Studies in early English element order, with special reference to the early Middle English Lambeth Homilies.

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Abstract

An analysis of the element order in an important early Middle English text, the *Lambeth Homilies (LH)*, was made using a computer text analysis program, *OCP*. The data revealed was used in a series of comparative studies (using in the main data in a study by Kohonoen (1978) for comparison) to examine the development of element order in this period and the stage of that development as represented in the text analysed. The studies also represented a test of the effectiveness of a computer-generated analysis of an early text using a text analysis program run on a Personal Computer. Also examined were various linguistic factors which may have been influential in the development of element order in this period.

The analysis was successful in generating the required data for the element order analysis, and various aspects of the development of element order were examined, including theme/rheme, topicalisation and weight. It was found that the language in the *LH* text was that of the eME period and showed signs of development towards SVO order, although some OE features remained. The data also showed that there was no case for an argument for V-2 order in eME although some form of V-2 may have existed in OE. It was found that the supposition by Sisam (1951), that one of the two main sections of the *LH* text was older - linguistically speaking - than the rest, could not be upheld and that, with the exception of two homilies which were almost direct copies of OE homilies, the two main parts of the *LH* text were very close linguistically and very likely of the same period.

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PART ONE

Chapter 1: Preliminary

1.1 Aims and objectives.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine data gathered from a computer analysis of a major early Middle English text and to describe and interpret the language of that text in the context of the general language development, but with special reference to element order study. The text chosen for the study was a twelfth century text, the *Lambeth Homilies* (*LH*), a major text of the period which has not been examined previously in the context of element order study.

Texts of this period are likely to provide some insight into the changes which took place in the language between the late Old English (lOE) period and that of early Middle English (eME). In particular, interest is focused on the changes in element order which took place in the language and which of course were among the earliest developments during this transitional period in the trend towards fixed element order seen in modern English. Early study of the text (described in Chapter 4, 4.3 below) suggested the usefulness also of an internal analysis of the text, since it appeared to have two distinct sections. It was reasoned that it would be worthwhile to complement an external comparison of the text with the results of previous similar studies since this would give some diachronic context to the data. A more detailed statement of aims and objectives follows.

Aims

The main aims of this thesis are as follows:

To test the usefulness, in the context of this study, of a computer text analysis program which can run on a Personal Computer (PC). The aim of using such a system is that it is designed to allow a large amount of text to be analysed

in a relatively quick time. The context mentioned is that of detailed grammatical analysis of an early English text; the text to be used for this study will be a particular early English text, the *LH*.

- Use will be made of the data resulting from the above mentioned computer text analysis to examine element order development in early English. Also to be considered will be the various functional and semantic factors which may have contributed to the changes in element order of the English language at this time. It will be necessary to interpret this evidence gathered in the computer data in the wider context of element order development from Old English (OE) to Middle English(ME). Specific features will be examined relating to this such as changes in the way particular elements in clauses are used and how this impacted on element order development. Finally there will be a discussion to specify what further research is necessary to develop understanding of the problems arising .

- To describe the state of the language as it appears in the *LH,* that is whether it appears to be closer to the language seen in OE or that of eME. It will also be necessary to undertake an examination of the two *LH* sections mentioned above to ascertain whether one of these sections shows itself to be closer to one stage of the language than the other.

Objectives.

The aims are to be achieved through the following objectives.

- The first objective is to use a text analysis program, in this case OCP (the Oxford Concordancing Program), to analyse an early English text. This was a known reliable computing application which has been used in the past for linguistic studies. Use of the program will give the required data for the study, as well as the experience to judge the usefulness of the application for this kind of analysis. The text selected will then be scanned or typed onto file in computer storage.

- Other studies of element order will be examined in order to determine exactly what kind of data is required and what is the best method of analysing the text to obtain this data. Those studies that have made use of computer text analysis programs to analyse element order will be of particular interest, but every study of early English element order can be useful.

- Trials will be run to decide on the best method of tagging the text in order to extract the required data. An initial methodology will be designed based on the examination of earlier studies, as mentioned above, and this will be tested by trial runs on samples of text. The results of such trials will be analysed and improvements made on the tagging methodology based on this analysis. The whole text will then be tagged, proof-read and tested with more trials to ensure accuracy of the tagging system.

- The text will be split (as extra file copies) into two sections and these will be analysed, breaking the text down into clauses of different types, and kind of element order shown by each clause. As much text as possible will also be analysed to show important phrase level features, such as element type (noun, verb, adverb, etc.) and weight. The data will be organised into tables for ease of comparison between different factors and across different time periods.

- The interpretation of the evidence from the text analysis will be made in terms of functional theories and a survey and discussion of functional/semantic factors influencing element order will be made. A comparison will be made between the two sections of the text (see below, section 4.1) to see what differences are noticeable and whether these are due to diachronic development or stylistic factors, that is, to decide on the state of the language represented by the *LH* texts. This analysis, interpretation and discussion will be made in the context of element order development from OE to ME. This will be possible only by combining the *LH* evidence with evidence from other similar studies, mainly Kohonen (1978) and Shores (1970), and will be used to attempt to shed some light on several problems of early English element order development.

These include:

i. Determining more precisely the extent to which SVO order had developed in the language of the eME period, as represented by the *LH* text.

ii. Discussing the influence of functional/semantic factors on positioning of various non-verbal elements and the effect this had on the development of the language - with particular reference to *iii)* and *iv*) below.

iii. Examining the extent of the retention of SOV order in eME.

iv. Discussing the validity of the argument that English was to any extent a V-2 language in the ME period.

v. A related area to be considered is that of V-final and V-late clauses and the development of auxiliary-verb VP.

Also, an examination will be made of the importance of functional and semantic factors in determining the state of development of the language of the *LH* text, taking into account evidence from earlier investigations of the *LH* text. There will be a discussion, in the context of the studies just outlined, of the validity of Sisam's analysis of the *LH* text (1951), which is described below in Chapter 4, 4.3.

1.2 Some Terminology.

In the following chapters, terminology will be used which is fairly common in the field of Element-Order studies, but perhaps not so well known in other fields. Some definitions would therefore seem to be suitable at this point. It may be that some authors use this terminology for slightly different purposes on occasion, but in these cases a brief explanatory comment will be given. It is hoped that the following definitions will make detailed later explanation unnecessary. The following sections will deal with some of the abbreviated terminology used for

describing Element Order, and that commonly used to describe different languages (in typological terms) by their basic or most common, neutral element orders. Later sections in this chapter will be concerned with a more detailed discussion of various ideas relevant to attempts to explain problems of element order variation. This will include expansions of the brief explanations of some of the terminology given immediately following.

Word/Phrase description.

The abbreviated forms used here are quite commonplace, and conform closely to those found in most language textbooks - for example Leech (1982), Huddleston (1988).

Noun (N); Verb (V); Pronoun (Pn); Adverb (Av); auxiliary verb (aux); preposition (pr); Phrases + P (e.g. Noun Phrase = NP, etc. and Prepositional Phrase [Adverbial] = AP).

Clauses are described thus: Noun Clause (NCl); Adverbial Clause (ACl), which are equivalent to phrases as described above; other clauses are Independent Clause (ICl); Conjunctive Clause (CjCl); Subordinate (Scl) for any clause acting as a rank-shifted clausal element; Relative [modifying clause] (RCl); and Dependent Clause (DCl) when talking of any kind of Subordination. It should also be noted that the term Independent Clause, used in this thesis, is the equivalent to the term Main Clause used in some grammars.

Element order description: abbreviated forms are commonly used when describing,

i) What element order is found in a particular clause.

ii) Languages as types which show features associated with certain basic (or "underlying") element orders. Linguistic types - classifications of languages - are useful guides as to what languages are related, as similar types have similar

features and possibly similar histories. Fuller descriptions and some discussion of the ideas behind typology and other important factors are given below, section 1.4. (see also definition of Prototype, below).

Commonly used abbreviations used in describing element order are:

S = subject; V = verb; O = object (direct); I = object (indirect); A = Adverbial; C = complement. These can be combined in any order to represent the particular element order being described.

Adposition: a term used when referring to both prepositions and postpositions. A postposition is the same as a preposition, except that it follows the NP rather than preceding it.

Afterthought: a term used to describe a phrase occurring after a clause, perhaps commenting on or giving additional information but which syntactically does not belong to that clause. Nor does it belong to a following clause: it is a speech act resulting from human inability to construct perfect sentences. Sometimes ideas or comments related to a statement in the process of being spoken will occur to a speaker and will just be added on to a sentence. Tone of the speaker's voice and context will normally show the connection. It is an important notion since it has been postulated that such "afterthought" occurring in a Verb-final language could have contributed to the development of SVO order,

When discussing diachronic change some other terms come up fairly often:

Clitic: a form which often has low stress and is considered to be attached to another stressed element in a clause, for instance the French indirect object as in

ex1 " Il m'a donné le livre "

The process of such a low stress element becoming a clitic is called cliticisation.

Deixis: this describes the action of a word or phrase referring to an earlier occurrence of a word with the same reference or at least similar meaning. A very specific instance of deixis is the use of a pronoun which must always refer to a previous noun phrase which it represents. In English, NPs can become deictic by the use of a determiner - e.g. "the, that" - which results in a reference to a specific, previous NP rather than the more general reference found with the use of "a" or "an". Other words like "they", "it", etc. are references, pointing to words and ideas previously used in discourse and are described as anaphoric. As modifiers, deictic words like "the, that" cause the phrases they are used in to become anaphoric.

Directionality: see *Teleology*, below.

Extraposition: where the use of X is "what" or X is "that" or similar phrases allows movement of elements to the right of the clause - often so that other elements may move to the front. It is also used, where no element is moved frontwards, to put more emphasis on the final element of a clause by signalling its coming and delaying it a little.

Focusing: see *Topicalisation*, below.

Fronted: when an element in a clause (which is not the subject) appears in the first or initial position in the clause, in front of the subject, it is said to be *fronted* or *topicalised.* The element so appearing then becomes the theme or topic of the clause.

Given and New: *given* refers to elements containing information already known, by being referred to previously in the discourse (or sometimes by being a very commonly known piece of information) and *new* refers to that which is mentioned in the discourse for the first time, or at least is described in some new way. Since deictic/anaphoric elements like Pns also carry least weight and least semantic load (see next items), the connection between these ideas is clear. However, there is an important distinction to be made. Since quite a heavy element (both in terms of weight and of semantic load) can be given information, for instance in the case of a repetition of previous words, the similarity breaks down. This is because, of course, definition of what is given and what is new can only be made in the context of a stream of connected utterance - or of a whole textual unit in our case. This kind of analysis, though of interest, is not attempted as part of the analysis used in present study; it would require much more detailed study and analysis than space allowed for here. Use will be made of the basic ideas where they may offer additional perspective to explanations given.

Inflection: the use of an added morpheme at the beginning or end of a word to show the particular function that the word performs, for instance tense in verbs, case or number in nouns.

Operand (and **Operator**)

This is explained by the consideration that in any phrase or clause certain words are the 'base' or head of the phrase - the operand - while other words act upon them. So that, for instance, at phrase level one has Noun as operand and Adjective as operator and at clause level Verb as operand and Object as operator.

Prototype: languages are often described and classified according to certain features (e.g. morphology, element order, etc.) which they have in common as if these features were exactly the same for every language when in fact they are not.

It is almost impossible to find a language which in every feature matches in every detail the linguistic type ascribed to it. The concept of the prototype is therefore very useful as it allows an ideal concept of a language type to be described - its prototype - and languages can be assigned to the prototype category which they most closely resemble, without worrying unduly about any inconsistent features which may exist. Where the term "type" is used throughout this thesis, it should be understood that it is meant to have this particular meaning. The prototype concept is discussed in much more detail in Taylor (1995).

Semantic Load: the concept of semantic load is closely related to the idea of weight described below, i.e. the amount of meaning contained in each element. Obviously grammatical elements, such as auxiliaries and affixes, have least meaning, with elements like Pns having a greater, but rather general meaning; full Ns have much more meaning and elements which consist of several words, or even of clauses, can obviously express much more depth of meaning than single words. While not being exactly the same, weight can be used as a rough guide to semantic load in a text.

Teleology: this describes developments which are directed towards a goal. Thus a linguistic development could be described as coming about for a goal-directed reason. For instance a sound change could be described as coming about to re-establish distinctions between words which had become unclear due to previous phonological changes. However, since any such changes are a result of a variety of decisions - often unconscious - often by millions of people gradually combining to achieve what must be an unknown result, it is difficult to describe this as truly teleological in any strict sense of the word. Hock (1986, 164) states that, in language, teleology "does not consist of any 'grand plan' or 'strategy' but evolves through a series of 'tactical decisions', in response to the situation prevailing at a given time". It is more akin (in a manner of speaking) to biological

evolution, where there is no final goal, but where entities adapt to suit the changing environment (Smith 1996).

Theme/Rheme: theme/rheme is closely related to the ideas of topic/comment. Some studies seem to use the terms as if they were interchangeable although there does seem to be a difference, at least as they are described in David Crystal's *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (1980). Both theme and topic can be, but not always are, identified with the subject of a sentence. Both seem to be used to identify "what the sentence (or clause) is about" and the terms rheme and comment seem to be used to describe the rest of the sentence/clause which expands on or clarifies the theme or topic. Theme however seems always to be identified with the initial element/s of a sentence or clause, whereas topic can occur a little later:

ex2 "There's the *place* where the accident happened"

ex3 "Dark and dreary *the house* was."

Theme is apparently purely about the way elements are organised for presentation to the person being communicated with (such ordering being described as having a "pragmatic" function), since in the above examples the first elements would be the theme and the topics, underlined, part of the rheme. Topic is described by Crystal (1980) as being the "psychological subject" but, although one can see what he means, it is careless since the subject has specific grammatical function in a clause and merely coincides with other functions such as theme and topic. Proof of this is the common use of "dummy" subject with no semantic or other functional use (except grammatical).

ex4 "It was raining yesterday"

ex5 "There's a book on the table".

Topic can be described (and is, in Hock 1988: 314) as that part of a sentence/clause which presents old or commonly known information and Comment is that which elaborates on it, giving new information. One can see links with given and new, above, except that does not concern itself mainly with ordering of elements.

Topicalisation: a commonly used term in this field is topicalisation whereby an element, which one would normally consider as new or rhematic, is moved to the front of the sentence/clause suggesting that this has now become the topic. This is sometimes described as focusing (concentrating listener/reader's attention on the focused element) which is a much better term, describing more clearly what is happening. Focusing can also be done by use of a dummy subject to focus attention on what would normally be the subject. In fact the examples given above - based on those given by Crystal (1980) - are clearer examples of focusing than of straightforward topic. In the first the subject is focused, in the second the complement - though with a different verb it could be the object.

In fact what is often described as "thematisation" - essentially the same as topicalisation - is really a form of focusing where what would normally be interpreted as "rhematic" or "comment" elements are moved to the initial position in a sentence so they will be highlighted. They may also form linking functions with earlier utterance/text by being repetitions of previously used words or ideas - since rheme or comment need not contain totally new information, only greater elaboration (and hence semantic load) on the theme or topic. However, since focus can be achieved by other means - including intonation, which cannot usually be judged from a text - use will be made of the term very commonly used, topicalisation, to refer to this specific form of focusing, and it will not be used to mean that such "fronted" material has become the topic (although arguably it may be the theme, as this seems to apply to any initial element) of a sentence/clause.

Rather, it will be used only to mean that it has become a topic (in the everyday sense) of interest or focus and use will only be made of the terms theme/rheme when otherwise discussing the organisation of information in a sentence so that it is communicated in a particular way to the recipient.

Finally, and related to all this is "rhythm", which is the balance between units of speech with varying patterns of stress (at least as far as English is concerned). This seems to have played an important part in the development of English prose (see Reszkiewicz 1966) and is related to the discussion above since stress patterns match to some extent weight spread. Throughout these sections describing terminology it has been noted that many of the features described overlap with each other to a greater or lesser extent - for instance with the examples of givenness and theme/rheme - and the inter-connection between these various features will be borne in mind throughout this thesis.

Typology: this refers to various ways of describing and classifying languages. Languages can, for instance, be described by their morphology. A fuller discussion of this topic is below, in section 1.6 of this chapter. When discussing language types, the particular viewpoint taken will determine the forms used in description. For instance, the most basic divisions of language by this analysis are into OV and VO - that is into languages that show basic element order with Object before Verb or Verb before Object.

Weight: the concept of weight comes into many studies of (particularly) OE and refers to the well-attested evidence (for instance in Davis 1991; Kohonen 1978) that languages which are not fixed in their element order often show a tendency towards ordering by what is called weight. By weight is meant actual size of elements - i.e. counted by word and syllable - and usually also the amount of stress each element carries. At its most basic, it can be a mere division of elements into unstressed (or low-stressed) and stressed elements - for instance

dividing NP elements into Pn and N types. Pns of course may occasionally, under certain conditions, be fully stressed, but for most purposes this is a reasonable division. Other unstressed elements include determiners, auxiliary verbs (except when topicalised - e.g. in reply to some comment, when they will take on some stress: "was he going?" is a PDE example of such a usage) and affixes. Other terms used in connection with this are "light" and "heavy", which in this context are almost self-explanatory: light refers to those elements which are small in size and have few or no stressed syllables and heavy refers to those larger elements which carry significant stress. Of course, elements can be described as being light or heavy in comparison to each other when they would not be described so in another situation.

For a really full analysis of weight, it is necessary to break elements down into the number of syllables they contain, but also taking into account the number of stressed elements since the element with more stressed elements will be regarded as having greater stress and hence greater weight even when the syllable count is equal. In many languages an element's position in a phrase or clause can be influenced by this weight with a tendency for light elements to come early in an utterance and heavy elements to come late. Other influences are also involved; there seem to be areas where weight overlaps with other influences which play a part in the ordering of elements in a clause.

1.3 Functional and Pragmatic features.

In this section several important ideas relevant to element order and its diachronic development will be described. These concepts have been briefly defined in the previous section; the purpose here is to explain them in more detail and show their direct relevance to the present studies. It is necessary also to show how these ideas will be used in the development of the arguments contained in the studies in the following chapters. There are two elements to be considered here: the concepts, which are important to this kind of research - and the terminology

associated with these concepts - and the background of previous research which has led to these ideas being formulated. In examining the concepts, the first matter is typology which, despite some limitations, is essential as a theoretical framework describing the relationships between various language forms and the ways in which these forms can change. Next are the various functional-semantic factors which can affect the way element order in a language can be ordered at any particular period, and can eventually contribute to changes in basic element order in a language over time. These factors include weight, thematic ordering, and givenness. In the various studies which comprise the second half of this thesis, particular factors will feature more prominently than others. However, there will inevitably be overlaps as these functional-semantic factors often operate simultaneously, sometimes complementing each other to ensure one element order is produced, at other times mitigating each others' influence so that the element order is more likely to be a result of the personal preferences of the speaker or writer.

Givenness.

The idea behind givenness is that elements in a clause or sentence represent information and this information, as far as the persons involved in a discourse are concerned, is either "new" or "given". Both these terms refer to the information only in the context of any single piece of discourse (whether speech or text) for instance a clause or a sentence, or a sequence of such utterances as in a speech, conversation, written article, book and so forth. An element is said to be new when it is encountered for the first time in a piece of discourse and it is given thereafter, since it is referring to previously given information. Rybarkiewicz (1977, see also below 2.2 (b)) suggested that givenness was perhaps an unnecessary concept, being more efficiently replaced by the notion of theme/rheme. However although these ideas do overlap they are not totally interchangeable. What must be realised is that givenness is not just about

given/new ordering. This operates most straightforwardly in neutral clauses but can be overcome when other factors come into play. The notion of givenness is still required to show linkage of discourse. Although given elements are commonly light and anaphoric (with limited semantic load), a given element can be one which is heavy, and can have a much fuller semantic content. This can occur when a word or phrase (or something very close to it) is repeated to link with an idea in a previous clause. In this situation, such a given element may come later in the clause, in keeping with the principle of weight[1] or theme/rheme ordering[2].

Weight can vary to an extent - but only to a limited extent - depending on the stress put on words/phrases by speakers of a language. However, when the language is represented only by a written text, it is impossible to judge exactly what stress may have been intended. It is best therefore to treat the weight of elements as if it is constant, that is that a phrase consisting of a certain number of syllables or words always has the same weight (or overall stress) regardless of context. Even more certain is that the rheme is always the rheme whether or not all the information in it is new: it is only that the general tendency is for rheme to be newer than the theme. With theme/rheme ordering, both heavy and new elements can sometimes appear in initial position - when they are "thematicised" or "topicalised". This does not mean givenness is neutralised, or even that it is totally irrelevant, only that given/new ordering is not *always* relevant to element order as it is often overcome by other factors. Any analysis of discourse therefore still requires the concept of givenness, and although the studies in this thesis will not be concerned with the details of discourse analysis, it is still a factor to be considered when analysing the reasons for particular element order outcomes.

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[1]That is, where the given element is "heavy" - e.g. "The vase was broken by that same foolish boy", when the "foolish boy" has already been mentioned in the same piece of discourse.

[2]Again, when the new element is topicalised either for foregrounding, linkage between a previous element and the new element or contrast between a previous element and the new element. The given element is then moved to a later position to accommodate this: it could be the end, but could equally well be 2nd position since English is a Verb-3rd language.

There can be degrees of "givenness", that is whereby certain elements are more directly referential than others. The most obvious example of givenness is the pronoun element which also tends to refer to something immediately preceding itself, although it can be one of a long sequence of pronoun references to a much earlier original new element. Considerations of clarity and style however tend to prevent sequences like this being of such a length that the structure becomes unwieldy and the references difficult to follow. In this situation is often found used what could be described as an element of intermediary givenness. For example a full noun element may be used, but incorporating (in English and other languages which make use of such elements) determiners such as "the, that, some, etc." which perform the referential function required[3]. Such referential NP elements are often used in discourse to perform both linking and emphatic functions.

The use of such determiners - with a clear deictic function - is not always necessary for this to occur.

ex6 "Mr. Smith is a close-fisted type of person. The Smith family were always like that."

It may be noticed in this example that there is a new element added to the given one: "family". Usages like this can alter the degree of givenness even further; the NP in the second sentence is almost a new element, with the given noun element "Smith" now acting as a modifier. This creates a connection between the two, resulting in a certain amount of givenness for the element in the second sentence.

[3]It should be noted that such a repetition of the original new element, while it obviously cannot be considered new, is nevertheless not exactly the same as for instance a pronoun reference, since the actual reference object is explicitly stated and so not absolutely "given". That is, with the pronoun one is dealing with an anaphoric element, which in this usage refers back to an earlier element, the actual name of the element being understood or "given". In passing it should be mentioned that a fuller examination of this subject would include the use of anaphoric elements to refer to objects in the immediate environment of speakers. Since this thesis will be dealing only with a written text - and a very old one - this side of the problem does not arise.

The minimal givenness would be where the element used is completely new, but has some semantic connection with a previously mentioned element. For instance

ex7 "The king was a cruel and wicked tyrant. Royal power is often corrupting."

or

ex8 "The king was cruel and wicked. Royal tyranny is unfortunately common."

There is a clear connection between the two sentences in each example, and the link is due to the semantic connection. The reason why the phrases with the modifier "royal" are not so clearly given is that there is not such direct reference with the connecting element in the last examples that one sees with the earlier ones. So givenness can be argued to be a factor of reference as much as lack of newness, since in discourse, what is not new is referring to previous discourse in some way. The more purely semantic kind of connectiveness begins to take us into the realms of stylistic/literary analysis rather than grammatical, so for the purposes of this thesis the discussion of givenness has been confined to the clearly referential elements. This incidentally makes the analysis easier, since it can be confined to specifying anaphoric elements (such as pronouns) and repetitions of nouns. The text of early English with regard to givenness, as will be seen in later chapters, differs from modern texts only in that, in the former, given items are often fronted to be close to an item to which they refer in a previous clause - often to be nearly or actually adjacent.

ex9a "The lord came to meet the foreign horde. Them he would fight when they landed."

This PDE version of an older order makes some sort of sense, but would be highly unusual today. In an example like this the object is topicalised and linkage with the previous item is made with use of anaphoric reference by the given element "them" (continued by the subject Pn "they" in the SCl) and by having the referring item and the referent side by side. In this way topicalisation and givenness combine to produce a linking of the discourse through and by an emphasis on one idea. It is not possible to produce exactly the same effect in PDE, since passivisation would not give quite the same meaning

ex9b "They would be fought by him when they landed."

The theme/rheme presentation is quite different. Closer would be,

ex9c "This enemy he would have to fight when they landed."

In early English it was possible to express such thematic changes in a more direct way than in PDE, simply because the elements of clauses were more flexible then than now. This moves the argument into the territory of thematic organisation of text, so it is appropriate now to begin a proper discussion of this feature.

Theme/rheme ordering

Theme/rheme ordering is a common factor in all languages. The theme is "what the clause/sentence is about" - sometimes called the subject, but not necessarily the grammatical subject - and the rheme, which follows, is the expansion, in which additional detail is added to the theme. In this way theme/rheme ordering tends to be from general to specific (more detailed) and from given to new. This definition is something of an oversimplification, but will do for the present purpose. It should be realised however that although rheme

often contains new elements, such elements can sometimes be fronted and given elements come afterwards.

ex10a "The most terrifying creatures in the world was what he considered them to be."

ex10b "Truth and justice for all was what he believed in."

However, this does not mean theme/rheme ordering is reversed, since this is a case of topicalisation of a new element for stylistic effect as a result of which the new element becomes the theme. So although theme/rheme to an extent matches the given/new perspective, it is by no means the same thing, that is, the element that would be the rheme is a more neutral ordering becomes the theme (or topic) of the clause or sentence and the element that similarly would have been the theme appears later. Now unlike with givenness where what is given or new is always the same in terms of information content and reference, no matter where it appears, with theme/rheme one is dealing with the actual presentation of the information to the hearer or reader. A more normal - or neutral - ordering for ex 10a would be

ex11 "He considered them to be the most terrifying creatures in the world."

There is a sense, when clauses are combined like this, in which there can be two overlapping theme/rheme ideas. The first, is the ICl ordering with "he" as the theme and the rest of the clause is about "what *he* considers (or thinks about)" - i.e. "them". The second is the clausal modification (and expansion) of the element "them". The clause could be rewritten as "He considered that they were the most terrifying creatures". The pronoun links the two clauses and can be considered as the rheme of the ICl and the theme of the SCl. Perhaps a better example of this would be

ex12a "He saw John was stealing the apples."

The sentence in the previous example can clearly be broken into two clauses: a) "He saw John"; b) "John was stealing the apples". Each has its own theme, a) He: b) John, and its own rheme although the rheme of the ICl naturally includes the meaning of the rheme of the SCl when they are combined. This again is about presentation of information and here one is presented with two ideas relating to the thematic element "He": first, he saw John; then John was stealing the apples. If it was desired to present this information in another way it could be

ex12b "The apples were being stolen by John, he saw."

or "John, he saw, was stealing the apples."

or "The apples, he saw, were being stolen by John."

This exemplification shows that PDE can be a little complicated when it tries to handle unusual variations in the presentation of information. The rest of this discussion owes much to the basic PDE grammatical texts by Huddleston (1988) and Leech (1982).

In earlier English topicalisation could be shown simply by fronting another element, but today English has had to acquire several strategies for doing so, the most common of which (and which has just been seen above) is passivisation.

ex13a "The boy threw a stone at the window." (active)

"A stone was thrown at the window by the boy." (passive)

It should be noted, again, that the passive version is limited in expressiveness. Although it is the most straightforward way in PDE of changing theme/rheme around, it tends to lose the directness and emotive impact that one might wish to have in certain statements. One might very well wish to express the last example in the following way

ex13b "A stone flew at the window, thrown by the boy."

which changes the meaning slightly but keeps the directness and the force of the original statement.

