be described as 'the impact that the semantic character of a linguistic element, as well as the character of its semantic relations, has on the distributions of degrees of CD' (1992:41). Firbas takes the verb as the starting point, and discusses the verb in relation to 'its successful competitors' (1992:41). By this he means that the other clause elements are usually 'dynamically stronger' than the verb and therefore 'take the development of the communication further than the verb and so come closer to, or even effect, the completion of the communication' (1992:41). It is in this respect that they are stronger dynamically; ie, their semantic content allows them to exceed the verb in CD. It should be noted, however, that the contextual factor and linear modification are part of the picture as well, in that a competitor must be a context-independent element, and in that it can sometimes react to linear modification (1992:41f). The recognition of various degrees of dynamic strength then leads Firbas to postulate the well-known distinction between 'theme', 'transition' and 'rheme', with the theme conveying the lowest degree of CD and the rheme the highest. The above summary of this part of Firbas' theory covers the main points, but does not really do it justice, as it is much more complex than the summary might suggest. However, it is the main lines of his arguments we are concerned with here.

Let us now look at the third factor in Firbas' theory, namely linear modification. Actually, this is the first factor Firbas mentions (1992:6), and it is in many ways the origin of the theory of FSP. At the beginning of this century, Firbas' predecessor Mathesius found that whereas Czech is completely susceptible to FSP in that elements appearing towards the end of the clause invariably carry a higher degree of CD than elements appearing at the beginning of a clause, English seems to be rather insusceptible to FSP (Firbas 1966:239). Firbas then had a closer look at English, and developed the theory further by establishing which factors (semantic and contextual) could override linear modification. Thus, he demonstrated that English is susceptible to FSP, though not to the same extent as Czech, and not necessarily in the same way.

Anyway, what linear modification really means is that the position of an element in the linear arrangement of a clause can also tell us something about its degree of CD (1992:114). Firbas emphasizes that 'linear modification determines or codetermines the degrees of CD; it is not the other way round' (1992:116). In other

words, the implication of linearity here is not that elements occur in specific clause positions according to the degree of CD they carry, but, on the contrary, that the degree of CD is determined by the element's position in the clause. This way of looking at it becomes rather problematic, as we shall see below (cf section 5.2.3.3).

5.2.2 Chafe

Chafe's (1994) point of departure is the spoken language, and he sees the intonation unit as the basic field within which ideas are expressed as either 'given', 'accessible' or 'new'. Chafe then defines given information as information which the speaker assumes is active in the consciousness of the listener at the time of the utterance, and new information as information which the speaker assumes was previously inactive in the consciousness of the listener. Accessible information is defined as information which the speaker assumes was previously semiactive in the consciousness of the listener (1994:74). In order to understand what is meant by the terms 'active', 'semiactive' and 'inactive', it is necessary to keep in mind that Chafe's theory rests on the assumption that language cannot be understood without understanding the human mind (1994:ix). Thus, language production is related to consciousness. Furthermore, consciousness has a focus: '[I]t is the activation of only a small part of the experiencer's model of the surrounding world … The active focus is surrounded by a periphery of *semiactive* information' (1994:29). It is in the light of this that the terms 'active', 'semiactive' and 'inactive' have to be understood: if an idea is in the focal state, it is active, if it is in the peripheral state, it is semiactive, and if it is in the unconscious state, it is inactive (1994:53). The effort it takes for the listener to process information varies according to whether the information is active, semiactive or inactive; ie, some ideas are more costly in terms of 'activation cost' (1994:73).

The idea of a three-way distinction between given, accessible and new information also has to do with the question of how long givenness lasts. As mentioned above, Chafe, like Firbas, holds the view that givenness usually does not last very long: '[T]he number of different referents that can be active at the same time is very small, and … any referent, unless it is refreshed, will quickly leave the active state' (1994:79). It does not, however, become inactive immediately, but stays in the periphery of the consciousness for a while, and can be called back from that state with relatively little activation cost.

It is worth noting that Chafe puts restrictions on what can function as domains of activation cost, ie, which ideas can be active, semiactive, or inactive. Apparently, only referents, events and states can function in this way: 'Ideas, then, can be subcategorized into referents (typically expressed in noun phrases and pronouns),

and events and states (typically expressed in verbs and adjectives)' (1994:80). This leaves out adverbials, which are typically expressed in adverbs and prepositional phrases. I shall return to the question of how to analyze adverbials below (cf section 5.2.3.2.2).

When Chafe confronts his hypotheses with empirical data, he discovers two constraints on how information is distributed in intonation units, namely the 'light subject constraint' (1994:84) and the 'one new idea constraint' (1994:108). According to the light subject constraint, subjects act as starting-points in the intonation unit, and as such usually convey either given or accessible information. Subjects can also convey new information, but then the information is of 'trivial' importance; ie, it is not very important to the subject matter being verbalized (1994:88). Thus, Chafe operates with three dimensions: cost, referential importance and weight; weight being a product of cost and referential importance (1994:91). The one new idea constraint postulates that an intonation unit will normally contain only one new idea at a time. As we know, the nucleus of an intonation unit usually falls on the new idea, which in most cases occurs towards the end of the unit.

5.2.3 Discussion

I have organized the discussion under three headings, namely 'context', 'semantics' and 'linearity'. The headings reflect Firbas' three factors directly, but they are also implied in Chafe's theory.

5.2.3.1 Context

Both Chafe and Firbas embrace the idea that the context, whether it be the context of an intonation unit or a clause, is important in determining the informational status of elements, ie, whether they are given/context-dependent, accessible (Chafe) or new/context-independent. Firbas regards the immediately relevant context as most important, though it remains unclear exactly what is 'immediately relevant'. Chafe's definition of givenness in relation to the speaker's and listener's consciousness implies that it must be possible for the analyst to assess whether the speaker judges that something is in the listener's consciousness or not, and an obvious way to do that is to look at the context.

In this connection Chafe's idea of accessible information is worth considering more closely. There are three reasons why a referent may be semiactive rather than inactive: 1) the referent 'was active at an earlier time in the discourse', 2) it 'is directly associated with an idea that is or was active in the discourse', or 3) it 'is associated with the nonlinguistic environment of the conversation and has for that reason been

peripherally active but not directly focused on' (1994:86). Whereas the idea of given and new referents is relatively unproblematic – a referent has either been mentioned in the context or not – the idea of accessible information is more problematic, given that there do not seem to exist clear criteria by which to distinguish accessible information from given or new information. In his discussion of subjects, Chafe writes that 'accessible information is usually expressed in the same way as new information, that is, by accented nouns or noun phrases' (1994:86). Thus, it resembles new information. On the other hand, accessible information resembles given information in that it has been mentioned earlier in the discourse or is associated with the situational context. In other words, Chafe seems to regard as accessible information any information that is expressed prosodically like new information but has been mentioned earlier in the context. However, according to Chafe, there is no foolproof way of distinguishing accessible information from new information prosodically, since both can have primary stress (1994:86). In other words, there is hardly any empirical reason not to assume that information which is expressed prosodically as new is in fact new, ie, activated from the inactive state, with the implication that the speaker assumes that it has left the consciousness of the addressee. Chafe therefore chooses to rely more on the three criteria mentioned above. In this connection one could ask why, in terms of the role played by the context, a referent that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse cannot simply be regarded as given. I presume the answer to this question has something to do with the problem of how long givenness lasts, and that this has led Chafe to assume that referents that have been dormant for a while must be in an intermediate position between inactive and active. If Chafe, or anyone else for that matter, had been able to give a definite answer to the question of how long givenness lasts, for instance something like: 'A referent remains active for a span of five intonation units, stays in the semiactive state for four intonation units and then becomes inactive', it would have been easy to classify a referent as accessible or not. The situation now, however, is a lot more vague, more like: 'A referent is accessible if it is felt to have been absent from the discourse for a fairly long time, but not long enough to become inactive'. I do not doubt that there is something to the three-way distinction between given, accessible and new information; in fact, I even think that there may be more to it, something like a continuum where information can be more or less given, more or less accessible and more or less new, along the lines of Firbas' idea of degrees of CD.

However, in the absence of clear criteria which can be used in a scalar analysis, I shall operate with a binary distinction between elements with 'low information value' (low IV), and elements with 'high information value' (high IV). As regards

subjects, objects and subject complements, the main criterion is contextual; ie, they are either mentioned in the previous (relatively immediate)[56] context or not. If they are contextually given, they are regarded as low IV elements, whereas new elements are regarded as having high IV. The reason why I do not simply use the terms 'given' and 'new' is that they are too restricted. For example, an element may be given, but still a high IV element (eg contrastive elements). Also, classifying elements in terms of their information value allows the inclusion of subjects like existential *there* and anticipatory *it,* which have the pragmatic function of allowing the heavy/high IV notional subject to be postponed, and generic subjects, such as *mon* 'one', *monege* 'many', and *no one,* which, like *it* and *there*, are non-referential, and therefore cannot be analyzed in terms of givenness. The reason why I do not use Firbas' concept of degrees of CD is that my approach, though certainly inspired by Firbas' ideas, differs from it in several important respects, particularly with regard to the concept of linear modification (cf section 5.2.3.3).

5.2.3.2 Semantics

Whereas the contextual factor is undoubtedly important in pragmatics, it is not sufficient in itself. In our context, this becomes especially clear when the information status of verbs and adverbials is to be considered. Subjects and objects are usually expressed by noun phrases, and as such often have concrete referents in the world, referents which often persist in the discourse context. Thus, most of them can relatively easily be classified as expressing either given or new information. Other clause elements may not prove as suitable for this kind of classification. For instance, Chafe contends that 'events and states tend to be highly transient in consciousness' (1994:69). Consequently, verbs will most often express new information, which means that the distinction between given and new information, or context-dependence versus context-independence, as a descriptive and explanatory device loses its power; it becomes less relevant for the description of data which, on the whole, does not show this distinction. Adverbials realized by prepositional phrases are also problematic with respect to the given/new perspective, as we shall see. One step towards solving the problems presented by these elements is to have recourse to semantic criteria, and below I will consider how semantic criteria can be used in the pragmatic analysis of verbs and adverbials.

[56]What is 'relatively immediate' will have to be determined in each case. Unfortunately, it seems to be impossible to avoid a certain degree of subjectivity in this matter.

5.2.3.2.1 Verbs

Both Firbas and Chafe observe that there seems to be a special class of verbs that has less semantic content than other verbs. Firbas introduces his class of 'verbs of appearance or existence on the scene' in order to account for the semantic weakness of the verb in clauses like: *A boy came into the room* and *There was a boy in the room.* In such clauses, he says, where there are no other successful competitors, eg context-independent objects, adverbials and subject and object complements, 'the verb shows a strong tendency to recede into the background and to be exceeded in CD in the presence of a context-independent subject' (1992:59). Verbs of this kind either explicitly or implicitly express appearance or existence on the scene, and examples include verbs like *exist, appear, arrive, emerge, happen, rise* (1992:60), which are all intransitive. However, according to Firbas, transitive verbs in the passive can also express appearance or existence on the scene, eg *have been built, is created, was made* (1992:62). Likewise, verbs like *give, say, have, make,* and *hold* are also thought of as conveying the meaning of appearance or existence on the scene (Firbas 1992:63, following Hatcher 1956). However, as these verbs behave differently syntactically and pragmatically than verbs like *exist, come, happen,* etc, I have only classified the latter as verbs of appearance or existence on the scene, or existential verbs.

Chafe calls verbs that seem to be semantically weak 'low-content verbs', and he describes them as verbs which 'fail to carry a full load of activation cost' (1994:110). That is, '[i]nstead of expressing an independent idea of its own, the verb is subservient to the idea expressed by the object' (1994:111). He further distinguishes between an unaccented type, including verbs like *have, get, give, do, make, take, use, say* (1994:111), and an accented type, including verbs like *borrow, pay, drive, drink, suggest, call, see, look at,* which he claims carry slightly more semantic content than the unaccented type (1994:113). Chafe's reason for operating with a class of low-content verbs is to support his one new idea constraint. His claim is that in intonation units consisting of a verb and an object, the verb will frequently be a low-content verb, and thus the one new idea will be expressed by the object.

Chafe contends that Firbas' class of verbs of appearance or existence on the scene to some extent corresponds to his class of accented low-content verbs (1994:113), but the examples he gives do not really suggest that this is the case. However, *give, say, have* and *make* are found both in Firbas' list and in Chafe's class of *unaccented* low-content verbs.

Even though Firbas' verbs of appearance or existence on the scene and Chafe's low-content verbs do not quite overlap, it is interesting to note that both scholars rely

on some sort of semantic classification of verbs, which in turn has consequences for the pragmatic interpretation of intonation units/clauses.

In the study of verb types in section 4.3.2, I distinguished between existential verbs (a semantic category), copulas (a semantic/syntactic category) and verbs with and without complements (syntactic categories), and we saw that although the analysis would have benefited from a more detailed categorization of verbs, interesting results nevertheless emerged from the investigation. In section 5.3 below, which deals with the information value of clause elements, verbs are not discussed in terms of low/high IV, being, as they are, transient elements. This does not mean, however, that they are not relevant in a pragmatic analysis, as section 4.3.2 has shown. The observations made there should consequently be kept in mind in the following, particularly with regard to the discussion in section 5.3. Furthermore, in the discussion of the information structure of the SXV and SXVX patterns, it will be argued that the verb plays an important role, and this argument is primarily based upon semantic considerations; ie, the claim is that in SXV and SXVX clauses, the verb is particularly heavy, both in terms of formal weight and in terms of semantic load, and that this is one of the factors contributing towards its clause-final or clause-late position.

5.2.3.2.2 Adverbials

Adverbials are usually realized by adverbs, prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses. I shall be concerned with the first two categories here, since clausal elements have been left out of the pragmatic analysis on account of their complexity, which disallows a simple binary analysis in terms of low or high IV categories.

Adverbs are often relatively easy to classify in terms of givenness, or context-dependence, whereas a classification of prepositional phrases becomes more difficult. A prepositional phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase as prepositional complement. The classification of the noun phrase is usually relatively unproblematic, as in (5.1) and (5.2):

(5.1) In the days of King Arthur the knights were very brave.

(5.2) In those days the knights were very brave.

The noun phrase in (5.1), *the days of King Arthur*, conveys new information, whereas in (5.2), *those days*, conveys given information. Kohonen (1978:138ff) considers the adverbial to be given if the noun phrase expresses given information and new if the noun phrase expresses new information. However, the preposition is also a bearer of

meaning, with the combination of preposition and noun phrase setting a time frame for the rest of the clause in (5.1) and (5.2). Prepositional phrases could therefore be said to be 'heterogeneous' as regards givenness, to borrow a term from Firbas. The question is then how to analyze adverbials from a pragmatic point of view. Chafe, for example, treats adverbials rather inconsistently. As mentioned in section 5.2.2, he claims that only referents, events and states can function as domains of activation cost, but later on he says that the adverbial *ahead of us* in *And there were these two women|hiking up ahead of us*[57] conveys new information (1994:139). It is therefore not clear where adverbials fit in in Chafe's theory. Firbas regards adverbials as having two basic meanings, or dynamic functions, ie, that of 'specification' and that of 'setting' (1992:49). When adverbials function as specification they 'express obligatory amplifications of their verbs', whereas when they function as settings they 'convey only background, concomitant information' (1992:50). Adverbials functioning as settings are consequently considered less dynamic than adverbials functioning as specification. According to this view, then, both *in the days of King Arthur* and *in those days* would be regarded as settings, providing background information for the rest of the clause. The prepositional phrase in a clause like *He lived in London* would, on the other hand, function as a specification (1992:49). Firbas also links adverbials as settings and specifications to context-dependence; he says that context-dependent adverbials will serve as settings, whereas context-independent adverbials will be either settings or specifications, depending on whether they amplify the semantic content of the verb or not (1992:50).

Firbas' way of classifying adverbials may seem straightforward, but it is far from easy in practice, as Firbas himself acknowledges (1992:51). When I attempted to use his method, I found that it was often extremely difficult to distinguish between elements that express an obligatory amplification of the verb and those that do not. Therefore, in my opinion, it is necessary to find a way to analyze adverbials without relying too much on mere intuition.

As I see it, adverbials can be classified as low or high IV elements, like subjects, objects and subject and object complements. In order to establish whether an adverbial is a low or high IV element, I have used the following approach: an adverbial realized by a prepositional phrase will be classified as a low IV element if the prepositional complement conveys given information, and as a high IV element if the prepositional complement conveys new information. According to this analysis, then, the adverbial in (5.1) is a high IV adverbial and the one in (5.2) a low IV

[57]The vertical line | signals an intonation unit boundary.

adverbial. Recall that Firbas would classify both as settings, with a low degree of CD. I do not rule out the possibility that (5.1) does indeed carry a low degree of CD, or, in my terms, is a low IV element, but at least it is higher on the scale than (5.2). Thus, in the absence of clear criteria that can determine whether prepositional phrases like (5.1) are at the upper end of the low IV scale or at the lower end of the high IV scale, I have adopted the present approach. Note also that, although the method of analyzing prepositional phrases reflects the method adopted by Kohonen (1978), the way of looking at adverbials is not. I regard prepositional phrases as heterogeneous with respect to information content, which is why I term the adverbials 'low IV' and 'high IV' instead of 'given' and 'new'.

As regards adverbials realized by adverbs, they are classified as low IV elements if they are context-dependent, or given. Furthermore, adverbials such as *then, afterwards, meanwhile,* which link the clause to the previous context, are regarded as having low IV as well, as are conjuncts, such as *however, nevertheless, therefore, thus,* etc. Adverbs which are context-independent, or new, are classified as high IV elements. In this group adverbs such as *sometimes, always, often, never* are usually found (unless, of course, they are context-dependent). Thus we see that the criteria used for the analysis of adverbials draw on both contextual and semantic factors.

5.2.3.3 Linear modification

Chafe (1994) does not explicitly discuss givenness in relation to the position of an element in the intonation unit. However, as we know, it seems to be a general rule for English that elements conveying new information tend to occur towards the end of the intonation unit, which is where the nucleus often falls. This is indirectly indicated by Chafe's light subject constraint and one new idea constraint. The postulation of these constraints is based on empirical data; ie, Chafe postulates these constraints after having analyzed a corpus of intonation units.

Firbas, on the other hand, looks at it from the opposite angle when he claims that linear modification determines degrees of CD, not the other way round (1992:116). This, I take it, means that elements appearing at the end of a clause carry a higher degree of CD, due to their position in the clause, than elements appearing at the beginning of a clause.[58] The problem with this argument is that it is circular: elements appearing at the end of a clause carry a high degree of CD, and one of the criteria used to determine whether they carry a high degree of CD or not is their position in the clause. Thus, the argument becomes difficult to verify. To be sure,

[58]Dyvik (1980:62) also interprets this the same way.

Firbas specifically says that linear modification is a determining factor only if nothing, ie, contextual or semantic factors, works counter to it. However, that does not reduce the weakness of the argument. If Firbas had turned it around and said that degrees of CD determine the linear placement of elements, he could then have postulated that 'elements carrying a high degree of CD will normally appear at the end of a clause', which would be more easily verifiable. Consequently, I do not think that linear modification can be regarded as a factor in determining the communicative importance of an element in a clause, at least not in English. In other words, instead of regarding the linear placement of elements in a sentence as a cause, saying that an element's position in the clause influences its degree of CD, linearity should rather be regarded as a result, with the degree of CD determining whether a clause element is found towards the beginning or the end of a clause.

5.2.4 Summary

The discussion of the theories of Firbas and Chafe has shown that, in the kind of method I am seeking to develop, contextual and semantic factors play an important role. The context is useful in determining the givenness of subjects, objects and complements, as well as some aspects of adverbials, whereas the addition of semantic criteria proves helpful in the analysis of verbs and of other aspects of adverbials. The method upon which the analysis in section 5.3 is based may be summarized as follows:

- Subjects and objects, as well as subject and object complements, are analyzed as either low or high IV elements. If an element has been mentioned in the previous, relatively immediate, context (what is relatively immediate must be determined in each case; a certain degree of subjectivity seems unavoidable here), it will be analyzed as a low IV element, whereas if it has not, it will be analyzed as a high IV element. In addition, occurrences of existential *there,* anticipatory *it,* as well as generic subjects such as *mon, monege, somebody,* etc, are also classified as low IV subjects. Nominal objects that convey given information are high IV elements if they are contrastive, cf section 5.3.

- Verbs are not analyzed in terms of low or high IV, but the formal weight and semantic load of the verb are taken into consideration.

- Adverbials are analyzed according to a binary distinction between low and high IV as well. If the adverbial is a prepositional phrase and the prepositional

complement conveys new information, the adverbial is regarded as a high IV element, whereas it is regarded as having low IV if the prepositional complement conveys given information. Furthermore, adverbial 'links', including conjuncts, are analyzed as carrying a low degree of IV, whereas other adverbials realized by adverbs are classified as low or high IV elements according to their givenness status.

Let us consider some examples which demonstrate how the method works. In (5.3), which is an excerpt from *Orosius,* there are three main clauses with an overt subject, and these are numbered (I)–(III). (I) is an XSV clause, (II) is an XVS clause, and (III) is an SXVX clause with an initial X element, ie, a clause with XSXVX word order.

In (I), the adverb *siþþan* is a low IV element, as its function is mainly to provide the time relation of the events in (I) to the previous context. The pronominal subject *he* is a low IV element as well. Note that in XSV and XVS clauses, I have only analyzed the initial X element and the subject in terms of information value, even though there may be other elements in the clause. This decision is not theoretically motivated, but rather a result of practical considerations, since I had to choose between a relatively rough analysis of a large corpus or a fine-grained analysis of a small corpus. I chose the former, since this work in general is concerned with the larger picture rather than the smaller details. Thus, the coordinated adverbials *on Ræstas þa leode 7 on Cathenas...* have not been included in the statistics in section 5.3.1, but if they had been, they would have been high IV elements, since they convey new information. Thus (I) conforms to the general principle that low IV elements occur early in the clause and high IV elements late in the clause.

The adverbial clause preceding (II) is regarded as left-dislocated (cf section 3.2.7), thus, the analyzable part starts with the second *þa,* which is a low IV element. The subject, *twa hund þusenda monna gehorsades folces,* is a high IV element, which is hardly surprising, given that this is an existential sentence. In this clause, there are two adverbial elements between the subject and the verb: *him ongean* and *þær.* Again, since the analysis is concerned with the IV of the initial element and the subject in these clauses, the statistics will not show the IV of these adverbials. Incidentally, both are low IV elements, which means that this clause also conforms to the general pragmatic distributional rules.

(5.3) (I) Siþþan (**low IV**) he (**low IV**) for on Ræstas þa leode 7 on Cathenas 7 on Presidas 7 an Gangeridas, 7 wið hie ealle gefeaht 7 oferwon. Þa he com on India eastgemæra, (II) þa (**low IV**) com him þær ongean twa hund þusenda monna gehorsades folces (**high IV**), (III) 7 hie (**low**

IV) Alexander (**low IV**) uneaðe (**high IV**) oferwonn ægþer ge for þære sumorhæte ge eac for þæm oftrædlican gefeohtum (**high IV**)
Afterwards he went against Adrestæ the people and against Cathæi and against Præsidæ and against Gangaridæ, and with them all fought and overcame. When he came to of-Indians eastern-boundaries, then came him there against two hundred thousand men of-horsed [mounted] people, and them Alexander hardly overcame, both because-of the summer-heat and also because-of the frequent battles
'Afterwards he went against the Adrestæ, the Cathæi, the Presidæ, and the Gangaridæ, and fought with them all, and overcame them. When he went into the eastern boundaries of the Indians, there came against him two hundred thousand cavalry, and Alexander could hardly overcome them, because of the summer heat and their frequent battles'
(*Or*, 72:24)

(III) has an initial pronominal object, *hie,* and the occurrence of initial objects is in fact quite interesting, since they occur in this position much more frequently in OE than in ModE. Consequently, where an initial object in ModE, whether nominal or pronominal, would usually have intonational stress and be marked as a topic, this is not necessarily the case in OE. In (III), a contrastive reading of *hie* may obtain, as it refers to the Indians, whom Alexander had trouble fighting, as opposed to the other peoples mentioned. In that case, *hie* would be stressed. However, non-contrastive pronominal objects occur in this position quite frequently; in fact, a great majority of initial pronominal objects are unambiguously non-contrastive. (5.4), with the initial pronoun *him,* is a case in point. In view of this, it is possible to argue for a non-contrastive reading of *hie* in (III) as well, where *hie* simply refers anaphorically to *twa hund þusenda monna gehorsades folces,* and is not stressed. The question is then how to analyze initial pronominal objects in terms of IV: should an attempt be made to differentiate between those that are contrastive and those that are not? At this point, the disadvantage of operating with just a binary distinction between low and high IV elements becomes clear, because we may imagine an IV scale, where contrastive pronominal objects are lower on the scale than contrastive nominal objects, whose greater semantic content gives them a higher 'score'. At the same time, contrastive pronominal objects are higher on the scale than non-contrastive pronominal objects, since in addition to providing anaphoric reference, they also express contrast. In view of the difficulty in determining where on the scale contrastive pronominal objects belong, and also because in some cases there might be ambiguity as to whether a contrastive or a non-contrastive reading obtains, I have decided to regard all pronouns as low IV elements. Though this decision might be somewhat controversial, it is important to remember that it does not have any great consequences for the statistics presented in section 5.3, since it only means that a very

small number of initial elements are placed in the low IV, rather than the high IV, category.

(5.4) Gelomp sumre tide, þæt seo ceaster Contwara burge þurh ungemænne synna wearð fyre onbærned. 7 þæt fyr 7 þæt læg swiðe weox and miclade, 7 *him* nænig mon mid wætra onweorpnesse wiðstondan meahte
Happened a-certain time, that the town Canterbury through of-carelessness crime became by-fire burned. And the fire and the flame greatly grew and increased, and them no man with of-water the-throwing-on withstand could
'It happened once that the town of Canterbury was set on fire by sinful carelessness. And the fire and the flame grew and increased much, and no resistance could be offered to it by pouring on water'
(*Bede,* 118:2)

If we return to (III) (in (5.3)) again, we see that the nominal subject, *Alexander,* has been analyzed as a low IV element. This is because it is given in the context, and the reason the writer uses the full name here, rather than the pronoun *he,* seems to be stylistic; ie, although *Alexander* is a given referent and could be referred to by use of the anaphoric pronoun *he* without causing confusion, the writer breaks up the monotony by using the full name. Furthermore, as mentioned above, (III) is an SXVX clause, in this case a clause with one element between the subject and the verb. This element, *uneaðe,* is an adverb, and it is a high IV element; in other words, that Alexander had difficulties defeating someone is new information. The postverbal element, *ægðer ge for þære sumorhæte ge eac for þæm oftrædlican gefeohtum,* is a high IV element as well, as it gives the reasons for the difficulties Alexander faces.

With the method developed in the above sections active in our consciousness, we may now turn to the actual pragmatic analysis of the clauses, as presented in section 5.3.

5.3 Word order from a pragmatic perspective: the information value of clause elements

In this section, the information value of the clause elements in the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns is presented and discussed. The reasons for this are largely the same as those given in section 4.3.3; ie, detailed treatment is reserved for those word orders where the most interesting results may be obtained.

5.3.1 The XVS and XSV patterns

As in section 4.3.3.1, the XVS and the XSV patterns are are presented together, in order to compare a typical V2 pattern to a typical verb-medial pattern. Recall that I

am only considering the IV of the initial element and the subject in these patterns, although they may contain other X elements (cf sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). If it is the case that XVS word order was primarily syntactically motivated in OE, whereas it became primarily pragmatically motivated in (late) ME, we would expect to see some reflection of this in the IV of the clause elements, in that the OE XVS pattern should show itself less susceptible to pragmatic constraints than the late ME pattern. Conversely, the XSV pattern should be governed more by pragmatic principles in OE, and less so in the late ME period.

The percentages in tables 5.1–5.5 are calculated from the total number of initial elements and subjects which are analyzable in terms of low/high IV, and not from the total number of initial elements and subjects altogether. Among the non-analyzable, and hence disregarded, elements are appositions and clausal elements, ie, adverbial clauses, as well as subject and object clauses. Postmodified pronominal subjects and objects have been analyzed as high IV elements.

If we consider tables 5.1 and 5.2, we immediately see that the two word order patterns differ with respect to the distribution of IV. The initial element in the XVS pattern is usually a low IV element, both in non-conjunct clauses and in conjunct clauses, though the proportion of high IV elements is slightly higher in the conjunct clause pattern. This is due to the greater variation of constituent types in initial position in conjunct clauses; recall from section 4.3.3.1 that *þa* and *þonne* are the most common elements initially in non-conjunct clauses, and these are invariably analyzed as low IV elements. In conjunct clauses, on the other hand, *þa* and *þonne* rarely occur initially.

Table 5.1: The IV of clause elements in the early Old English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Early Old English			
		The XVS pattern		The XSV pattern	
		#	%	#	%
non-conj. clauses	Init. X low IV	288	95.4	67	71.3
	Init. X high IV	14	4.6	27	28.7
	Subj. low IV	180	59.8	86	85.2
	Subj. high IV	121	40.2	15	14.9
conjunct clauses	Init. X low IV	30	76.9	21	38.2
	Init. X high IV	9	23.1	34	61.8
	Subj. low IV	15	33.3	53	89.8
	Subj. high IV	30	66.7	6	10.1

As regards subjects in the XVS pattern, non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses differ significantly, with a higher proportion of low IV subjects in non-conjunct clauses, and a higher proportion of high IV subjects in conjunct clauses. In the XSV pattern, low IV subjects are predominant in both clause types, but the distribution of low and high IV initial elements differs in non-conjunct and conjunct clauses, and also in the two periods, though the extent to which these differences are statistically significant varies. In early OE, a clear majority of the initial elements in non-conjunct clauses are low IV elements, whereas conjunct clauses mostly have a high IV element initially. In late OE, there is still a majority of low IV initial elements in non-conjunct clauses, albeit a smaller one; in fact, the distribution of high and low IV elements is almost equal in this period. Late OE conjunct clauses, on the other hand, show the same distribution as early OE conjunct clauses.

Table 5.2: The IV of clause elements in the late Old English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Late Old English			
		The XVS pattern		The XSV pattern	
		#	%	#	%
non-conj. clauses	Init. X low IV	237	90.5	43	53.1
	Init. X high IV	25	9.5	38	46.9
	Subj. low IV	133	55.2	79	91.9
	Subj. high IV	108	44.8	7	8.1
conjunct clauses	Init. X low IV	36	80.0	13	36.1
	Init. X high IV	9	20.0	23	63.9
	Subj. low IV	11	26.8	40	95.2
	Subj. high IV	30	73.2	2	4.8

As mentioned above, we would expect the XVS pattern to show some signs of being less susceptible to pragmatic factors in OE, if there was a V2 constraint in this period. One indication that the XVS pattern is governed more by syntactic than pragmatic rules is the fact that there are more low IV subjects than high IV subjects in this pattern, at least in the non-conjunct clause pattern, when, from a pragmatic point of view, we would expect to see more high IV subjects. However, it could be argued that the main reason why there is such a high proportion of low IV subjects in this pattern, and furthermore the reason why there is a difference between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses in this respect, is the abundance of clauses with initial *þa/þonne* and a pronominal subject. An example is given in (5.5):

(5.5) [þonne we us gebiddað mid byle-witum mode] þonne sprece we soðlice to gode sylfum swa
[when we us pray with pure mind] then speak we truly to God Himself thus
'[when we pray with a pure mind] then we truly speak to God Himself'
(*ÆLS*, 286:60)

In section 4.3.1, it was suggested that one of the reasons why pronominal subjects follow the verb in main clauses with initial *þa/þonne* is to distinguish them from subclauses, since *þa/þonne* can also be subordinating conjunctions. In (5.5), we see that in the first *þonne*-clause, the subclause, *þonne* is followed by the subject, whereas in the second clause, the main clause, *þonne* is followed by the verb. Thus, it could be argued that this type of clause is not really representative; ie, the fact that the subject follows the verb is not due to the pressures of V2 syntax. However, it must be kept in mind that even if the postverbal position of the pronominal subject in these clauses is not primarily motivated by syntactic factors, it is still significant that this word order is allowed at all. That is, if the pronominal subject is prevented from preceding the verb, it can, and does, appear postverbally. I therefore think that tables 5.1 and 5.2 give a more accurate picture of the situation than table 5.3, below, which shows the distribution of IV when clauses with initial *þa/þonne* and a pronominal subject have been disregarded.