An example like this shows that a variety of strategies are required for this purpose in PDE. For instance, the earlier example, ex10, would be difficult to make passive. The formation in the following example may just be grammatical but would be very unlikely to be used by a native English speaker.

ex 14 "The most terrifying of creatures they were considered by him to be."

The strategy used above in 10a is an example of extraposition, as in for instance,

ex15a "We need a new brand of coffee." (neutral)

ex15b "What we need is a new brand of coffee." (final emphasis by extraposition)

A similar function can carried out by the "existential" sentence using a dummy subject - although that is not its primary function.

ex16a "There is no way of knowing the truth."

ex16b "It became obvious how it would end."

That these subjects are dummies can be seen by trying to put the last elements to the front.

ex17a "*The truth there is no way of knowing."

ex17b "*How it would end it became obvious."

More natural is

ex18a "What the truth is, there is no way of knowing."

ex18b "How it would end became obvious."

This could be said to lead to a peculiarity of languages which use such strategies - if these are dummy subjects, then they perhaps also represent "dummy" themes. So in a sense is the "what" in ex 15 since one cannot know what "what" is until one reaches the rheme of that clause. This is not that important since the theme is not just about an introductory idea followed by some comment on or expansion of that idea. It is also about presenting information and comment from a particular viewpoint. Thus for instance in the case of extraposition in ex10a and the "neutral" versions in the following examples one can see the same information presented in different ways.

But it is important to be clear about these kinds of themes; they are better described as generalised themes rather than dummies. For instance in existential sentences the theme is "the state of the world" (or at least the part of it one immediately relates to) and thus when these dummy subjects are used, this is what the theme is understood to be. In such cases, the rheme expands the theme (as it always does) specifying exactly what this "state of the world" is. Use of such sentences also shifts emphasis to the end of the clause, rather than having emphasis by fronting. For example,

ex19 "It is raining heavily now."

In some languages such themes are not explicitly stated, and indeed even this typical English example is not all that explicit. There are enough examples in early English (and other Germanic languages) of subjectless sentences, with no fronting of other non-verbal elements, to suggest that the common ancestral language regularly used subjectless clauses (quite natural with a SOV type with full morphology) and could have XV, VX ordering with S understood or sometimes not even necessary:

ex20 "Him likeð þone æppel" ("The apple pleases him, literally "To him (is) pleasing the apple").

This example shows the order Dative NP + V + Accusative NP - that is, there is no nominative and therefore no subject. However there is a clear theme in the introductory pronoun; in clauses beginning with verbs (and understood subject shown by case) it could be argued that the verb itself is the theme, at least as long as it has reasonable semantic content. Where there are examples of verbs with very low semantic content it would be more difficult to say what the theme is.

ex21 "Wæs þa eft cumen leof to leodum". (Sweet 1967: 141)

It is very likely that with such examples the verb cannot be taken as the theme. In the Celtic languages, which are Verb first (V-1), the theme is usually taken to be the first element after the verb, usually the Subject. One might argue that the theme in ex 21 must consist of the whole phrase "wæs þa eft cumen" - the theme being expressed through the tense of "wæs" and the words "þa eft" suggesting a

thematic notion of the past[4], combined with the more specific theme of "cumen". This suggests that use of a low content item like this (comparable with dummy word like "it" in PDE) initially indicated a general notion, like time; for instance "is" used in a similar way would suggest the present. However, fronting of a verbal element like this has for a long time also been a sign in English (depending on intonation of speaker - or context in writing) that a sentence was a question or a command rather than a statement. As a result VX/VSX order was rare and such order with low semantic-content verbs even rarer, outside of queries and commands. When in English (over a wide period, including OE) one finds regular use of an initial verb in clauses, it is usually in CjCls where the subject is understood to be the same as in the ICl with which it is connected, and is therefore introducing (or part of) an additional rheme related to the theme of the ICl.

So there is always a theme, whether it is a word, phrase, clause or whether it is understood in some way as described above. The rheme itself always gives at least a little more information about the theme, so that the ordering theme, then expansion of theme through rheme, is always maintained. But since theme/rheme is about presentation of information it does not matter what kind of elements represent the theme and rheme: theme is often light, anaphoric and given but it also can be heavy and new. Similarly rheme often is both heavy and new, but can often be light, anaphoric and given. Since a theme can be continued throughout a long sequence of connected discourse and a rheme in one sentence can be taken up as the theme of a following sentence, one can see that givenness is perhaps a factor of theme/rheme ordering or that both are factors in a wider methodology for discourse analysis. This way of breaking up the elements of clauses into theme + rheme fits in well with one method of grammatical analysis, where firstly the clause is broken into S + VP, matching a basic Theme/Rheme division in many

[4]Or an event which followed after something else: whichever it is, it is a method of placing events in a time frame.

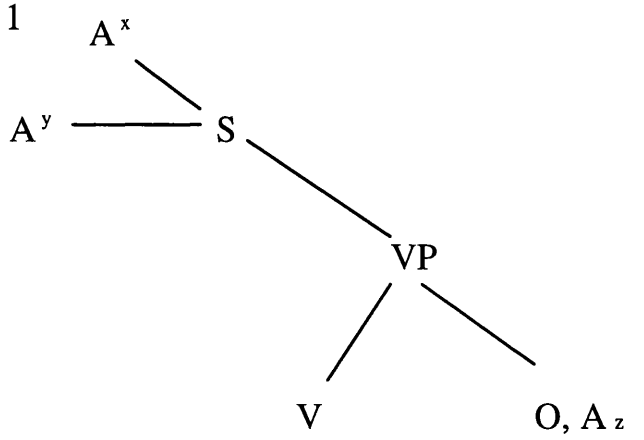
cases, VP being the verb plus any other elements governed by it such as Object and certain Adverbials. This is often illustrated using a simple tree diagram, showing the relationships of the main elements.

A problem with this analysis is where to put Adverbials which can appear either initially or finally without affecting the meaning of the clause. Their functions vary, although generally topicalised Adverbials have the extra function (in some cases the sole function) of linking the clause into the overall discourse it is a part of. Therefore, it seems it would be more usual to find such Adverbials in an initial, pre-S position. Sometimes the purpose of such Adverbials is to comment in some way on the clause - i.e. give the speaker or writer's opinion of the meaning of the discourse

ex22 Surprisingly, they found the correct address immediately

Generally one would treat such an element separately from the rest of the clause in a purely grammatical analysis, and a diagram describing this might look like this

Diagram 1



N.B. Here, the initial 2 A's represent a commenting "sentence" adverbial (Ax) and a topicalised adverbial (Ay).

This structure in fact matches the theme/rheme structure quite closely in PDE but not necessarily in earlier English. In PDE the topicalised, fronted elements are optional elements in front of the (neutrally) thematic subject. Commenting and connective Adverbials (or adjuncts in some descriptions) will also be able to appear here, sometimes even before both topic adverbial and subject.

ex23 "Certainly, at that time he thought he was quite safe".

"Next, over the hill Tom appeared walking very slowly."

A problem of English - even, to a lesser extent, early English - is that Subject almost always stays in pre-V position even when quite "heavy" elements are topicalised and placed initially. In standard German or Dutch, one could include theme more easily as part of the grammatical analysis since both are V-2 languages in which topicalisation forces S into post-V position.

ex24 "Glücklicherweise war der Soldat zuzegen".

("Fortunately the soldier was present")

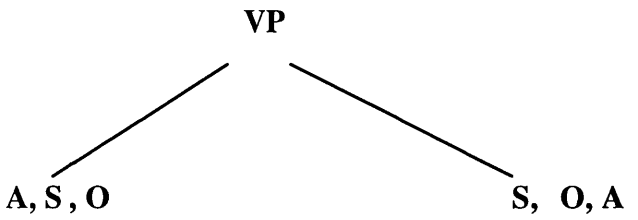
This would mean that in the diagram above topicalised A and S would be interchangeable options for initial (or post comment initial anyway) position in the sentence, making the ordering simpler. On the other hand the kind of analysis shown above is not practical since a fronted Object is then split from its VP. This can happen in English, though much more rarely.

ex25 "That sort of behaviour we do not approve of here".

However it may be a sign that this is not really the best method of analysis for English - unless it is taken that the diagram is not meant to show element order but is only demonstrating relationships between the various functional elements of

the clause. This may be the best that can be done, leaving element order to be studied by (e.g.) thematic analysis. It raises the question of whether VP should really be inclusive of Object and other elements: perhaps a better analytical diagram would be the following:

Diagram 2.



This view of the sentence may seem slightly unnatural for PDE, where Subject seems to play such a key role, but for a wider range of languages it is more suitable since it allows (assuming the S and initial A, O are optional) V-2 and V-1 languages to be analysed equally well. But it must be noted it only allows an analysis of the general relationships between the elements and only shows actual ordering insofar as one element is pre-V or Post-V. Position of auxiliary and Main verb for instance would be shown differently in different languages[5]; in English certain adverbs would have to be considered verb modifiers and be additional options for the VP. So although more logical perhaps, this still does not take us any further. It would seem that each language is best analysed with a system suited to that language, and therefore this must mean that each diachronic stage of a language should be analysed using a system most suited to it. The fact that English in an earlier period allowed VP elements (auxiliary and Main Verb) to be clearly separated[6] in clauses means that a very simple analytical system must be used, treating every individual (phrasal) element as though it was equal in the hierarchy.

[5]The obvious problem wold be V-2 languages where one finds SauxOV or OauxSV ordering, the VP being split by clearly non-verbal elements.

[6]At a stage when the aux/MV VP was still in a process of developing. This is discussed in Chapter 8.

Typology.

(See also the discussion of Greenberg's Universals in Chapter 2, 2.2, below)

Typology can be described as the classification of languages by the association of an outstanding feature with several other important related features. By this means an individual language can be categorised according to linguistic features rather than, for instance, historical or geographical information which may be irrelevant to the way those languages actually work. One common division in such an analysis would be into isolating (no morphology), agglutinating and fusional.[7] With agglutinating languages the boundary between word and the morpheme is clear so that if there is (e.g.) a case for dative and a signifier for plural, the dative plural will be word + dative + plural. With a fusional language, the dative (or any other case) may show a different plural from other plural cases or a different form of dative in the singular than in the plural. That is, with fusional languages the boundaries between morphemes are not always clear. Another distinction which is widely used now is that of classifying language by what appears to be their most common or most basic element order.

There are clearly many differences between languages which could be classified under these headings. English and Russian are both fusional languages by this classification, but the differences between them are great. English morphology is very weak, whereas Russian is highly inflected; English has fairly fixed word-order while Russian is freer, although basically SOV in element order, compared to English which is SVO. Greenberg's work (1966) opened the door for the inclusion of other features besides morphology into language description. Also, it allowed a fuller description of the way in which languages change - since the relationship between element order and various morphological and other features became obvious.

For example, modern English and German are related historically (both growing out of a common linguistic heritage) and their countries of origin are

[7]For a fuller explanation, see Comrie, B (1981: 30ff.)

close geographically. Yet English is an SVO (or Verb-third) language and German is Verb-second, both distinct categories in element order typology. Of course English and German do have similarities - apart from their common origin (seen in many lexical items for instance) - and have more in common than with say Japanese or Russian, both SOV languages. This shows that typological distinction is not always clear-cut and in fact there can be overlapping between the different types. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that some languages will fit one "type" category, because they possess certain basic features of that category, but they will nevertheless have other features which are more consistent with other language types. It will also be seen that English and German (and other languages) can be subdivided into sub-categories of main categories. For instance, Gaelic, German and English could be categorised as VO languages - against, e.g. Russian and Japanese as OV or V-final languages. When use is made of language type descriptions such as SOV or SVO type, it must be borne in mind that these are "prototype" descriptions and few languages match their prototype exactly. A language is assigned to an element order type category according to how closely it matches one prototype compared to the others. The prototype in each case consists of several features of which a typical element order is important, but not the sole feature. The element order prototype shows relations between languages which have various features in common and provides a clear marker since these languages often differ in other ways. The most common examples of element order prototypes are SVO, SOV and VSO, which account for a large majority of the world's languages.

For instance each one of the VO languages quoted here has distinct differences from the others which require other categories for a more accurate description. Thus the fact that the verb comes first in neutral[8] Gaelic sentences (both Irish and Scottish), and that this is never seen in English or German neutral sentences, has

[8]By neutral is meant indicative clauses with no unusual element order due to topicalisation or other factors. Stenson (1981, 40) states that unmarked Irish word order is VSO, and that it is in almost every way a paradigm for a VSO language according to Greenberg's universals.

led to it being described as V-initial (or V-1), while German is described as Verb-second (or V-2) owing to the usual movement of the subject after the verb if another element (Adverb or Object) becomes the topic before the verb. In English the subject almost always remains before the verb, even when other elements are topicalised, and so the term Verb-third (or V-3) is used to distinguish it from the other types of VO language. German to an extent also overlaps with the V-final languages as in subordinate clauses it is V-final, with V-2 only in Main clauses. Main clauses are taken to show the norm for element order in languages since they alone can form the most basic sentences in any language.

Differences (as well as similarities) can be seen below the main level of element order, where the operand-operator function can be seen at phrase level, as it is at clause level. Thus is seen the Modifier-Head (MH) order in NPs and OV order in clauses which are most commonly found in V-final languages, and this is part of the explanation for the change to Head-Modifier (HM) order to match VO order in SVO languages. The position of Adverbials it seems can vary although in a strict V-final language they can never appear in post-V position. What must be remembered however is that the term Adverbial is a catch-all term for phrases which actually perform a variety of functions in English from the period of late OE to PDE and these functions do not always take the same forms in other languages. Nor is it very likely they did in the earliest, pre-historical, forms of English, where some of the functions fulfilled by Adverbials in later English were then performed by inflexionally marked NPs with a variety of cases which afterwards died out.

Here is shown the importance of one's choice of description of element order type, since both SVO and VSO are VO languages yet are distinct types in a more detailed description. Another description is by S, V and any other element, represented by X. This allows other problems to be discussed, such as the distinction of "true" SVO from Verb-second (or V-2) languages. True SVO languages are known also as Verb-third (V-3), that is another element such as O

or A may appear initially without affecting the basic element order, thus SVO languages permit SVX and XSV(X) orders whereas in V-2 languages, such fronted elements cause the subject to be shifted to a post-V position: i.e., XVS(X) and XauxS(X)V as in German or Dutch. For instance two clearly SVO languages, French and English, have at phrase level HM ordering in NPs.

ex26 "the book with the red cover/ le livre rouge"

However, English has retained many more examples of MH ordering than French from an earlier form of the language.

ex27 "the black dog/le chien noir"
"Tom's book/le livre de Thomas"

One could have the (possibly overloaded) construction

ex28 "a book of Tom's" or "that book of Tom's"
but never
ex29 "the book of Tom('s)"

On the other hand French could be said to retain a left-over example of SXV ordering with examples like

ex30 "Je t'aime" "J'y pense" "J'en parle"
"Il m'a donné le livre" "Je lui reponds"

which do not occur in English.

This is sometimes explained away by the claim that the Pn in the pre-verbal position is a clitic and hence does not count as a full element of the clause. In any event in every other way French is a fully SVO language, and so too is English, showing that as long as certain main features are common and fit into the expected definition of any particular type classification, languages may be of the same type while differing in some features.

So it can be inferred that element order typology, despite its problems, provides a useful way of classifying some languages, certainly those which feature extensive use of morphology or element order (or both to some degree) for functional/structural purposes. This includes many languages of the world, and it is particularly useful for the diachronic study of English since it is known that the language changed from being fairly typical of one type, to become basically a different type[9]. Use will therefore continue to be made of the existing terminology, including use of labels such as SVO, SOV, V-2, etc. (as defined above, 1.4), at least as standards of comparison when examining the data from the analysis. Such terms also have the advantage of common usage in this field of study and thus will be readily understood. No attempt will be made, however, to fit eME (or that state of the language represented by the *LH*) into any strict element order class, but it will merely be discussed in terms of its closeness to later or earlier states of the language.

Weight.

The influence of weight is discussed in studies (see below, 2.2 (b)) by Swieczkowski (1962) and Reskiewicz (1966). Their work, although important in the development of the ideas related to weight (and semantic load, again see below) does not directly describe its effect on element order development. Kohonen's data (1978), which is diachronic, shows an apparent change in the

[9]There is a general agreement that OE, as it has survived, was either V-2 or a form of SV language which had many features in common with V-2, and that it developed from an earlier Germanic form which was SOV.

effect of "weight" of NPs on element order over time. This generally is that lighter elements (especially Pns) tend in OE to be found in early position in Independent clauses, while heavier elements tend to be found late. This is of course a simplification. Variation in weight can be seen right across the clause or sentence and is linked both to theme and to the natural stress patterns of a particular language. English, as with other Germanic languages, tends to have a light-heavy pattern all the way through (in neutral clauses) with individual elements tending to have the same pattern. This is well known from metrical analysis of English poetry, which incidentally points out how change of stress can emphasise a particular element, for instance by having a heavy element (which is naturally more stressed) fronted in a clause. This rhythmic pattern tends to result in an avoidance of a situation with too many heavy elements in close proximity, hence in OE the movement of heavy S post-V when a heavy (X) element is fronted. This may also have had an influence on the development of the constant use of determiners like "the", "an" and "a" in English, since this helps preserve the rhythmic pattern.

However, this general pattern, combined with the effects of theme/rheme ordering and givenness would tend to push heavy elements towards the end of a clause and result in some of the element order seen in OE, i.e. when elements begin to appear in post-V position. By the eME period (as shown, for instance in Kohonen 1978) this tendency is much reduced, as SVO order begins to become fixed, so that more light non-S material is found later and more heavier S material is found early in declarative, non-emphatic clauses. This last point is important, since throughout the period, heavy elements were often fronted for stylistic and emphatic reasons. On the other hand, (in OE at least - see Davis 1991) heavy S would sometimes be displaced to post V position when this occurred, resulting in a VS order, and it is very likely that this was an important factor in the development of this well-attested feature of OE texts. Although the habit of

inversion remained for a long time it can be seen to diminish in the eME period (again there is good evidence for this in Kohonen 1978).

In the CH data there is seeming evidence that this results in a strong V-2 tendency since heavy S does not often occur initially along with initial A or O when topicalised here (Davis 1991). Naturally heavy O and A will not usually occur together in initial position. This is a limited rule if it really is a rule, since there are examples of SV order with initial A or O to be found where both S and the topicalised element are relatively heavy.

ex31

"Ær þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wære IIII hunde wintrum ond hundeahtigum..." (*Alfred's Orosius* in Sweet 1967: 23)

"Eornostlice se ærmerigen wæs fram Adam oþ Noe..." (*Parable of the Vineyard,* in Sweet 1967: 63)

Much more common is XSV order where either S or X (or both) are light. Over time, one can see more examples of XSV ordering, particularly with heavy S and X. This feature will be discussed in more detail in the studies which form part 2 of this thesis. Theme/rheme ordering also had a complementary influence - as did "givenness", since theme most often equates with S and is often anaphoric (i.e. often pronoun) whereas O will more likely be part of the rheme, containing new information, and be heavy.

The effect of weight must be considered in the light of earlier developments, since it seems to have been weakening at the time of eME (good sources of evidence for this are Kohonen 1978 and Shores 1970). At various stages of development in the language different factors combined to initiate and promote certain developments. At certain points it sometimes appears that one factor was stronger than others, but always in these circumstances the language is being influenced by more than one factor at any time. Nevertheless, there appear to be

lingering effects from weight on the language which were still important, even if these effects were continuing to decline.

As Denison states (1986: 277-291), the origin of weight as a factor in element ordering is obscure. He does suggest that the tendency for theme/rheme and given/new information to be seen very often (but not always by any means) in a "light/heavy" order may have given rise to a use of this order where the motivation for topicalisation was not strong enough to cause "heavy", rheme/new elements to move to an early position; it is the best explanation offered so far. It seems very possible it could have contributed to the movement of some elements into a post-V position when the old SOV form of the language began to change. When the ancestor language of English began to lose morphological distinction, small, light grammatical words such as auxiliaries and prepositions developed, probably first to support the weakened morphology and then to replace much of it. A situation then arose in which the effects of weight (which very likely became an influential factor due to the reinterpretation of the effects of other factors such as theme/rheme and givenness) played a part in changing the word order habits in the language.

In one manner, as has been mentioned, it operated - in conjunction with the "afterthought" phenomenon - by causing elements to begin moving into post-V position so that the language changed from being a V-final language to a V-late one. Another change was the development of a tendency for movement of light elements to earlier position in their phrase or clause[10]. This would partially depend on the semantic/functional closeness of words within a phrase or clause; post-positions moved to an earlier position in the Phrase they were attached to so that by this time what are now called prepositional phrases - though in earlier origin one might call them "postpositional phrases" - developed to fulfil functions previously performed by noun inflections.

[10]No attempt is made to put a chronology on this since much of it happened before written records began - it is based on the state of the language at the earliest period and later developments, combined with what is known to have happened with other languages

Auxiliary verbs, which developed to fulfil functions formerly fulfilled by verb inflexion, now were able to move as light elements before the main verb. Sometimes the auxiliaries moved to an initial, or near initial position in a clause. Since in origin they were separate verbs and the original verb function could still be performed by these words, this could have contributed to the movement of other non-auxiliary verbs to earlier position as speakers of the language became used to these forms appearing early in the clause (Warner 1993). Such verbs as *habban, wæs* would probably have been the first to appear in early position as single verbs, to be followed later by light verbs which had no auxiliary function and finally by verbs of heavier weight. Another effect of this very early detachment from the main verb was the appearance of the "sentence brace", referred to in chapter 2, 2.3, and which contributed to the development both of VS and SVO order. There were very likely other factors which influenced this verb phrase development. This no doubt began to happen after the afterthought phenomenon and movement of heavy elements rightwards had caused the language to develop into a V-late rather than a V-final language. The period when the movement of auxiliary to early position began probably marks the stage at which the MV, which it is believed had its origin in a form of Complement, was now seen as a true verb form. This meant that, although the auxiliary moved to an early position, part of the VP still remained in at least late position maintaining at least one VP element in the old position. The process no doubt started in clauses with a small number of elements and gradually spread, possibly helped by the fact that the sentence brace was very useful at one stage for distinguishing the ICl from a DCl.

Thus weight, which appears to be a very simple phenomenon, appears to have been very influential - in concurrence with other functional factors - in several important developments which took place in the English language.

Chapter 2: Survey Of The Literature.

2.1 Introduction.

This section will describe some of the earlier studies which preceded this thesis, showing how the concepts discussed developed. It will also include some discussion of the merits of these individual studies, and give a context for the studies that will appear in this present thesis. Finally there will be a brief discussion of the likely path of SVO development in early English in the light of evidence from studies made prior to this one and an attempt to highlight features of this development which can be relied on in deciding what stage of the language is seen when the *LH* text is examined. An examination of these features will play a key part in the subsequent studies which form part two of the thesis.

2.2 Development of Element Order studies: pre- 1950.

Some recent studies (Bean 1983, Kohonen 1978, Saitz 1955) have good coverage of the early work in this field, so only a few brief points will be made regarding this period. Early diachronic studies (particularly those of the 19th Century) concentrated on phonology and morphology. This was understandable at this stage of investigation since more information of this nature could be reliably extracted from a smaller amount of data than that required for syntax or element order study. Until a body of work containing adequate data was produced little could be done. A small number of works were produced which dealt with element order. These were limited to a greater or lesser extent in their methodology. Dahlstedt, for instance, in his study of *Ancrene Wisse* (1903), gives few figures for element order - and those are scattered in the text. His few tables are confusing. More useful works are by Smith (1893) and McKnight (1897), on OE element order, though the data in them are of mixed quality. Smith for instance has good data on dependent clauses, but is less useful for data on main clauses. These of course were ground-breaking works and deserve little criticism,

particularly when one considers that relatively recent works have been, arguably, more flawed.

There was not during this period any theory of element order change, and only occasional work was produced on the subject. In fact, work in this field was so little considered that a scholar such as Fries could still claim as late as 1940 that OE syntactic relations were expressed by morphology and not at all by element order - although some earlier work had suggested that this was not entirely the case (e.g. Smith 1893). However, work produced in the decades following Fries' claim (e.g. Carlton 1959, Saitz 1955) showed definitely that OE morphology was not capable of clearly distinguishing syntactic factors in many cases.

ex1 "Þa broþru hie in þæm stowe slogon"

ex2 "Hie in þæm stowe þa broþru slogon"

The above examples could mean either

"The brothers attacked them in that place"

or

"They attacked the bothers in that place"

In the above example, *þa* can be nominative or accusative singular (feminine) as well as plural for all genders with these cases and *broþru*, like many OE nouns, takes the same form for these cases. Like *þa*, *hie* also takes the same form for nominative and accusative. Possibly the context of such an utterance may have given a clue to the meaning, but the example shows that the possibility of confusion existed. This possibility would have been even stronger than the above suggests, since the spoken language may very well not have distinguished inflexion as clearly as was done in the written language. In fact there is evidence

for this in the sudden change in such distinction seen in the *Peterborough Chronicle* compared to the earlier *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (*ASC*).

For instance

ex3 "Þa feorden þe wise men betwyx þe kinges freond and te eorles freond..."
(*Peterborough Chronicle*, mcxl)

Obvious points are the use of *þe* for both plural and genitive singular (OE *þa, þæs*), this form being very close to the PDE usage, and the form freond (OE dative *friend*). Since the studies mentioned above were published, more element order studies (and studies containing at least some data on element order) have been produced and an interest has grown in the diachronic study of element order.

2.3 Development of Element Order studies: post 1950.

i) Studies of particular texts.

This section will concentrate on element order studies based on a particular text or group of related texts and most are more detailed and better organised than previous works. Some works, however, are included because they represent a contribution to the development of important ideas associated with the attempt to explain element order change.

The first, and also an excellent work, was by Barret (1953) on element order in a selection of Ælfric's homilies. It does suffer however from the weakness of treating only two elements at a time in its analysis of element order. There are important points to be made regarding the positions of two main elements (such as S/O, V/O) but this restriction does limit the scope of the work unnecessarily. For instance, initial or near-initial Adverbials often had an effect on OE element

order. Also, one theory of element order suggests movement of elements, usually Adverbials, to post-V position was an important factor in change from basic SOV to SVO order. If such elements are not noted in studies, valuable material is lost for the testing of such theories. This said, the book is a good example of a methodology for this kind of study. Its main purpose is to compare what it calls "normal" element order in the two sets of the Homilies of Ælfric, especially with regard to rhythmic patterns and style. There is also a useful discussion of the effect particular forms of elements (e.g. Pn vs N, aux. vs MV, etc.) has on element order. All in all it provides a useful model for later work, though unfortunately it has not always been taken on board.

Carlton's study (1959), the *Syntax of the Old English charters*, was the next important work. The purpose of the work was to determine what the normal state of the language was - that is, unaffected by stylistic considerations such as in poetry, or even in the homilies of Ælfric or Wulfstan which were based on a particular oratorical style. Carlton fails to consider, however, that legal language has throughout history had its own particular style and that the language found in such documents - even so called recordings of verbal statements - is liable to be archaic. He also ignores charters with a Latin version extant. This seems to be a missed opportunity as he might have made a comparison with those that he does use to see if there are any differences that might be due to Latin influence. Also, a lack of an extant Latin version would not necessarily mean that none existed or at least that there was no other Latin influence. The data on element order are reasonably detailed, divided by century to give a diachronic picture. However, this does lead to some low individual figures whose significance may be doubted. He only treats 2 elements at time, though it is possible to combine some of them into 3-element orders, but not with total confidence in the accuracy of the results. He also examines ordering of elements within NPs and VPs, showing typical orders. Syntactic effectiveness of morphology of Ns and Ajs is examined. He notes that where these are ambiguous word order is less free; and he also notes differences

in frequencies of certain orders in different types of clause. This is a good piece of work, but more limited than it had to be due to the restrictions in the amount and kind of text used.

The works of Swieczkowski (1962) and Reskiewicz (1966) represent a new development in element order studies. The latter examines selections from Ælfric's Homilies and *Genesis, Exodus, Job* (this last also, he believes, by Ælfric) in terms of the number of words (and thus an examination of the effect of weight on the language: see chapter1, 1.3) comprising individual elements. The study suggests that weight was arranged to suit certain natural tones and rhythms of OE which varied according to function: e.g. question, command and various other kinds of emphasis. He concludes that lOE was regulated by principles different from PDE and that variations from the norm were, for functional or literary reasons, significant. The study unfortunately does not relate its findings to general element order data. However his data and conclusions might usefully be compared with other studies of lOE element order to see if there is any significant relationship.

Swieczkowski's work examines 2 medieval texts (*Piers Plowman* and Ross's edition of *Medieval Sermons*) in terms of weight and semantic load. He argues that there is a relation between the two as heavier elements will tend to have more semantic weight. This is because weight relates to the physical size, that is, syllable count and/or word count, depending on how specific the researcher wishes to be. For some, only Pn/N distinction is given, since Pns tend to be unstressed as opposed to Ns (or NPs) which have at least one stressed element. Ideally, one should make the analysis based on stressed elements, but this is not always done. Since heavier elements will exclude Pns and tend to include NPs of some length, one can conclude that these will be more meaningful, that is have more semantic weight also. Though in the main it treats only 2 elements at a time, there is a brief chapter which treats 3 elements (S, V, O). The author concludes that although the majority of clauses showed SVO order, variation in

word order was used, particularly in the rhythmic *Piers Plowman*, to maintain balance in semantic load patterns. However, it would have been very useful if the author had given more consideration to whether it was actual weight rather than semantic load that was being balanced out. The former is what one would expect to be more prominent in a poetic text and the latter is what one would expect if a degree of rhythm was a by-product of semantic load distribution. Of course, rhythmic patterns could also be used to throw emphasis on certain words (and hence their meaning), and rhythmic patterning was always a strong tendency in OE texts, due to the oral traditions which influenced literary style. So even if the main intention of producing a rhythmic piece was not present, it could still be seen. This means it is always very difficult to separate these concepts of weight and semantic load. Despite their limitations, both works provide useful data and were among the first studies to develop the possibility that certain element order developments were influenced by such things as the weight and meaning of the elements. Thus the data can also be related to later investigations of the influence of theme/rheme ordering on the structures of clausal elements - since rhematic elements will have a strong tendency to have more semantic content, and thematic elements more often will be light and anaphoric in form.

Another, slightly more recent, article by Rybarkiewicz (1977) discusses the contrast between weight, theme and givenness. He notes six main element order possibilities in OE, but also states that none is more basic than the others. However it is the case that SVO and XVS in ICls, and SVO, SOV in DCls are more basic in these respective Clauses than the other orders. A great deal of variety does nevertheless exist and so one can take this as a starting point for his discussion of the influences of weight and Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) on word order. The author describes Reszkiewicz's rules of element weight and points out the exceptions (and hence limitations) of these rules: for instance the departure from his notional system in having S and V as elements 1 and 2 of his ranking, regardless of weight. As a result, he believes that this system is

inadequate to explain all word-order patterns. He claims that there is a limited agreement in OE with this weight principle which is the result of an interplay of various factors, particularly the communication principle or FSP.

This refers to the idea that unmarked communication will take place in the order given-new (or theme-rheme). Pronominal forms are usually thematic unless contrastive, and they may be classified as light elements when compared with nominal or prepositional phrases. To some extent the notions of weight and FSP overlap. This is because longer words and phrases generally carry more meaning than shorter ones - hence they will generally tend to carry more *new* information. Pronouns in particular tend to carry given information and usually have reference to previous elements. However, FSP also explains facts which cannot be accounted for in terms of weight. Prepositional phrases and even Subordinate Clauses often appear initially (as well as in the more expected terminal position): such phrases in initial position - e.g. "þy ilcan geare" - can be explained in terms of thematic context. The author argues that this may make the weight principle redundant. However the argument is not completely convincing.[11] The author notes that one fact sometimes spoils the FSP sequence - VSO (or VOS) and SOV (or OSV) patterns in eOE. It is notable they are both very stylised and traditional patterns. He notes finally that SVO seems to be the optimal sequence for *FSP* requirements: thus he feels theme-rheme must have been a strong influence on the development of SVO word order.

This all seems to hang together well enough, but arguments may be presented against it. If SVO is an optimal order for FSP, how is it that it has been argued that SOV order (which is almost always accompanied by a fairly full morphology) allowed more easy arrangement of word-order to suit presentation of topic or theme as desired? Modern English has had to develop a variety of (sometimes awkward or slightly complicated) ways of doing this - e.g. passivisation, cleft sentence, dummy "it", etc. So obviously as much was lost as was gained in the

[11]See above, 1.3.

development from SOV - SVO in this respect. In fact it seems that word order and inflection regardless, languages will develop ways of expressing function such as the use of topicalisation and FSP.

A more straightforward work is Shannon's *A descriptive syntax of the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle from 734 to 891* (1964). This is a good piece of work, but it is unfortunately based on a rather limited corpus. No doubt her intention was to analyse the language of a specific period. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC)* covers a long period and a selection of data from the whole text must be made for this purpose. Shannon is only partly concerned with element order, and does examine clauses in terms of three elements. She has a good section relating the morphological forms of S and O to the element orders of clauses.

Brown's *Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care* (1970) is a basic, descriptive syntax of the text with some data on element order, within both clauses and phrases. The data are limited and rather scattered: they could have been better organised. Some data for ordering in clauses are brought together in two tables (dealing with three elements) one giving total figures, the other split into DCls and non-DCls. Brown's main conclusion is that elements fell into regular, limited patterns although they could occur in all possible positions.

Palmatier's *Descriptive Syntax of the Ormulum* (1969) is a detailed and very sound piece of work. .He treats three elements at a time but ignores sentence Adverbials except to note their influence on inversion of the basic SV pattern. The study notes the various forms that can fill in for elements, in particular it describes for instance the kind of orders one finds when NCl, N or Pn = O. A weakness is that data are given without regard to clause type. He concludes that syntactic relations are signalled by inflection, element order, semantic association, or a combination of these: where one is not sufficient another will do the job. This is an important conclusion. Previous studies had tended to assume that one factor or another was predominant in determining the element order seen in early English

texts. This idea of a combination of influences determining element order is very important.

As can be seen from some of the comments above, these works, produced in the 1950s and 1960s (though in some cases not published till 1970) had various limitations. Some treated element order as only a small part of a more general descriptive syntax. All suffer to some degree from a lack of a generally agreed methodology for element order study. Even where the method is adequate for providing a general description of element order in a text, once one tries to apply data across a wide range of texts (as one must in diachronic study), there are some problems, owing to differences between the methodologies used by the various studies.

Shores attempts to address this problem in his study of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, which has an excellent methodology. All elements are taken into account in his analysis, which he intends to be a model for later work. It is a slightly limited corpus, but an important one as being a late extension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (*ASC*) and of a period intermediary to OE and eME. He extends the study of elements to include the effects of inflectional distinction and Adverbials on element order. He also provides full figures for both dependent and main clauses. Using earlier studies (e.g. Shannon, Brown, Palmatier) for comparison, he concludes that element order does not seem to vary a great deal from either earlier texts or slightly later ones. At most he claims there was only a gradual drift. This is a reasonable conclusion, but care must be taken in accepting it totally as the works used for comparison are limited in their applicability for such comparisons. Shores' study is, however, the first substantial piece of work on element order to attempt such a comparison and try to draw conclusions. Since then, more substantial works have been produced which follow this approach. They not only examine particular texts in detail, making a full analysis of all clausal elements, but also attempt to both show and explain changes that have occurred in element order.

The first is by Kohonen (1978), *On the Development of Word Order in early English Religious Prose, 1000-1200.* It is based on selections from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies, Vices and Virtues* and *Sawles Warde.* Kohonen's main interest is on thematic structure and how this may have affected the development of element order. He also examines the influence of weight of elements, and his findings agree with earlier works which suggested that lighter elements tend to be found at the initial or medial position in a clause, while heavier elements tend to be found towards the end. However, Kohonen realises the importance of a multi-factorial approach, as when he notes the relationship between light and heavy elements and the theme/rheme structure. He notes for instance that given elements which are often thematic also tend to be lighter than new elements. He postulates that in a freer SOV stage of the language, element order could vary according to a combination of weight, givenness and topicalisation, the latter probably being the key factor in allowing heavier elements to be fronted. The author shows that element order was generally arranged from a given-new perspective. The S was usually thematic and direct object nominals, which tend to be new, were usually placed post-verbally. Non-time adjuncts tended to be placed terminally, whereas time adjuncts were usually placed initially - partly accounting for the long retention of XVS ordering. These features were obviously important in the development of fixed SVO word order although, as Kohonen notes, ambiguity avoidance also played a part.

The work also examines early forms of those transformations, such as passivisation, which have come to be used as an alternative to element order move in PDE (for purposes of, for instance, topicalisation) and he concludes that they are - in some form at least - of early origin in English. He notes that his corpus displays features of both Topic-prominent and Subject-prominent languages and is therefore in a transitional stage but moving toward Subject-prominence[12]. This is a very brief précis of a very detailed work, but since it will be referred to regularly

[12]For more on this see below, the discussion on the work of Vennemann (1971, 1974, 1977).

(mainly for comparative data, but also taking into consideration his arguments) in the main body of the thesis, such a brief examination is perhaps appropriate at this point.

The second work is Bean, *Word Order Patterns in OE* (1983). Bean's study is based mainly on the *ASC*, but includes data from earlier studies (and some data from a few extra texts she has analysed herself) for comparison. The *ASC* is chosen because it gives to some extent a diachronic "snapshot" of OE. However, it is a somewhat stylised construct - Bean notes (1985, 136-8) the effect of the regular use of Adverbials to begin ICls had on the language of the text, giving an unusually high V-2 order - and other material is needed for comparison in order to get a more balanced picture. There is a good discussion on current theory (at time of printing) and on OE's relationship to early Germanic languages. The author claims there are two hypotheses relevant to the change of SOV → SVO order in English.

i) As the result of addition of "afterthought" material in post-V

ii) As the result of movement of V to post-Topic position, as an intermediary pre-SVO stage, owing to weakening of morphology.

The evidence from her analysis of the *ASC* is to some extent contradictory, showing in the ICls an apparent V3 → V2(TVX) → V3 movement, which seems unlikely. Element order changes are among the slowest linguistic processes, and such an apparent swing to one order and back again is suspect. Other evidence from OE does not sustain it: for instance, from a text showing early OE, such as *Beowulf*, the language is much closer to V-2. In DCls and CjCls there seems to be a steady movement towards SVO with the SVO stage apparently being reached in such clauses in OE period while the language was still V-2 in ICls. Bean proposes two answers to this problem.

The first is that OE developed SVO order in DCls prior to developing it in ICls. The point of her argument is that examples taken earlier to be SVO are in fact V-2, or rather with verb in 2nd place after topic (TVX). Since topicalisation

plays a much smaller role in the ordering of elements in DCls than in ICls, the movement of V to second place - by analogy with TVX order in ICls - would tend to create a regular SVO order in DCls. As a result, SVO would become the majority order in all clauses and be gradually accepted as the "natural" order. It should be noted also that in modern German and Dutch, both V-2 languages and both related to English, SOV remains the order for DCls. Perhaps this is negative evidence in favour of this theory. That is, this might suggest that the retention of SOV order in DCls is a factor in languages, which develop the general syntax that English, German and Dutch once shared, progressing to become full V-2 languages. Hence to develop SVO rather than another form such as V-2, it is necessary for the language to lose its vestigial SOV order completely.

The other proposal is that the evidence for V-2 as seen in the *ASC* is not reliable, that it is an effect of a stylistic pattern that grew during the OE period whereby XVS order is regularly seen where X = an adverb or adverbial phrase of time. The particular material of the *ASC* naturally lends itself to this pattern and exaggerates the V-2 evidence. If V-2 evidence is thus less strong there is therefore not such a great contradiction with other OE evidence which does not support V-2 order so strongly.

To try to clarify the picture, Bean examines data from a selection of other OE texts, some examined by herself, some by others. Although evidence for a V-2 stage appears strong, she argues that this is because stylistic patterns seen in the *ASC* have spread to other texts. The evidence cited includes examples of ASV order and AVS order with a Pn Subject which she claims cannot occur in a true TVX language. She concludes therefore that the evidence does not support current theories of element order change and that OE developed directly to SVO order (with no intermediary TVX stage) mainly due to ambiguity avoidance as a result of the loss of inflectional distinction, though the afterthought theory may play some part in this. A much more recent work, by Davis (1991, thesis), is based on a computer analysis of the homilies of Ælfric, a large body of work.

Most of the study is concerned with only two element types at a time: e.g. O, V; A, V; etc. There is one chapter with some figures for S, O and V - though only for ICls - but although he examines these relating to whether or not there is an introductory adverbial, this is far from being a full examination of three or more elements. This is still valuable of course for at least partial comparison with other studies, and his other chapters, comparing only two elements at a time, are very valuable because of his discussion on the influence of factors, particularly that of weight, on element order. Indeed, his main conclusion is that weight played an important part in the development of the language, including the development towards SVO order.

ii) General studies on Element Order change.

As said above, there was no general theory of element order change pre-1950. Since then a great deal of work has been done, not just on the way language changes, but also attempting to discover the reasons why it does so. One of the most important discoveries was that of Greenberg reported in a study of 1963, and published in Greenberg, J. H., ed. (1966) *Universals of language.* This was a statistical analysis of many languages which uncovered the fact that languages can be generally classified into "types" which show related features. It showed that in particular there was a link between the order of clausal elements and the structure of these elements themselves. For instance, he noted that SOV languages generally have a full morphology and those with SVO or VSO order tend to have little morphology and make much more use of periphrases (using grammatical forms such as aux Vs, ad-positions, etc.). Greenberg also made the important discovery that the ordering of sub-clausal elements differed according to the type of ordering at clausal level. For instance, where SOV has post-positions, SVO has prepositions.

ex4

SOV	SVO
|	|
Inflected/Free Element Order	Non-inflected/Fixed El.Order
Modifier-Head (MH)	Head-Modifier (HM)
Main Verb (MV)-aux	aux-MV
Head-postposition	preposition-Head

Vennemann, in several articles (1971, 1974, 1977), has developed these ideas and applied them to show how language may change - and also how this change of language (which is always on-going) explains some inconsistencies within language types. English, like other Germanic languages - and possibly earlier Indo-European (Hock 1986, 618-21) - originally had SOV order but, as morphology weakened due to phonological levelling, it developed SVO order. Once this was underway the language also began to change at the sub-clausal level, so that English began to develop prepositions instead of post-positions, aux-MV order instead of MV-aux order, and so on. This process is still not complete, since English still has MH order for Noun Phrases (NPs) and both a pre-Head and post-Head genitive.

Vennemann notes that the most common language order types are SVO, SOV and (to a lesser extent) VSO. All of these element order types have S at or close to the initial position in the clause and preceding the O. This is due to a universal tendency for new information to follow given - and to an extent theme/rheme ordering. An examination of basic orders against marked orders explains why SOV languages almost always have a case system. SOV order can show no difference between SO/OS ordering (such a switch might occur in topicalisation) without a clear morphological distinction. A language may change from SOV to SVO order due to phonological reduction, but the same

phonological reduction may result in it later developing once more into SOV as words (e.g. Pns) are "worn down" and then re-analysed into a new morphology.

Vennemann suggests that in the SOV to SVO transition the verb does not move directly to post-S position, but rather the language goes through an intermediary stage where the topic usually stands alone before the verb - a TVX order. The verb may then become fixed in second position, and only then is S (the primary topic case) singled out as the only NP which can precede it. Early OE shows finite verb in second position generally after the topic in ICls, though pronouns and small adverbs may precede these elements. It is likely that this flexibility of element order comes from the earlier more general SOV order in English, when NPs and As were very mobile because of the fuller inflexion system that existed then. SOV order is retained in many SCls in OE and this is held to support the author's arguments as topicalisation plays a much smaller role here than in ICls. Vennemann claims that the sentence brace (aux...MV) is a typical feature of a TVX language and this feature is seen in eOE - indeed it has been described in earlier studies as an intermediary stage between SOV and SVO order proper, with movement of the light aux being a precursor of the later, more general movement of verbs to an earlier position in the clause. Vennemann's developments of Greenberg's discoveries have given a theoretical framework on which later Element Order studies can be based and both Bean and Kohonen refer to his work. Vennemann's ideas continue to be refined by himself and others.

Hyman (1975), for instance, notes that the V does not "zap" [sic] into V2 position in one step but that there are intermediate stages: for instance, movement of Adjunct material to post-V position as afterthought. Hyman uses a study of some Niger-Congo languages as a test of this notion. He considers not just afterthought but re-analysis of verbs into adpositions or auxs and language contact as means by which some of these languages change from SOV to SVO. For instance, a verb at the end of two short, connected clauses is re-interpreted as

a postposition[13] which, attached to the O gives SVX order. He also states that there is a tendency to keep the O next to the V in SOV languages. This is a well attested factor described elsewhere as "Behagel's Law" (e.g. Hock 1986) and this tendency exists in SVO languages also. The following example is unacceptable in PDE:

ex5 "* he surprised with a present me"

In the circumstances just described this factor will cause a tendency for extra, non-essential material to be moved to post-V position. This occurs, as he argues, originally with material not seen as being intrinsically connected to the clause - thus described as afterthought.

Hyman also briefly discusses element order change within NPs. An important question is why SVO has HM and SOV MH order. He suggests some kind of analogy may be involved following the OV and VO relationship which is described as the key relationship in the clause. Lehmann has argued that change occurs at clause level first because material is larger and has more impact on speakers/listeners. Once the phenomenon is underway there is an analogous force at work causing smaller material to move. However, Hyman points out that this cannot be the whole answer as many of the languages examined have word-orders in their phrases at odds with their clause-level element orders. This can be explained by the fact that languages change but not all at the same time or at the same pace, and by the fact that language change is not teleological; as a result, language change cannot be predicted. However he is right in suggesting that there is no single solution - as Denison (1986; see below) also argues. He also points out the importance of contact in any theory of language change. A particular change in language does not arise in all areas where the language is

[13]Postpositions and prepositions are syntactically related to verbs: see operator/operand under terminology in chapter 1, 1.2.

spoken all at once. Different changes in language arise in different areas. They are then spread through contact and are gradually accepted by all speakers. However they spread unevenly and at different rates in different areas, so it is possible that older forms survive longer and more consistently with some speakers, even when other, newer forms are used on a wider basis.

Denison's article "On word order in Old English" (1986) is partly a critique of Bean (see above); it is also to some extent a criticism of those works in general which attempt to prove a single cause for element order change. He discusses several factors which have influenced the development of OE element order.

One is weight - which he states is most clearly seen in the early movement of auxiliary to initial or V2 position in eOE. However, for other developments it is not easy to distinguish easily between the influence of weight and that of givenness. Referring to Reskiewicz's weight classification, Denison notes that it could easily be matched by a theme/rheme classification with almost the same ordering. He also makes the point that if weight is a factor in element order change, its origin needs to be explained. He suggests that theme/rheme may have been an earlier factor in ordering and since there is a tendency for given elements to be light and new to be heavy this was re-interpreted at some stage as order by weight. This could then lead to elements being shifted beyond the verb if heavy enough. Afterthought, which Hyman discussed, may have been an early factor also, blazing the trail as it were for the later movement of heavy clausal elements to late position in the clause. Other factors, notably ambiguous morphology, also played a part in this development.

Denison also re-examines some of Bean's evidence from the *ASC* and suggests that the problems she found with some of her evidence are partly (as she herself said) due to unusual stylistic factors within the *ASC*, but are also due to the attempt to give a single-viewpoint explanation. This is something that he considers to have been a disadvantage in some previous studies. Denison sees the variety of exceptions that appear in any OE element order study as one of the

main problems. He believes that OE element order was controlled by a range of inter-acting factors - but the relative strength of these factors altered over time. Sentences in OE, rather than being the output of some simple rule, he regards as being the "more likely to occur the more requirements they satisfy" (Denison 1986: 290). A multifactorial approach is needed including, possibly, analysis using discourse grammar methods.

One important branch of study is that of Transformative/Generative (TG) or Government Binding (GB) grammarians, who follow Chomsky's ideas. They are represented best in two recent works: by Lightfoot (1979), Kemenade (1987). The basis of TG with regards to this kind of study is that every language is assumed to have an underlying order which is part of the "deep structure" of the language and which exists as a basis for sentence production, even when the final output consists of element orders which are nothing like the basic element order. The idea that a language may have a basic pattern "frame" into which words are slotted is not a bad one, but there are serious problems if this is taken too far. When a language is - like many European languages - basically SVO and generally fixed in its element order patterns then this theory works reasonably well. But when a language is not SVO and its element order is very flexible then the theory runs into problems. In this situation, the language may have no obvious basic element order, that is, one which is clearly more common than other word orders and seems to represent some kind of neutral, unmarked standard. This is what the TG school call the underlying order, the basic frame into which the elements of the clause are fitted. For instance, the Chomskyan approach assumes SOV as an "underlying" order for the whole OE period. This has the advantage of simplicity (and an optional V2 rule can capture many element order variations). A disadvantage is that it gives a sudden switch to SVO in the twelfth century. This over-simplifies what is really a long and complex development. Another approach is to consider base orders as "unmarked" rather than underlying; but there is so

much "marked" variety that a great deal is left unexplained. Generative theory, it would seem, has problems with the variety of natural language.

2.4 Conclusions

From the above review of the literature several main strands of investigation and of methodology suggest themselves for the current study. The methodology used should reflect as far as possible that used by previous studies, as this will allow comparisons to be made more easily with their data. The work of Shores and Kohonen in particular can serve as a excellent guide, and the analyses in this thesis will attempt to follow and develop their methods. The methodology should ensure that all elements in a clause are analysed since the position and/or the make-up of any one element can have an effect on the positioning of all the others. All clause types should be analysed as it is well known that, in the period to be examined, English displayed a wide variety of element orders but showed far more SOV order in DCls than elsewhere. The full methodology developed and used here is described in the following chapter.

Some of the problems mentioned above will be examined to see what light the new data gathered here can shed on them. In particular the questions of whether eME was to any extent a V-2 language and if not, to show what stage it had reached on the road to becoming a true SVO language. The studies reviewed above have shown the importance of noting the effect that factors like weight and topicalisation had on the language in the period discussed. Thus it is important to take these factors into account, particularly when examining the V-2 problem as they were very important factors relating to this element order outcome. The influence of given/new and theme/rheme ordering must also be examined. Just as important as examining the main clause-level elements is that the phrase level elements should be examined. Studies like these of Vennemann and Hyman, described above, have shown how important the phrasal elements are in helping to determine language development, particularly when the clause level order can vary

to a great degree. These and other studies and articles have also shown the importance, when trying to determine the causes of the changes seen, that all the above factors are taken into account as it seems likely that no one factor will give a complete explanation of any of the linguistic developments.

Chapter 3: Methodology.

3.1 Introduction.

The methodology of the thesis will be described in the following manner. First a general outline will be given of the objectives of the analysis and the related problems which have to be overcome. This will be followed by a general description of the analytical method before a more detailed account is given of the method as it had to be adapted for application through the computer systems available. It was also necessary to limit the analysis due to time available. Some objectives were able to be achieved to a limited degree by limiting the amount and the depth of the analysis. The main objective of achieving an analysis of the main element orders of the *LH* text was accomplished.

3.2 Matching methodology to the objectives.

The purpose of the analysis was twofold: first to discover the forms in which element order of clauses occur within the text, and their various frequencies of occurrence; secondly to examine factors at phrase level which may be contributing to these occurrences. When examining clause level elements, factors such as topicalisation and other features should be taken into account. An attempt was made to take account of such features in the system, but was only achieved to a limited degree owing to the constraints on the study. It was possible to a certain extent to give analyses of some factors, for instance given/new, but for others such as theme/rheme it was not possible. However for a feature, for instance, like theme/rheme it is still possible to make some valid comments based on the fact that non-S elements appearing in initial position in a clause are topicalised themes. Thus analysis of the data for fronted elements such as Adverbials (As) can provide a useful substitute for a fully detailed analysis of factors like topic and theme.

In the clause level analysis, the main functional elements to be examined were given the familiar "SPOCA" tags as used by, among others, Leech (1982) and

Huddleston (1988) and which, with the slight variation of V standing in for Predicator (P), have also been used to describe element order in the vast majority of studies investigating element order developments. These elements were to be analysed as fully as possible. Some of the reasons for this have been given above, but the general one is that positioning of one element may be affected by the others' positions in the clause (excluding other factors for the moment), thus a more limited analysis (such as some earlier studies used, involving for instance only two elements) will be unable to take account of this factor. The main example of this (given above in Chapter 2, 2.3) was that of the influence of Adverbials on inverted or V-2 order.

There is a problem with this kind of analysis which is related to the concept of element-order (often called "word-order") typology in language. That is, that if one accepts these typological descriptions based on element order, there can be difficulties in deciding what element orders seen in the data from a language (in, say, a particular time or area) fit in with the definition of an element order type. This problem is especially difficult where a language is in a "transitional" stage as described above (again, 2.3). Some languages, such as English (SVO) and Japanese (SOV), are clearly proto-typical examples of their element order types, but others are in the process of development (which may or may not be into a new type) and therefore display features which are not clearly that of any of the main types described by Greenberg and others. English, in the OE →ME period, was such a language and so presents the investigator with the typical problems of analysis involved with such languages. At the clause level, for instance, there is the problem of deciding what element orders actually found represent variations of one particular typical element order type and which represent another - and which represent something else altogether.

One typical problem was that of orders with both I and O, like SIVO, ISVO and SOVI which, having two object elements, create the difficulty of deciding which truly belongs to SVO, OSV or SOV order. In a very general element order

analysis, that is of only two elements - concentrating on S and V, with all other elements regarded as equivalent and no distinction between O, I or any other elements - SIVO and SOV might be brought together in one output (SXV). At the same time, ISVO and OSVI, for instance, could be brought together in another (SV). It was therefore decided to accept only orders which included direct O between S and V as true SOV order - although later tables were produced showing data for all those doubtful examples, including other variations on the basic element orders (see appendices). However it was necessary to produce more generalised tables also, for comparison with other studies' data. A detailed description of the resulting tagging system is given below, in 3.3.

It is obvious therefore that great care must be taken not only in deciding what specific features one wishes to examine, but also in deciding the best interpretation of what they represent, so one can concentrate as much as possible on relevant examples. In the example given above, with both O and I, the decision made was to treat all I elements as irrelevant (at least in the early, general stages of analysis) so that, for instance, only orders with an O between S and P were treated as SOV order. The I is anyway an unusual form in English, if one considers its function. It is mostly a low stress pronoun, though it can sometimes be a full noun. This is shown in OE (and to a lesser degree also in eME) by inflexion and in PDE by position in the clause or by the use of the form "to".

This latter option points out the discrepancy in this kind of analysis in that such a form could be analysed as an adverbial of some kind. In fact languages with full inflexional systems often use a NP with a variety of cases to perform the function normally performed by the adverbial in PDE. This suggests that a better function description for historical analysis would be to describe such elements which are not clearly S, V or O in *functional grammar* terms (e.g. as in Dik, 1978). In such a description, the forms described as S, O, I and A would not be completely different forms but rather similar forms which perform a wide variety of functions. What, in the system used up to now, is described as the A would of course be split

into several different functions. This would lead to a much more detailed descriptive system, but is not feasible at present, partly because of the time factor, but also because it would make comparisons with earlier studies more difficult. Hence the case of the I and O elements must be dealt with and the solution of treating the O as the only true object is the one that is taken here, as it also has been with earlier studies.