Table 5.3: The IV of clause elements in the early and late Old English XVS pattern, when clauses with initial þa *and a pronominal subject have been omitted.*

		Early Old English		Late Old English	
		#	%	#	%
non-conj. clauses	Init. X low IV	161	92.0	185	88.1
	Init. X high IV	14	8.0	25	11.9
	Subj. low IV	53	30.5	81	42.9
	Subj. high IV	121	69.5	108	57.1
conjunct clauses	Init. X low IV	27	75.0	35	79.6
	Init. X high IV	9	25.0	9	20.5
	Subj. low IV	12	28.6	10	25.0
	Subj. high IV	30	71.4	30	75.0

As we see, the proportion of low IV subjects is now smaller, especially in early OE, whereas the difference is not as marked in late OE. However, even if the proportion of low IV subjects decreases when *þa/þonne*-clauses are disregarded, it is still quite high: 30.5% in early OE and 42.9% in late OE non-conjunct clauses. Thus, even

without the pronominal subjects of the *þa/þonne*-clauses, there are more low IV subjects in this pattern than we would expect from a pragmatic point of view.

On the basis of the data presented above, I propose the following explanation for the variation between XVS and XSV word order in OE: first of all, if we agree that OE had some sort of V2 constraint, XVS is the unmarked word order of the two. However, my hypothesis, as stated in chapter 1, is that in this period pragmatic factors could override V2 syntax. One such pragmatic factor is the rule that places light and/or low IV elements to the left in the clause, and for this reason pronominal subjects, the light/low IV elements *par excellence*, appear preverbally, yielding XSV word order. The main exception is pronominal subjects in clauses with initial *þa* and *þonne*. Since *þa* and *þonne* can also be subordinating conjunctions, it is necessary to distinguish between the two functions, and one way of doing so is by means of word order. Thus, in order to avoid ambiguity, pronominal subjects are placed postverbally in *þa/þonne*-clauses.

As regards nominal subjects, they may either be low or high IV elements. A majority of the high IV nominal subjects occur postverbally, whereas a not inconsiderable proportion of low IV subjects occur postverbally as well. This is what we would expect in a situation where there is competition between two systems, and where XVS is the unmarked form. Pragmatic pressure forces pronominal subjects, and also some of the low IV nominal subjects, leftwards. However, weight is a factor as well, so it is not surprising that some of the nominal subjects remain in postverbal position, even if they are low IV elements. The clausal subjects, which are the heaviest of all and contain the most information, are never found preverbally (cf table 4.13). Thus, we may imagine a scale, where pronominal subjects, as the lightest and the lowest in information value, are most likely to precede the verb. Nominal subjects, which are in the middle of the scale with respect to weight, and whose IV may be either low or high, sometimes precede and sometimes follow the verb, whereas clausal subjects, which are always heavy and contain a wealth of information, never precede the verb. In other words, when there is competition between two systems, we would expect to see vacillation somewhere, and here we see it in the position of the low IV nominal subjects, some of which continue to occur postverbally in spite of their low IV.

As regards the initial element in the XVS and XSV patterns, we have already seen that there are clear differences between the two patterns. In the XVS pattern, the initial position is in most cases filled by low IV elements. As we saw in tables 4.19 and 4.20, a great majority of the initial elements are adverbials, which are the most flexible elements with respect to clause position. Because of this flexibility, we would

expect the position of adverbials to follow their IV, with the low IV adverbials initially. The initial position is also, however, a position for topicalized elements, which, if they are contrastive, are analyzed as high IV elements (this does not pertain to pronominal objects, cf the above discussion). In the XVS pattern, such elements rarely occur; there are, for example, only a few occurrences of a topicalized (nominal) object (cf tables 4.19 and 4.20), and in those cases the object is not contrastive, and is therefore analyzed as a low IV element. The reason for this distribution is probably that the XVS pattern, in which nominal and/or high IV subjects are predominant (except for the *þa/þonne*-clauses, of course), is not as suitable for topicalization, since the subject would 'compete' with the topicalized element. In the XSV pattern, on the other hand, the proportion of initial high IV elements is quite high, which correlates with the fact that this is the word order pattern with the pronominal, low IV subjects. Consider (5.6)–(5.9):

(5.6) Ða wæs æfter ðissum þætte Agustinus Breotone ærcebiscop gehalgade twegen biscopas: oðer wæs Mellitus haten, oðer Iustus. *Þone Mellitum* he sende Eastseaxum to bodigenne godcunde lare
Then happened after this that Augustine of-Britain archbishop consecrated two bishops: the-one was Mellitus called, the-other Justus. Mellitus he sent to-East Saxons to preach divine doctrine
'Then after this, Augustine, archbishop of Britain, consecrated two bishops: one was called Mellitus, the other Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach the word of God to the East Saxons'
(*Bede*, 104:12)

(5.7) Ne sceal he naht unaliefedes don, ac *ðæt ðætte oðre menn unaliefedes dot* he sceal wepan sua sua his agne scylde, & *hira untrymnesse* he sceal ðrowian on his heortan, & *ðæs godes his nihstena* he sceal fægnian sua sua his agnes
Not shall he nothing unlawful do, but that which other men of-unlawful-things do he shall bewail as his own sins, and their weakness he shall sympathize-with in his heart, and the prosperity of-his neighbors he shall rejoice-in as his own
'He must not do anything unlawful, but he must bewail the unlawful deeds of others as if they were his own sins, and he must sympathize with their weakness in his heart, and he must rejoice in the prosperity of his neighbors as his own'
(*CP*, 61:14)

(5.8) *Rihtlic* þæt wæs [þæt he eode on westen]
Right that was [that he went into the wilderness]
'It was right that he went into the wilderness'
(*BlHom*, 29:17)

(5.9) On þisum geare heold se kyng Henri his hired to Cristesmæssan æt Westmynstre, 7 *to Eastron* he wæs æt Mærlebeorge

In this year held the king Henry his court at Christmas at Westminster, and at Easter he was at Marlborough
'In this year, king Henry held his court at Westminster at Christmas, and at Easter he was at Marlborough'
(*OE Peterb.*, 35:9 (1110))

In (5.6), *þone Mellitum* is the topic, the element that 'limit[s] the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain' (Chafe 1976:50). The first clause mentions the consecration of two bishops, Mellitus and Justus, and in the second clause, Mellitus is singled out as the one going to the East Saxons. The meaning can be paraphrased as: 'As for Mellitus, he sent him to the East Saxons'. Note that *þone Mellitum* conveys given information, which in fact is one of the requirements for an element to be a topic (Prince 1981:252), but the fact that it is contrastive makes it a high IV element. An indication of this is that it receives intonational stress, which is the second characteristic of a topic (Prince 1981:250).

In (5.7), the topicalized objects are *ðæt ðætte oðre menn unaliefedes dot, hira untrymnesse* and *ðæs godes his nihstena.* These are topics, although they are not strictly speaking given information. However, the paragraph in which they occur lists the things a bishop must do and the virtues he must strive towards, and the topicalized objects are thus inferable elements of this set (cf Prince 1981:251).

Rihtlic in (5.8) is a subject complement, and it is not a topic, but rather the focus of the clause. The difference between topic and focus is that clauses with a topic have two intonational peaks, one on the topic, and one on some constituent within the clause, and it is the latter which represents new information. In clauses with a focus there is only one intonational peak, and it falls on the focus, which represents new information (Prince 1981:250). Thus, whereas the elements likely to receive stress are *þone Mellitum* and *Eastseaxum* in (5.6), there is only one intonational peak in (5.8), and it falls on *rihtlic.* This example was included in order to show that a focus may also occur as a high IV element in this position.

As mentioned above, adverbials are flexible with respect to clause position, and it is therefore debatable whether initial adverbials should be regarded as topics at all. It is possible to give *to Eastron* in (5.9) a contrastive reading; ie, *to Eastron* contrasts with *to Cristesmæssan* in the previous clause,[59] and is as such a topic, with *æt Mærlebeorge* as the second stressed element, but it is also possible to read it as an unmarked adverbial in initial position. Either way, however, it would be a high IV element. More unambiguous examples of topicalized adverbials are given in (5.10)

[59]Since this is a chronicle, the different phases of the year are the inferable elements of a set.

below, where *ðurh his mannisnesse* and *ðurh his goddcundnesse* are clearly topics. Note also, by the way, the topicalized, non-contrastive, object *ðese manniscnesse*:

(5.10) Swa muchel he luuede mannkynn, þat he his awene sune sænte, ðe nam ure ȝekynde on saule and in lichame wið-uten sennen, and is bǽde soð godd and soð mann. Ðese manniscnesse he nam alswo he ðe was godes wisdom, swiðe selcuðliche of sainte Marie ðe hali maiden, ðurh ðe hali gaste. *Ðurh his manniscnesse* he þolede deað, and *ðurh his goddcundnesse* he aras of deaðe
'So much he loved mankind, that he sent his own son, who took our kind in soul and in body without sin, and is both true God and true man. This manhood he took as he who was God's Wisdom, very wonderfully from St. Mary the holy virgin, through the Holy Ghost. Through his manhood he suffered death, and through his godhead he arose from death'
(*Vices & Virtues*, 25:20)

As the examples show, the subject is nearly always pronominal in clauses with a topicalized element. Thus, when there are two intonational peaks, and the first falls on the topic, the second cannot fall on the subject, but must fall on another element in the clause, eg another object, an adverbial, or even the verb. In other words, the introduction of a new referent in the function of subject is not compatible with the topicalization of an element in the same clause, which makes sense from a pragmatic point of view.

If we return to tables 5.1 and 5.2, we see that the proportion of initial high IV elements is particularly high in XSV conjunct clauses. This is as expected, since conjunct clauses are more closely linked to the previous clause than other main clauses. Since topicalized elements (which, of course, are not by any means the only possible high IV elements) usually contrast with something in the immediately preceding context, they are perhaps more likely to occur in conjunct clauses than in non-conjunct clauses. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 also show that there is a difference between early and late OE with respect to initial high IV elements in the XSV non-conjunct clause pattern, but the reason why is difficult to find without going into the particular texts. It may be that the subject matter of the late OE texts, which to a greater extent are homiletic and thus argumentative, favors topicalization and initial emphatic elements more than the early OE texts, which to a greater extent are historical and narrative.

Before we leave topicalization, it must be added that it seems as if topicalization was more common in OE than it is in ModE, as previously mentioned in connection with the discussion of example (5.3). The reason for this might be that word order was after all freer in OE than it is today, and consequently, topicalization

was less likely to be marked in OE than it is in ModE. Since V2 was not fully grammaticalized in OE, any deviations from V2 were not as marked as they would have been if V2 had been fully grammaticalized. According to Stein (1995:133f), 'the generation of additional meanings through marked word order is possible only in a situation in which a "hurting" feeling of markedness can arise'. The presence of initial objects which are not contrastive, but merely serve as links to the preceding context, indicates that a 'hurting feeling of markedness' does not necessarily arise in OE. In other words, instances of topicalization cannot automatically be assumed to have the same function in OE as in ModE, but neither can they automatically be assumed to be unmarked, since word order was not completely free.

Table 5.4 shows the distribution of IV in the early ME period. In this period, non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses are almost identical with respect to the proportion of low and high IV elements, unlike the OE periods. In the XVS pattern, a majority of the initial elements are still low IV elements, but the proportion of high IV elements has increased in the non-conjunct clause pattern, so that there is in fact a significant difference between early ME and the OE periods in this respect. It is possible that this is because the XVS pattern was becoming more marked in this period; ie, as verb medial syntax became increasingly grammaticalized, V2 word order became more marked, which was a prerequisite for it to have 'emotional' and 'expressive' meanings (cf Green 1980, and Stein 1995).

Table 5.4: The IV of clause elements in the early Middle English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Early Middle English			
		The XVS pattern		The XSV pattern	
		#	%	#	%
non-conj. clauses	Init. X low IV	160	80.8	87	70.7
	Init. X high IV	38	19.2	36	29.3
	Subj. low IV	77	39.3	126	87.5
	Subj. high IV	119	60.7	18	12.5
conjunct clauses	Init. X low IV	32	82.1	59	71.1
	Init. X high IV	7	18.0	24	28.9
	Subj. low IV	16	40.0	86	93.5
	Subj. high IV	24	60.0	6	6.5

In the XSV pattern, the proportion of initial high IV elements is still quite high, both in non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses, but in conjunct clauses the proportion has decreased dramatically, compared with OE. It was mentioned above that initial

position for objects, and high IV elements in general, seems not to have been as marked in OE as it is in ModE, as indicated by the fact that it occurs to a greater extent in OE than in ModE. If this is the case, we would expect to see it decrease in ME, and it is logical that the decrease should first be witnessed in conjunct clauses, where the proportion was so high in the first place.

As regards the subjects, we see that a majority of the subjects in the XVS pattern are high IV elements, whereas the opposite holds true for the XSV pattern. This is as expected if XVS order became increasingly pragmatically motivated, while at the same time being kept as an alternative word order.

In the late ME period, as shown in table 5.5, the distribution of low and high IV initial elements in the XVS pattern is approximately the same as in early ME. As regards subjects, the proportion of high IV subjects is even greater than in early ME. We have seen (table 4.18) that in this period, a large majority of the XVS clauses are existential clauses, and we would therefore also expect a large majority of the subjects to be high IV elements. If the subject is a low IV element, it usually occurs in clauses like (5.11) and (5.12), which have the word order XV1SV2(X), with the subject following the finite verb:

(5.11) Thanne shal the souereyn stryky[n] of the dede manys hed
(*Mandeville,* 121:5)

(5.12) & herfore schulden we trowe alle þe lawe of god
(*Wyclif,* 349:10)

In this way, the pragmatic requirements are satisfied, since the low IV subject occurs far to the left in the clause, after an initial low IV element and an auxiliary verb. We may ask why the subject is not placed before the finite verb in these clauses. I think it is because the initial elements, here exemplified by *thenne* and *herfore,* typically had V2 in OE; ie, the ME word order may be a relic from OE.

In the XSV pattern, where high IV initial elements previously occurred quite frequently, the initial position is now dominated completely by low IV elements in non-conjunct clauses, whereas in conjunct clauses we still see the occasional high IV element. We saw in the early ME period that the proportion of high IV elements had decreased considerably in conjunct clauses, compared with the OE period, but in the late ME period the proportion in conjunct clauses stays approximately the same, whereas the proportion in non-conjunct clauses decreases considerably. I suggested above that as topicalization became less frequent, we would first see it in conjunct clauses, since the proportion of high IV elements was particularly high there.

However, we would expect to see a consolidation of this development in non-conjunct clauses first, with conjunct clauses lagging behind a little in this respect, since the initial position in an XSV conjunct clause is especially suitable for a topicalized element. And this is what we actually see in late ME.

Table 5.5: The IV of clause elements in the late Middle English XVS and XSV patterns.