Another similar problem is that of SAV order where the A could be described like the O in SOV order as a "medial" element when examining general, SXV order. Such medial Adverbials would have to be treated in the same way as C, I or O elements if one was examining an OE text, since one often finds several Adverbials - sometimes several adverbial phrases - in medial position (see Davis 1991 and Kohonen 1978), even where O follows P. This latter situation, incidentally, represents a stage in the move away from V-final order when the language still accepted a fair number of elements in this position even where it could be described as having a kind of SVO order (with e.g. SAAVO possible as also SIVO, as above). However, the *Lambeth Homilies (LH)* text has very few examples of this order where there is more than one adverbial element between S and P and most such elements consisted of single words (a sign of how far the language has developed since those Ælfrician homilies which Davis and Kohonen analysed). As a result it might seem reasonable to treat all SAV order in this eME text as part of general SV order (and SAVO order as part of SVO order). This would be the typical situation of course in PDE, where medial adverbial material which is not merely modifying the verb is uncommon.

However, because Kohonen includes SAV order (with no other elements present except other Adverbials) as part of his general SXV and SXVX order data, it was decided that it was better to include, in the analysis of the *LH* text, tables with the SAV data as part of the SXV data. This was partly because it was easier - and also potentially useful - to have data both for SAV as a separate order, and for SAV order included in the SV order, from the *LH* text analysis.

The alternative was to work through Kohonen's tables, trying to calculate what percentage represented SAV order and which did not, since Kohonen does not give separate SAV figures and only limited tables for SCV, SIV[14]. It is important when making a comparison between different sets of such data, that the figures should be based on the same underlying patterns. Since there is as yet no absolutely consistent methodology in this field, it is essential to attempt to make whatever system one uses flexible enough to be compatible with other important studies in the field.

Of course, the fact that medial A is more relevant to SXV order in OE than in the later language does present something of a problem when comparing OE and ME, but not an insuperable one. One could of course give separate figures for each kind of medial element order - i.e. for SXV where X = I, O, C or A - and indeed this is probably best. However, it was essential to make use of Kohonen's data, since the limitations of time and available resources made it difficult to extend the work into OE; and Kohonen's study was about the best available. So the analyses used for the *LH* text were adjusted so that they became more compatible with those used by him. This was not a serious problem ultimately. First, the changes in data made essentially little change to the proportional variations between element orders in the various clauses although actual figures/percentages did change. This is due to the fact that *LH* is basically an eME text, so that the medial A data is limited, particularly in ICl/CjCls. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7, below.

Essentially the problem is one of comparing like with like when comparing what is known to be true OE material with eME material. One might suspect OE-type features in the text of the *LH*, but in many ways it is clearly eME - as can be seen for instance in the severely weakened morphological system. However, the texts can be compared in several ways. They can be analysed in a general way, as

[14]Kohonen could perhaps be criticised for not giving data for both SAV=SV and SAV=SXV, but his analyses are otherwise so detailed and useful that it would be a very minor criticism.

just described, with SAV = SXV for comparison with Kohonen's general statistics. Also examined should be clauses with only clear X = Od, and here SAVO order is considered by all who have studied this field to be equivalent to SVO order - only SOV being equivalent to SXV order. Although not fully detailed there are also figures for comparison regarding clauses with X = I and X = C only; Kohonen also gives data for position of As with respect to whether they are medial, final or initial in the clause. These data do not allow us to construct reliable figures in S(X)V(X) format, but some comparison can be made by showing in *LH* text where Adverbials appear with respect to whether they are before the S(X)V/VS construct, after it, or form all or part of X. It should be noted that Kohonen shows a great deal of his data, particularly that for Adverbials, in tables which relate elements as to whether they appear initially, medially or finally in a clause but not necessarily in relation to other elements such as S and V. Thus although, in the general element order tables given, SAV was taken as SV order, data were obtained also about SAV and other apparently ignored orders so that tables like those mentioned could be constructed for comparison with Kohonen's data.

By the various kinds of comparison it can in effect be seen that the change from SXV to SVX order was not merely the move of X from pre-V to post-V position, but involved overlapping movements which took place at different rates, according to the kind of element involved. At all times, such factors as theme, givenness and weight (or stress) were important. For instance, it has long been evident that in ME low stress pronouns could occur in medial = e.g. SOV, SIV - position and, even in PDE, SAV order is still possible. This is not just a matter of weight, since certain types of adverbial are acceptable in the medial positions whereas others are non-grammatical. For instance,

ex1 "He gradually realised...."

ex2 "Jane quickly sorted things out"

ex3 "He grudgingly admitted his mistake"

In every example above the adverb could have occurred elsewhere in the sentence without affecting the meaning, so it cannot be argued that they are verb-modifiers, although they do modify the sentence, of which the verb is a key element. However, some Adverbials are not acceptable in this position in PDE.

ex4 "He there went ...." *

ex5 "Jane yesterday came home" *

ex6 "We north sailed the ship" *

It should be noticed that the non-acceptable forms represent more concrete ideas than the acceptable form - even the time adverb "yesterday" represents a definite time, while acceptable time adverbs would be "quickly", "over the years", "once a week" - which represent an indeterminate duration or frequency of time. Although one could argue that the first example may describe the manner in which the realisation was made, the latter examples show that it is possible for full phrases - and indeed full clauses - to occur in medial position.

e.g.

ex7 "Jane very soon realised her mistake"

ex8 "He most graciously enquired about her health"

ex9 "John as quickly as possible cleared the desktop"

ex10 "The old man, with a trembling hand, signed his name"

ex11 "The judge to his everlasting credit freed the suspect"

ex12 "Jack if he had only known had made a terrible mistake"

All the above examples seem to be acceptable in PDE, but the last three would require a certain use of pause and intonation to allow insertion of the adverbial into medial position (ex10 especially, to avoid possible ambiguity with the same phrase used as a modifier to the S). Several of the examples (ex8-10 especially) one would expect only to find in a literary work and not everyday speech. Although certain categories of adverbial are not acceptable in any form, either light or heavy, the tendency with acceptable Adverbials is - in everyday speech at least - for only light elements to be used, occasionally in conjunction with a modifier like "very" or "most". It should be mentioned that similar kinds of differences were to be seen even in OE, Kohonen's study giving some figures to prove the point (Kohonen 1978: 232). No attempt is made in this study however to show how this may have changed over time, as no such analysis was made of the *LH* text. The basic reduction in medial Adverbials will however be briefly examined.

3.3 General methodology.

The basic methodology of this thesis is relatively simple, although putting it into practice is a lengthy and painstaking process because of the need for accuracy in preparation of text, the tagging system for the analysis and the analysis itself. The purpose of the analysis must be specified carefully to ensure that the analysis system is relevant to and sufficient for the task in hand. Then a series of tags - markers for each element (or part of an element) that is to be analysed - must be produced so that every element to be studied can be clearly differentiated. Care must be taken with tags so that:

- They have some mnemonic quality, to decrease the chance of error and increase the speed of entering the tagging. An obvious example of this would be the use of the commonly used SPOCA mark-up system as a basis for the clause-level tagging system. For some forms of analysis, however,

there is no widely accepted standard tagging, for instance for weight or inflection which would be seen at phrase-level. As a result, one must develop a system of one's own, but reference should be made to comparable studies so that the system developed is not totally unfamiliar to others studying the field and will permit data from different studies to be compared.

- They do not overlap: i.e. that the same tag is not used twice to represent different elements, even where the tag is at a different level of analysis from another. Clause-level elements which are (rank-shifted) clauses themselves, should be included, but distinguished in some way from main-level clausal elements. This is for several reasons: all elements should be included if possible, but those which themselves are clauses should be marked so in order to allow account to be taken in the analysis of weight, and of continuation of theme and/or rheme from a main clause to a subordinate clause since if these are to be marked it will be at the phrase level. In early English, particularly OE, the appearance of a subordinate clause could have an effect on the element order (e.g. in the use of inversion to distinguish the ICl from the DCl), therefore it should be marked so that when computer data is examined it is obvious if any element of a clause is itself a clause.

- They must be clearly differentiated from the text, whether for human or machine analysis. Owing to the wide ranging nature of the analysis, which will take into account element order differences between clause types, it is also necessary to break the text into clauses first of all, taking care to distinguish (for the reasons given above) when a clause itself is an element within another clause. Thus decisions have to be made about sentence and clause structure before analysis can begin. Text may need to be divided into

phrasal as well as clausal sections, by markers or the use of bracketing of various kinds. The clause divisions should also include, or be accompanied by, tags showing clause type - i.e. Independent clause, Subordinate clause, etc. - since it is known that in early English certain element orders were more common in some clause types than in others. Finally, when the analysis tasks are underway, on each "run-through" a particular analysis must be checked and double-checked to remove errors.

The analysis is begun using a human agent, even if a computer tagging is to be added later. This is because a computer itself cannot tag the text. This is done by a human agent who scans the text by eye, noting the element order (or other features) to be shown by the tags and possibly taking note of related features that catch one's eye[15]. If the analysis is done solely by human agency then notes are made of various features and a running count is made of the various element orders of interest. At phrase-level there is more element order to be aware of and several scans of the text would be required for each feature requiring to be analysed. Tagging at phrase-level in fact would of necessity be more detailed than at main-level and more time consuming. This in fact resulted in the analysis at phrase-level being eventually limited in the number of features and the range of text analysed.

This process described above has been adapted for the present computer analysis, although there were problems (see *3.4 Early tagging trials*, below) owing to the necessity of using software designed for more general purposes rather than the specific problems of element order and phrasal analysis.

3.4 Computer analysis methodology.

Over the last decade or so there has been an increasing use of computer-aided methods for the purposes of stylistic and linguistic analyses of texts. The

[15]This process is not immediately available in a computer analysis; a print out giving element order and some context allows this to be done later.

advantages of this method are that a larger selection of text can be analysed, and analysed more quickly, than by the only alternative method - pencil-and-paper marking and counting. One can also be more confident in the dependability of results obtained, owing to the greater size of sample (provided the sample is selected carefully, to be properly representative of the text/s) and also due to the greater ease and speed with which checks on the accuracy of results can be made. Not only that, but the latest PC systems are so powerful and flexible that a great variety of work can be carried out on the same text - or several texts can be analysed together. These developments in technology have been to some extent matched - though more is needed - by developments in the production of computer text-files of OE, ME and eMdnE works and several text-handling programs such as OCP and TACT.

Even before such advanced tools were available, two excellent studies (in element order) were produced by this method, those by Kohonen (1978) and Davis (Ph.D. thesis, 1991). In these works Davis analyses a very large text corpus by a single author, Ælfric, whereas Kohonen (with a smaller, though reasonably sized corpus) provides a wide-ranging study touching on most aspects that could be analysed. In future one can expect much more work of this nature to be produced as the quality of the tools available and experience of researchers in their use increases. Whereas in the past researchers in English language studies had to enlist the aid of experienced programmers - and even learn a great deal about programming and computer systems themselves - it is now possible to do very useful work with only a limited knowledge of the technical aspects of the computing tools which are now available. Of course, the more one does understand of how such systems work, the better one is able to apply them; technical advice should always be sought before embarking on such study, because, of course, all this technological power is of no avail if the purpose it is put to is not properly thought out and organised in advance. The power of the latest computers - and the fact that their operation is not directly accessible to

their users, only the final output - means that errors in organisation and accuracy of text must be carefully eliminated before any useful work can begin.

The Program Used

Kohonen had to produce his analysis program from scratch, working closely with his university's programming department. Today one is in the fortunate position of being able to select from several existing programs which have been developed for the analysis of text. The program chosen was that of the OCP (Oxford Concordancing Program) which has been widely used for textual studies. This was available at the STELLA (Software for Teaching English Language and Literature and its Assessment) laboratories at Glasgow University, as were other possibly useful programs such as TACT, another concordancing program. Computer and program facilities here were made available, as well as very welcome help and advice from the staff when it was needed.

OCP was chosen because it allowed users to insert their own tagging into a text, so that it could be marked up in a manner most suitable for the particular analysis the user wishes to be made. It also has a very basic set of commands which can be organised into miniature programs - allowing users to adapt the program to suit the task. The main purpose of these commands is basically to allow the user to *select*[16] tagged areas of text (which can be chapters, pages, paragraphs, etc.) to be examined. Other commands allow one to specify words or phrases or "proto-forms" to be *pick*ed out from selected areas of text. By proto-forms is meant word "frames" such as "m*ss" which can *pick* out examples such as "miss, mass, moss" from a text. This could also be used to *pick* out certain grammatical forms, for instance "*ed" to *pick* out past tenses.

It is also possible to *collocate* - that is *pick* out particular words (or proto-forms) that occur in close proximity to each other. Combining these commands

[16]*Select, pick* and other italicised words used in a similar context here also represent commands from OCP.

allows the user to select text where a specified set of conditions prevail. The system was originally designed for literary analysis, but it was found to be possible to adapt it for linguistic analysis. However, the adaptation of the system to the element order analysis was more difficult than at first anticipated and some problems had to be overcome before this was possible. These are described below in the following section.

The system of course had the advantages that one expects from a computer-program system. It was quick - that is, quick at analysing the text and producing output (either on screen, file or as "hard copy" print-out). The program also gives basic statistics (numbers of occurrences of items, repetitions, etc.) and can produce lists of items with surrounding context. This last feature is not as sophisticated - nor as simple to use - as that in the TACT program. However TACT did not allow one to *tag* for a specialist analysis to the same degree. Like all computer systems, OCP is always very accurate. However, this accuracy depends very much on the logic of the analytical system the tagging is based on and the care taken in ensuring the accuracy of both the tagging and the text itself, in its machine-readable form.

Creation and testing of the tagging system.

In the General Methodology section, above, a system was described, in broad terms, which could be used as a basis for creating a more specific procedure suitable for any physical method. What follows is a description of how it was adapted for use with the OCP computer text analysis program.

When the methodology was first adapted for use on OCP, some problems were encountered as it took some time to fully understand the operation of OCP tagging system. The OCP manual itself, while containing a series of examples that the user can work through (and in doing so learn a great deal about the system's operation) was not really helpful in explaining how the hierarchy of the tagging system operated. As a result, a great deal of time was wasted trying to transfer

the system described above more or less directly onto the OCP system - when in fact it was impossible to do so. This is an inevitable result of using any computer system for it always takes time to fully familiarise oneself with a program and both its potentials and its limitations. And there are always bugs to be worked out of any analysis system devised. Through practice, study of the manual, use of worked examples and trial runs it was possible to learn enough about the system to develop a viable method of tagging for element order. But before this is described, there follows a brief description of the early tagging attempts and the test results which caused them to be rejected.

Early tagging trials

The first design for a tagging system was an attempt to create a hierarchy, where clause came first, then the elements, to be followed later by other features if the system was successful. In OCP this result is achieved basically by analysing tags in the order of their occurrence. A tag consists of two sections within a frame described by diagonal brackets (this frame being reserved in OCP for such tags), for instance: <X YYY>. Within this frame, X is the tag type and Y an example of that type. The X part of the tag may consist of only one letter, the Y part may consist of several (e.g. author, title). The first type created was that of clause (= "C"), followed by an abbreviation for the type of clause, e.g. Independent Clause (= "ICl"), giving these tags: <C ICL>, <C CjCl>, <C SCl> etc. Next the element types at phrase level were designed and entered: e.g. <E S>, <E O>, <E P[17]>, representing element = Subject, Object, Predicator, etc.

The clause types were tagged first (on a small, sample piece of text) and text was extracted from different clause types without any problem using OCP. The problems arose when attempts were made to extract text under a combination of clause and element order types. It had been assumed that if one used a command

[17]The use of P for the verb (from predicator) was to allow the letter V to be used at phrase level to represent the verb.

to select for (e.g.) E = "S" and E = "P" and E ="O" the system would return data where SVO order occurred.

However the types of error which occurred with the test runs showed that the system was confused by this kind of command. Now it appears, when OCP searches for a piece of text, it goes through the main document as follows:

(e.g. *Select* "SPO" in ICls)

<C ICl>

<E S> (Followed by the Subject NP)

<E P> (Followed by the VP)

<E O> (Followed by the Object NP)

Then at this point it should select the text following this final tag. Since the aims of the study basically required the number of occurrences of a particular element order, it did not matter what was selected here - but something had to be selected to make the system work. It seems that one particular problem was that the system did not create a true hierarchy of tags, so that although it would cease to search for element tags when it reached another ICl tag it did not cease to do so when it reached any other clause tag. This meant there was overlapping and the fabrication of non-existent element orders using elements from outside the clauses requiring to be analysed - usually rank-shifted DCls. This tendency to run into other sections it was supposed to ignore made it impossible to use the OCP tagging in this way. An attempt was made therefore to get round this by having all the tags together at the beginning of each clause (e.g. <C ICl> <E S> <E P> <E O>, followed by the clause text), but the same problems occurred.

To try to get round this problem by giving each clause type its own tag type seemed undesirable as it meant creating a more complicated system: the more complicated the system, the more chances there are of error. Such a system would have required different clause-tags for the different kinds of DCls which operated at different levels within each sentence, and brief tests suggested this may not have solved the overlap problem anyway. Another possibility would have

been to bracket all clauses off which were not to be part of a particular analysis and use the OCP commands to cause the text within brackets to be treated as comment, that is text which would be ignored by the system during an analysis run. This method, however, even if it could be made to work, would be very complicated and would be very likely to lead to errors as one would, for instance, have to have different bracketing for every kind of non-independent clause (and different levels of rank-shifting with subordination). It would also be necessary to change the comment commands for every different kind of analysis run one performed. As a result, ways of extracting the data by using a simpler tagging method were examined.

A better solution, and one that to some extent worked, would be to have the basic element order entered as a single tag, that is <E SPO>. However, this has the problem of making it impossible to select basic element order types from more complicated examples: e.g. if one selected all SPO (SVO) orders the OCP system would ignore examples like ASVO, SVOA etc. A different solution - based on the same idea of having a single "block" tag as above, but being more flexible and allowing all variations of one element order type to be selected - was to use the *PICK* command to extract element order types rather than use the standard tagging system directly. The clause types would continue to be selected as before with the standard tagging system described above, but then the element order types would be inserted as normal text with the addition of an extra, rarely used character to distinguish it from the actual homily text (the character "!" was in fact used in the initial tagging).

The advantage of this solution would be that, using the *PICK* command's ability to extract all examples of text that fitted a word frame, one could pick out all examples of one element order type in one go - unlike with the block system described earlier. Thus,

e.g. *PICK words* "!*S*P*O*"

would display all examples of SVO order including examples such as SVOA, ASVO, etc. Also, with the standard tagging system being used only to select the particular kinds of clauses to be checked for element order, the tasks that this system had to handle were much reduced and simplified. As it was no longer having to handle ordering of tag types it was as a result able to handle this new system very well. Since all the element order types were now recorded at the beginning of each clause, as a single block of text rather than OCP tags, there was no more problem of overlap of elements between clauses - and hence no need to bracket off various levels of subordination and have the OCP system ignore the different subordination levels on different analysis runs.

When it was tested on some sample text, and after other "bugs" had been worked out, it was found that it worked ideally. Tests were performed on progressively larger sample texts, ending with a text sample consisting of the whole of Homily I - one of the shortest of the *LH*. This system continued to give satisfactory results (checked against a paper and pencil compilations of results) and as a result became the preferred method for tagging the text. Further short tests suggested this would also be the best method for tagging other elements within the texts, for example phrase-level word-order, inflectional distinction, weight of elements and so forth.

As a result, the text was tagged using this system, starting with the main, clause-level element-order analysis. It should be mentioned in passing that there was a problem here that could not easily be overcome. OCP is limited in the way it presents context of text picked out and anything after an EOL (EOL = end of line) marker is not shown. OCP it seems cannot handle long text files unless they are broken down into sections by EOL markers (this is done simply by entering "carriage-return/enter" at the end of a line). Since it was not clear what the minimum requirement for this must be, this was a little overdone in the text. The problem was that, since the context given by OCP stops at the EOL marker, selections of element order types which began near EOL markers gave little or no

useful context. It is possible to get round this problem by adding special end-line tags and commands to treat what follows as part of the same line. However, it had originally been planned to tag the text fully at phrase level, after the element order tagging was complete, and thus the data would be available without need for full context being shown. It was only when the tagging of the text at clause level was well underway that it was realised that it would have been very useful to see full context, as it would not be possible to complete tagging of the whole text at phrase level in time. However, to go back and add the extra end-line tagging would now be very time consuming. Also, when it still seemed possible to tag the whole text for phrase level analysis (as all extra material such as tagging expands the text) it seemed it would not be possible to know the correct placing of the EOL tags until this other level of tagging was completed. So it was decided to make do with a combination of the limited amount of context shown with the clause level analysis. This was haphazard - sometimes all the extra data required (e.g. whether S, O = noun or pronoun) was given, sometimes part of it, sometimes none. There was however, despite this problem, no danger of the system being unable to select the element order data from the clauses. It was a matter of obtaining extra useful information. This would still have been possible by phrase level tagging. In the event it was only possible, due to the time factor, to tag a selection of the whole text beyond the main level. About one third of the text was eventually tagged for phrase level analysis, and the analysis done with it was limited.

The OCP tagging system is designed for literary rather than linguistic analysis, although it can be adapted for this purpose. Literary works are designed to be read in one order only; the general organisation of such works usually has limited structure, that of chapter, page, verse etc. Drama has the most structured organisation with act, scene, stage direction, character; however even this is fairly straightforward with act and scene being in simple numeric order (and act above scene in hierarchy) and stage direction and character being in random order. The

system cannot cope so well with linguistic analysis, particularly where the ordering of elements can vary and where elements can be rank-shifted and change their position in the hierarchy. Fortunately, it is possible to overcome such problems, for instance by treating the tagging for element order as part of the normal text. The system's word search system is very flexible, allowing search to be made on a frame of a word so that any and all words within a text that fit this frame can be selected. This means that with a degree of imagination - and hard work - a fairly reliable tagging for element order can be made and all examples of a particular element order can be picked out, even when rank-shifting and other problems occur.

Description of final tagging system.

The original plan was to tag the whole of the eME prose text of the *LH* (excluding, it was later decided, the two Ælfric Homilies which were rather close to the OE original in element order) and then run the analytical programs. However, as the tagging and verification of the tagging (by proofing of paper printouts of the text) was turning out to be a rather time consuming task, a decision was made to split the analysis into sections. There was of course a natural split into the "A" and "B" sections as described by Sisam (see below, Chapter 4, 4.1). It was also noted that not only was the A section able to be split into sections "A1", "A2" (the OE homilies, not to be tagged at present) and "A3", but "B" could also be split into two - "B1" = VII/VIII and "B2" = XIV ➔ XVII.

Section A1 was easily the largest section, with the two longest homilies (of those to be tagged) contained within it. A beginning was therefore made with these homilies - II and III - partly because they followed on from homily I, which had already been completed during the trials, and partly because, since they were the largest they would provide data based on a large enough sample to be trusted as valid. That meant there would be something worthwhile to study before the first of the sections was finished. This seemed a logical plan as it made it possible

to continue the tagging at the same time as an OCP analysis was being done, being able to move ahead to complete the other sections while continuing the analysis of the A1 section.

It was believed that this would allow some comparisons between the different sections of the text to be made without having to wait until the whole text was completely tagged. As the analysis was essentially a "one man operation", it was felt that it would also be important to be able to break down the tasks like this and make things more interesting - boredom can lead to mistakes. It was also thought that it was possible the results of such analysis might suggest improvements - or at least extensions - to the original tagging. When the text was completely tagged (to whatever level could be managed), the data from the various sections analysed earlier could be combined into larger sections (i.e. the full A and B sections) for comparison: checks on accuracy could also be done by running analyses on these sections again - now fully tagged - as complete units.

The tagging system.

As mentioned, the system simply listed all elements in a clause together in a single block at the beginning of each clause. The characters chosen to represent each element were as follows:

S = Subject; P = Predicator; O = Object (direct);
I = Object (indirect); A = Adverbial; C = Complement;

Other tags used were:

e = exclamation or interjection;
x (after one of "SPOCA" elements above) = clause;
V = detached verbal element (where aux and MV split);
R = reflexive element; n = negative;

Tags to represent clause types were:

ICl = Independent Clause

CjCl = Conjunctive Clause

SCl = Subordinate Clause

RCl = Relative Clause

The character "!" was placed at the beginning of each block of elements, and included in the word-frame description of each *PICK* command, to prevent the program from looking at the general text for these characters. Examples of OCP commands to select text (for instance, "PSO" order in conjunctive clauses) are as follows:

Select where C = "CjCl".

Pick words "!*P*S*O*".

These are of course the two main commands for the selection of text only: fuller examples are given in the appendices.

The example above would select (from conjunctive clauses only) all "PSO" examples, including for instance the element orders AVSO, nVSO, VSAO, VASOA and many other combinations. One might for instance wish to look only at "PS" order where it was preceded only by a negative - this could easily be done by using the *PICK* command and "!n*P*S*". So the definition of the elements one wishes to examine may be as narrow or as broad as one desires.

As the text was to be analysed in sections, it was decided to use fairly broad definitions for the element orders - at least in the early stages. By examining print-outs of the various analyses, it would be possible to weed out examples that did not fit the required pattern. This was still necessary when using a broadly defined

search pattern, since occasional divisions not required would turn up, for instance one might want to see all the SVX order but for certain purposes ignore any SIVX, SAVX, SOVX order. A variation of this problem is when one is analysing clauses where two or more elements come between the S and V elements. Thus one might wish to ensure that one obtains all the clauses with (for instance) an adverbial between S and V but not an O. It would be necessary then either to do several searches, each allowing for the variations of the adverbial and other elements (not Os), or else do one general search for all SXV patterns and then discount the SOV examples in the count. One can specify to see only a single pattern such as SAVX ("!SAP*"), but cannot specify the program to ignore several possible sub-patterns in a broadly defined pattern. However, these problems, which only become important when doing very detailed analysis, can all be overcome - albeit by occasionally having to combine computer analysis with the pencil-and-paper method.

Phrase level tagging.

Originally it was intended that quite a detailed tagging for phrase level analysis be done, but due to lack of time this particular form of analysis had to be limited to a scheme operating on a smaller text sample. Since the scheme described above for clause level analysis, using the *PICK* command, seemed to be successful, a variation of the tagging system used for that was developed for this analysis. In the event, the full system was not able to be used, but it is described here in outline. The system that was actually used is described here first, followed by a brief description of the other tagging that was not used.

Markers to distinguish tags from normal text, and other tag types, were as follows. The character "^" introduced tags for SPOCA elements in a clause. This was distinct from the element order tag which contained all the SPOCA elements together at the beginning of each clause and for a different purpose. The character "~" introduced tags for word forms of the headwords of each phrase.

Although marking of function and form was the main purpose of both these tags, other information was also included in the tagging where it seemed relevant. In all the main clause types, all word forms of the headword of each element (phrase) were tagged:

noun (pronoun) = "~N" ("~Pn")

verb (aux) = "^V" (aux + MV = "^VYX")

adverb (prepositional phrase) = "~Av" ("~AP")

It should be noted that verb phrases above have extra tag marking, "Y" = aux, and "X" = MV where there is an aux. It is not superfluous to have two markers for this; they allow both elements to be tagged where there is a split verb phrase. A "Y" occurs for each aux element. For both noun phrases and Adverbials, some indication is given of the notion of weight. This is based mainly on the number of words that occur in a phrase, although single, multi-syllable words, which seem likely to have had at least one strong stress, are treated as 2-word phrases. The breakdown of this is as follows.

"N1" = det + H (occasionally M + H). "A1" = preposition + H.

"N2" = det + M + H. "A2" = prep + det (or M) + H.

"N3" or "A3" = anything bigger than "X2".

"NCl" or "ACl" to show clausal elements.

Obviously, this is a very simplified system, a necessity due to the time factor. However it could very easily be expanded to show a much more detailed analysis. This constitutes the system used for the phrase level analysis, however some trials were made on a slightly more detailed analysis looking at other factors, and some of this is given below as it may be of interest.

For noun phrases some indication may be given of inflection where it occurs and is clearly distinguishable from other case inflections in the clause. For instance,

"X" = nominative

"Y" = accusative

"Z" = dative

and as a general catch-all, "W" can be used to indicate where the subject-object relationship is clearly shown, but by some other means, e.g. Subject/Verb agreement.

Extra marking could be added to the function tags as to whether the element was equivalent to theme, or contained new or given information or was anaphoric. The terms given and new are used to refer to whether the information (word or direct reference of word) has occurred already in the particular homily being tagged or whether it is being introduced for the first time. However, if the word re-occurs with some addition or other variation in its use, e.g. with a new modifier or within a prepositional phrase, it may be treated as if it is new information - which it is in part. It is only that a strict analysis would probably have subdivisions of newness and this obviously is something that would need to be developed for a study which wished to concentrate on this aspect. The term "anaphoric" is used in the very strict sense of referring only to information occurring in the immediately preceding sentence (or collection of connected clauses), and includes full nouns as elements which could be anaphoric as long as they referred to something immediately preceding. This was because the purpose of the analysis was more limited than one which would require a full and proper analysis of anaphoric reference in the text. So this is what was developed, although finally not actually used. The tag markings for this were as follows:

Theme = T; K = known (given); N = new; A = anaphoric.

It will be noticed that there is no marker for rheme, since this would have required much more detailed tagging than there was time for. Examples of this tagging follow

Subject, Thematic, Known	= "^STK"
Adverbial, Thematic	= "^AT"
Object, Anaphoric	= "^OA"
Object, New	= "^ON"

This completes the description and survey of the computer text analysis system. Some more detailed examples of the tagging in context along with some sample result print-outs may be seen in the appendices. It is hoped that these may make some points clearer.

3.5 Statistics - some problems of their use in diachronic study.

Statistics have proved to be a useful tool in linguistic studies - for instance the work of Greenberg (1966) on language typology showed correspondences between element order and other syntactic features were statistically significant. However, it must be remembered that these correspondences were not proved to be absolute features of language, only general trends which - while important - did not tell the whole story. There is a danger, owing to the wide use of statistical methods in scientific and technical investigations, of assuming that because a statistical analysis has been made, that these methods will guarantee accuracy and produce informative results when applied to other fields. Care must be taken, not just in ensuring the accuracy of statistical analysis, but in deciding on whether statistical methods will produce valid results for the studies to be undertaken.

When considering making a statistical analysis, the following considerations are important. First, the text (or other material to be examined) must be consistent and representative of the language, or subset of it, being studied. This may be relatively straightforward when examining a language one is familiar with and for which it is easy to obtain as many samples of text/utterance as required to make statistical analysis meaningful. Statistical analysis is also most effective where there is a clear hypothesis to be tested - e.g. to show if one particular feature, or group of closely related features, undergo certain clearly measurable changes. Pronunciation changes in a particular modern community would be an example, where the researcher could go out and acquire as much data as was necessary to make the study valid. However, not all linguistic problems are as clear cut as this - for instance the problem of interpreting the various possible reasons for a linguistic change - and it becomes even more difficult when examining unfamiliar languages for which samples are not so easy to obtain and where one cannot be sure (due to lack of data) how representative the available data is of the whole language. This would be the case for instance when studying features of, say, the language of an obscure South American tribe who had little contact with the wider world. And some features require more data than others - syntax for instance requires far more data than phonology for significance of results to be assured.

The difficulties become even greater when one is analysing the earliest stages of a language and comparing one period with another. Then one has to deal not only with a lack of data, but data that may be representative only of a particular style or even *domain* of the language - for instance legal language in charters, which incidentally is an example of data that may give limited information even when a great deal of material is available, since such material will tend to repeat set formulae. There may be variation in the amount and kind of material that survives in different periods so that one period is represented by material that is perhaps not strictly comparable with that in another.

Apart from this, there is also the problem of relevance of statistics to particular problems. As has been said, size of textual source is important, but so is the amount and kind of change taking place. The greater the length of time, the more long-term changes will become apparent. Thus, it is fairly well established that, e.g., SOV languages sometimes develop into SVO languages and that various related changes also occur. This is a very long term process and "snapshot" analysis of different periods can result in data in which significant statistical variance can be clearly seen. For instance one word order (e.g. VS order) which was once common can be seen to lessen and finally all but disappear from any sample taken in a later period. Even here clear differences may be seen at certain distinct periods - when there is ample evidence - giving us an idea of a general trend over time. However this leaves certain periods for which the validity of the available evidence may not be so clear, at least in terms of statistical significance.

In this study one is dealing with a text which not only falls into this category but also shows very likely influence from earlier material. This is also complicated by the fact that the kind of change being examined - element order - could (in the period of study) show wide variation even as it was developing into a new "type" of language. This means that on the surface, individual texts from a later period could look as "old" as earlier material - the fact that the older material influenced the later material also contributed to this. A straightforward comparison of numerical data might show little difference between texts which are in facts representative of different kinds of language. A statistical analysis might show that certain differences shown by the language in the *LH* are significant, but in what way? Bean's analysis of the *ASC* showed that at some periods VS order was the most common ICl order, and at others SV order was: the variation was not strictly chronological. As was discussed in chapter one, and will be seen in later chapters, the form of the elements could have an effect on word order: heavy elements tended to move to final position, light (especially Pns) to early and middle. This meant a text using an unusual number of heavy or light elements

could have a word order substantially different from that of a contemporary text with an average amount of both. Topicalisation and givenness also affected word order in periods before such features as passivisation were fully developed to allow SV order to be retained while accommodating these factors.

In this case how is anything valid to be obtained from the text? It will be necessary to go over some of the above points once more. Any study of this period must make do with the limited surviving material that has come down from OE and eME, but it is all that exists and if this period is to be studied the best use must be made of what is available. Of course one must take care to be circumspect in any conclusions drawn, but one can still ensure that arguments are logical and careful. Evidence from general studies of element order change and of those of other languages can be brought in to ensure that those arguments make sense in the general linguistic context. One also has to ensure that the evidence and arguments fit in with what is known of the later language. A final point is that element order change, like nearly all such changes, does not occur in isolation but is the result of many other factors and coincides with other changes in the language.

It was mentioned above that some evidence of language change may not seem clear enough to be calculated as being significant. However if one looks at other features which have gone hand in hand with element order change, it can be seen that these will shed more light on the problem. It became evident in the following studies, for instance, that although general figures of element order in *LH* seemed to be somewhat "archaic" on the surface, more detailed examination showed that there were other variations over time, such as changes in the kind of element order that could appear in certain types of clauses and the extent of the effect that certain factors such as weight were having on word order. For instance the development of certain phrase-level orders, which tend to go hand and hand with later word order developments, can be seen more in later texts than in earlier ones. But details of this kind of evidence will appear in the relevant section of the

study itself. When there is a problem like this where the numerical data, though important, is unclear, what becomes essential is the ability to interpret it through our more general linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the context of the particular developments being examined.

Chapter 4: The Text And Related Matters.

4.1 The Lambeth Homilies

This study is based on a set of homilies compiled in the twelfth century. This collection, forming the new material analysed and used as the core of the study, is a collection known as the *Lambeth Homilies* (MS London, Lambeth Palace 487). For comparative purposes, use has been made of data from previous studies in particular the fine study by Kohonen, *On The Development Of English Word Order In Religious Prose c.1000-1200 (1978).* The reason for the comparison is to gain a diachronic context and, since the *Lambeth Homilies* (hence abbreviated to *LH*) are of a mixed nature - i.e. the language within the homilies appears to come from different sources and periods - this makes the context even more important to establish. The complete text is conveniently found in a single bound volume containing the editions by R. Morris: *EETS* 34 (1868) and *EETS* 53 (1873), the latter of these being an edition of the Trinity Homilies which was not used in this study. Both are reckoned to be excellent editions of the originals, although it was possible to find some corrections in articles by Wilson (1935), Sisam (1951) and in O'Brien's edition (1985) of a selection of the *LH* i.e. nos I, V, VI, IX, X, XVI and XVII.

This particular text was chosen for several reasons. First, it was compiled towards the end of the twelfth century, but contains material of earlier origin; some in the case of certain sections going back to Ælfric. This means there is a selection of material from a period when English was changing from OE to eME: an important period from the point of view of element order studies, and that of other English language developments. Also, as homilies (leaving aside the *Poema Morale* and *Pater Noster* verse sections), they are an excellent example of prose text and indeed were almost certainly written for oral delivery. As such, despite inevitable stylistic features owing to what was considered suitable oratorical delivery, they are likely to be closer to actual speech than most texts available for

the period (though it must be emphasised that no text of the time can be taken as being an absolute representation of actual speech - only a guide to features of it). There are a few difficulties in using the *LH* for element order study. These difficulties lie in the way the homilies came to be produced for "every text has its own history" (Smith 1996: 15) and it is only by understanding a text's history that the proper approach can be deduced. The following discussion is based mainly on evidence and arguments from Sisam (1951: 105-113), although slanted towards the particular purposes of this thesis. Use has also been made of the very informative article by Benskin and Laing (1981: 55-106).

Sisam has shown that the homilies were copied c.1200 from two earlier twelfth-century texts which were themselves copied as collections of religious material (with the exception of two verse pieces, all prose sermons). She calls these texts "X" and "Y", which relate to divisions of the material in the homilies which she names "A" and "B". A is represented by homilies I - V, IX - XII; B contains by homilies VII-VIII and XIV-XVII. The collection also contains the two verse pieces, the *Poema Morale* and *Pater Noster*; the latter is homily VI but the former, although having affinities with the B section, is considered a separate entity from the *LH*. The B section is generally homogeneous in nature (each of the homilies in this section being very similar in style and orthography and appearing to be one composition) and is apparently later than the A section - that is it represents a copy of later material, the Y text. The B section shows later orthographic features and the A section contains OE material (including 2 complete sermons of Ælfric) which is not seen in the B section. O'Brien (1985 Thesis) also notes that sermon XVII (B) shows evidence of the technique known as *distinctiones*[18], which does not appear before the last quarter of the twelfth century.

[18]Distinctiones: "lists of words from the scriptures, in which each word is followed by its different interpretations" (O'Brien 1985: 318). They did not appear until the last quarter of the twelfth century.

Sisam also gives convincing arguments, based on the kinds of copyists' errors found in the *LH*, that the work was a fairly exact copy of the material in the earlier texts - probably by scribes trained to copy Latin texts letter by letter. As a result, Sisam claims that it is possible to say with reasonable assurance that the B section represents a close copy of texts composed (or adapted/translated from French or Latin) during the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The A section is somewhat more complicated; indeed Sisam divides (by various orthographic, lexical and other features) the section into 3 sub-divisions: A1, A2 and A3. A2 contains the 2 close copies of Ælfric. Apart from these two, Sisam also claims I-III and XI as going back to OE, but does not give any reasons, although homilies II and XI do contain interpolations from Wulfstan and Ælfric. On the other hand, homily V contains a great deal of French vocabulary (a possible sign of being later than other pieces in the section). It is probably saying too much to state that (with the exception of homilies IX and X) the material definitely goes back to OE. Elements of OE may have been included because such texts were being used at a later period as a basis of compilation or adaptation in producing a "new" sermon. However, it seems reasonable at this stage to accept that the A section contains material that is earlier than the B section, but some of it - even all of A1 and A3 - may be eME, not OE. Nevertheless, it may represent the language at a stage many decades earlier than the B section. It should be emphasised here that the main concern is with element order evidence. There is some use in the A section of later language, such as occasional use of vocabulary of French origin and weakened morphology (particularly in the use, often, of "þe" for all cases of the determiner) and this is more consistently seen in the B section[19]. However, element order is less liable to be changed and perhaps

[19]Unlike the A section, the B section does not use "þæm". For instance in *LH (A) I*, the following is found:
Heo sullen eure un-binden godes folc *from þam deofle* and heom seggen godes lore
while in *LH (B) VII* is found:
of ileue spek ure drihten *ine þe hali godspel.*

there may not be as great a difference with this as with other, more mutable features such as vocabulary.

The X and Y texts were very likely not original works although, if Sisam is correct, the Y text would be closer in time to the *LH* itself than the X text. The X text could be the result of many stages of copying - including also interpolations and adaptations by preachers who over a period of time made use of the homilies. Changes would include replacing unfamiliar lexis with familiar (e.g. *Lage* for *ae*[20]), unfamiliar morphology with familiar (perhaps even expanding for clarity by means of prepositions, deixis: this clearly has happened in the A2 section) and possibly even some syntax change. The latter could not have been done very often as it would have been too big an undertaking: it would have required almost re-writing the whole sermon. It would surely not have been done unless the intention was to produce what was virtually a new sermon. The fact that two complete Ælfrician sermons were retained with their basic syntax (including element order) intact shows that this may not have been seen as necessary: though these particular texts may have been used as sources and as exemplars rather than being used directly as sermons. Some syntax may have seemed archaic, but was probably still acceptable at a later stage in the language: and may even have been expected in sermon delivery (compare with the regular use even in the present century of *thou, thee, wast* and other archaisms in sermons and hymns).

Texts of the early English period are often copies, perhaps several times removed from the originals which are the originals of their exemplars. Sometimes a text may be an accurate representation of the original, despite having been copied more than once; at other times one may have a "translation", a conversion of the original into another dialect. Such a translation may still be in its way faithful to the exemplar, but will show differences in pronunciation (expressed in the spelling), vocabulary and even variation in morphology, although the text may express exactly the same things as the original. Of course, some changes which

[20]Both terms mean Law. *Lage* is a later, Norse term from which the PDE word is descended.

occur in transcription are not a result of translation, but are a result of scribal errors. These may be actual mistakes, mis-spellings and so forth, but these can also include unintentional translation in what is meant to be an exact copy of an exemplar. In this way the scribe's own language may creep into a text[21], resulting in a work that is a *Mischsprache*, a dialect unique to the text itself. Amendments by preachers (to adapt these texts for their own personal delivery) might be incorporated by later copyists, some of whom would add amendments of their own (of more familiar forms and spelling) and add to an overall change in the work: but this might not be consistent. For instance, preachers would change a word the first few times they came across it, but not bother once they became familiar with it; also scribes, once familiar with an archaism, might incorporate it into their own texts. Thus the evidence in a text must be treated with great care; however a careful examination will often show what is error and what is true translation so that even texts of a very mixed composition can provide valuable linguistic evidence. Benskin and Laing (1981: 95) note that

> "compared with syntax, spelling and morphology demand a much smaller span of text to be held in the mind for a complete translation to be effected".

This suggests that, whatever changes may be effected in the act of copying a text, the underlying syntax is most likely to remain intact. In terms of lexis, morphology and dialect there is clearly evidence of late twelfth century usage in the A section as well as the B, although care must be taken in extracting the evidence because changes were not always made consistently.

However, the main concern for the moment is with element order. This syntactic element, as has been argued above, would not be subject to the same

[21]In a text meant to be an exact copy. It may also be that the text is to be translated into a local dialect, but by a scribe who had originally come from another dialect area and this may result in a copy which includes forms from at least three different dialect areas: the original, the area in which it was translated and the dialect of the scribe.

amount of change as other features of the text. It is well attested that vocabulary is the most rapidly changing feature of language (Aitchison 1991), pronunciation the next, while syntax is the least rapid of linguistic features to change. New words are created constantly and appear from within by word formation and changes of meaning, or are adopted from other languages. The vocabulary of any language is vast and loosely structured, whereas the phonological system of a language is much more structured; a new pronunciation does not enter the language as easily as a new word. On the other hand, a phonological system is dependent on human articulation, and pronunciation can also often be affected by sociological factors so that, although it is less subject to variation than vocabulary, it is still quite changeable. Syntax is highly structured, and not so liable to be affected - to the same degree at least - by those factors which modify the other linguistic features. Also, syntax is a central factor in the structure of meaning (it is necessary to produce sentences and phrases to express meaning; sounds and words are not enough) and so change is resisted more in this feature because too much change, too soon, would make communication difficult. For this reason, and for the reasons described in the previous paragraph concerning the copying of texts, the element order that is seen in the *LH* sections is probably close to that of the original compositions on which they were based. The B section may be taken as representing the language, including element order, of the last quarter of the twelfth century. The A section on the other hand is not a homogeneous piece of work. A quick examination of A2 (IX, ,X) shows that despite some minor changes, the element order remains very close to that of the original. On the other hand, the interpolation from Wulfstan in II has been "substantially altered in the course of transmission" (Sisam 1951: 110). This shows that the element order in these other homilies cannot be taken as necessarily being that of OE. They are very probably not much later than mid-twelfth century and may be earlier but, apart from those of A2, they are unlikely to be earlier than c1100.

On the face of it would seem that only section B is of use for element order analysis. However, the fact that the above problem exists suggests a course of action which allows use to be made of text in section A. Taking the reasonable assumption that the sections A1 and A3 are fairly close in time, a comparison can be made of the element orders of the group with that of both OE and eME element order; from this more accurate assessment may be possible about whether they represent OE or eME. The main features used to distinguish these two stages of the language are morphology, vocabulary and element order. The language of the eME period shows a much weaker morphological system than that of OE and it is during the eME period that the first large influx of French vocabulary enters the English language. However this thesis will be mainly concerned with the element order developments which occurred during this period. In particular attention will be paid to the use of inverted (VS) order and SOV order which were distinct features of OE and to developments which appear to show movement towards SVO order.

In brief, each section of the *LH* text will be treated as if it were a separate text for the analysis, each section undergoing a similar comparison with other texts in order to place it in its diachronic context. The data retrieved can afterwards also be combined to provide data for the *LH* text as a whole. Some of the previously produced element order studies can be used, particularly those in Kohonen (1978) and Shores (1970), to provide a basis for comparison with data from both OE and roughly contemporary material. These two studies, and particularly Kohonen's, give the most detailed and most relevant analyses of element order extant. Such a comparison may not produce clear results, in which case the study will concentrate on the more consistent B section and make that section the focus of the study and the diachronic comparison. If, however, there is a successful result there may be a chance to compare the language at two different stages of development in the one text. Naturally it is possible that even if the A section is

useful it may prove not to be as different from the B text as has been supposed. However this would still be a valuable finding if it were to prove to be the case.

Finally, although every effort has been made to produce as accurate a text as possible, it is by no means an "edition"; that is, it does not attempt to produce an ideal version of the text based on analysis of the manuscript original. Rather it relies on a pre-existing edition that has been extant for many years but which may still be considered to be a reliable transcription of the manuscript. The text used is the edition by Morris (1868), with a few corrections and with the exclusion of a few homilies, has been reproduced as a computer file in a similar format[22] with chapter headings, etc., as in the Morris edition (see above (4.1)). To this has been added the tagging, showing clause divisions and element order as described in chapter 3, above. The resulting text is not very readable, but it is accurate enough and suitable for the purposes of this thesis, although it would not be suitable, without revision, for work of a different kind.

4.2 Value of the evidence collected.

The value and usefulness of the evidence presented here depends not just on the individual merits of particular elements of the data, but in the combination of evidence which highlights the way in which particular factors combine to influence element order developments. This was brought home early in the analysis and an early piece of work is presented here to show the necessity of taking into account more than one factor in analysing the evidence for element order change.

4.3 General comparison of the A and B sections of *LH*.

This first analysis was made comparing S and V ordering in all clauses regardless of any other elements that might be present. There are reasons why

[22]Except that, as the early stages of the work were produced using a fairly basic word processor, certain orthographic characters were not available. To get round this problem the text was produced all in capital letters, with true capitals marked *X, and lower case was preserved for special characters, e.g. "y" for "þ".

this is not the best way to compare such data, and they will be discussed later, but it is still useful to do this as an initial survey of the general syntactic features to be studied. Such an analysis also allows comparison of the data in the *LH* text with earlier studies which used the same limited analysis. This analysis, which represents an early stage of the research, led to the present organisation of the studies and so is given here to explain why the present form came about.

The most general data extracted from the analysis gave some indications of diachronic difference within the text (which would have been due partly to incorporation/adaptation of earlier text or strong influence from a tradition of attempting to maintain the style and language of earlier texts, or a combination of both). There were not enough differences to suggest the possibility of more than this, for instance that the two different sections might represent completely different periods of the language. It was also possible, of course, that the differences - or at least some of them - were due to the idiosyncrasies[23] of individual scribes who compiled the homilies. There was enough similarity between the A and B sections of the text to feel that the all of the prose text (except for obvious reasons, IX and X) might, with some reservations, be treated as a single unit for a diachronic comparison with other studies' data - particularly those by Kohonen (1978) and Shores (1970). Nevertheless, this cohesiveness between the two sections was limited to some extent, so a more detailed breakdown of the A and B sections was examined. This is given below - along with arguments regarding to what extent A and B can be taken together or separately as typical twelfth century material (or at least clearly as text from a single eME period). In the event, whenever a comparison was made between the *LH* as a whole and other studies' data, comparisons were also made with the separate sections, to ensure the validity of such comparisons.

[23]As described in 4.1, above, the extent of exactness of copying of texts and the propensity to replace old expressions with new would vary between scribes. A scribe's own dialect - if he was not a native of the shire where he worked - could also have an effect on the transcription of the text.

(N.B. Regarding the data extracted by phrase level analysis, A and B section clauses have been deliberately selected from a selection of the whole of each text (see methodology, Chapter 3), avoiding those sections of II and III which contain text based directly on known OE material.)

Tables for internal comparison: *LH* (These are general, i.e. two elements only at a time)

Tables 1a and 1b. (S and V ordering regardless of other elements present.)

LH (A)

	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SV	321(62%)	149 (69%)	375 (73%)	187 (66%)
SXV	60 (12%)	37(17%)	110 (22%)	93 (33%)
VS	133 (26%)	29 (14%)	26 (5%)	2 (1%)

LH (B)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SV	158 (68%)	64 (74%)	143 (72%)	88 (77%)
SXV	10 (4%)	13 (15%)	42 (21%)	25 (22%)
VS	65 (28%)	9 (11%)	12 (6%)	1

Examining table1, one can see that the main difference between the sections is that in the ICls there is 8% less SXV order in B than in A and in the RCls 11% less in B than in A. This appears to suggest that the B scribe is using a slightly less archaic style than the A scribe. Or it may be accounted for by A having more OE material incorporated in it in some way: it is known in fact that it did, but the above figures do not give the results one would expect. That is, there seems to be a larger difference than one would expect between two texts which are not all that far apart chronologically. There are several possible ways of explaining this: the copyist/s of the A section (or its underlying original the X text) were more inclined to the retention of OE forms whereas the scribe/s of the B were more

inclined to interpret the old forms; the A section texts were based on texts which were older than those of the B section; some combination of the last two; finally, these data are very general and, though they give the impression that B is less archaic, this may not turn out to be the case when a more detailed examination is made.

While not discarding the notion of this kind of OE influence - it is certain that it was in some cases an important factor - there is another possible explanation. An examination of the context where the SOV order occurs, in contrast to SVO order, showed that SOV in ICls and CjCls almost always occurred where there was a Pn O. DCls had more cases of SOV with N O but the majority were Pn: it should be added that the difference was increased (see Tables 2a and 2b, below, with clauses containing 'O') because the A section had a good deal more SIV order - and Oi(I) always is a Pn. SVO order on the other hand occurred mostly with a N O. So it would appear that the difference that occurs, since it is seen only in two out of four clause-types, may have more to do with an accident of the ratio of occurrence of Pns. to Ns. (see sections below on NPs for detailed discussion)

However, since the number of I 's - along possibly with variation in number of clauses with SAV order - may be exaggerating the difference, it is best also to examine figures for clauses containing O only (in above figures S-V represent medial elements O, I , C and A) since only there does one get a clear picture of what happens when a choice has to be made in positioning of O and other elements in relationship to it. It should be noted that, unlike with I, O occurs in about the same percentage of clauses in each of the two sections (A/B) - c.44%.

These more detailed figures suggest that the second argument - regarding ratios of Pns to Ns - is the most relevant one here. One finds the SOV difference in ICls, similar to that in the previous tables (though somewhat less here) but, whereas the other figures were closer, more differences were found in tables 2a and 2b:

Tables 2a and 2b[24]

LH (A)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SVO	30 (60%)	58 (60%)	145 (64%)	60 (37%)
SOV	18 (8%)	18 (19%)	61 (27%)	30 (19%)
OSV	16 (7%)	12 (13%)	17 (8%)	72 (44%)
(O)VS(O)	53 (24%)	8 (8%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)

LH (B)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SVO	64 (59%)	20 (59%)	55 (70%)	22 (31%)
SOV	5 (5%)	9 (27%)	19 (24%)	10 (14%)
OSV	13 (12%)	3 (9%)	4 (5%)	39 (55%)
(O)VS(O)	26 (24%)	2 (6%)	-	-

Firstly, there is 3%/5% more SOV order in A than in B DCls, which taken with the ICl data (+3% in A) might suggest a more 'archaic' style for A. However, more importantly, there is completely contradictory evidence in the CjCl columns, which show a strong (+8%) slant towards SOV order in B. The number of clauses this column's data is based on is, admittedly, low enough (34) to suggest that this difference may not be significant; however it still seems suggestive. It should be noted that, although A and B now show smaller differences for SOV order in ICls and DCls compared with the earlier data for SXV, a bigger difference now exists for SCls.

This seems to be a likelier situation than that described previously as the differences between the two texts are less extreme in this case, with the exception of the CjCl data. Part of the reason for the differences between the two tables is because in the first SXV data will include medial X elements = I and A, whereas the second includes only O elements in the SOV data. Also, looking at the OSV

[24]Please note there is some rounding up of percentages in columns *LH* (A) ICls and SCls, and *LH* (B) CjCls.

order, one can see that the differences between the texts could be slanted due to the unusually high ratio of OSV in B RCls: 11% more than in A. Since the relative pronoun (Rel Pn) may be the O of the RCl, just as easily as the S, the numbers of OSV order seen, compared to other orders such as SVO and SOV, will be affected if one text should by chance alone happen to have a good deal of Rel Pn = O. This seems to have been the case here. When this is taken into account, along with the difference seen in the CjCls - which may be to do with change in usage of such clauses mentioned elsewhere - it becomes obvious that these tables although suggestive are not telling the whole story.

These last arguments show that, before any definite conclusions can be made, an examination of the data at phrase level is essential. To make this possible, selections (c. 40%) from the two sections of the *LH* were tagged at element order level. After this element order and phrase-level elements were collocated in selections of text from A and B. This selection was not a true random sample, but it was not possible to use OCP's random sampling feature and retain data for individual (whole) clauses[25]. In one or two cases, where data to be collected would be small, figures have been included for the whole of the two selections analysed. The argument regarding ratios of pronouns to full nouns used above, is essentially one about the influence of functional/semantic factors such as weight and given versus new. What follows is, in the main, an examination of the effect these and other similar factors had upon the development of the ordering of the particular element types (i.e. phrases) within clauses. A development of the arguments begun above about these factors, with reference to O NP and SOV order, is given later in the following section.

[25]OCP allows specified text selections to be made at random from the text: however it cannot be contextualised (since that would no longer be random) and thus one could randomly select all SOV clauses, but could not specify them as being selected from either an ICl or a SCl or other clauses.

4.4 Development of SVO order in early English.

It is worthwhile, before going any further, to clarify what is known about SVO order in this period, so that the examination of the evidence in the following section is made in the proper context. This may be done with a very brief background history.