		Late Middle English			
		The XVS pattern		The XSV pattern	
		#	%	#	%
non-conj. clauses	Init. X low IV	95	77.2	120	91.6
	Init. X high IV	28	22.8	11	8.4
	Subj. low IV	37	29.8	120	80.5
	Subj. high IV	87	70.2	29	19.5
conjunct clauses	Init. X low IV	53	82.8	163	77.3
	Init. X high IV	11	17.2	48	22.8
	Subj. low IV	22	34.9	215	80.5
	Subj. high IV	41	65.1	52	19.5

The majority of the subjects in the XSV pattern are low IV elements. If the XSV pattern had become a syntactic pattern by late ME, we would perhaps expect to see more high IV subjects in this pattern, since the pragmatic rule that places low IV elements to the left in the clause would no longer be so forceful. The proportion of high IV subjects is in fact higher in late ME than in the other periods, but not in a statistically significant way. However, since XVS word order is still available, and indeed used, for clauses with a high IV subject, the proportion of high IV subjects in the XSV pattern does not become significantly greater. Besides, there will always be more low IV than high IV subjects, since the referent of the subject will not be new for every sentence, but persist in the discourse, so this is not the domain where the weakening of pragmatic rules would be most visible.

We may now sum up the findings of this section. First, recall the point of departure, which is the generally accepted hypothesis that OE had a V2 constraint. However, there is also general agreement about the fact that there are innumerable counterexamples to this hypothesis, which means that OE was not a V2 language to the same extent, or in the same way, as the V2 languages we know today, eg German and Norwegian. My hypothesis, as stated in chapter 1, is that there was competition, or interaction, between syntactic and pragmatic factors, and that this to a large extent accounts for the heterogeneity of OE word order, and furthermore is the motivating

factor behind the word order change that English witnessed in the ME period. The two word order patterns where this can be most clearly seen are the XVS and XSV patterns, since they are directly comparable, and since the former is a typical V2 pattern and the latter a typical verb medial pattern. My claim is that due to pragmatic factors, low IV subjects were placed in preverbal position in clauses with an initial element other than the subject, rather than in postverbal position, as we would expect in a V2 language. This fact, in addition to the evidence supplied by the other word order patterns with a preverbal subject, eg the SVX pattern, led to the reanalysis of preverbal position as the subject position. It is possible that this process had already started before the OE period, but it seems to have been consolidated in the late ME period, though the development continues into the early ModE period. The XVS pattern is retained in late ME, but there are restrictions on it; it is mainly used for existential sentences, in which a new referent is usually introduced. Thus, the motivation for keeping this pattern is mainly pragmatic.

If the hypothesis that V2 syntax could be overridden by pragmatic factors holds true, we should expect to see some evidence for this in the SXV and the SXVX patterns as well, and this is the focus of the next two sections.

5.3.2 The SXV pattern

The SXV pattern is an interesting pattern, even though it is not a very prominent one in terms of frequency of occurrence in OE, and becomes extinct by the late ME period. It is interesting because it is neither a verb-second nor a verb-medial pattern, and the question is why it was used at all in OE. It has been claimed that this pattern is a relic of an earlier stage (cf Vennemann 1974, Stockwell 1977), and this may be the case, but the question still remains why it continues to be used in a language which has other, more frequently used, alternatives, such as SVX or XSV word order. What is it that makes the verb occupy final position in these clauses? In order to approach a possible answer to this question, I shall consider the distribution of low and high IV elements in this pattern, but I shall also attempt to look at the SXV clauses in a more holistic perspective. This includes bringing in the verb, which, in my opinion, is the most important element to consider in this context.

Table 5.6 shows the distribution of low and high IV elements in OE SXV clauses. The data for the early and late OE periods is combined, since the number of tokens would otherwise be so low as to render the statistics meaningless. The table shows how low and high IV elements are distributed in clauses with one, two, or three elements occurring between the subject and the verb. That is, '1 X' means that the clause only has one element between the subject and the verb, and the table

shows whether this is a low or high IV element. The row labeled '2 X' shows the distribution of low and high IV elements in clauses with two elements between the subject and the verb, and '3 X' means that there are three X elements. There are some occurrences of clauses with more than three elements between the subject and the verb, but they are too few to merit inclusion here. The percentages are computed from the total number of elements that may be analyzed in terms of low/high IV, as in section 5.3.1.[60]

Table 5.6: The IV of clause elements in the Old English SXV pattern.

		Old English											
		First X element				Second X element				Third X element			
		low IV		high IV		low IV		high IV		low IV		high IV	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	1 X	27	65.9	14	34.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
conj.	2 X	18	64.3	10	35.7	17	60.7	11	39.3	–	–	–	–
cl.	3 X	14	73.7	5	26.3	9	52.9	8	47.1	4	22.2	14	77.8
	1 X	27	50.0	27	50.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
conj.	2 X	23	45.1	28	54.9	15	29.4	36	70.6	–	–	–	–
cl.	3 X	6	66.7	3	33.3	2	22.2	7	77.8	2	22.2	7	77.8

If we now study table 5.6 a little closer, we see that, in non-conjunct clauses, there is a clear tendency for low IV elements to occur early in the clause, and for high IV elements to occur later. If the clause has only one preverbal element apart from the subject, that element is most likely to be a low IV element. If it has two, both the first and the second elements are likely to be low IV elements, whereas if it has three, there is a gradual increase in IV, with the last element most likely to be a high IV element. In conjunct clauses, the proportion of high IV elements is higher throughout than in the non-conjunct clauses, and this is the case for the subjects as well, as table 5.7 shows. However, the difference between the two clause types in this respect is not always statistically significant: the difference in the IV of the first X elements is not significant, for instance. As regards the second X elements, on the other hand, the difference between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses is clearer, with a higher proportion of low IV elements in this position in non-conjunct clauses. It

[60]Note that in the '3 X' non-conjunct clause row, under 'Second X element' and 'Third X element', the total number of constituents is 17 and 18, respectively, whereas the total number under 'First X element' is 19. This means that some of the second and third elements, such as adverbial clauses, were not analyzable in terms of low/high IV.

could be that since conjunct clauses express such things as contrast, condition, consequence, and addition (Quirk et al. 1985:930ff), they are more likely to contain high IV elements, particularly in clause-late position, than are non-conjunct clauses.

Table 5.7 shows the IV of subjects and initial X elements. Not all SXV clauses have an initial element, and some have more than one, but here I have only included instances of one initial element, mostly to get a rough idea of whether they are usually low or high IV elements. The table offers no big surprises: both the initial elements and the subjects are predominantly low IV elements. In this pattern, then, unlike the XSV pattern, there are few topicalized, contrastive, elements, which implies that the initial element in SXV clauses is probably largely a simple linking device.

Table 5.7: The IV of initial elements and subjects in the Old English SXV pattern.

		Old English			
		low IV		high IV	
		#	%	#	%
non-conj. clauses	Initial X	21	87.5	3	12.5
	Subject	72	84.7	13	15.3
conjunct clauses	Initial X	17	70.8	7	29.2
	Subject	81	68.1	38	31.9

In Middle English, the SXV pattern has decreased to such an extent that it hardly makes sense to operate with tables. Instead, we may recall table 4.25 (cf section 4.3.3.2) which shows that in the few SXV clauses that occur in early ME, there is usually only one X element, and it is, in a great majority of cases, a pronoun. By the late ME period, the SXV pattern has become practically obsolete. In other words, this pattern seems to have continued into the ME period mainly because pronominal objects lagged behind in moving to postverbal position.

While the data presented above shows that there is a tendency for a left-to-right increase in the IV of the clause elements in SXV clauses, from which it may be deduced that word order is in fact susceptible to pragmatic factors, it does not explain why the verb is in *final* position, and this is the next issue to be addressed. In doing so, it is the OE period we shall be concerned with, as it is in this period that the SXV pattern seems to have been relatively productive and used for other purposes than allowing a pronominal object to occur preverbally.

My suggestion is that in OE, as evidenced especially in clauses with more than one element occurring between the subject and the verb, SXV word order was used

in order to allow a 'high IV' *verb* to be placed in final position. We may recall from the discussion of Firbas' theory in section 5.2.1 that he, in most cases, regards the verbs as dynamically weaker than the other clause elements; ie, the semantic content of the other clause elements usually allows them to be 'successful competitors' and exceed the verb in communicative dynamism. However, it is my claim that in some cases the semantic content of the verb is such that it becomes dynamically strong, and it is in these cases, I shall argue, that it may qualify for clause-final position.

In order to get an indication of whether this line of reasoning would be worth pursuing, I started by performing a simple syllable count of the verbs in the SXV pattern (non-conjunct and conjunct clauses) as compared with the SVX pattern, since formal weight and semantic weight are often correlated.

Table 5.8: The number of syllables in verbs in SXV and SVX clauses.

	1 syllable		2 syllables		3 syllables		4 syllables		5 syllables		compl. VP	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
SXV	9	6.8	34	25.6	49	36.8	18	13.5	4	3.0	19	14.3
SVX	67	50.4	51	38.4	6	4.5	1	0.8	0	0	8	6.0

For both the SXV and the SVX pattern, I counted 133 verb phrases in *Bede, Orosius,* the *Blickling Homilies,* and *Apollonius of Tyre,* and distinguished between simple verb phrases with one, two, three, four and five syllables, and included a category of complex verb phrases as well. The result is unambiguous, as table 5.8 shows: 50.4% of the verbs in SVX clauses have only one syllable, which to some extent correlates with the fact that this is the pattern with most copulas, whereas 53.3% of the verbs in the SXV pattern have three, four, or five syllables. In other words, there can be no doubt that verbs in SXV clauses are generally weightier than verbs in the SVX pattern. When this has been established, the next step is to look at some actual examples, in order to find out more specifically what mechanisms are at play when the verb ends up in final position.

Recall at this point that we are not here primarily interested in constructions like (5.13), where, it may be argued, verb-final position can be attributed to the presence of a pronominal preverbal element:

(5.13) and cristene menn hi bebyrgodon
and Christian men her buried
'and Christian men buried her'
(*ÆLS*, 48:414)

We are rather interested in constructions like (5.14), where there are several, non-pronominal, elements between the subject and the verb, and where, at first glance, there seems to be no particular reason why the verb is in final position:

(5.14) (Þæs hean bisceopes leoma on þysse byrigenne syndon betyned, se symle leofað gehwær on unrim godum. Earmra hungur he oferswiðde mid mettum, 7 heora cyle mid hrægle,) *7 he mid halgum monungum saule fram feonde gescylde*
(Of-this exalted bishop limbs in this tomb are enclosed, who always lives everywhere by countless good-deeds. Of-the-poor hunger he assuaged with food, and their chill with garments,) and he by holy admonitions souls from foe protected
'(The limbs of this exalted bishop are enclosed in this tomb, who lives ever and everywhere by his countless good deeds. The hunger of the poor he assuaged with food, and their chill with garments,) and he by holy admonitions protected their souls from the foe'
(*Bede,* 94:17)

In (5.14), there are three X elements preceding the verb: the adverbial *mid halgum monungum,* the object *saule,* and the adverbial *fram feonde.* However, on the basis of our knowledge of OE word order, we may propose several alternative orderings of the clause elements in this clause (the list is not exhaustive):

(5.14 a) 7 saule he gescylde fram feonde mid halgum monungum
(5.14 b) 7 mid halgum monungum he gescylde saule fram feonde
(5.14 c) 7 he gescylde saule fram feonde mid halgum monungum
(5.14 d) 7 mid halgum monungum saule fram feonde he gescylde
(5.14 e) 7 mid halgum monungum he saule fram feonde gescylde

The question is then: if we assume that language is not an arbitrary system, even a language with a relatively free word order, why did the writer formulate it the way he did? Why did he not choose any of the other alternative ways of ordering the constituents? (5.14 a), for example, is the syntactic parallel to the previous sentence. The answer lies in the context, because the clause with which we are concerned is part of a list of the good deeds of the bishop. As such, the verb is a central element, since it is the verb that describes the actual deed, the *protecting* of the souls, even if the other clause elements convey new information. The reason why (5.14 a) is not as good, is that it has not one, but two postverbal adverbial prepositional phrases. This means that the second intonational peak (recall that there are two intonational peaks in topicalization; one on the topic, and one on another constituent) is likely to fall on one of the adverbials, and not on the verb, which is incompatible with the fact that it

is the central element semantically and pragmatically. In the clause *Earmra hungur he oferswiðde mid mettum,* there is only one postverbal adverbial, *mid mettum,* which means that the second intonational peak may fall on the verb. The argument against (5.14 a) also applies to (5.14 b), as well as to (5.14 c), where *gescylde* occurs too early in the clause to be a likely target for an intonational peak. (5.14 d) and (5.14 e) have the verb in final position, but in (5.14 d), there are three elements preceding the subject; ie, there is a cluster of heavy/high IV elements initially, which is usually not an optimal construction from a pragmatic point of view. (5.14 e) comes quite close to the original clause; the only difference is that *mid halgum monungum* and *he* have switched places, but the reason why this construction is not preferred is perhaps that the context does not call for the topicalization of *mid halgum monungum.*

By discussing this example in some detail, I have tried to show that word order is by no means arbitrary, and that it is usually a complex interplay of factors that determines the word order of a particular construction. Sometimes, pragmatics seems to be the strongest factor, as in (5.13) above; sometimes semantics and pragmatics work together, as we have just seen; sometimes stylistic factors must be taken into account, and interwoven with all of this is syntax. In OE, the syntactic confines within which pragmatics, semantics, and stylistics are allowed to operate are wider than they are today, which means that it makes sense to take such factors into account, rather than trying to fit the language into a particular syntactic type at any cost.

Before we leave the SXV pattern, we may consider another example of a verb-final clause with several, non-pronominal, elements occurring between the subject and the verb:

(5.15) (Ðises geares eac se biscop Rannulf to þam Candelmæssan ut of þam Ture on Lunden nihtes oðbærst þær he on hæftneðe wæs,) *þurh þes macunge mæst 7 tospryttinge se eorl Rotbert þises geares þis land mid unfriðe gesohte*
(This year also the bishop Rannulf at the Candlemas out of the Tower at London at-night escaped where he in captivity was;) through of-this the-making largely and the-incitement the Duke Robert this year this land with hostility visited
'(In this year also at Candlemas bishop Rannulf escaped by night out of the Tower of London where he had been imprisoned;) it was largely due to his scheming and instigation that Duke Robert had this year come to this country with hostile intent'
(*OE Peterb.,* 30:26 (1101))

This clause has an initial high IV adverbial, *þurh þes macunge 7 tospryttinge*, which conveys new information, and which, we may note, is the focus of a cleft sentence in the ModE idiomatic translation by Garmonsway (1954:237). This is the most

important element of the clause, since the information in the rest of the clause has been given at some point in the previous context; in fact, the entry for the year 1101 is largely concerned with Duke Robert of Normandy's hostile visit to England. However, since givenness is transitory, not all of the clause elements may be analyzed as low IV elements. The adverbial *þises geares* and the object *þis land* are low IV elements, since time and place naturally constitute background information throughout the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* The subject, *se eorl Rotbert,* and the adverbial *mid unfriðe,* are, on the other hand, high IV elements, since the context implies that they need to be reintroduced into the consciousness of the reader. So far, so good. But then there is the verb, and the issue of its final position. Since verbs are transient elements, it should come as no surprise that *gesohte* is new in the 'relatively immediate' context, although we have heard about Robert's coming to England before. It is also a semantically heavy element and as such qualified for final position. But why is the verb in final position, and not the adverbial *mid unfriðe*; ie, why is the structure not rather *se eorl Rotbert þises geares þis land gesohte mid unfriðe*? I think we have to consider what the entire paragraph, or entry, is about. Duke Robert's arrival in England is the central point of the entry, whereas his various undertakings in the country are a result of his being there. That is, *mid unfriðe* is secondary to *gesohte,* and as such likely to be more weakly stressed, which implies that it is also the less likely candidate for final position, especially in a paragraph that is the conclusion of the entry for 1101.

In section 4.2.4, it was pointed out that the word order patterns differ considerably with respect to the proportion of conjunct clauses in each pattern. Furthermore, the SXV pattern emerged as the pattern with the greatest proportion of conjunct clauses: over 50%. In section 5.4, we shall return to conjunct clauses and discuss some reasons for this distribution, but first, we shall have a look at another pattern that is interesting from a pragmatic perspective, namely the SXVX pattern.