Old English developed from an earlier Germanic dialect which can be described as SOV or V-final in typological terms. Ramat (1987) points out that the evidence for early Germanic is unclear and that VO order as well as OV order is sometimes found. His point is that the very early evidence is so restricted that, despite assumptions of others, it is impossible to say whether (for instance) the VO order found is in any way marked. The validity of the V-final type hypothesis is based on trends (of declining SOV order) over time and the fact that reconstruction of the Indo-European languages shows the strong likelihood of an SOV origin. He does not doubt that a V-final ancestor existed in the past, citing for instance the MH order found in element phrases: Greenberg's typological universals showed MH order to be a regular feature of OV languages. Ramat also argues that some compound words of early Germanic origin show an OV origin (e.g. *heretoga, soothsayer* - OE) whereas similar compounds of later origin show VO (e.g. *scarecrow, hit-man*, PDE). However this particular evidence is not any more consistent than the MH/HM variance[26] - e.g. words such as *fire-fighter, money-laundering, white-wash, time-waster, beach-comber* and so on surely do not date back to OE. They seem in fact to show that the English language is still some way from becoming a full VO language. Like other features they can only show a trend and not be absolute evidence. It is the lack of HM and VO ordering in eOE and Germanic Phrases that is important: PDE retains some MH and OV ordering in phrases but has developed many HM and VO ordered phrases as well. So it is likely that the earliest forms of the Germanic dialects which later became English were already undergoing changes away from SOV order and eOE itself

[26]Again see the chapter 1 section on typology.

was never more than a V-late language with much variation allowable for pragmatic purposes in non-DCls.

By the time of the earliest written records it had developed into a form of SV language which was described in chapter one as TVX with retention of V-final - or at least V-late - in the dependent clauses. TVX is sometimes equated with V-2 order (see chapter 1), but it is used here to signify the kind of language state seen in OE where V-2 order can often be seen due to topicalisation of O, I and A elements while S moves to post-V position. However even in early OE one still comes across examples of XSV order, most commonly where the S is light and particularly a pronoun. Therefore the term "TVX" order will be used to describe a language type where there is a strong tendency for Topicalised elements to displace the S and produce a XVS output, but where V-2 as a strict word-order rule does not exist and forms of V-3 are possible. It is a tendency only and not a rule, because of the counter-examples just mentioned.[27] The V-2 output - as well as the other element order outputs - are the result of the combined effect of the various pragmatic/semantic factors discussed above. The effect of thematicisation of non-S elements, combined with the influence of weight (where S, X or both were heavy) would tend to produce V-2 order, but the effect of givenness combined again with weight (especially where S and/or other element was light) could result in an XSV output. As the language progresses towards ME one sees a gradual increase in the amount of XSV order and especially of this order with heavy S being retained in early position. All this is as the discussion on the influence of weight in sections 1.3 and 2.2, above. To repeat briefly the argument there: as SVO order becomes more developed, the influence of weight declines; this is not the whole matter though, for this lessening of weight influence could have easily in the right circumstances have led to V-2 order proper being developed instead.[28] An important question to resolve therefore is why English

[27]This whole matter is discussed in much more detail in Chapter 5, below.

[28]That is, with a weakening of the tendency for light elements to move forward, all thematicisation of non-S elements would lead to V-2 order. Of course, the use of inversion with thematicisation would

developed SVO order, rather than V-2 order as in the closely related languages German and Dutch.

A clarification is necessary here: if weight declined as an influence on word order, it is very likely that it was because the language was developing the expectation of SVX ordering as the neutral order and hence, this ordering as a way of differentiating S and O. It must be remembered that throughout the history of the language, thematic needs always outweighed the influence of weight, so that very heavy elements - including whole clauses - could appear initially in a sentence. The effect of weight then was to move other, less thematic elements to later positions. The stronger influence of theme/rheme ordering meant however that in neutral clauses with no non-S element fronted SVX order would prevail (just as SXV order prevailed in earlier English, and continued to be frequent in DCls), even with heavy S because in such a situation the S is the most thematic element.[29]

It should be noted that the majority of VS order clauses in OE and eME tend to be AVS with S immediately following the V, so that it should have been possible for English to have developed into a V-2 language, just as easily as a V-3 one. OVS order occurs where there is still some morphological distinction, usually with at least S or O a Pn, so it could have developed a system where initial A signalled that the first noun after the verb was the subject and in all other cases where morphology did not indicate otherwise the first noun before the verb was the subject. As was mentioned however, English, by the effect of weight ordering, also had the possibility of XSV as an order - or rather it retained the possibility of ASV and OSV ordering from its older SOV stage where other languages such as German eventually lost it. Modern German it should be noted

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have had to have reached the point where it seemed natural otherwise the loss of weight influence would have meant that heavy S need not move rightwards to accommodate another heavy thematicised element.

[29]It is unlikely that languages develop new forms directly to meet a specific grammatical need but that forms develop for various practical and/or pragmatic reasons and may then be found useful to fill grammatical functions which later arise.

has AVS order in the majority of its inverted order clauses. OVS occurs where S and O are morphologically distinct: something that can happen more often than (with OSV order) in English because determiners for masculine nouns allow this distinction to be shown for many nouns and not just for pronouns. By the eME period English had lost this clear distinction which determiners once had: they went the way of the nouns themselves losing their morphological distinction.

An argument which requires the VP to be kept as a unit (so that V and O, and any other elements belonging to the VP are not separated, causing inversion more or less to die out) seemingly will not do. One problem with it is that OSV order keeps the O from the V, and so also does AVSO in early English and in German. Nevertheless, it is true that languages do tend not to have too many elements between V and O, and this relates to the influence of weight: a light element can easily be accommodated, but the heavier the element, the less it can be accommodated. Here, it is not just a matter of balancing out stress patterns and theme/rheme order, but of making it easier to communicate information by keeping the more semantically related items closer together. However, it may be that the need to keep the VP as a unit is much stronger with an SVO language with little inflection than with languages which have a fuller morphology: where O is morphologically distinct the option for O movement must be greater whereas where this is not the case, it may be that it has to stay close to the verb. Thus in PDE the only remaining cases of inversion occur with Adverbials in initial position (or a negative - "nor" or "neither") and Os only occur initially in OSV order where either S or O are pronouns or both are. OVS would seem odd, because noun followed by verb would give the expectation of SV order, whereas noun followed by noun (provided one was a pronoun and therefore inflected) would allow the S to be fixed before the verb was encountered.

The matter of weight must have been important in the initial development of SVO order, especially since the majority of S in discourse are Pns and therefore light. These Pns also are usually given and thematic (even if not the main theme in

clauses with other fronted elements) and would tend to remain near the beginning of the sentence, even when another element was fronted. Of course immediately after the verb seems to be adequate for V-1 and V-2 languages, but this tendency, when combined with other factors, could lead to S becoming fixed in the pre-V position. The possibility has to be considered too that the explanation is that both V-2 and V-3 are reasonable outcomes of the trends seen in early English and the development of one instead of the other is no more than a matter of chance. Other considerations are that Northern English was influenced by Scandinavian, which also later became a V-3 language (in its Swedish and Danish descendants). Little is known, however, of the state of that language in the OE/eMe period. Another possibility is the suggestion that Northern English - that English spoken in the Danelaw - was a creole, an admixture of English and Danish, and creoles tend to SVO order (Gerritsen 1981).

What this means is that SVO occurred as a variation of TVX element order from an early period in English - at least in ICls. In subordinate clauses SOV order was still found, although the evidence of previous studies shows it to have declined in the OE to eME period. It is known that by the fifteenth century SVO order was established in English; there is no final consensus as yet however as to the exact stages the language went through before reaching its modern element order form. Some studies have claimed that the language was SVO order by the early ME period, others have claimed that English was V-2 in the early ME period and even a date as late as the fourteenth century has been given for V-2 order in English. The wide variation in these claims comes about partly because certain researchers feel a need to have clearly fixed base element order for a language: this means that contradictory evidence tends to be explained away, not always very convincingly. This matter will be discussed in much more detail in chapter 7.

It was stated (in chapter 1 and in section 3.1 above) that some languages are of mixed type although there was perhaps an unspoken assumption that a language is always mainly one type, with perhaps admixtures of small amounts of

material left over from older forms, or adopted through contact with other language types. However, unless a language undergoes an extremely rapid period of change - very possible for some features, such as vocabulary, but not likely for grammatical changes - transforming from one type to another, it is likely that one will occasionally find languages which cannot be easily fitted into a typological category. In the case of early English, particularly in the transition period between OE and lME, it may be that English can only be really assigned to the more general category of SV language, rather than the more specific SVO or V-2.

The traditional view of SVO development was that it grew out of a need to express grammatical function when the morphology of the language decayed too much to be able to do so. As the subject has been further studied, it was realised this morphological decay was not enough on its own to have led to SVO order being developed. Other factors were gradually introduced to explain how certain aspects of the development could have come about. For instance, the concept of afterthought was introduced to explain how non-verbal elements could have first move into clause-final positions, allowing the possibility of something like SVO order to develop, originally just as an alternative to the normal SOV order. The next idea - essential since afterthought alone could not account for these developments, was that English began at some time to order its elements, other factors being equal, in a pattern of light/heavy at word, phrase and clause level.

ex23 *gemunde ; se wer ; at þaem stowe*
se wer waes at þaem stowe ofslogen.

So it can be seen that there are patterns of light/heavy (giving weak/strong stress) throughout a clause - which are still found in PDE - and a more general pattern whereby the heavier phrase elements tend to come towards the end of the clause. This was discussed above (chapter 1), and although it must have been an important factor in the movement towards true SVO order, it could not have been

enough on its own. Indeed, it may be the case that if the influence of weight had remained continuously as strong in later English as it seems to have been in OE and eME, true SVO order might have never developed at all. Heavy subjects would have tended to move rightwards of the verb and light pronouns leftwards of the verb. Some element orders which have died out in PDE would probably still exist, such as SOV with light pronouns and VS order would have remained common, perhaps leading to English being more like a TVX language. So one important factor was that weight of elements in clauses became influential, and later lost its influence allowing other factors to have a stronger effect, resulting in a greater opportunity for a development towards SVO order. It is not possible to say for certain, however, whether weight merely fell out of use for reasons which had nothing to do with element order development, or whether developments towards SVO order had the effect of weakening the influence of weight.

The decline of the influence of weight on the language may have been a result of more and more counter-influences to weight being developed so that eventually it became of little importance in element ordering. Thematic ordering had always been able to counteract it, but then the need to distinguish more and more often between S and O became another influence, and there was also another, more subtle, influence which developed from the period when weight began to cause heavy Os to move occasionally to post-V position. In chapter one, Greenberg's universals were discussed whereby a connection was shown between element order and the order of words in phrases. A development from this was approaching syntactic structures as function-argument structures rather than just co-ordinate constituents. For instance, with an Adjective-Noun phrase, the *argument* is the Noun and the Adjective is the *function*. The terms used (to distinguish it from the terminology of logic from which it is taken) are *operator* and *operand*. In theory, operators either all follow or all precede their operands, but in fact there are exceptions. English for example has Modifier-Noun order (as well as Noun-Modifier), although in almost every other way is a clear VX

language. Languages are not consistent for the simple reason that languages change. Vennemann (1974) argues that even within seeming inconsistencies shown by languages for this reason, there is evidence for these "universals". English, when it began changing from XV towards VX, began also to develop features at its "micro-structure" level to make it a more consistent VX language, for instance, the creation of a new genitive ("of" + NP) which followed its operand while the pre- NP genitive became more restricted in usage. That there is such "pressure of position", the author believes is shown by the re-analysis of clauses like *Hem neded no helpe*, so that dative *Hem* becomes the subject of the sentence, to *They needed no help.*

Defining XV languages as those in which Finite V (in main, declarative clauses) is clause-final and VX languages as those in which this is not the case, Vennemann (1974: 350) states that English has been a VX language at all stages in its recorded history. Prose examples showing high incidences of XV have pronoun Os and are most frequent in subordinate clauses (XV is a marker of subordinate clauses in some modern VX languages). These and other inconsistencies in OE are due to its having only recently ("relatively"- meaning as much as 2,000 years ago) changed its V-position. Elimination of these inconsistencies is now reaching completion in PDE.

PART TWO

Preliminary

In the studies presented in this section, some of the evidence for SVO development, and the factors contributing to it, will be examined. That is, there will be an examination of the data gathered in the analysis of the *Lambeth Homilies (LH)*, to see how it conforms to the theories discussed in section one (chapters 1 and 2). Conversely the evidence from the *LH* data, combined with the data from earlier studies, will also be used to test the arguments put forward by Sisam (and discussed in chapter 4, above) regarding the dating of the two different sections of the homilies.

It is necessary before using Kohonen's data on Initial Elements and inverted order here to explain the reason he seems to take little account of extra initial elements (usually A) which might seem to push S into what could be called medial position, even when pre-V. It is that those positions are not calculated according to some balancing of the number of elements in a clause, but are an expression of the relationship between the absolute elements of the clause - i.e. S and V (As, Os, Is and Cs, although important elements, are not essential). Thus these other elements are placed according to their relative position to S and V in the clause. Kohonen apparently only takes position with regard to aux and V into consideration when defining S position: thus S before aux (or single V) is initial field (IF), S after both aux and V (or single V) is terminal field (TF) and S between aux and V apparently is the only case of medial field (MF). The numbers of such MF examples are a small percentage of the total. If, when examining VS order and position of X and S elements, the IF and MF in Kohonen's data are combined it should be close enough to the *LH* data for at least some general comments and comparisons to be validly made. The main thing to remember is that while all TF data is equivalent to VS order, not all VS order occurrences are matched by appearances of S in the TF. However such combined figures let us

see at a glance the move away from final position by the S over the OE/ME period. It is necessary to use all three fields when examining the O and A data below as with these non-S elements the move away from medial position to final is much more significant than with S. The position of O, however, is clearer as any O which is pre-S and pre-V is "initial", any post-S and post-V is TF and the rest are MF.

Element Order Studies: Movement towards SVO order in English.

This section will investigate factors important in the development of SVO order in English. It must be remembered that in discussing the fixing of SVO order one must take into account that several factors contributed to the final outcome of word order at any time. This chapter will examine some of the most important of these factors, but it must always be realised that individual factors are each only one part of a more complicated picture. While focusing on one factor to clarify part of the problem, one should always bear in mind the other factors which played their part.

The decline of the influence of certain factors is also important, since if one had once played an important part in the output of element order in clauses, their weakening or even absence was itself bound to effect element order outcome, or at least allow other factors to become more influential. First to be examined will be the decline in VS order, which is related to an increase in SV order in English ICls and CjCls. It will be seen that this is connected to a loss of the effectiveness of weight as a factor in element order, and led to the fixing of S in a pre-verb position, since the option of inversion (except in a few rare cases) no longer existed. The studies will then examine the gradual reduction of SOV order as an important variation, particularly in Subordinate clauses; one will also see here that the weight of the O element is important in distinguishing valid signs of language change, from superficial ones. Finally, in this section the evidence of movement towards true V-3rd language will be examined by examining the data for XSV

order, that is to see what increase there is in this period of SVO order where another element is in initial position in the clause.

Chapter 5 SVO development: the position of Subject.

5.1 Introduction.

The textual evidence suggests that weight of the Subject (S) seems to be an important factor in the amount of VS (inverted) order, while weight of O and A is equally important in the amount of SOV order[30], both element orders being common features of early English. As one moves towards the ME period, however, such factors seem to be in decline with (for instance) heavy S appearing in early position much more often, even when other elements are topicalised. Similarly, the effect that givenness and theme/rheme formerly had on ordering of elements is different, since light, given elements such as Pn Os appear more and more in final position in sentences. Also topicalised, non-S elements appear more often in initial position beside the S rather than displacing it to post-V position. These developments are seen in the evidence which Kohonen presents, of which some examples are reproduced below. These, along with the *LH* text evidence, will be used to make some general comments about element order development in this period and about the *LH* in particular. Factors which can help make a diachronic comparison between the two *LH* text sections will be of importance, for instance that relating to the changes that took place in the usage of CjCls from OE into eME.

5.2 Development of Element Order in Conjunctive Clauses.

In OE, CjCls were often treated as a kind of DCl, including/containing a high percentage of SOV order (and very little VS order). Elements of DCls in general were less mobile than ICls, in earliest periods being SV/SOV and little else (the majority of late/medial S being due to the DCl being an RCl, where Rel. Pn will often be O, pushing the S into medial or late position) and whether RCl's Rel. Pn is an O or S is usually a matter of chance. By the eME period CjCls were treated

[30]Of course, to a lesser extent the inverse is also true: weight of O and A play a part in VS order and weight of S a part in SOV order.

much more like ICls. This is shown for instance by the evidence of Kohonen's figures for the eME text, *Sawles Warde (SW)*, which shows the ICls and CjCls to have much the same figures for inversion, while both these clause types show data which are much lower than ICls in the *Catholic Homilies* (*CH*). The *CH* however show much lower inversion in CjCls. *SW* also has notably fewer S-V clauses in CjCls than *CH*, showing again they are less like DCls than earlier. This factor, attested in many studies, is borne out by the following figures from Kohonen.

Tables 3a and 3b

ICls	*CH*	*SW*
SV	52%	70%
S-V	10%	6%
VS	38%	24%

CjCl.	*CH*	*SW*
SV	60%	62%
S-V	33%	12%
VS	7%	26%

As can be seen in the above figures, the OE text of the *CH* shows that in ICls VS order is high, close to 40%, while there is only 10% of SXV order. In CjCls, *CH* shows a third of its clauses to be SXV order with only 7% VS order, almost the reverse of the situation with ICls. The figures for *SW* - written at the beginning of the thirteenth century - show now that the figures for both these element orders have come much closer in the two clause types. SXV order is now 6% and 12% for ICls and CjCls respectively and there is little difference between them for VS order, the figures being 24% and 26%. In ICls an element, which is not S, will appear in initial position normally as a result of the focusing of an idea by moving some element to initial position and having a resulting - often

but not always - movement of the S to post-V position, producing VS order. This increase in the amount of VS order (and reduction in SXV order), can therefore only be because the nature of the use of CjCls has changed, so that they no longer represent just an extension of an ICl but are able to have themes which contrast with those of ICls. However, care must be taken about one aspect of this. There is a tendency (particularly in eOE) to sometimes use the conjunction "and" as a connective device merely to string together a series of clauses[31] - which are truly ICls rather than CjCls - this is a common feature of oral language and it must be remembered these homilies were to be delivered orally. In the later language, CjCls are used more to connect clauses with similar themes, or which are related in some way. However in the *LH* one can show examples where the CjCls are true CjCls (as understood in PDE), part of a larger clause, rather than ICls with "and" stuck in front of them.

ex1 (from *LH* A, Homily II)

<C ICl> "Þenne sende ic eou rihte widerunge <C CjCl> and ic eou wille geuan wela and westme inoge <C CjCl> and murþe shalle wunian on londe"

ex2 (from *LH* B, Homily VII)

<C ICl> "Þos twa þing doþ alle heþene me <C CjCl> ah þe þridde ne leueþ nan; bute þe gode cristene. Mon. and þe godfurhte and þe lefulle"

[31]Much as children do when relating events: "I went down the road and I went to the shop and I went into the shop...etc."

The first example shows the CjCls with SV/SXV order but there is a clear connected sequence of ideas[32], so that one can see the development of a theme throughout the sentence. The second example also shows the connection of ideas, but with some in contrast (for example is *believe - leueþ* and *heathen - heþene*) - and one can draw the same conclusion that this would make a normal sentence in PDE. However, it is worth taking note of the focusing on the O which is used to emphasise the "third" thing which is referred to. The use of the conjunction "ah" ("but") may have been used to emphasise the contrast being made between faithful and heathen; it is also a conjunction which is not simply "and". Although the above seems to suggest that such clauses are truly conjunctive clauses and not just strings of ICls, one cannot always be absolutely sure in every case.

What can be said for certain is that there is a much lower percentage of inverted order in OE than in eME when CjCls are examined. The VS order in OE could be attributed mainly to this feature of using a conjunction to pick up a connected theme after a natural break; in other words, that it is possible such VS CjCls in OE would be better described as ICls. The much larger percentage of VS order CjCls in eME suggests that either there is much more of this happening - i.e. that this has become a widely used stylistic feature - or that the nature of the use of CjCls has changed, allowing it to have element order features closer to those of ICls. This appears to be what has happened; it seems unlikely that such a great difference in element order usage could be the result mainly of a stylistic development, particularly when seen in such similar types of material (homilies) where there was tendency to try to maintain a literary tradition dating back to Aelfric's period. There still could be some clauses included in the figures that Kohonen gives for SW that would be better described as CjCls, as there no doubt are in my own figures (given below), but it is always difficult to be absolutely sure

[32]The sequence in the first clause is death - withering, waste, and note that *wela* and *murþe* are not well and mirth, but eME versions of OE *wæl* and *morþ(or)* - slaughter and murder. Similarly the next clause deals with the notion of belief and faith - *lefulle, leueþ, gode cristene* and *godfurhte*.

of the distinction, particularly when the only evidence is the written word. The only sure evidence is the word on the page and the best course is to take the use of conjunction as a sign of a CjCl.

The data will be examined for certain significant features which would be evidence as to what extent the factors which produced the output seen in the clauses of the older language had changed, to begin producing newer features which were eventually lead to the modern language. The particular features to be examined are these of position of the S, the O (and to a lesser extent the A) with regards to the V and the other elements. It is expected that evidence will be seen of more initial S in clauses, more final O (and A), and the reduction of these common features of OE, VS and SOV order.

5.5 Evidence for fixing of S in initial position in the clause.

Although OE had basically an SV order (albeit somewhat mixed as to VO/OV order), it should be realised that the continuation of inversion as a common alternative (certainly, in the literary language) meant that in the ICl at least, and in eME quite commonly in the CjCl also, S could appear either pre-V or post-V. To some extent an analysis of this pre-V fixing is an account of the decline of inversion as a grammatical alternative in the English language. In the overall context, this must go hand-in-hand with an examination of the decline also of SXV order, since loss of inversion, without any accompanying loss of SXV order, would not lead to SVO order. As far as the ICl is concerned there was already a significant reduction in SXV order, even in the OE period, so that in ICls SV was the dominant order with VS a strong alternative. In DCls, SXV was still the dominant order in OE[33], but SVX order occurred quite frequently, so even here the situation was in flux. The reason for this is that even DCls were to some extent affected by thematic factors and weight, so that SVX order occurred, but not VS order. However inertia, and the and the continuing usefulness of SXV

[33]In lOE, as represented by the *Catholic Homilies* analysed by Kohonen.

order as a DCl marker, helped maintain V-late in DCls until the language developed a range of relative pronouns and subordinating conjunctions. In the specific context of analysing the fixing of S in initial position, this study will be concerned with the gradual reduction of VS order and the probable causes of this; other factors in SV development such as loss of SXV order will be examined in later sections.

Now, some figures from Kohonen will be examined again, this time comparing the OE *CH* with the eME *SW*. These figures show the position of the S in ICls and CjCls for both works and the differences between the two works expresses very well the change that has taken place in the language in the intervening centuries. The combined MF/TF fields, as explained above, represent all VS order while the IF represent SV order (with inevitably some SXV included, particularly in the OE text). The figures below show an overall increase in SV order in SW when ICls are compared. It can be seen that in CjCls, however, the amount of SV order has reduced - as was shown above in tables 3a and 3b - this being explained by the very large increase in VS order in the CjCl. The totalled figures for SV and VS order in SW are in fact almost the same for ICls and CjCls, showing that CjCls are now very much like ICls. These figures also show us the differences in element order when the S is a pronoun (Pn) and when it is a full noun (N); this gives a reasonable guide to the effect weight may be having on the element order.

Tables 4a and 4b

	ICl			CjCl	
CH	IF	MF/TF		IF	MF/TF
Pn	211(73%)	79(27%)	:	153(100%)	-
N	225(56%)	175(44%)	:	78(86%)	13(14%)
Total	436(63%)	254(37%)	:	231(95%)	13(5%)

SW					
Pn	81(84%)	15(16%)	:	31(82%)	7(18%)
N	49(71%)	20(29%)	:	18(69%)	8(31%)
Total	130(79%)	35(21%)	:	49(77%)	15(23%)

Taking into account what has been said about CjCls, it can be stated that the overall picture is of movement of the S away from post-V field into a pre-V field. As can be seen in the above tables, the biggest movement is with N, the heavier NP. This is to be expected, since there is more N-type S to move as Pn-type S was mostly found in IF position throughout the whole period of early English. This was a result of its being more likely to be both thematic and given, as well as light; even so there is also an increase in the amount of initial field Pn-type S, albeit not as dramatic an increase as for N-type S. Heavy subjects - which would often also be new - would, in earlier language, often overcome the tendency of S to be thematic, particularly where some other element had been topicalised. They would therefore move post-V, thus being a strong factor in the output of clauses with XVS order (although occasionally XSV order would be found. However the kind of S movement seen in Kohonen's figures (tables 4a and 4b), if combined with a complementary tendency for O to move (particularly Pn O) post-V could also lead to SVO order becoming more common.

The evidence here suggests that the influence of weight was declining[34], so that theme/rheme and given/new ordering tendencies became more influential, leading to the situation where - given that SVO order was already an established element order variant - SVO order could eventually become the natural ordering of the language. It should be noted that in the figures above that in the *CH* (OE) data,

[34]This may have been partly due to a growing need to use SV order to distinguish the subject from the object: this would lead to an increase in the number of situations where the influence of weight could be overcome. A result of this would be both an increase in the amount of SV order, but especially the amount of ASV order, since need to distinguish S and O would lead to less displacement of the S, even when "heavy". There would be a circular "knock-on" effect so that as the effect of weight lessened, the increased SV/ASV order resulting would further lessen weight's effects since the number of exceptions to it would continually increase.

there is a much higher concentration of SV order where S is a Pn; this is a sign of the greater effect of weight in this period, but also that of theme and givenness. Pns are given information and when they are S they are also thematic to a degree as they pick up a general theme within a piece of discourse. The factors act in combination to produce this result, whereas when one of the factors has an opposite tendency, there is a greater chance of other word orders being produced. Ns which are S tend to be new material and have a greater tendency (in early English) to move to post-V position, if another element is topicalised becoming the theme of the clause. The majority of the factors combine to create a different result, for instance weight combining with givenness[35] - and the fact that the subject is not the main theme - to push the subject post-V[36]. Here, the loss of inflexional distinction must have played a part, at least with regards OVS ordering, since the problem of distinguishing S and O would be most difficult in this situation without some kind of clue from inflexion or subject-verb agreement.

With AVS order, the problem would not be so acute as one could always assume that the noun immediately following the finite verb was the S; naturally one would treat a case of AO (or OA) VS order as being a variation of OVS order. However although this may have helped in part to maintain (a declining) use of VS order throughout the eME → ME period, it never became a structural part of the language. Later use of VS order only occurred where there was some way of distinguishing the subject. Although the above factors resulted in a reduction in the amount of inversion in English, it did not remove it by any means. The effect of thematic factors could still lead to non-S elements being fronted and as VS order was an available variant, it still was used: however, since weight was a declining factor, S was less likely to be pushed into post-V position and so XSV would gradually become a more common order when this happened. The final

[35]or in this situation, to be exact, newness of information which tends to follow given.
[36]N.B. It can not be said that the effect of weight is an illusion, really the result of other factors (e.g. given/new), since studies such as those by Kohonen and Davis have shown a variation in the effect of weight between NPs of varying numbers of elements. Both have taken other factors into account.

decline of VS order (except in a few rare cases) came about after English had developed other mechanisms for thematicising elements by, for instance, passivisation and the cleft sentence.