5.3.3 The SXVX pattern

The SXVX pattern is interesting for some of the same reasons as the SXV pattern; ie, in spite of the fact that it is neither verb-second nor verb-medial, it is nevertheless used, and the same kind of questions that apply with respect to the use of the SXV pattern are relevant with respect to the use of the SXVX pattern. Within a generative framework, SXVX constructions in OE are often explained as clauses derived from an underlying verb-final structure by NP and PP postposition (cf Pintzuk 1995:240). In my opinion, the use of this word order must be seen in the light of interacting factors

(syntactic, pragmatic, semantic and stylistic) and that, perhaps, to an even greater extent than the use of SXV order.

As in the discussion of the SXV pattern, we shall start by looking at the IV of the clause elements, as shown in table 5.9. The table is constructed in the same way as table 5.6, showing the distribution of IV in clauses with one, two and three elements occurring between the subject and the verb. We may note that the great majority of SXVX clauses have only one such element, and as such the SXVX pattern differs from the SXV pattern, where the frequency of clauses with two or three preverbal X elements is higher. SXVX clauses, on the other hand, may have one or more postverbal elements. Table 5.10 shows the IV of initial elements, subjects and postverbal elements. As regards the initial element, there may be none or more than one, but I have only included occurrences of clauses with only one initial element, as in the discussion of SXV clauses. SXVX clauses always have a postverbal element, but there may be more than one. However, 5.10 shows the IV of the only postverbal element, if there is only one, or of the first of several postverbal elements. This allows us to get a general idea of the distribution without going into too much detail at this point.

The percentages have been computed from the total number of analyzable elements, as in tables 5.6 and 5.7. This means, for example, that there are 14 SXVX non-conjunct clauses with two preverbal X elements, but only 12 of the first X elements could be analyzed in terms of IV. Furthermore, not all clauses could be analyzed in terms of having either one, two or three preverbal elements, eg clauses with split elements, in which the first part occurs preverbally, and the second part postverbally. These have consequently been excluded from the analysis. Finally, as with the SXV pattern, the low number of tokens makes it necessary to combine the data for the early and late OE and ME periods.

Table 5.9 shows that in clauses with just one preverbal element, as well as in clauses with two or three preverbal elements, the first (or only) X element is usually a low IV element, while the second and third preverbal elements are more likely to be high IV elements, and this is in accordance with our expectations. When this has been said, it must be noted that whereas we may safely draw conclusions about clauses with one preverbal X element, there are too few occurrences of clauses with two or three elements to arrive at any kind of certainty.

Table 5.9: The distribution of preverbal low and high IV elements in the Old English SXVX pattern.

		Old English											
		First X element				Second X element				Third X element			
		low IV		high IV		low IV		high IV		low IV		high IV	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	1 X	77	84.6	14	15.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
conj.	2 X	10	83.3	2	16.7	8	57.1	6	42.9	–	–	–	–
cl.	3 X	2	66.7	1	33.3	1	33.3	2	66.7	1	50.0	1	50.0
	1 X	40	64.5	22	35.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
conj.	2 X	10	71.4	4	28.6	3	21.4	11	78.6	–	–	–	–
cl.	3 X	2	66.7	1	33.3	2	66.7	1	33.3	1	33.3	2	66.7

As regards initial elements, subjects and postverbal elements, the distribution is also as expected, with a majority of low IV initial elements and subjects, and a majority of high IV postverbal elements, as shown in table 5.10. In addition, we may recall (cf tables 4.26 and 4.27) that the postverbal element is often a clausal element, ie, an object clause or an adverbial clause. Object clauses in particular hardly ever occur in preverbal position.

Table 5.10: The IV of initial elements, subjects and postverbal elements in the Old and Middle English SXVX pattern.

		Old English				Middle English			
		low IV		high IV		low IV		high IV	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
non-	Init. X	27	84.4	5	15.6	18	85.7	3	14.3
conj.	Subj.	88	82.2	19	17.8	40	64.5	22	35.5
cl.	Pv X	19	28.4	48	71.6	7	16.7	35	83.3
	Init. X	7	87.5	1	12.5	5	62.5	3	37.5
conj.	Subj.	80	92.0	7	8.1	37	71.2	15	28.9
cl.	Pv X	13	26.5	36	73.5	9	19.6	37	80.4

I have not made a separate table for the ME preverbal X elements in the SXVX pattern, since the distribution is very homogeneous in this period and may be summed up as follows: in early ME, a great majority of the SXVX clauses only have one element between the subject and the verb, and this element is usually a pronoun (cf table 4.28); in this it is similar to the SXV pattern. In late ME, on the other hand,

there are no preverbal pronouns: to the extent that elements are found preverbally, they are adverbs or adverbial prepositional phrases (cf table 4.29).

So far, we have seen that the distribution of low and high IV elements is basically as expected from a pragmatic point of view. However, in order to really advance towards an understanding of the motivations behind the use of this word order, I think it is necessary, as with the SXV pattern, to adopt a more holistic approach and consider some specific examples. Again, it is primarily the occurrences of SXVX clauses with a preverbal element other than a light adverb or pronominal object we are interested in; ie, examples like (5.16) and (5.17), with a pronominal object (*eow*) and an adverb (*sona*) in perverbal position, are relatively easy to explain within a pragmatic framework, and are therefore not the ones that primarily concern us here:

(5.16) Eowre witgan eow witgodan dysig & leasunga
Your prophets you prophesied folly and falsehood
'Your prophets prophesied to you folly and falsehood'
(*CP,* 91:3)

(5.17) And Apollonius sona gemette oðerne cuðne man ongean hine gan
And Apollonius immediately met another known man towards him come
'And Apollonius immediately met another acquaintance coming towards him'
(*ApT,* 12:25)

We are mainly interested in clauses with other kinds of preverbal elements, and below we shall consider some examples.

The italicized clause in (5.18) is an (X)SXVX clause with an object, *ma and ma manna*, occurring between the subject and the verb, and an adverbial, *to heora agenre unþearfe*, as well as an adverbial clause, *swa æt nyhstan ... ne ege* in postverbal position. We are concerned with the reason for placing the nominal object preverbally, rather than postverbally, ie, why we do not rather see the structure *swa deofol forlærde 7 getihte ma and ma manna to heora agenre unþearfe*, which is also a possible construction. Another possible construction is *swa deofol ma and ma manna to heora agenre unþearfe forlærde 7 getihte*, with the verb in an even later position.

(5.18) (Heora bearna an gedyde syððan eac þurh deofles lare deoflice dæde, þæt was Cain. He ofsloh Abel, his agenne broðor, 7 ða wæs Godes yrre þurh ða dæde ofer eorðan yfele genidwod.) *And syððan aa swa heora ofspringes 7 mancynnes mare wearð, swa deofol ma and ma manna forlærde 7 getihte to heora agenre unþearfe swa æt nyhstan þæt hy to Gode næfdon naðe ne lufe ne ege*

(Of-their children one did later also through the devil's instigation devilish deed, that was Cain. He killed Abel, his own brother, and then was God's wrath because-of that deed over earth's evil compelled.) And afterwards always as their offspring and people greater became, so the devil more and more men led-astray and persuaded into their own ruin so next that they of God not-had neither love nor fear

'(One of their children later, through the instigation of the devil, did a wicked deed; that was Cain. He killed Abel, his own brother, and because of that deed, God was forced to let his wrath fall upon the earth's evil.) And ever after, as their offspring and people became more numerous, the devil led more and more men astray and into their own ruin, so that they had neither love nor fear of God'

(*WHom*, 145:53)

I shall argue that the actual sentence structure in this example is in fact the best solution. First of all, we have to note that the verb phrase consists of two coordinated verbs, *forlærde 7 getihte*, which are heavy both in terms of pure weight and in terms of semantic content, and as such qualify for clause-late position. The object *ma and ma manna* is indefinite, and even if it is new in the context, and as such a high IV element, the verb is the more important element semantically, since the context implies that the focus is on what the devil can do to people, or make people do, as exemplified by Cain. This, then, may explain the fact that the verb does not follow the subject immediately, but is placed later in the clause. However, it does not explain why it is not placed further back, after the adverbial prepositional phrase, for example. I think the reason, in simple terms, may be formulated as 'what belongs together goes together', and we may perhaps also bring in 'economy of expression' as a factor. We have two verbs, which both are transitive; ie, *ma and ma manna* is the object to both verbs. The adverbial *to heora agenre unþearfe* may also be said to be an adverbial to both verbs. What better, then, than to place one of the elements next to one of the verbs and the other next to the other verb? In this way, both the object and the adverbial are directly 'in touch with' the verb phrase. There is also a connection between the meaning of the two verbs and the surrounding elements; ie, it may be argued that the object is the most important element in relation to *forlærde*, since the meaning of the verb first and foremost implies that *someone* has to be led astray. Likewise, the most important element in relation to *getihte* is the adverbial, since the meaning of the verb implies not only that someone has to be persuaded, but that they have to be persuaded *into something*. It is in the light of this that my argument about placing elements together that belong together must be seen, and for this reason, in addition to the other factors mentioned above, the word order of the sentence is in fact the optimal one.

Let us consider another example. (5.19) is an (X)SXVX clause with two elements between the subject and the verb, the pronominal object *hy ealle* and the adverbial *mid facne*, in addition to a postverbal element, the adverbial *to deaðe.*

(5.19) (Seo ylce cwen Sameramis, syððan þæt rice wæs on hyre gewealde, nales þæt an þæt hio ðyrste[n]de wæs on symbel mannes blodes, ac eac swelce mid ungemetlicre wrænnesse manigfeald geligre fremmende wæs, swa þæt ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs, hio to hyre gespon for hyre geligernesse,) *7 syððan hio hy ealle mid facne beswac to deaðe*
(The same queen Semiramis, after the kingdom was in her power, not only her thirsting was continuously always of-man blood, but also with unbounded profligacy manifold lewdness perpetrating was, so that each of-them that she learn could that of-the-king's-family was, she to her enticed for her lustfulness,) and afterwards she them all with guile betrayed into death
'(The same queen Semiramis, after the kingdom was in her power, was not only always thirsting for man's blood, but also, with unbounded profligacy, formed plans for such manifold lewdness, that she enticed to her bed every one of those that she knew to be of the king's family,) and afterwards, with guile, she put them all to death'
(*Or*, 22:19)

The question we need to ask should be familiar by now: why is the structure not *syððan hio hy ealle beswac mid facne to deaðe*, or *syððan hio hy ealle mid facne to deaðe beswac*? To start with the latter structure, it is abundantly clear from the previous context that queen Semiramis is a devious character who may very well betray somebody, so that the dramatic effect of the sentence, or the highest information value, lies in the fact that she betrayed them *into death*; therefore this is the clause-final element. On the other hand, *beswac* is a more central element than *mid facne*, because betraying someone implies employing a certain amount of guile. In view of this, the chosen constituent order seems the best one. We may note that the IV of the elements cannot tell us much in this case because they are all high IV elements in my, admittedly rather rough, analysis. However, if we go deeper into the matter, we may discern the finer distinctions, and thereby understand that what seems random is in fact the opposite, namely a careful arrangement of clause elements for specific purposes.

The above discussion should have made it clear that in the SXVX pattern too, the interaction between syntax, semantics, pragmatics and stylistic factors contributes to the actual organization of the elements in the clause. Consequently, rather than being anomalies in a verb-second language, these clauses in particular show that the writers – consciously or subconsciously – made use of the options

available to them in order to process and structure information in the most context-sensitive, efficient, and also elegant, way.

5.3.4 The SVX, SV1XV2, verb-initial, XXVS and XXSV patterns: general comments

The above paragraphs have treated the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns in some detail, but in this section we shall be concerned with the remaining word order patterns in more general terms. The preceding paragraphs should have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that word order is more than syntax, and it is therefore deemed unnecessary to discuss the other patterns in as much detail. However, a few general comments are in place in order to achieve a more complete picture.

The SVX pattern is a rather straightforward one from a pragmatic point of view, since the structure of these clauses generally conforms to the basic pragmatic rules. Subjects, which are usually given, and therefore low IV elements, occur early in the clause. Verbs, which are very often 'transitional', to borrow a term from Firbas, occur in the middle, whereas new, heavy and high IV elements occur at the end of the clause. In OE, this structure is even more pronounced than in ModE, since light elements, such as pronominal objects usually occur preverbally. Consequently, the X positions in the SVX pattern mostly contain high IV elements, such as nominal objects, object clauses, subject complements, adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses.

In section 4.3.3.4, the types of element that occur in the SV1XV2 pattern were described. The 'interverbal' element; ie, the element occurring between the finite and the non-finite verb is mostly an adverb, although nominal and pronominal objects are also found in this position. In other words, the 'interverbal' element is likely to be a low IV element. It is possible, then, that the splitting of the verb phrase may be seen as a compromise between syntactic and pragmatic factors, in that it allows the part of the verb phrase with most semantic content to be postponed, while the finite verb, the precursor to the auxiliary, is in second position, in accordance with the verb-second constraint.

The verb-initial pattern is an interesting one, especially when it occurs in a language with a V2 constraint. However, the OE verb-initial clauses are not unique; verb-initial order is for example quite common in Old Norse, a V2 language, especially when the subject is a clause, or a pronoun in the first or second person (Haugen 1995:249). In this, Old Norse and OE are similar, except that in OE, the pronominal subject is often in the third person as well. The Old Norse verb-initial

order has been described as a 'moving' order (Heusler 1931:168), and Stockwell suggests that verb-initial word order 'would code some semantic content such as "vividness" of action: i.e., the action, not the participants, would be primary in the expression' (1977:291). Verb-initial clauses are found in Modern Icelandic as well, but in restricted environments, in that they are associated with narrative texts, and do not occur at the beginning of paragraphs. Their function is primarily to signal a link to the previous context and push the narrative forwards (Svavarsdóttir 1987:85). In other words, it is perhaps possible to ascribe verb-initial order to semantic and stylistic factors as well, although we may, on the basis of our investigations of other word order patterns, assume that it is not just the nature of the verb that plays a role, but the nature of the verb in interaction with the context and the nature of the other clause elements.

As regards the XXVS and XXSV patterns, they are subject to the same mechanisms that influence the word order of XVS and XSV clauses, as evidenced, among other things, by the fact that XXVS order, like XVS order, becomes increasingly reserved for existential clauses in the ME period. The two initial elements are usually low IV elements, as is the case with initial X elements in general.

5.3.5 Summary and conclusion

This section has been concerned with the relationship between word order and information structure, with particular focus on the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns. Most studies of word order development in the earlier stages of English concentrate on the first two patterns, since they are the archetypal verb-second and verb-medial patterns and as such interesting to compare. However, since my hypothesis is that OE had a V2 constraint, but that this constraint could be overridden by pragmatic factors, it is of special interest to consider some of the other word order patterns that occur, since one would expect the hypothesis, if it holds, to be substantiated by these patterns. From the study of SXV and SXVX clauses, it may be concluded beyond reasonable doubt that word order is indeed influenced, not only by pragmatic, but also by semantic and stylistic factors, and that these factors interact in a complex and subtle manner. Furthermore, given that such factors were so influential in OE, it is unlikely that they should not have played a role in the development and change of word order that English underwent. In other words, the conclusion we may draw is that V2 syntax could be overridden by pragmatic (in combination with other) factors in OE. As a result of this, light/low IV subjects occurred preverbally, which in turn led to the reanalysis of preverbal position as the subject position, and subsequently to a verb-medial rule for English. And my main

point is that the reason we know that not only syntactic factors, such as clitic positions, were involved, is that evidence from other patterns than the XSV and XVS patterns strongly suggests so. That is, since other word order patterns can be shown to be a result of factors in addition to the mere syntactic ones, it is not likely that the XSV pattern should not be subject to such factors as well. Thus, by approaching Old and Middle English word order from a holistic perspective, we get a more comprehensive picture of the situation than by just considering one or two word order patterns.