The following table shows percentage figures from the *LH* text (divided into sections A & B) for pronouns, and nouns, and split according to where (IF, MF/TF) they appear. It should be noted that these are based on an analysis of a selection of the total clauses in the texts, about 1/3rd of the total of the A section and 1/2 the total for the B section.[37]

Tables 5a, 5b & 5c

	ICl			CjCl	
A	IF	MF/TF		IF	MF/TF
Pn	97(83%)	20(17%)	:	37(86%)	6(14%)
N	38(57%)	29(43%)	:	22(71%)	9(29%)
Total	135(73%)	49(27%)	:	59(80%)	15(20%)
B	IF	MF/TF		IF	MF/TF
Pn	31(97%)	1(3%)	:	20(100%)	-
N	43(51%)	42(49%)	:	33(89%)	4(11%)
Total	74(63%)	43(37%)	:	53(93%)	4(7%)
Totals of all (A and B combined) Pns and Ns:					
Pn	128(86%)	21(14%)	:	57(90%)	6(10%)
N	81(53%)	71(47%)	:	55(81%)	13(19%)
Total	209(69%)	92(31%)	:	112(86%)	19(14%)

[37]Because of a concern about the smallness of the B sample, when the B text was scanned for SV/VS data, counting the total numbers where S=Pn and S=N. This resulted in figures whose ratios matched those of the sample. The difference between the word order (SV/S-V/VS) figures for the B section of the LH and those here seem to be due to the very large proportion of Pn-type S in IF (SV/S-V) position which when added into the total reduces the VS/TF figure to one much closer to that of the A section.

It must be remembered that what is seen here is a Pn/N division and not a fully detailed analysis of the various weights of NPs. This can only give a general idea of a trend: where the actual numbers of N and Pn are concerned as opposed to percentages - the figures may be too low in some instances to be certain of significance. A text may, as a matter of style, use more or fewer Pns than usual and this could give rise to differences which are not diachronic. It could be argued that the B section looks more "modern" in the Pn data, although almost "archaic" in the N data. That is B has more Pn S in IF position than A and less N S in this position than the A section. However, since there was always a strong tendency due to the combined effects of weight and givenness for Pn-type S to appear initially, the Pn data is not necessarily a real sign of a more modern feature, although the very high level seen in B could be, providing other evidence was found to support it. The CjCl evidence also makes B look apparently more "archaic" since it is very low in MF/TF (i.e. VS order) - 7% overall compared to 5% for *CH* and 20% for the A section of *LH*. This evidence suggests a significant difference between the A and B sections of the *LH*, as the B figure is quite close to that of *CH* and the A figure is near that of *SW*. On the other hand the data for N-type S in IF position in A is very close to that of *CH*, although it has to be noted that the similar data for B shows an even lower figure than that of *CH*. This is evidence that although there are differences between the two A and B sections, and there is the possibility of each tending towards different diachronic periods, as a whole they are not as recent in their language as the *SW* text.

An important question is, which evidence is most significant in deciding whether the *LH* text - or that of its sections - is closer to the OE language of *CH* or is closer to the eME language of *SW*. It must be remembered that the *LH* text does contain (albeit adapted) some text from earlier, OE homilies, and its compilers were very likely to have been strongly influenced by the Ælfrician tradition of homily writing. This means that certain features which could be

accounted a matter of style are very likely to have continued into the period of the composition of the *LH*, but features which can be argued to have more basic linguistic significance would be much less likely to.

One possible explanation why the proportion of N-type S found in the IF field with the *LH* matches quite closely that of the *CH* is because of two features they would have been aware of from their familiarity with Ælfrician homilies and later works in the same tradition. The first would be the common occurrence of Pn-type S in initial position combined with the fact that in close to half (44%) of cases in ICls, N-type S did not appear in initial position. It would, however, have been a feature of the homilies which they regarded as exemplars to find that wherever there was a topicalised A or O element and a heavy S, that inversion occurred, moving the S to MF/TF position. Since eME still permitted inversion, the greater amount of V-2 order seen (partly owing to the greater effect of weight) in the earlier period could have been interpreted simply as a stylistic feature to be imitated - which to some extent it was as the Ælfrician Homilies were a stylised set of compositions[38]. They might even be aware that a difference existed between Pn and N usage, and tend thus to use inversion more commonly with N-type S, but it would be difficult to maintain this at the level that existed in the earlier texts - the scribes were traditionalists, but not linguists. The smallness of the variation between the *LH* texts and the *CH* may be explained partly by a combination of this traditional maintaining of inverted order, particularly with heavy S, and the fact that the text contain actual OE material within them.

However this argument has flaws. Firstly, it is unlikely that, following such a tendency for inversion with heavy S, simply following a style could lead to such a close similarity to the language of an earlier period. The fact that SV order occurred in just over half the ICl clauses with heavy S means that it is likely that

[38]Of course, this makes setting a time when weight died out as an influence more problematic: but this has to be accepted until a far wider range of OE and eME texts have been analysed. Weight was still a factor in eME texts, though not as strong a one as it was in OE. This is seen in Kohonen (1978) and in the *LH* evidence here.

this figure, in combination with the much more common amount of SV order with light (especially Pn) S, would give the impression that SV order was the more common order. It seems very unlikely that one could merely follow a trend in a text - here for inversion with heavy S - and be able to match closely proportions like those of the SV/VS seen here. The effect of weight is often more subtle than a simple equivalence between a heavy S element and inverted order. Other factors, such as the weight of topicalised A elements and their semantic content, could be important. It is unlikely that a scribe from the later period, who attempted to match the inversion pattern of OE exemplars, could have been able to match it very closely. At most he may have noticed that the OE text used inversion more often than was normal for his own period - and perhaps even that it occurred more often with heavy A and S - but the subtleties would have eluded him. He would very likely either have overdone the effect, or have slipped into a pattern closer to his own language. This point is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, 7.3. It is worth noting, though doing no more than that at present, that *LH* section B does have ratios for this feature which appear "older" than the *CH* data - but only slightly.

Another possible explanation is that, although the *LH* text may incorporate later linguistic features, in some ways it has features which are more in keeping with OE texts. For the first explanation to be the case, one would have to assume that scribes became so steeped in a linguistic tradition through reading and writing in it that it became part of their own language to such an extent that they wrote in it almost like native speakers. This is not impossible of course but one must only accept what one can be reasonably sure of. It would seem that at the present state of knowledge it is more reasonable to assume that the similarity between *CH* and *LH* section A (with regard to the difference in SV/VS with heavy S) is due to a genuine linguistic similarity, which may be due to this feature lasting well into the twelfth century or the A section being adapted from - as well as containing - some material from an earlier period, or even some combination of all these factors.

The total figures (Pn+N) for the various texts show that *LH*, section B had the same VS order (MF/TF S) proportion as *CH*, but that the figure for *LH* section A was 10% lower. This could be a sign that A shows a more recent form of language - or at least is not maintaining the stylistic tradition[39] so well as the B section. One reason why the latter might be the case is that the B section shows a very consistent form throughout and gives the impression of being very much a whole unit. The A section on the other hand consists of different kinds of texts, some short, some long; some prose, some verse (omitted here); some older material and some new. Even within the individual homilies there is evidence of some older material being inserted into what are otherwise later texts[40]. All this would make unlikely the production of a consistent style, whereas the B section of *LH* on the other hand seems to have tried to maintain the older style as much as possible, or at least to have made as few changes as possible to what may have been earlier works.

The Ælfrician homily tradition, of which of course the *CH* is an example, would only show examples of OE-style CjCls with very little topicalisation of A or O elements and hence little inversion: as was noted above, this in contrast to ICls was a clear sign of older language. The *LH* texts here have contradictory evidence, B being very like *CH* and A showing figures much closer to the twelfth century *SW* for some features. Despite the possibly contradictory evidence, it is likely that one piece of evidence can be explained by the stylistic tradition that is known to have existed and by the inclusion of material (some of it known and recognisable in the text) from an earlier period. The other evidence could not have arisen except in a form of the language later than OE and so it can be

[39]There are two ways in which tradition could be maintained. First, as above by later scribes deliberately using an older style for later material: this was argued to be the least likely method but still possible. Another would be re-copying, perhaps slightly adapted, earlier material which either was OE material or originated closer to the OE period. It is also possible newer material could be added to this, making use perhaps of stock phrases from earlier material as models. The latter, although likely to have occurred cannot be shown to have happened often enough to have been a strong influence on element order outcomes in such texts. A combination of all of these might have been more likely to be a strong enough influence than any one by itself.

[40]Homily II, and to lesser extent homily XI; see chapter 1, section 1.4 , above.

surmised that the CjCl evidence is the most clear with regard to any analysis about the linguistic form of the *LH*. It will be seen here, and confirmed by other evidence shown below, that the difference between the A and B sections of *LH* can be argued to be a real one, particularly since the A section shows the later development of the CjCl whereas the B section does not.

The situation with inverted order is somewhat clearer when it is examined in relation to topicalised initial A. It has already been noted above that a heavy S, in combination with a heavy initial A, very often led to VS order in OE. This remained as a weakening, but still relatively strong tendency in eME. However, it is noteworthy that in eME - and evidence exists for this in the *LH* text - there is more ASV order to be seen. This is particularly noticeable in the A section of the *LH* text, where there is slightly more ASV order than AVS order. In OE VS order occurred more often than SV order when there was a topicalised A in the clause (Davis 1990; Mitchell 1985). The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter 7, 7.3 but, since one of the factors was the Pn S, this will now be briefly examined.

If the numbers of Pns in each selection (from *CH* and the two *LH* selections) is compared with the number of nouns it will be seen that the following table highlights an important factor.

Table 6 (total number of Pn/N subjects)

	Pns	Ns
CH	290 (42%)	400 (58%)
LH (A)	117 (64%)	67 (36%)
LH (B)	32 (27%)	85 (73%)

In both the *CH* and the B section of *LH*, there is a clear majority of N-type S whereas for the A section of *LH* the majority is clearly for Pns over Ns. The point of this is that if weight is still to any extent a factor affecting word order outcome,

then one would expect to see more ASV order where there is significantly more Pn-type S than N-type S. Lighter S, particularly Pn-type S, would be less likely to move to post-V position when there is an initial A while the chances of heavy S - which would be full Ns - moving after the verb are much greater. This does not mean that one should ignore this evidence altogether: note that although the B section of *LH* has an even lower proportion of Pn-type S than *CH*, it has a slightly greater proportion of ASV order than *CH*. Despite its lower proportion of N-type S, the A section of *LH* does show a slightly greater proportion of SV order where there is an N-type S than is seen in either the B section or *CH*. It is difficult to balance these factors out, but the weight of the evidence so far seems to suggest that the *LH* is later in its element order data than the *CH*, and there are some differences between the two sections of the *LH*. Although the Pn/N comparison just shown -and the problems of judging whether one or other is trying to maintain a traditional style - suggest that the differences between the two sections may not be as large as some of the evidence might suggest.

Table 7: O-initial clauses.

A	OSV	OVS	B	OSV	OVS
ICls	14	2		13	11
CjCls	12	2		2	2

These figures show a much stronger tendency for OSV order, rather than OVS, in the A section compared to the B section. The fact that A has much more Pn S and O material than B should be taken into consideration. Since the above figures were so low it was possible to do a quick search in the data to see if weight may have had an influence. It was found that, for 10 of the 11 OVS clauses in section B, both S and O were full Ns; the other was Pn O with N-type S. In the A section one of its two OVS clauses has both S and O as full N's, the

other Pn O with N-type S. In both text sections the majority by far of OSV order is with N-type O and Pn-type S: the A section has three OSV with both S and O as full Ns to one for the B section. The CjCls were not checked for this feature as the B figures are so low. The much larger figure for OVS order then may very well be partly a factor of the greater amount of full N in the B section compared to the A section which makes much more use of Pns. It should be noted also that OSV order occurs in both sections mainly where S is a Pn - hence light, thematic and given - although in both sections OSV order with both S and O as full Ns was possible. Notably, this occurs more often in the A section than the B, despite there being far more N-type S and O in the B section than in the A. This would suggest a more archaic language in the B section, although on its own, this evidence is based on numbers which are too low to be more than suggestive. The numbers of clauses showing inversion with topicalised O are far lower than for those with topicalised A. It is noticeable that the larger selection of text[41], A, does not have much more initial O ICls than B, the smaller. This could be that there was a tendency, as the language developed, for N-type O material not to be initialised, perhaps due to weakening morphology. However, looking at Kohonen's *CH* data one sees that there are similar low figures for initial O.

Table 8: O-initial clauses

CH	OSV	OVS
ICls	12	6
CjCls	4	1

An examination of table 6, above, showing the ratio of Pns in each text selection, shows that the *CH* data fall between that of the *LH* sections A and B; similarly the ratio of OSV to OVS (in ICl at least) falls between the *LH* data in table 7. So this particular feature seems not to have changed much. The only

[41]The data were taken from the whole of each selection.

data available for weight relating to table 8 show O Pn/N numbers for initial position: 11 Pn to 7 N. So there are only seven possible opportunities for both S and N to be full N and only six OVS clauses in Kohonen's *CH* selection. This does not contradict the earlier supposition that one element at least should be heavy (i.e. at least a full noun) and one should give some indication of function in relation to the verb - which one might have assumed would be by use of Pn, since this retained case. The latter may very well be so since this sample of initial-O clauses is small, but it does highlight how subject-verb agreement could be signified in other ways. For instance:

ex3 "þas pine and monie oþre ure Drihten þolede of þan heþene folke in þisse timan". (OSVAA)
(*LH* A, Homily I)

ex4 "Al eorþlic þing ure Drihten dude under his fotan". (OSVA)
(*LH* A, Homily XII)

ex5 "Mildheortenesse God Kudde monn". (OSVI)
(*LH* B, Homily XVI)

Subject-verb agreement is signified in the above examples as follows: in ex3 and ex4 by S and V being singular in contrast to plural O; in ex5 by sense alone, helped by the context, which is not shown. The sense of the sentence also helps make the distinction in the previous examples. The vast majority of VS order clauses, in fact the vast majority of all clauses with a topicalised element whether SV or VS, are those clauses with a topicalised Adverbial. These are very often heavy, being prepositional phrases, and where they are light they are often words which have become associated with a usage which tends to produce inverted word order: for instance the *þa.... þa....* usage to distinguish ICl and SCl, which is well

known in OE. Certain types of Adverbial seemed to have a tendency to initiate inversion, such as the aforementioned *þa*, *nu*, *þonne*, etc; but this tendency could always be overcome by other factors. In chapter 7, below, Adverbials are analysed and discussed in much more detail.

However, the number of clauses where O was initialised as topic, is surprisingly low: one would have thought that OSV order at least was fairly common, since this would have been the natural order (when developments from a much more consistent SOV language began) where the O was topicalised. Lacking other evidence at present, it may be assumed that O was not topicalised all that often, perhaps because of its much greater tendency to appear post-S and post-V, as a rhematic element. Adverbials were always much freer in the positions they could appear in and were much more likely to be able to provide a connective or contrastive function also (which would bring them to initial position, nearer a previous sentence), for instance with elements like "then", "after", "soon", "after the battle", etc.

Again, apropos the comments above about CjCl usage as a sign of later language, it may be noted that the A section has much more use of topicalised O. Such topicalisation, as was seen above, occurred more rarely in CjCls in OE. Most important is the fact that these figures are so low, compared to the figures for topicalised A. In PDE V-3 occurs usually with an Adverbial, rarely with an O and then almost always where O or S is marked in some way - i.e. by case (which means using a Pn) or by sense, and then only by use of O and S which are very unlikely to be anything else: an obvious example would be with use of an inanimate O and a personal name with an active verb.

ex6 *That kind of action James had never seen before.*

It is a rather clumsy example but it suffices as an example: one would hardly expect to see that kind of usage except on the written page. It could occur

though and it is a match for examples 3) to 5) above. A final point to notice is that each of the three examples (3 - 5) shown above is an excellent example of a V-3 type of sentence. In each case there is a full noun O and S; in 3) and 4) the nouns are phrases consisting of more than one element: an important consideration which will be returned to in chapter 7. There is no intention to claim that the English represented by the *LH* was V-3 in form, only that such elements existed in it and could form the basis for a later development into a V-3 language.

5.6 Summary.

It has been seen that the overall rate of use of VS order was declining and there was a increase in the occurrence of SV order. This phenomenon is also clearly seen in the *LH* evidence which shows that these changes were to be seen in texts copied down about 150 years after the *CH* text. Differences were noted between the two sections of the *LH*, suggesting that Sisam was correct in maintaining they were copied from sources of different periods. However she may have been mistaken regarding which source was the earliest. This point will be examined later. It has also been shown that differences are more marked for certain types of feature than others, and that certain types of feature are of more significance than others. For instance, in the OE evidence CjCls show very different features than in the later language, being in some ways more like DCls, whereas from eME times one sees CjCls becoming more like ICls, even showing a big increase in VS order when otherwise VS order was beginning to decline.

This kind of difference is also seen when weight of elements is taken into account. In this study only the very simple comparison between Pn and full N could be made, but was still very useful. The effect of givenness could also be considered using this evidence. This analysis showed that there was only a small difference between the A and B sections of the *LH* and the *CH* with regard to

clauses where S was a full N. Where the S was a Pn, both *LH* texts have markedly more SV order than the *CH*. Here in fact the B section of the *LH* has close to 100% SV with Pn-type S, a figure which may be artificially exaggerated by the smallness of the figures for the B section (a 1/2 size sample). It could also be that scribes trying to maintain a stylistic tradition of an earlier period exaggerated a linguistic tendency that they noticed in the older texts that they were familiar with. Whatever the reason, one can again see a distinct difference between the A and B sections of the *LH*, one in which B shows an apparently artificially higher level of SV order with Pn-type S and a higher VS order with N-type S. This could be explained, at least in part, by the fact that B has a very much higher number of N-type S than either the A section of *LH* or the *CH*. It was suggested (chapter 4, 4.4) that the higher amount of Pn O in the A section had the effect of artificially increasing the amount of SOV order and this would seem to be a variation of the same effect. It suggests that in the *LH* text weight was still an important factor in element order outcome.

The next feature examined was SV/VS order where there was another initialised (or topicalised) element. The vast majority of such clauses occurred it was seen where the topicalised element was an Adverbial. This evidence showed that there was a clear difference between both *LH* sections and the *CH*: with both *LH* sections, ASV order was more frequent than AVS order. The difference between the *CH* text and the B section of the *LH* was not that great (6% more ASV) but the A section showed a further 10% move towards ASV order with the result for the A section that ASV is the majority word order where there is a topicalised Adverbial element - something that is surely a sign of the development towards modern English and the V-3 word order. The fact that the A section had more Pn-type S than the others may party explain the large size of the differences between the B section and the *CH*, but it does not disprove that a genuine development is shown by this evidence. The greatest difference is between the A section and the *CH* text, but there is less of a difference between these texts than

between the A and B sections of *LH*. There is evidence for something that is real, not just created by the influence of the weight of the S element. The effect of weight was considered in the final part of this chapter when OSV/OVS order was examined. It was seen that weight did indeed play a part, with almost all OVS clauses having at least S as a full noun and often both S and O full Ns (although number of examples were small for this particular element order); however, it was also shown that OSV order could occur with both S and O being full Ns. This can also be matched with a few examples of ASV order with full N for the S:

ex7

"In swa muchele edmodnesse godalmihti hine dude for us"

"þus þe deofel wule bilesnien þe wreche"

"Swa longe þe deofle wunaþ swa inne þe sunfulle men"

"Bludeliche þe mon wile gan to scrifte and segge þe preoste"

[LH, Homilies I-III]

These were found by a very quick scan of the text: they are not in any way unusual.

So it can be said that there is evidence that the *LH* represents (compared to the *CH* and the early twelfth century *SW*) an intermediary stage in the language as far as the S position is concerned: there is more SV order and in particular there is more SV order where a topicalised element, particularly an Adverbial is present, compared to the *CH*; but less SV order than with the *SW* - although there is nothing to compare it with for topicalised A clauses. It can also be seen that although the effect of weight is lessening, as shown by the Pn/N data, it was still an important factor probably contributing to some of the differences seen between the A and B sections of the *LH*. The increase of XSV clauses in the *LH*, particularly in the A section, and the fact that one can easily find examples of XSV order with both heavy X and S element shows that the evidence does not support

an intermediary "V2" stage which has been suggested sometimes for this period. Rather, one sees a language form which is becoming more SV in nature with the option of using either the "V2" like form or the more "modern" form of XSV. The S is not yet fixed to the pre-V position, but it is becoming more common in this position and more importantly it is becoming more common in this position when other elements are topicalised.

Chapter 6 SVO development: the position of Object.

6.1 Introduction

Whereas with the examination of the fixing of the S into pre-V position the main concern was very much about the relationship between the SV and VS orders in ICls and CjCls, with the O the main concern is with the relationship between SVO and SOV order and with the changes seen in DCls as well as with ICls and CjCls. However, RCls will be excluded from the study to some degree, mainly when comparing the two sections of the *LH* with each other: the reasons will be explained shortly. This chapter will concentrate on the movement of O to final position and particularly where this occurs with light elements (Pn) and in DCls. Since Pn elements are both light and given, any movement of reasonable size towards post-V position is bound to be significant. This movement has extra significance in DCls since it would mean as well as tendencies of both weight and givenness, the tendency for SOV usage in DCls would have to be overcome.[42] In chapter 4, the effect that the weight of elements may have had on element order was briefly mentioned (and was taken up again in the discussion just completed). There, also, a sample study was given, as well as a general look at the *LH* and the effect of weight on its word order. In this chapter, the focus will be on the particular points mentioned there, but they will be examined in much more detail than was discussed earlier.

6.2 Evidence for the fixing of O in final position in the clause

It is necessary to begin with a brief examination of the effect of the weight of the O, so that other evidence can be judged in the light of whether weight or givenness is having a greater effect than actual diachronic change. A preliminary comparison between the A and B sections of the *LH* will be made, this being based on a simple division between Pn and full N.

[42]Although the retention of SXV order in DCls was no doubt to an extent due to position of elements being less likely to vary due to such clauses being much less affected by the need to topicalise elements, this word order was still a marker to some extent for DCl order.

The following *LH* phrase-level data was gathered from a larger selection[43] of clauses than the selection described above in chapter 3 and used in other sections of this chapter.

Table 9.

	A	B
ICls	Pn/N = 36/138 (21%Pn)	Pn/N = 13/76 (15%Pn)
CjCls	" 29/52 (36% ")	" 10/20 (33% ")
SCls	" 81/129 (39% ")	" 15/54 (22% ")
Total (excl. RCls)	145/319 (31%")	38/150 (20%")

Examining the total figures, it is noticeable that A has 31% total Pn (as opposed to 69% N), and B has 20% Pn. These figures exclude RCl data which can be problematical because of the occurrence of relative pronouns due solely to the chance of the semantics of a particular clause[44]. The percentages just quoted suggest that the A section of *LH* will have more SOV order than B since in ME SOV could still be fairly common when O = Pn. Even in OE, SOV was more common with light O since as has been seen (and as the studies by Kohonen (1978) and Davis (1991) have shown), heavy material tended to appear more often in post-V position. So this need not be a sign of older language and the overall totals seem to verify this, except in the case of CjCls, where the ratios of Pn/N are quite close. On the other hand (with CjCls) the B section does not follow the pattern since its CjCls have the highest percentage of SOV order in all clause types in that section. Even in OE when SXV order was much more common, the highest by far percentage SOV order occurred in DCls, a lower

[43]Some clauses such as CjCls and DCls with no overt S were captured by the analysis, which has resulted in in figures which represent more text than the other phrase analysis seen elsewhere in this thesis. However, it still does give a reasonable representation of the ratios of Pn to N in the text.

[44]e.g. The man who came to dinner...has Rel. Pn = S; The man who(m) we dined with...has Rel. Pn. = O. The formal passive construction was much less common in early English, but the basic idea is the same, i.e. the Rel. Pn always comes first in the RCl and it can be either S or O, regardless of position.

percentage in CjCls, and the lowest in ICls. The B section figures here are probably somewhat exaggerated owing to the small size of the sample they are based on (9 SOV Cls in a total of 34 CjCls: see table 2b, reproduced below) but it is unlikely it is completely accidental, especially when one considers the fact that B has proportionately more O = N than A, both in general and in SOV order clauses in particular.

Here for convenience is reproduced table 2 from Chapter 4, showing figures for element order based on clauses containing both S and O.

Tables 2a and 2b

LH (A)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SVO	130 (60%)	58 (60%)	145 (64%)	60 (37%)
SOV	18 (8%)	18 (19%)	61 (27%)	30 (19%)
OSV	16 (7%)	12 (13%)	17 (8%)	72 (44%)
(O)VS(O)	53 (24%)	8 (8%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)

LH (B)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SVO	64 (59%)	20 (59%)	55 (66%)	22 (31%)
SOV	5 (5%)	9 (27%)	19 (23%)	10 (14%)
OSV	13 (12%)	3 (9%)	4 (5%)	39 (55%)
(O)VS(O)	26 (24%)	2 (6%)	-	-

However, looking at the Pn/N ratios again it can be seen that, in A, the Pn/N ratio matches the increase in SOV order in A from ICl to SCl, with SCl having more Pn O than either ICl or CjCl. The difference in Pn/N ratio between CjCl and SCl is small, but the natural tendency for SCl to have more SOV order than other clause types has combined with the slightly greater ratio of Pn to give a greater difference: 19% to 27% SOV. In B, on the other hand, it is seen that CjCls have a much higher ratio of Pn/N - 33% to 22% and this has seemingly helped overcome

the natural tendency of the SCl to have the greater amount of SOV order. It seems reasonable to suggest that it was able to do this because of the greater tendency in B to treat the CjCl more like a form of SCl (as in OE). This is seen in the fact that despite being only slightly lower in Pn/N ratio than A in CjCl, B in CjCl has almost twice as much SOV order (15% in section A compared to 28% in section B). Another sign of the manner in which the B section is closer to OE is the greater proportion of N-type O it shows with SOV order compared to section A, this of course being the corollary of its having fewer Pns. However B does not just have a greater proportion of N as O overall. Within its clauses, O occurs as N to a far greater extent in SOV order in B than in A, as can be seen in the following figures (all clauses combined except RCls):

Table 10: Pn/N ratios with SOV order

	Pn	N
A	90 (93%)	7 (7%)
B	18(55%)	15 (45%)

This seems to be evidence enough to consider that the B section (with its much greater use of full Ns as O with SOV order, and its much larger SOV order in CjCls than with the A section), and not the A section, is closer to OE, and also explain the unusual CjCl data which is seen in the B section.

6.3 Movement of O towards final position.

To make a proper comparison in this matter between the data from *LH* and that of Kohonen (1978), the *LH* object-data have to be organised in a similar fashion, that is arranged by occurrence in clausal fields as used in his analysis: IF (Initial Field: OSV, OVS), MF (Medial Field: SOV, VOS), and TF (Terminal Field: SVO, VSO). Of these, VOS is a rare order, even in OE, and in fact does not occur in either of the *LH* selections (but does occur in the full text

occasionally). One can still see, however, the movement of O from early position (IF/MF) to late position (TF), and also the weakening effect of weight by the movement of O-Pn from early position to late position. Any increase in the amount of O-N data in TF position has to be due simply to the fact that the natural position of the O was becoming that of TF.

ex1

"þet we magen mid ure muþe bringen *us* ut of þisse putte"

"we sculan þonkian *him* þere muchele mildheortenesse"

It is notable that these two examples have heavy elements after the O Pn. However the main point is that these are the kind of Pn element that would have almost certainly occurred before one of the verbal elements in OE. Since they occur after both aux and MV one can be sure that this is a development beyond what would normally be found in OE, where even when there was a form of SVO order, the O Pn would occur before the MV.

The subject data in chapter 6, above, showed that the occurrence of S-N increased in IF position, because this was becoming the natural position for subject. The following tables show data for O position, first comparing the OE text *CH* with the Me text *SW*, then comparing the two different sections of the *LH*. Since the focus is now to be concentrated on a comparison of the *LH* with other texts, RCls are added to the SCls to make the (DCls) comparison more compatible. It would have been preferable (for the reasons discussed in chapter 4, 4.3) to leave out the RCls, but the other studies have not done so.