5.4 Conjunct clauses revisited

In this section we return to conjunct clauses, and on the basis of the data presented in section 4.2.4 and in the previous sections of the present chapter, I shall try to approach an explanation of the differences between word order patterns with respect to the distribution of conjunct and non-conjunct clauses in each pattern.

Before we start, a short recapitulation of the main facts of section 4.2.4 might be in order. In this section it was shown that it is not the case that conjunct clauses are usually verb-final, as has so often been claimed. What is the case, however, is that SXV, or verb-final, clauses are often conjunct clauses, which is an entirely different matter. In other words, there is what I call 'asymmetry' in the relation between conjunct clauses and verb-final order. In this respect the SXV pattern differs from the XVS pattern, where there is 'symmetry'; ie, there are few conjunct clauses with XVS word order, and few XVS conjunct clauses. In the XSV pattern, on the other hand, there is asymmetry, but it is not as pronounced as in the SXV pattern. That is, there are few conjunct clauses with XSV word order, but while the percentage of conjunct clauses in the XSV pattern is quite high, it is not higher than we would expect, given the general ratio of conjunct clauses to non-conjunct clauses.

In the following, I shall be concerned with these three word order patterns, although the same types of observation may be made about other word order patterns too; in section 4.2.4, the verb-initial pattern and the SV_1XV_2 pattern were mentioned specifically. However, the aim of this section is to show the main mechanisms behind the choice of word order in relation to conjunct clauses, and I believe that through a discussion of the SXV, XVS and XSV patterns, this goal will be achieved.

The main lines of the argument which will be pursued in this section are the following: since word order was arguably freer in the stages of English we are concerned with here, the functional aspect was more conspicuous. We have already seen that word order in OE cannot be ascribed to syntactic factors only, but must be

seen as a result of a subtle interplay between syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and sometimes stylistic, factors. At the same time, we may assume that different clause types have different functions as well. It was mentioned in section 4.2.4 that conjunct clauses have more of an elaborating and modifying function than other main clauses (cf Traugott 1992:277). I shall argue that it is in the intersection between these factors that the explanation for the distribution outlined above should be sought, and it is the demonstration of where this intersection might lie that is the topic of the next few sections.

5.4.1 Conjunct clauses and SXV order

Since the relationship between conjunct clauses and verb-final order was the origin of the discussion in chapter 4, it is a suitable place to start when we now return to and continue that discussion. The aim of this section is to show that the function of the SXV pattern to a greater extent than other patterns correlates with the function of conjunct clauses. That is, if pragmatic and semantic factors conspire to produce a clause with SXV word order, this clause is more likely to be a conjunct clause than is for example an XVS clause.

We have seen that in SXV clauses,

- the subject is mostly given,
- the X elements are often pronouns or short adverbs,
- if there are several X elements, they tend to have higher IV the further back in the clause they are,
- if there is an initial X element, it is often a low IV element; ie, it is likely to serve as a link by referring to some element in the previous clause,
- the verb is often semantically, and thus informationally, heavy.

It has also been demonstrated that in the cases where these factors are not all present in one and the same clause – the X elements may, for example, be new, and thus high IV elements – other, more subtle, factors, structural and semantic, relating to the immediately preceding context, play a role in determining the resulting verb-final order. As regards conjunct clauses, we assume that they have more of an elaborating and modifying function than non-conjunct clauses. This implies that in a conjunct clause, the verb *may* occur in final position more easily than in a non-conjunct clause (which does not mean that it necessarily *does*). The reason for this is that in the first of two conjoined clauses, or in an independent main clause, the verb needs to appear early, since it is important to establish what is going on, what the action is. In a

conjunct clause, on the other hand, the main importance does not lie in establishing what the action is, but rather how it relates to the preceding clause, by expressing contrast, condition and consequence, for example (cf Quirk et al. 1985:930ff). Hence, the verb is potentially more likely to be heavy informationally, and thus eligible for clause-final position. This is where the function of SXV word order and the function of the conjunct clause intersect: the pragmatic nature of SXV clauses implies that many of them will be conjunct clauses, because conjunct clauses potentially come closer to meeting the functional requirements of SXV word order than do non-conjunct clauses. Or to put it more simply: it is easier for conjunct clauses than for non-conjunct clauses to fit into the SXV garb. It is important to keep in mind that the argument is not circular: I am not saying that SXV clauses are more likely to be conjunct clauses because conjunct clauses are more likely to have SXV order; what I am saying is that SXV clauses are more likely to be conjunct clauses because the way the elements are structured, with low IV elements initially, and an informationally heavy verb, correlates with the way conjunct clauses *may* be structured; ie, the pragmatic 'requirements' of SXV word order can be met more easily by conjunct clauses than by other main clauses.

An example might help make the point clearer. In (5.20), there are four conjunct clauses, of which (I) has XVS order, (II) has SVX order, and (III) and (IV) have SXV order. This is a good illustration of the fact that the word order of conjunct clauses varies greatly, and furthermore that it is context-dependent. The clause in (I) tells us that the topic of the present paragraph is 'the holy writings' and what has been predicted there; it serves as an introduction to the actions that will be described in the subsequent clauses. The subject is heavy, new, and therefore a high IV element, and the word order is consequently XVS. In (II), we are told that Jesus was given into the hands of heathens so that they could mock him. The word order is SVX, as a consequence of the importance of the object and the adverbial; it is established who Jesus was given to, which is necessary knowledge in order to understand what comes later, and we are told that he will be mocked, which also serves as an introduction to the subsequent clauses, in which the nature of the mockery is described in a more precise manner.

(5.20) Nu we faraþ to Gerusalem, (I) & þonne beoð gefylde ealle þa halgan gewreotu þe be mannes suna awritene wæron; (II) & he bið geseald hæþnum mannum, þæt hie hine bysmrian; hie hine bindað & swingað & spætliað on his onsyne; (III) & æfter þære swinglan hie hine ofsleað; (IV) & þy þriddan dæge he of deaþe ariseþ
Now we go to Jerusalem, and then are fulfilled all the holy writings that about of-Man Son written were; and he is given to-heathen men, that they mock him; they

him bind and scourge and spit in his face; and after the scourging they him slay; and the third day he from death rises
'Now we shall go to Jerusalem, and then shall be fulfilled all the holy writings that were written concerning the Son of Man. And he shall be given into the hands of heathen men, that they may mock him; they shall bind him and scourge him and spit in his face; and after the scourging they shall slay him, and the third day he shall rise from death'
(*BlHom,* 15:5)

The clause that starts with *hie hine bindað...* marks the beginning of the exact description of what was done to Jesus, and it is perhaps for this reason that it is not a conjunct clause. There is a break in the narrative here: the first sentences give information about the time, place, who is involved, and a general hint as to what is going to happen, whereupon the exact description follows. There is thus a general part and a specific part, and the little break in the narrative marks the border between these two parts. In the specific part, we are first told that Jesus was bound and scourged and spat upon. Then the conjunct clauses in (III) and (IV) tell us that he was killed and rose from death. In (III), the object, *hine*, is pronominal, which explains the verb-final order, and in (IV), the verb *ariseð* contrasts with *ofsleað* in the previous clause, and it is therefore natural that it is given final position. In addition, the adverbial *of deaðe* is a low IV element, since it conveys given information.

If we now remove the coordinating conjunctions in (5.20), the structure of the text becomes as shown in (5.20 a). I shall argue that the removal of the conjunctions is felt more acutely in the verb-final clauses than in the other clauses. In (I) and (II), the absence of the conjunction does not make a great deal of difference with respect to the cohesion of the text. In (III) and (IV), on the other hand, and especially in (IV), the absence of the conjunction affects the textual cohesion in a more marked way.

(5.20 a) Nu we faraþ to Gerusalem. (I) Þonne beoð gefylde ealle þa halgan gewreotu þe be mannes suna awritene wæron. (II) He bið geseald hæþnum mannum, þæt hie hine bysmrian; hie hine bindað & swingað & spætliað on his onsyne. (III) Æfter þære swinglan hie hine ofsleað. (IV) Þy þriddan dæge he of deaþe ariseþ.

According to Quirk et al., '*and* is the coordinator which has the most general meaning and use. The only restriction on the use of *and* as a coordinator is the pragmatic one that the clauses should have sufficient in common to justify their combination' (1985:930). In (5.20), the clauses linked by *and* all have enough in common for them to be coordinated, in that each conjunct clause contains anaphoric links to the preceding clause and is clearly related to it. However, (IV) has particularly much in common

with the preceding clause (III) in that not only are the clauses related contentwise, but the structure is also exactly the same. What we have here, then, is a clause in which the initial adverbial implies the continuation of some action, the subject and the preverbal adverbial have anaphoric reference, and the verb contrasts with the verb in the preceding clause. In view of this, we would expect the clause to be a conjunct clause, since there are so many factors that cooperate in that direction. This is what I mean by the intersection between the function of the SXV order and the function of the conjunct clause: the way the constituents relate to the previous context, combined with the way conjunct clauses are known to function, makes it probable that (IV) should be a conjunct clause rather than a non-conjunct clause. (III) is also more likely to be a conjunct clause, but slightly less so than (IV), since it is not structurally identical to the preceding clause. However, it has an initial adverbial which, like the adverbial in (IV), implies the continuation of something. So does the verb, which describes the last action in a series of atrocities. In addition, both the subject and the object are pronominal elements, with anaphoric reference. (I) and (II), on the other hand, do not have such strong relationships with the previous context as (III) and (IV): in (I), a new subject is introduced, and in (II), the focus is on the object and the adverbial. The verbs in these two clauses are therefore informationally less prominent than the verbs in (III) and (IV). For these reasons, the coordinating conjunction is not missed as much in (I) and (II) as it is in (III) and (IV).

5.4.2 Conjunct clauses and XVS order

The XVS pattern contrasts with the SXV pattern in that XVS clauses are rarely conjunct clauses. In other words, the function of XVS word order does not correlate with the function of conjunct clauses to any great extent. If we recall some of the facts about XVS clauses that have emerged in the previous discussion, we get the following list:

- the X element is very often *þa* or *þonne* in the Old English XVS non-conjunct clauses,
- in the Old English period, existential verbs are more common in the XVS conjunct clause pattern than in the non-conjunct clause pattern,
- in Middle English, XVS order is mostly used for existential sentences,
- the subject is usually nominal, and clausal subjects only occur in this pattern (and in the similar XXVS pattern).

In other words, XVS word order is particularly suitable for introducing new turns of events and heavy, new, high IV subjects. One consequence of the latter is that the word order of existential sentences is often XVS. In view of this, it is hardly surprising that the XVS pattern does not contain very many conjunct clauses, since neither the description of new turns of events nor the existential construction is compatible with the function of conjunct clauses to any great extent. However, existential sentences are more likely to be conjunct clauses than are clauses describing new turns of events, since a listing of things is sometimes involved in the expression of existentiality, as in the following well-known account by Wulfstan:

(5.21) Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel, 7 þær bið swyde manig burh, 7 on ælcere byrig bið cyningc, 7 þær bid swyðe mycel hunig 7 fiscað, 7 se cyning 7 þa ricostan men drincað myran meolc, 7 þa unspedigan 7 þa þeowan drincað medo. Þær bið swyðe mycel gewinn betweonan him. 7 ne bið ðær nænig ealo gebrowen mid Estum, ac þær bið medo genoh
That Estonia is very large, and there are very many towns, and in each town is king, and there is very much honey and fishing, and the king and the richest men drink mare's milk, and the poor and the slaves drink mead. There is very much war between them. And not is there any ale brewed among Estonians, but there is mead enough
'Estonia is very large, and there are very many towns, and in each town there is a king. There is very much honey and fishing. The king and the richest men drink mare's milk, but the poor and the slaves drink mead. There is much war between them. There is no ale brewed among the Estonians, but there is mead enough'
(*Or*, 17:1)

This also explains why the proportion of conjunct clauses is slightly higher in the ME XVS pattern (cf table 4.10), since a majority of XVS clauses are existential sentences in this period.

When we know that conjunct clauses are rare in the XVS pattern, and why, we may ask what characterizes the XVS clauses which do have an initial coordinating conjunction. (5.20 I) above exemplifies one of the rare occurrences of an XVS conjunct clause with initial *þa/þonne*, where the coordinating conjunction is justified by the fact that the clause describes the next step in a sequence of actions begun in the preceding clause. We have also seen, with (5.21) as an example, that paragraphs which involve making a list of something may contain XVS conjunct clauses with existential meaning. Moreover, XVS clauses with initial *and/ac* often have an adverbial clause, a pronominal object, or the conjunct *þeah* 'nevertheless', 'however', in initial position. Also, if the initial element is a prepositional phrase, the prepositional complement often contains a deictic element which points directly to the preceding clause. An

example of the latter is given in (5.22), where *ðam fare* refers to the voyage just mentioned in the previous clause:

(5.22) Syððan heræfter sætte se kyng Henrig his castelas 7 his land on Normandi æfter his willan, 7 swa toforan Aduent hider to lande for. 7 *On þam fare* wurdon adr[u]ncene þæs cynges twegen sunan Willelm 7 Ricard
Afterwards thereafter settled the king Henry his castles and his land in Normandy after his will, and so before Advent hither to country went. And on that passage were drowned of-the king two sons William and Richard
'Thereafter king Henry made arrangements for the administration of his castles and land in Normandy, and so returned hither to this country before Advent. And on that passage, two of the king's sons, William and Richard, drowned'
(*OE Peterb.*, 40:4 (1120))

The point is that in the cases where a clause with XVS order is also a conjunct clause, the initial element must be of such a nature as to convey strong links to the previous context, so that it becomes natural to link the two by means of a conjunction.

The examples given so far have all contained the coordinating conjunction *and.* This is the most common of the conjunctions, and the one with the most general meaning, whereas *ac* and *oððe* have more specific meanings. According to Quirk et al., *but* expresses contrast and *or* introduces an alternative (1985:932ff), and in general, these meanings are also conveyed by the OE conjunctions. For this reason I decided to concentrate on *and*-clauses, since it is particularly in these cases that it might be interesting to explicate the relationship between the conjunct clause and its immediate surroundings.

5.4.3 Conjunct clauses and XSV order

We have seen that the SXV pattern contains more conjunct clauses than we would expect, and that the XVS pattern contains less. In the XSV pattern, on the other hand, the proportion of conjunct clauses is about as expected, given the general ratio of conjunct clauses to non-conjunct clauses, as shown in section 4.2.4. This means that the function of XSV word order to a certain extent correlates with the function of conjunct clauses. In the two previous sections, it was shown how the pragmatic nature of the SXV and XVS patterns contribute towards the high proportion of conjunct clauses in the former and the low proportion in the latter. The XSV pattern does not have the kind of characteristics that would result in a particularly high or a particularly low proportion of conjunct clauses in the pattern, and this generally has to do with the 'anonymity' of the subject and the verb; ie, the subject is usually given,

and the verb is not particularly heavy semantically. Consequently, XSV clauses are sometimes conjunct clauses and sometimes not, and the clue to the reason why they are one or the other often lies in the initial element. For example, if there is an initial topicalized object, the clause is often a conjunct clause, since topicalization in many cases implies a listing of something. (5.7) above is an example. Furthermore, some initial elements, such as *eac* 'also', *eft* 'again', *siððan* 'afterwards', *þeah* 'nevertheless', *hwæðere* 'yet', *forði* 'therefore', constitute such strong links to the preceding clause that the clause in which they appear is likely to be a conjunct clause. An example is given in (5.23):

(5.23) Ðæt ilce oðwat Dryhten ðurh ðone witgan, ða he cuæð: Dumbe hundas ne magon beorcan. *Ond eft he cidde, ða he cuæð*: "…"
That same rebuked God through the prophet, when he said: Dumb dogs not can bark. And again he rebuked, when he said: "…"
'The same [fault] the Lord rebuked through the prophet, when he said: "Dumb dogs cannot bark". And again he rebuked [it], when he said: "…"'
(*CP*, 89:16)

In other cases, the connection between the clauses is not strong enough to justify conjoining them. In (5.24), *þam dæge* has cataphoric reference to *þe ic com to mannum*; ie, the demonstrative determiner *ðam* does not point back to the preceding clause, but rather forward to the relative clause, and the connection is therefore rather weak:

(5.24) Eala ðu eugenia . ne beo þu afyrht . Ic eom þin hælend . þe þu healice wurðost . On þam dæge þa scealt cuman to me . þe ic com to mannum
Behold you Eugenia, not be you afraid. I am your Savior whom you highly honor. On that day you shall come to me that I came to men
'Behold, Eugenia! Be not afraid! I am your Savior, whom you highly honor. On that day you shall come to me when I came to man'
(*ÆLS*, 48:407)

In the ME period, conjunct clauses are more frequent in the XSV pattern than in the OE period. The general proportion of conjunct clauses in ME is about 40%, but the proportion of conjunct clauses in the XSV pattern is 54.9% in this period (cf table 4.10). In other words, it seems as if XSV order is even more accommodating towards conjunct clauses in the ME period than in the OE period, and the question is whether a reason for this may be discerned.

Tables 4.19–4.22 in section 4.3.3.1 show that in general, single adverbs are the most common elements in initial position in ME XSV clauses, whereas there is greater variation with respect to type of element in this position in OE. Furthermore,

in ME, to an even greater extent than in OE, these adverbs are resultive, summative or concessive conjuncts, such as *þerfore* 'therefore', *þus* 'thus' *so*, 'then', or *ȝit* 'yet', or adjuncts such as *þær* 'there' and *siððan* 'afterwards'. It is possible that the reason for the higher frequency of these elements in ME, and consequently the higher proportion of conjunct clauses, has to do with the decreasing markedness of XSV order as verb-medial syntax gradually became established.

5.5 Summary and conclusion

The primary focus of this chapter has been on the relationship between word order and information structure, as manifested in the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns in particular, and on some theoretical issues pertaining to the development of a method for the pragmatic analysis. Furthermore, the difference between the word order patterns with respect to the distribution of conjunct clauses within each pattern has been explored further in this chapter, with special reference to the SXV, XVS and XSV patterns.

The method used for the analysis of the information structure of the clauses makes a binary distinction between elements with low information value (low IV) and elements with high information value (high IV). This distinction is based primarily on contextual and semantic factors, and the target is nominal, adjectival and adverbial elements. Verbs, on the other hand, being transient elements, do not lend themselves as easily to this kind of analysis. Instead, the semantic load, and also the formal weight, of the verb are referred to where relevant.

The investigation of word order and information structure started with the XVS and XSV patterns, which were presented together for the purpose of comparison, and the initial element and the subject were analyzed in terms of IV. It was shown that the two word order patterns clearly differ with respect to the IV of their elements, a difference which reflects their syntactic and pragmatic functions. In the OE period, the XVS pattern is characterized by a high proportion of initial low IV elements, whereas the IV of the subjects is more variable, with a slightly higher proportion of low IV subjects in non-conjunct clauses, and a higher proportion of high IV subjects in conjunct clauses. The distribution in non-conjunct clauses to a certain extent reflects the fact that very many of the OE XVS clauses begin with *þa* or *þonne*, in which case even pronominal (low IV) subjects are placed postverbally. Conjunct clauses rarely have an initial *þa* or *þonne*, therefore the proportion of high IV subjects is higher, since postverbal position is after all the natural position for high IV elements. However, the distribution of low and high IV subjects also indicates that the XVS pattern was subject to syntactic rules, since there is vacillation with respect

to the placement of low and high IV subjects irrespective of the *þa/þonne*-constructions; ie, too many low IV subjects occur postverbally for it to be likely that this pattern is entirely pragmatically governed.

In the XSV pattern, the great majority of subjects are low IV elements, which is what we would expect if they are placed preverbally for pragmatic reasons; ie, because they are light/low IV elements. The initial element, on the other hand, varies with respect to IV, and there is also a marked difference between non-conjunct clauses and conjunct clauses in this respect. Whereas OE XSV non-conjunct clauses have a relatively high proportion of initial high IV elements, the proportion in conjunct clauses is not only high, but actually exceeds the proportion of low IV elements. This distribution correlates to a large extent with the fact that it is in the XSV pattern that topicalization occurs, and with the fact that conjunct clauses are particularly susceptible to topicalization.

In the ME period, the distribution of low and high IV elements changes considerably, reflecting the fact that the motivations for these two word order patterns were changing as well. XVS order becomes used in environments where pragmatic pressure is so strong as to force the subject into postverbal position, ie, primarily in existential sentences. In other words, this word order is no longer a productive syntactic pattern by the late ME period, but is rather retained as an alternative which may be used under the right pragmatic premises. As the development towards verb-medial syntax progresses, the XSV pattern, on the other hand, becomes increasingly syntactically governed, and therefore less marked, as evidenced by the pronounced decrease in initial high IV elements in the ME period.

What we have seen, then, is that XVS and XSV word order, though on a superficial level differing only in the position of the subject and the finite verb, in fact differ in more fundamental ways related to functional aspects of word order.

Most studies dealing with word order in the earlier stages of English tend to focus on XVS and XSV word order. In my opinion, however, the features of other word order patterns may yield even more interesting insights into the mechanisms behind word order choices, and consequently, I have in this chapter also discussed the SXV and SXVX patterns. Whereas the investigation of the information structure of XVS and XSV clauses concentrated on the IV of the initial element and the subject, I adopted a more holistic approach for the study of SXV and SXVX word order, where both the information value of the elements and the semantic content of the verb were taken into consideration. In addition, a detailed examination of the contextual factors was carried out for each example, with the aim of explicating exactly how the clause in question related to the surrounding text.

The results of this investigation were very interesting, for if it had already been established that word order in general must be ascribed to the influence of various factors, the investigation demonstrated in a more detailed manner that there is in fact nothing coincidental about Old English word order at all. It was shown that if the verb is placed in clause-final or clause-late position, there are very good reasons for doing so, and these reasons may be found in the interplay between syntax, pragmatics, semantics, and sometimes stylistic factors.

In the last part of this chapter, the focus was on the relationship between word order and conjunct clauses, and the discussion begun in chapter 4 was taken up again, this time with the aim of elaborating on the reasons why some word order patterns have a higher proportion of conjunct clauses than others. In other words, the discussion concerned the distribution of conjunct clauses in the different word order patterns, and not the distribution of word order in conjunct clauses. The point of departure was the difference in the distribution of conjunct clauses in the SXV, XVS and XSV patterns, with a high proportion in the SXV pattern and a low proportion in the XVS pattern, whereas the proportion of conjunct clauses in the XSV pattern was largely as expected. It was shown that the reason for this distribution may be found in the intersection between the functional aspects of each particular word order and the function of conjunct clauses. For example, the pragmatic nature of SXV clauses, ie, the way they must be organized in terms of information structure, implies that many of them will be conjunct clauses, because conjunct clauses potentially come closer to meeting the functional requirements of SXV word order than non-conjunct clauses do. This is due to the elaborating and modifying function of conjunct clauses, which typically express such things as condition, contrast and consequence. Conversely, the nature of XVS word order implies that conjunct clauses will be rare in this pattern, whereas the XSV pattern is of such a nature as to neither prevent nor accommodate conjunct clauses in any distinct way.

All in all, then, what this chapter has shown beyond reasonable doubt is that functional aspects must be given far more attention in studies of word order in earlier stages of English than has hitherto been the case. In particular, it would be interesting to study more examples in as much detail as has been done with some examples in this chapter, in order to arrive at an even greater level of accuracy in the description of the interplay between the various factors that have been shown to play a central role in determining word order. In any case, as it seems clear that OE word order was indeed strongly influenced by pragmatic factors, it would be very surprising if these factors did not have any bearing upon the development of word order. Consequently, the hypothesis that V2 syntax could be overridden by

pragmatic factors in OE, and that this in turn contributed to English becoming a verb-medial language, for example by reanalysis of preverbal position as the subject position, is, in my opinion, a likely one.

Longae finis chartaeque viaeque (Horace)

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

It is time to conclude, and in this final chapter, I shall give an overview of the background for this work, the analyses carried out and the results of the analyses, and suggest some paths for further research.

The word order of the earlier stages of English has been studied extensively over the years, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, and the present work builds on the results of previous studies, while at the same time trying to add new perspectives to the field. Hence, where previous studies have focused on selected aspects of word order, often the XVS and XSV patterns, this work is concerned with word order in general. The reason is that studies which concentrate on some selected word order patterns tend to overlook certain essential facts about other patterns, which in turn contradict their hypotheses. Also, although this work does not place itself within a generative framework, I found it important to relate my work to one of the main hypotheses proposed by generative syntacticians with respect to Old English word order, ie, the clitic hypothesis. Furthermore, some studies have been criticized for failing to distinguish between clauses introduced by a coordinating conjunction and other main clauses, since it has been claimed that conjunct clauses are characterized by verb-final word order. Consequently, I discussed this claim, and rejected it, but in the course of the discussion it became clear that there are other interesting aspects of word order in relation to conjunct clauses that must be considered. In general, it has been important for me to ensure that others could make use of the data presented, and relate their ideas and findings to the results of this work. Therefore, I have made an effort to be as explicit as possible with respect to the methodological basis for the analyses carried out and the analyses themselves.

The background for the work carried out in this dissertation is the frequently made observation that although Old English may have a verb-second constraint, it is not a consistent verb-second language. Furthermore, in the course of the Middle English period, a radical change took place, to the effect that English is now a verb-medial language. In this respect, it is unique among the Germanic languages, and in the past, various explanations for this development have been proposed. The aim of

this work has been to look in particular at word order from a pragmatic point of view, and the hypothesis that formed the basis for the investigation is that OE had a V2 constraint, but that this constraint could be overridden by pragmatic factors. This in turn contributed to the reanalysis of preverbal position as the subject position and to English becoming a verb-medial language. In order to test this hypothesis, it was first necessary to examine the features of Old and Middle English word order, as well as the development of word order in the course of the Old and Middle English periods, to get a clearer picture of what type of language OE was, and what it changed into. Secondly, in order to support the claim that preverbal position was reanalyzed as the subject position due to pragmatic factors, it was not enough to show that light elements such as pronominal subjects in fact occur preverbally; it also had to be demonstrated that OE word order was so susceptible to pragmatic factors that the likelihood of such factors also playing a role in the subsequent word order change must necessarily have been great. In other words, the functional aspect of word order has been a major concern of this work, and it has been shown that OE word order can by no means be attributed to structural factors only, but that different patterns to a large extent had different pragmatic functions. Thus, it has not been my intention to explain non-V2 sentences as anomalies in a V2 language; rather, I accept the variation in word order (though I find it likely that OE had some sort of V2 constraint), and my purpose has been to find explanations for this variation.

The dissertation started with a general introduction and a chapter on previous research, after which, in chapter 3, I continued by discussing some problems encountered in the analysis of the clauses in the corpus. This chapter also contained a presentation of the nine word order patterns I have operated with in this work. The first three chapters, then, mainly functioned as preliminaries to chapters 4 and 5, which dealt with word order distribution, and word order and information structure, respectively. In the first part of chapter 4, the word order distribution in the early and late Old and Middle English periods was shown, as well as the distribution in individual texts. The tendency is clear: while OE word order is quite heterogeneous, word order develops towards greater homogeneity in the ME period. Moreover, the proportion of verb-medial clauses becomes considerably greater, although verb-second, or XVS, order is still not uncommon.

Following this general presentation of word order distribution, the clitic hypothesis was discussed. It was found that it runs into some fundamental problems, one of which is that there are so many counterexamples to it that it cannot account for the OE data in a satisfactory manner. Nevertheless, in order that the results of this work may be compared with the results of others who take a different view, I

showed the word order distribution and development under this hypothesis. It turned out that the general picture of word order distribution and development is largely the same whether we take clitics into account or not, except for the fact that operating with clitics distorts the picture of early ME word order, since it requires XSV clauses with a pronominal subject to be analyzed as verb-second clauses. This is, in my opinion, very unfortunate, since it conceals the fact that verb-medial clauses became increasingly common, and makes the proportion of verb-second clauses in this period inordinately high.

As mentioned above, the frequently made claim that conjunct clauses differ from other main clauses by being largely verb-final was also discussed. It was found that this claim does not hold, since only a small minority of conjunct clauses are verb-final. However, what became apparent in the course of the discussion was that the proportion of conjunct clauses in the different word order patterns varies considerably. For example, the SXV pattern has a high proportion of conjunct clauses, whereas the proportion in the XVS pattern is very low. After having established these facts in chapter 4, the discussion of possible reasons for this distribution was left until chapter 5, where it was argued that the explanation must be sought in the interplay between the pragmatic functions of the different word orders, and the particular functions of conjunct clauses.

The last part of chapter 4 was concerned with the question of what types of element occur in the various clause positions in the different word order patterns, and the focus was on types of subject (nominal, pronominal and clausal), types of verb (verbs with complement, verbs without complement, copulas and existential verbs) and types of X element (nominal, pronominal and clausal objects, subject complements, adverbs, adverbial prepositional phrases and adverbial clauses). The preliminary conclusion afforded by this study is that clause elements seem to be distributed in such a way as to indicate a functional aspect to word order in OE. As for the ME period, on the other hand, and particularly late ME, one important result of the study is the strong indication that XVS order had become restricted: in this period, it is used mainly in existential clauses, for which it is particularly suitable for pragmatic reasons, the central function of existential clauses being to introduce a new subject. Thus, whereas XVS order had been a productive syntactic order in OE, though also with pragmatic functions, it had become pragmatically motivated by late ME. From this it may be deduced that the V2 constraint had by this time largely been replaced by verb-medial syntax, a conclusion also supported by the previously mentioned fact that word order was much more homogeneous in late ME than in OE. Later, as we know, existential clauses with a dummy subject, existential *there*, became

the predominant type, thus making this clause type, too, adhere to the requirements of verb-medial syntax.

This part of chapter 4, then, paved the way for chapter 5, in which the relationship between word order and information structure was investigated in some depth, with special reference to the XVS, XSV, SXV and SXVX patterns. A binary distinction was made between elements with low information value and elements with high information value, and the distribution of these elements was shown. First, the XVS and XSV patters were compared, and this study did nothing to contradict my hypothesis, for it soon became apparent that XVS and XSV word order are indeed motivated by different factors, and that these change over time. Thus, whereas XVS order is the less marked order in OE, and is apparently motivated both by syntactic and pragmatic factors, XSV order is more marked, and primarily motivated by pragmatic factors. By late ME, on the other hand, the situation is the inverse. Also, as the study of the SXV and SXVX patterns progressed and some examples were studied in detail and in context, it became increasingly clear that there is nothing coincidental about word order in OE, and that the particular word order of a sentence can be ascribed to a complex interplay between syntactic, pragmatic and semantic factors. Given this fact, it is unlikely that these factors should not also play a role in the change the language underwent; ie, in view of the fact that word order in OE was functionally motivated to the extent that this study has shown that it was, it becomes necessary to adopt a more holistic approach to explaining the changes it underwent as well.

This study has mainly been concerned with giving a general picture of word order and word order development in Old and Middle English, and it has been empirically oriented, based on a rather large corpus. The advantage of this approach is that it gives a clear picture of the word order situation in these periods, and allows conclusions to be drawn on the basis of statistical methods. However, the disadvantage of operating with a corpus of this size, and dealing with so many variables at the same time, is that it does not permit a detailed analysis of individual occurrences to any great extent. To be sure, I have in this dissertation also engaged in studies of individual examples, where there were indications that this would shed light on the general distribution. However, much work still remains to be done with respect to the finer aspects of word order development in these periods. Therefore, future studies might with advantage concentrate on smaller corpora, and perform more detailed studies of individual occurrences, with the purpose of explicating the relationship between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. That this is a profitable direction to take is shown in my discussion of the SXV and SXVX patterns, where the

detailed analysis of a few examples revealed how subtle word order arrangement in fact is. Also, approaches involving more detailed analyses would necessitate the development of a sounder and more fine-grained methodological framework than could be applied in this dissertation. As regards external factors, no mention has been made of them in this work, apart from a few references to the work of others, but when we know that English has been subject to massive influence from Latin, Scandinavian and French, which has affected phonology, morphology and vocabulary, it is not implausible that foreign influence could also have contributed to more fundamental structural changes as well. Thus, such factors should perhaps also be considered, in addition to factors like type of text and the stylistic preferences of individual authors. In any case, it is hoped that the data presented in this work, as well as the analyses carried out, will provide others with similar interests and inclinations with a place to start their investigations.

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Appendix I

Abbreviations

OE	Old English
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
V2	Verb-second
vinit	Verb-initial
IV	Information value
CD	Communicative dynamism
FSP	Functional sentence perspective
NP	Noun phrase
VP	Verb phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
AdjP	Adjective phrase
AdP	Adverb phrase

Word order patterns:

SVX	Subject + verb + X	(cf section 3.3.1)
XVS	A single initial element + verb + subject (+ X)	(cf section 3.3.2)
XSV	A single initial element + subject + verb (+ X)	(cf section 3.3.3)
SXV	(X +) subject + X + verb	(cf section 3.3.4)
SXVX	(X +) subject + X + verb + X	(cf section 3.3.5)
SV_1XV_2	Subject + finite verb + X + non-finite verb (+ X)	(cf section 3.3.6)
vinit	Verb + subject + X, or verb + X + subject (+ X)	(cf section 3.3.7)
XXVS	Two initial elements + verb + subject (+ X)	(cf section 3.3.8)
XXSV	Two initial elements + subject + verb (+ X)	(cf section 3.3.9)

Appendix I continued
Abbreviations

Texts:

Bede	*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*
CP	*King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*
Or	*The Old English Orosius*
Bo	*King Alfred's Old English version of Boethius*
BlHom	*The Blickling Homilies*
ÆLS	*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*
ApT	*The Old English Apollonius of Tyre*
WHom	*The Homilies of Wulfstan*
OE Peterb.	*The Peterborough Chronicle* (up to 1121)
ME Peterb.	*The Peterborough Chronicle* (1121–1154)
Homilies	*Old English Homilies*
Vices & Virtues	*Vices and Virtues*
Sawles W	*Sawles Warde*
Ayenbite	*Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*
Wyclif	*The English works of Wyclif*
ME Sermons	*Middle English Sermons*
Mandeville	*The Bodley version of Mandeville's Travels*
Arthur	*The works of sir Thomas Malory: The tale of King Arthur*
Mirrour	*Caxton's Mirrour of the World*

Appendix II

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Appendix III

FileMaker record

Swelce he eac Monige Bretta ealond, þa sendon geseted betweoh Ibernia, Scotlond 7 Breotone, Ongolcynnes rice underþeodde. (108:32)

He also brought under the authority of the English Man, islands of the Britons lying between Ireland, Scotland and Britain.

Ref

Side

XSXV
Tres
InitXadv
FirstXadv
SecXaon
ThirdXdon

☐ svx	☐ vinit	☒ xaon	☐ xadcl	☒ vpsim	☐ vpass	☐ xxvs
☐ xvs	☐ misc	☐ xaopn	☐ xsc	☐ vpcom	☐ vneg	☐ xxsv
☐ xsv	☐ b3	☐ xgon	☐ xob.cl	☒ com	☐ vprep	☐ adju
☒ sxv	☐ sn	☐ xgopn	☐ xth	☐ nocom	☐ incon	☐ conju
☐ sxvx	☒ spn	☒ xadv	☐ d5	☐ vlink	☒ xdon	☐ disju
☐ sv'xv''	☐ s.cl	☐ xadpp	☐ ex.th	☐ vaex	☐ xdopn	☐ g6

SVX:		SXVX - SXV - SV1XV2:	
☐ sulcd	☐ firstxlcd	☒ firstpvxlcd	☐ thirdpvxlcd
☐ suhcd	☐ firstxhcd	☐ firstpvxhcd	☒ thirdpvxhcd
☒ inxlcd	☐ secxlcd	☐ secpvxlcd	☐ postvxlcd
☐ inxhcd	☐ secxhcd	☒ secpvxhcd	☐ postvxhcd

Appendix IV

Chi-square statistics

Page:	Tested:	Chi-square:	p =	df:
75	Bede vs CP, SVX clauses	24.05	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs Or, SVX clauses	20.09	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs Bo, SVX clauses	25.60	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs CP, XSV clauses	25.81	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs Or, XSV clauses	7.87	0.005	1
75	Bede vs Bo, XSV clauses	19.80	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs CP, verb-initial clauses	23.53	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs Or, verb-initial clauses	72.50	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs Bo, verb-initial clauses	28.45	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs CP, SXV clauses	17.78	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs Bo, SXV clauses	28.44	0.0001	1
75	Or vs CP, SXV clauses	16.70	0.0001	1
75	Or vs Bo, SXV clauses	26.27	0.0001	1
75	Bede vs CP	81.96	0.0001	3
75	Bede vs Or	42.88	0.0001	3
75	Bede vs Bo	96.73	0.0001	3
75	CP vs Or	19.63	0.0002	3
75	Or vs Bo	26.65	0.0001	3
75	ÆLS vs BlHom, SVX clauses	17.84	0.0001	1
75	ÆLS vs ApT, SVX clauses	9.05	0.0026	1
75	ÆLS vs OE Peterb., SVX clauses	22.74	0.0001	1
75	OE Peterb. vs ApT, SVX clauses	5.02	0.0251	1
75	OE Peterb. vs WHom, SVX clauses	10.92	0.0009	1
75	BlHom vs ÆLS	48.84	0.0001	3
75	BlHom vs ApT	9.27	0.0259	3
75	BlHom vs WHom	19.02	0.0003	3
75	ÆLS vs ApT	16.58	0.0009	3
75	ÆLS vs OE Peterb.	43.65	0.0001	3
75	ApT vs OE Peterb.	9.50	0.0233	3
75	WHom vs OE Peterb.	20.86	0.0001	3
76	OE Peterb. vs ME Peterb., SVX clauses	12.22	0.0005	1

Appendix IV continued
Chi-square statistics

Page:	Tested:	Chi-square:	p =	df:
76	OE Peterb. vs ME Peterb., SXV clauses	23.46	0.0001	1
77	ME Peterb. vs Homilies, XVS clauses	8.44	0.0037	1
77	ME Peterb. vs Sawles W, XVS clauses	9.92	0.0016	1
77	ME Peterb. vs Ayenbite, XVS clauses	15.08	0.0001	1
77	ME Peterb. vs Homilies	13.76	0.0032	3
77	ME Peterb. vs Sawles W	14.30	0.0025	3
77	ME Peterb. vs Ayenbite	22.26	0.0001	3
77	Homilies vs Ayenbite	11.12	0.0111	3
77	Vices & Virtues vs Ayenbite	8.99	0.0295	3
78	Wyclif vs Mandeville	31.24	0.0001	3
78	Wyclif vs Mirrour	38.57	0.0001	3
78	ME Sermons vs Mandeville	27.67	0.0001	3
78	ME Sermons vs Mirrour	34.71	0.0001	3
78	Mandeville vs Arthur	30.29	0.0001	3
78	Arthur vs Mirrour	40.02	0.0001	3
83	Early OE XSV cl.,table 4.2 vs table 4.7	76.80	0.0001	1
83	Late OE XSV cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.7	67.56	0.0001	1
83	Early ME XSV cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.7	145.06	0.0001	1
83	Late ME XSV cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.7	113.78	0.0001	1
84	Early OE V2 cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.7	17.93	0.0001	1
84	Late OE V2 cl., table 4. 2 vs table 4.7	17.71	0.0001	1
85	Early OE vs late OE under clitic hyp.	42.39	0.0001	11
85	Late OE vs early ME under clitic hyp.	172.90	0.0001	11
85	Early ME vs late ME under clitic hyp.	164.24	0.0001	11
92	Early OE, table 4.2 vs table 4.11	19.97	0.0181	9
92	Late OE, table 4.2 vs table 4.11	28.38	0.0008	9
92	Late ME, table 4.2 vs table 4.11	19.97	0.0056	7[61]
92	Early OE XVS cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.11	7.50	0.0062	1
92	Late OE XVS cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.11	9.03	0.0027	1

[61]The reason why there are only seven degrees of freedom is that I disregarded the SXV and the verb-initial patterns in this period, since the expected frequency fell below five.

Appendix IV continued
Chi-square statistics

Page:	Tested:	Chi-square:	p =	df:
92	Late ME XVS cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.11	6.45	0.0111	1
92	Late ME XSV cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.11	10.91	0.001	1
92	Early OE SXV cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.11	5.40	0.0202	1
92	Late OE SXV cl., table 4.2 vs table 4.11	8.78	0.003	1
100	Early OE XVS, conj. cl. vs non-conj. cl.	6.52	0.0107	1
100	Late OE XVS, conj. cl. vs non-conj. cl.	4.32	0.0377	1
105	Late OE vs late ME XVS conj. cl.	5.50	0.019	1
105	Early ME vs late ME XVS conj. cl.	4.77	0.029	1
109	Late OE SVX non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distribution of copulas	6.80	0.0091	1
111	Early ME SVX non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distribution of copulas	3.85	0.0499	1
112	Late OE SVX non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of verbs without compl.	15.81	0.0001	1
112	Early ME SVX non. conj. vs conj. cl., the distr. of verbs without compl.	4.41	0.0357	1
114	Early ME vs early OE XVS conj. cl., the distribution of existential verbs	7.42	0.0064	1
114	Early ME vs late OE XVS conj. cl., the distribution of existential verbs	4.22	0.0401	1
114	Early ME vs late ME XVS conj. cl., the distribution of existential verbs	4.02	0.0449	1
124	Late OE XVS vs XSV non-conj. cl., the distr. of adverbial prep. phrases	15.39	0.0001	1
125	Early OE vs early ME XSV conj. cl., the distr. of nominal objects	6.28	0.0122	1
125	Late OE vs early ME XVS conj. cl., the distr. of adverbs	5.56	0.0183	1
125	Early OE vs early ME XSV conj. cl., the distr. of adverbs	8.64	0.0033	1

Appendix IV continued
Chi-square statistics

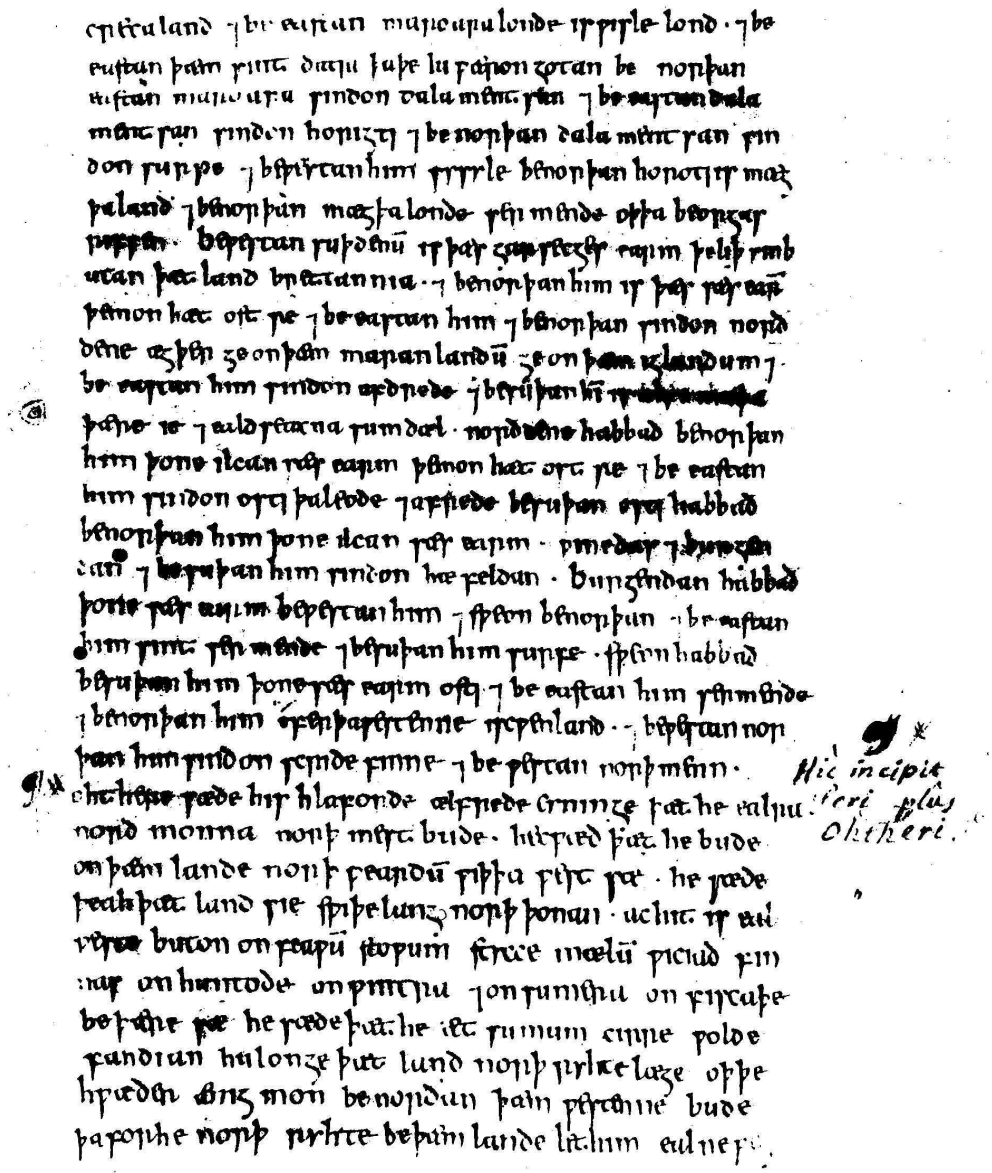
Page:	Tested:	Chi-square:	p =	df:
125	Late OE vs early ME XSV conj. cl., the distr. of adverbs	3.90	0.0484	1
126	Early OE vs late ME XVS non-conj. cl., the distr. of adverbial prep. phrases	88.80	0.0001	1
126	Late OE vs late ME XVS non-conj. cl., the distr. of adverbial prep. phrases	56.82	0.0001	1
126	Early ME vs late ME XVS non-conj. cl., the distr. of adverbial prep. phrases	29.83	0.0001	1
161	Early OE XVS non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of low IV subjects	4.87	0.0273	1
161	Early OE XVS non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of high IV subjects	6.27	0.0123	1
161	Late OE XVS non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of low IV subjects	5.52	0.0188	1
161	Late OE XVS non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of high IV subjects	5.75	0.0165	1
161	Early OE XSV non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of low IV initial elements	6.43	0.0112	1
161	Early OE XSV non-conj. vs conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	9.28	0.0023	1
161	Early OE vs late OE XSV non-conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	3.87	0.0491	1
167	Early OE vs early ME XVS non-conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	24.37	0.0001	1
167	Late OE vs early ME XVS non-conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	7.66	0.0056	1
167	Early OE vs early ME XSV conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	8.51	0.0035	1
167	Late OE vs early ME XSV conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	7.77	0.0053	1

Appendix IV continued
Chi-square statistics

Page:	Tested:	Chi-square:	p =	df:
168	Early ME vs late ME XSV non-conj. cl., the distr. of high IV initial elements	14.93	0.0001	1
171	OE non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of low IV elements in the 2nd X position in clauses with two X elements	4.38	0.0365	1
171	OE non-conj. cl. vs conj. cl., the distr. of low IV elements in the 2nd X position in cl. with two and three X elements	5.44	0.0197	1

Appendix V

Manuscript sample: *The Old English Orosius*



Hic incipit Ohtheri.

The beginning of the Ohthere interpolation (p. 13)