Table 11a: Position of Object from Kohonen (1978: 107).

	ICL			CjCl			DCl		
	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF
CH /Pn	23%	51%	26%	6%	85%	10%	37%	60%	3%
/N	4%	11%	85%	1%	50%	49%	2%	69%	30%
SW/Pn	14%	14%	71%	4%	15%	81%	49%	23%	28%
/N	8%(1)	-	92%	7%	4%	89%	6%	12%	82%

Table 11b: Position of Object (*LH* sections A and B)

	ICL			CjCl			DCl		
	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF
A/ Pn	6%	58%	36%	14%	62%	24%	47%	42%	11%
/ N	13%	-	87%	19%	-	81%	3%	9%	88%
B/ Pn	31%	39%	31%	20%	70%	10%	73%	21%	6%
/ N	25%	-	75%	5%	10%	85%	-	21%	79%

A possible problem here though is that some of the *LH* (B) figures are a bit low to be sure that percentages worked out from them are really meaningful. In particular, care should be taken with all of the *LH* (B) data under CjCls (a total of 30 clauses), and the Pn figures for *LH* (B) under ICls. The data for DCls, however, form a reasonable number which should be reliable. It is possible to make some useful comparisons since overall the data are sufficient, so long as caution is taken with the specific data just mentioned. Putting this problem aside for a moment, it would appear that the figures show *LH* to be more advanced than *CH* but less so than *SW*. This is seen in the general movement of O to late position in *LH*, especially in the greater amount of Pn O moving to late position compared to *CH*, but lesser amount moving compared to *SW*. There are also

differences to be seen between the different sections of the *LH* and some specific instances of data which do not quite follow the general trend. A more detailed analysis follows, concentrating on the factors of movement of O to terminal field (particularly movement of Pn-type O to terminal field[45]) and retention or loss of SOV order. In the following analysis it should also be remembered that VOS was a rare word order and VSO, although found quite often in ICls, was rare outside these in OE texts. In ME texts VSO was rare in DCls but found in CjCls, although there less commonly than in ICls. Therefore the data in tables 11 a) and b) discussed below do not just contain evidence of the loss of weight influence and movement of O to terminal field, but contain signs of the development of SVO itself.

Examining the ICls columns of tables 11 a) and b), it can be seen that there is a huge difference in the position of the Pn-type O between the *CH* and *SW* periods, compared to that for the N-type O. The latter data for *SW* (Kohonen, 1978) is based on a very low number of clauses, which can exaggerate the differences, so that the movement of Pn-type O may be the main feature with regards to ICls. *CH* has a figure of 26% for Pn-type O in terminal field, compared to 36% for *LH* (A) and 31% for *LH* (B). So the *LH* would appear to be more advanced in this feature than *CH*, but both sections of the *LH* are much closer to the *CH* than they are to the *SW* text which has a figure of 71% for Pn-type O in terminal field. It is noticeable that the *LH* (B) is closer to *CH* in this comparison of Pn-type O data and it also has a lower ratio than *CH* in a comparison of N-type O data. It must be remembered that N-type data could contain varying levels of weight - and it was not possible to analyse this for the *LH* because of the constraints of this study - which means it cannot be concluded that *LH* (B) is more "archaic" than *CH*, without other confirming evidence, and it could be that other factors such as topicalisation are the reason for this difference.

[45]Since there had always been a stronger tendency, due to the effect of weight, to find N-type O in terminal field, appearance of Pn O in final position is a sign of more advanced language.

An examination of the medial field data shows (as discussed above in Chapter 4, 4.3) that *LH* (A) has a greater ratio of Pn-type O in medial field than the *CH*, and *LH* (B) has the lower ratio. This, it should be remembered, occurs in a situation where both the A and B sections have more Pn-type O in terminal position. The data show that the *CH* has much more Pn-type O in initial field than *LH* (A) has, but that *LH* (B) has more than the *CH* for the same data type. Likewise the *LH* (B) has a clearly higher ratio of O-type N in initial field compared to *CH*. These data lead one to suggest that the diachronic differences that should be seen between the texts are being obscured by stylistic usage within the texts. *LH* (B) for instance shows a greater tendency to topicalise O, and not just with the Pn-type O since one can see that 25% of the N-type O appears in initial field for *LH* (B). If this factor is taken into consideration it gives an explanation as to why there appear to be somewhat contradictory data here. The *LH* (B) text has the largest ratio of topicalised (to initial field) O and the lowest ratio of medial field O. The *LH* (A) text has conversely the lowest ratio of topicalised (to initial field) O and the highest ratio of medial field O. It seems obvious that a greater use of topicalisation in one text will result in lower ratios in the other non-initial fields, compared to other texts which use topicalisation to the a much lower degree. So there is an explanation for the fact that *LH* (A) has the highest medial field data for Pn-type O and *LH* (B) has a much lower medial field ratio than *LH* (A). The *CH* text has a much higher topicalised O ratio than *LH* (A), but it still has a lower (-10%) ratio of Pn-type O in final position, so it could be argued that the *LH* (A) data does not represent older word-order usage. The question is whether the high initial field ratio for Pn-type O in *CH* - that is, the topicalisation with Pn-type O seen there - is having the effect of reducing the other fields equally or whether the material found in IF, as a result of topicalisation, would be more likely to be found in the medial field in other OE texts which did not show such topicalisation, rather than in the terminal field. An important feature is that *LH* (A) also shows no N-type O material in medial field,

despite having more of such material in initial field compared to the *CH*. This suggests that despite the unusually high Pn-type O medial field data for *LH* (A), the real trend is of movement to the final field for both types of O, although in the *LH* there is a greater such trend with the N data than with the Pn data compared to SW.

In CjCls one can see there was a great change between the OE and ME period, with terminal field O moving from 10% (Pn) and 49% (N) for the *CH* to 81% (Pn) and 89% (N) for *SW*. The *LH* (A) shows an increase for this field to 24% for Pn-type O and to 81% for N-type O. The *LH* (B) text shows no difference for Pn-type O, but a very large increase to 85% for N-type O. The discrepancy between the Pn and N type data for *LH* (B) can be explained by two factors. The first is the change in CjCl usage which has already been discussed in some detail above. This meant that CjCls ceased to be treated as a kind of DCl and more like a form of ICl. However, as was also seen above, *LH* (B) seems to have retained higher levels of SOV order in CjCls and it was concluded that this may have been due to this section of the homilies being more consistent in maintaining the OE style of language that such homilies traditionally used[46]. The other factor is that *LH* (B) has a high ratio of initial field Pn-type O (6% higher than for *LH* (A)) and this might otherwise have appeared in a later position but for its apparently stronger tendency for topicalisation. Still, without it, the terminal field data for this would probably have still have been lower than that for *LH* (A), since the difference between *LH* (A) and *LH* (B) for Pn-type O in initial field is 6% and the difference in ratio for this material in terminal field is 14%, *LH* (A) having the larger ratio. Both *LH* sections show increases in the amount of initial field O (Pn and N) compared to *CH*, larger indeed than *SW* which only shows a noticeable increase in this field for the N-type O data. It should be noticed here that in neither the ICls nor the CjCls does *SW* display really high ratios of initial O. It

[46]Or it could be, as mentioned above, that the ratios are exaggerated due to the small size of the actual figures the ratios are based on.

would seem that with regards to this feature, *SW* was stylistically quite different from the kind of homilies represented by the *CH* and the *LH*, despite the lower figure for *LH* (A) with Pn-type O. However, it should be remembered that if the actual figures - not ratios - are considered, O in IF occurred at a low frequency in all texts.

Both sections of the *LH* have bigger ratios of medial field O than *SW* except for *SW*'s 4% N-type O compared to 0% for *LH* (A), and much smaller ratios of terminal field O with Pn-type data. There are several very important factors which, when combined, are strong evidence that the *LH* is later than the *CH*, although earlier than *SW*[47]. These are: the amount of initial field O; the lower ratio of medial field O (particularly with N-type O); the much larger ratios of N-type O seen in terminal field at the same time that the *LH* (A) shows an increase in N-type O in initial field; and both sections of *LH* show an increase for Pn-type O in initial field. It can be seen in this CjCl evidence that there is a repetition of the factors that were seen in the ICl data, albeit with slightly different outcomes. For instance, in CjCls both sections of the *LH* have a greater initial field ratio (for both Pn and N type O), and this may have contributed to lower medial field ratios for the *LH*, although it could only have been a partial factor especially considering the higher terminal field O data in the *LH*. One can also see that, although caution must be taken regarding one or two parts of the evidence in the above tables, an examination comparing various factors and their interaction allows one to make convincing statements about the development of the language and in particular the state of the language represented by the *LH* text. That these arguments used fit in well with those of the previous section on the position of the subject is a further reason to feel confidence in their validity.

Turning now to examine the DCl data, there it can be seen that, in both N and Pn type O position, *LH* (A) and (B) could be described as more advanced than

[47]It is best to leave a discussion about what stage the *LH* language is at until later: when all the data has been examined and discussed, a clearer exposition of the state of the *LH* language may be made.

CH. Both have lower figures for both Pn and N type O in the medial field and the medial field equates mainly (totally in the *LH* selection) with SOV order as far as DCls are concerned. So, a clear reduction in this particular word order can be seen. One can also see this in the following table, in which SCls and RCls have been combined for the *LH*, so that a proper comparison can be made with the *CH*.

Table 12: DCl data (combined RCls and SCls).

	LH (A)	*LH* (B)	*CH*	*SW*
SVO	51%	49%	26%	49%
SOV	24%	19%	61%	14%
OSV	25%	31%	13%	33%
VS	-	-	-	4%

This shows that both of the *LH* sections have double the amount of SVO order that the *CH* has, and both similarly have close to one third the amount of SOV order that the *CH* text has. The *LH* (B) has the highest OSV order, as one would expect from the very high initial field data shown in table 11. This must represent, to some degree, a large amount of relative pronoun material appearing as the O. The difference between the texts for OSV order here and the initial field data above must be a result of there being a much lower figure for SCl compared to RCl. Relative pronouns appear mainly with RCls, and combining the two different kinds of DCls would have the effect of evening out the differences and in this way masking the differences between the clause types. The trend towards SVO order and away from SOV order is very clear with this data. If one takes into account the greater occurrence of O as relative pronoun in the B section, there is possibly little difference between the two *LH* sections in these general figures, although there are differences when one examines the figures for O divided into N and Pn. Curiously, here *SW* is similar to the *LH* for SVO order,

and similar in most features to the *LH* (B), although having the lowest SOV order. The differences between *CH* and the *LH* texts appear clearer because movement to SV[48] order in ICls was already well underway in the lOE period. However, this tended to be obscured in some texts by factors such as topicalisation and weight which could produce large ratios of inverted (VS) order. There was a movement at the same time towards SV order in DCls, but this was much slower, since SOV had become to some extent a marker in an earlier period for DCl order. At the same time, DCls were less affected by topicalisation so that those learning the language had more stable element order forms as exemplars. It is in the lOE to eME period that one sees this relatively sudden move from SOV to SVO order, and this is very probably linked to the development of a wider range of subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns. There are no data in the Kohonen (1978) or Davis (1991) studies for comparison, unfortunately, but one receives the impression on reading the *LH* text that a wider range of such elements is being used compared to OE texts. Some examples, which are developments from these to be found in early OE texts as subordinating conjunctions, are: *hwa, hwenne, hwiche, hwense, hweþre, for-whi, wiþþan.* There are also combinations of words used to create a subordinating conjunction (phrase): *alse raþe se, in hwulche wise, togeinst þet, efter þet, alse hwat se, for to þat*[49]. This is evidence that the needs of a more sophisticated textual style - influenced possibly by Latin and French exemplars (Wilson 1968; Smith 1996), which would have had a wider range of similar words and expressions than was available in OE - are resulting in the creation of new ways of expressing subordination, which in turn reduces one of the main reasons at this stage of the language for maintaining SOV order, i.e. identifying subordinate clauses. It is now necessary to return to the Pn/N O data to examine some of the differences which are hidden in the more general figures.

[48]By which is meant SVO, but not necessarily V-3 order.
[49]All these examples are from the *LH* (B) text. It may be noted that some of these did exist in OE but not then as subordinating conjunctions.

The terminal field data are much clearer as the *CH* text has a very low 3% for Pn O and a relatively low 30% for N O in terminal field position. This evidence, if taken with the high levels of medial field data seen with the *CH*, is a sign that the older SOV form was still dominant in OE DCls. Although figures for Pn O in terminal field are still low in the *LH* (11% and 6%), the A section figures are clearly higher than with *CH* and it is very likely that the percentage B figure is being artificially reduced by a somewhat freakishly high initial field figure on RCls. The N-type O figures are much higher at 88% (for A) and 79% (for B), figures which are much higher than the similar figure for the *CH*, but which are quite close to that of *SW*. The *LH* (A) section has, in fact, a higher figure for N-type O than *SW* and this suggests that for this particular type of material, no great change took place between production of the *LH* text and that of *SW*. There is no great difference between *LH* and *SW* in the CjCl data - topicalisation being taken into account - and the data for *SW* for this is possibly being exaggerated by the low figures it is based on in the ICls.

The most important data here, therefore, are those which show a higher level of the Pn O in terminal field for the later texts. This is a clear sign of a more advanced text, since such late material is a sign of the movement away from flexibility, influenced by weight and other factors, towards a more fixed position for the O. There is not such a big difference here between the *CH* and the *LH* as is seen with the other clause types for this feature. The *LH* (B) data are only 3% higher, a figure which would be insignificant except for the very high initial field data which the B section shows and which may be skewing its data. The *LH* (A) section has a clearer increase in P-type O material for the terminal field, but both *LH* sections are much lower than *SW* for this factor. This fits in with what has previously been suggested, that the *LH* is more advanced than the *CH*, and *SW* more so than the *LH*. Despite the few problems with the data, they would seem to support the argument that, because of the influence of weight, SVO order appeared first most commonly with N O. As the language developed towards

greater use of SVO, this order seems to have appeared more and more with heavy O. Although there is a gradual increase in SVO with Pn O, this for a long time is always well behind the increase with N O. The apparent increase in the influence of the weight factor shown by the increase in terminal O is very likely an illusion. In examining other data, above, it was noticed that there was an increase over this same period in heavy S appearing in initial field: but always the element order outcomes seen are a result of combinations of different factors. The effect of the weight factor may have been declining but, while it still existed, it could combine with an increasing tendency towards SVO order to produce much higher figures for the terminal field with heavier elements. The converse effect has already been seen with light (Pn) elements above. As SVO became more and more established as the basic element order of English, the tendency was for light pronouns to appear more and more in final position, the influence of weight eventually disappearing altogether. The figures above are evidence that this is beginning to happen, with somewhat greater ratios of Pn-type O in terminal field for the *LH*, and a much larger ratio for *SW*.

Returning now to the data for the medial field, it is necessary to refer briefly to the discussion from chapter 4, 4.3, where it was observed that, although *LH* (A) seemed slightly more archaic than *LH* (B), owing to its higher ratio of SOV order, this was in fact not the case. It appeared that other factors, especially the much higher use of Pn O material[50] in *LH* (A), could have led to the higher ratio of SOV order. It was also noted how more than one factor must be taken into account before deciding on such issues. Another piece of evidence, which could be added to support this conclusion, is the fact that, although the A section has much more Pn-type O medial field data than the B section, when N-type O data is examined, it is seen that the B section has a much larger ratio. Taken in the context of the evidence for the other fields, this shows that the higher SOV order shown by the A section is an outcome of higher ratio of Pn-type material in A,

[50]Detailed figures for this seen in this chapter, table 9.

combined with the effect of a greater amount of Pn material in initial field in B, which reduces what would otherwise be a higher medial field ratio for B. The higher N-type O ratios for B in medial field have much less effect on the main figures because the majority of SOV clauses in the *LH* selection occur with Pn-type O (86 Pn to 34 N). The B section has a figure for Pn O in medial field that almost matches that of SW - it seems very likely that the very large figure for initial field (73%) is distorting this figure.

The A section does have a much larger figure for this type of material than either SW or the B section of the *LH* (42%). There is little difference between the initial field ratios of *LH* (A) and *SW*, so this suggests that the medial field difference is a real one, possibly signifying diachronic variation. That is, *LH* (A) has a ratio almost 20% lower than the *CH* for Pn-type O in the medial field but, at the same time, almost 20% higher than *SW* for this material. It is possible that, but for the unusually large amount of initial field material, *LH* (B) would have a similar ratio for this. Both sections of the *LH* have much lower ratios of N-type O in medial field compared with the *CH*. The differences (60% for A and c. 40% for B) are so great that they form good evidence that the *LH* is a more recent work linguistically than the *CH*. The ratio for the A section of *LH* is very close to that of SW (9% cf. 12%) but the ratio for the B section is clearly higher than both *SW* and *LH* (A). This seems to contradict the Pn data evidence somewhat. The B section does have a lower ratio for Pn-type O than the A section, but this itself could be due to the higher initial field data, so it cannot be assumed that a redistribution would do more than make the two *LH* sections match each other. However, developments for heavy and light materials (particularly pronouns, which remained more consistent in their morphology) progressed at different rates and it is quite feasible that the two *LH* sections could be close regarding one factor, and differ somewhat for another. The evidence of the three clause types combined suggests that *LH* (B) contains the older material[51], as in all clauses it has

[51]or contains more older material, and keeps its original form more consistently.

lower Pn-type O in terminal field and in both CjCl and DCls it has higher N-type O in medial field.

In the discussion so far, the data used have combined material from both SCls and RCls so that a reasonable comparison could be made with the data from other studies which do not separate these clause types. However, because of the possibility of a problem due to unusually large numbers of relative Pns as Os distorting some of the data, it is important for such studies to take the differences between these clause types into account. From the figures in table 11 above it might seem that this worry was justified since the B section shows 73% to A's 47% for Pn O in initial field position. However the following data suggests that, though this is part of the problem, there are other factors which need to be examined.

Table 13: SCl and RCl data from the LH; Pn/N (O) comparison.

	SCl			RCl		
	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF
A/Pn	11(14%)	54 (68%)	14 (18%)	72(76%)	19 (20%)	4 (4%)
/N	6 (5%)	7 (6%)	114 (89%)	-	11(17%)	53 (83%)
Totals	17 (8%)	61 (30%)	128 (62%)	72(45%)	30 (19%)	57 (36%)
B/Pn	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	3 (20%)	39 (83%)	7 (15%)	1 (2%)
/N	-	13 (25%)	40 (76%)	-	3 (14%)	20 (86%)
Totals	6 (9%)	19 (28%)	43 (63%)	39 (57%)	10 (15%)	21 (28%)

Table 13 (above) shows the figures for SCls and RCls separately. In the data from both the A and B sections in the above RCl part of the table, all the initial field Pn Os are relative Pns. As can be seen, these relative Pn Os make up a substantial amount of the O material in such clauses. It should be noted that the ratio of Pn-type O in initial field is high, compared to positions of other Pn-type O

material in *LH* (A), but lower than that of *LH* (B). The figures here show *LH* (B) to have an even larger ratio of Pn-type O in this field with the difference in the first case being 7% and, in the second, 12%. This agrees with what has been said so far about *LH* (B), and supports the supposition that a higher ratio of initial field material, due to more use of relative Pn O, is skewing the data somewhat. In fact, it is very possible there is really very little difference between the two sections of the *LH* in regards to RCls. There is, however, no way of knowing for sure how the O material in initial position might have been redistributed if the B section had not happened to have had so much more O relative Pn material. For this reason the SCl evidence may be more reliable for comparative purposes.

There are a number of O Pn and N elements in initial position in the SCls, although far fewer than in the RCls. The Pn examples for initial field in SCls are similar to those of RCls, e.g.

ex2 "And Ic eou wille seggen word efter word word efter word and þermide <SCl> *hwæt* þet word bequeþ".
(*LH* B, VII)

It should be noted that the pronoun O *hwæt* is both an element of the SCl and a connector to the ICl, as the relative pronoun is with the RCl. A similar situation could have arisen (with an early form of "who") as with the RCls, but it did not.

The N-type O material in initial position was formed of nouns combined with connective conjunctions acting as modifiers, as in the following example:

ex3 "Ge hi hered <SCl> *hu muchel edmodnesce* ure Drihten dude for us".
(*LH* A, I)

The N-type O examples in initial fields existed for subjectless SCls, like the following:

ex4 "Hwenne he him gefe <SCl> *lutel to etene*".

(*LH* B, XV)

However, examples like the last one have not been included in the table 13 figures since they were also ignored for compilation of data for tables such as table 12. This was because there would have been no way of knowing where such clauses would fit into the other SVO/SOV/OVS, etc. patterns. Thus they have been omitted to keep the overall figures consistent.

The very low numbers of Pn-type O material appearing in SCls for *LH* (B) mean that the ratios produced must be used with great care, as their significance is a little doubtful. The N-type material data, appearing in larger numbers of clauses, are more reliable. What is obvious is that the SCl data show more clearly the expected higher medial field ratio one would expect for DCls. This is higher than that seen for the RCls, owing to the higher ratio of initial field O found with these clauses. If the SCls can be taken as being more truly representative of the DCl, then they also seem to display signs of being a little more archaic than the CjCls. Ignoring the Pn data for the B section, it can be seen that there are higher ratios of medial field material for both Pn and N with the A section and a distinctly higher ratio for the N material in the B section. This is more in keeping with what would be expected about the language of this period, since there is a higher medial field figure for O with SCl than with CjCl, whereas with the combined DCl figures there is a lower figure.

Comparing the two *LH* sections against each other there is very little difference with regard to the totals. There is a 30% ratio for A against 28% for B when the medial field data are examined. The figures in table 12, above, showed the A section to have more SOV order than the B, but from the data in table 13 it can be

seen that *LH* (B) has a clearly higher ratio of N-type O in medial field compared to *LH* (A). This suggests that the B section is more archaic than the A section. The B section Pn data is very low - about 15 clauses, but it was noted earlier that the A section contains distinctly more Pn-type O and S material than the B section. This could in part explain why there is a higher medial field ratio for O in the A section. The other part of the explanation would be the skewing of the Pn data owing to high IF ratios for O in the B section. There are simply just not enough data for this specific situation to rely on the ratios that result. Again, concentrating only on the N-type O material, the data show that the B section has a lower terminal field ratio than the A section. This again suggests that the B section is slightly more archaic (or is more clearly maintaining a traditional style) than the A section. One point of note is that, in the RCl part of the table, it is the A section which has the greater ratio of medial field O and lower terminal field O. As argued above, it might be best to ignore the Pn-type O data, owing to the skewing of results caused by the high incidence of initial field O, however the N-type material is more reliable, even if the B section figures are a little low (23 clauses). The actual differences shown are somewhat low - 3% - but even so there is not the same trend seen as with the other data, with the A section appearing to be the more advanced text. It could be suggested that perhaps the RCl developed at a different rate than the SCl so that no real change was likely to be seen at this period. Unfortunately the smallness of the figures available for evidence here allows this to remain no more than a suggestion.

6.4 Summary

There seem to be signs here that the primary development towards O-final position (and hence to SVO order) took place most strongly with the N-type O. This is logical since weight, although a declining factor, still had an effect on the language and of course Pn-type O was more affected by givenness and more likely to appear in non-final position due to its light weight and retention of case. For

these same reasons, however, the appearance of greater amounts of light material, like pronouns, in later position was a sign of a development towards a later form of the language. It was also seen that there was variation in the development of the language in different clause types and how for instance the usages found in CjCls changed after the OE period, becoming more like ICls. This evidence suggested that the language of the *LH* text was later than that of the *CH*, but earlier than that of *SW*. It is also notable that such distinct syntactic changes should be so noticeable over a period of c.200 years, and certainly less than 100 years in the case of the comparison of *LH* and *SW*. This was no doubt due to the particular kinds of change the language was going through. That is, there was a period when the element order was variable though tending to SV/VS in ICls and SXV in other clauses and this changed in a few centuries to a tendency for a very stable element order, tending to SVO (V-3). It has to be remembered also that, up to the end of the eleventh century, a strong written tradition existed which preserved many aspects of the language - particularly the morphology - which was falling out of use in the spoken language. This is shown in the sudden change in the language of the text of the later *Peterborough Chronicle* (that of the twelfth century) compared to that of earlier parts of the *ASC*. So the changes shown may not have been quite so sudden as they appeared.

The evidence also suggests that the B section of the *LH* represents in some ways an earlier stage of the language than the A section, despite what has been argued by Sisam. Her evidence was based very much on the way in which different scribes have maintained the OE written tradition rather than the actual dating of the texts, which were copies of earlier material. The A section consists of a mixture of different kinds of texts which it would appear have undergone several copyings. On the other hand, the B section is more consistent in style and it is reasonable to assume it has not been recopied so often and when it was more care was taken in maintaining the style of the original. Even so there is also

evidence that the two sections were quite close in some ways, and more evidence to this effect will be seen in the following chapter.

It should be noted that in lOE, as represented by the *CH*, the most common element order was already SV, although it was by no means an SVO language since there was still considerable use of SOV - mainly in DCls - and VS order. The influence of weight and afterthought has been given in the past as reasons for the development of SVO order, but in themselves they would not be enough to cause such a change. What one can say is that these factors did contribute to the breakdown of clear SOV (V-final) order so that English developed first a freer element order which included SVO (or SVA) as a possibility. In a situation where word order was very free and morphology was becoming weak, it would have been natural for some new way of showing grammatical function to be developed. Since SVO ordering had developed as a possibility it would be logical, given the natural thematic and information ordering tendencies of language (which lead to S preceding O in many languages), for this to become first the most common order in the language and finally, after further loss of morphology, to perform the grammatical function it does in PDE. There was always the possibility, of course, that English might have developed to become a V-2 language, but other factors - such as development of relative Pns to distinguish DCls - operated against this.

Chapter 7. Clause position of Adverbials

7.1 Introduction.

This chapter concerns itself with the third of the three main non-verb elements of the clause, the Adverbial (adverbs and prepositional phrases as main elements of the clause). It represents an important factor in element order development, as it only in part follows the general tendencies seen so far in these studies. As was seen in chapter 5, topicalised Adverbials often resulted in inverted (V2) order; in fact it is a well-attested feature of early English that the majority of V-2 clauses which occur in the written record contain an initial Adverbial (e.g. Mitchell, 1985: 971-973). From the figures produced by the analysis of the *LH* text, the typical difference between AVS and OVS order can be seen.

Table 14.

	Total (ICl+CjCl)		Total (ICl+CjCl)
ASV	206 (55%)	OSV	41 (71%)
AVS	167 (45%)	OVS	17 (29%)

Two points can be made about these figures. First there is a much greater proportion of VS order with initial A than with initial O. Almost half are AVS order, compared to a little over a quarter OVS order. The other point - and this is important - is that there are far more clauses with initial A than with initial O. When inversion occurs, it occurs almost ten times more often with initial A than with initial O. These kinds of figures can vary but previous studies have noted the general preponderance of AVS order over OVS. Kohonen's data (1978) show that in the *CH*, *VV* and *SW* there was always more initial A material than initial O (compare for instance tables 8 and 12 in Kohonen's appendices).

One reason for this is the fact that Adverbials are more likely to be thematic or given than all Os except Pns. The O will usually be semantically linked closely to

the verb in the task of carrying the core meaning of the clause. Even when it precedes the verb it will rarely be the first element of a clause, hence with a V-final language the common word order is SOV. The Adverbial on the other hand usually carries additional meaning, describing for instance the manner or context in which the core meaning takes place. There is also the fact of the greater freedom of movement that has always been associated with Adverbials which must be considered, and which may at least partly account for the appearance of far more topicalised Adverbials than other elements. Another point is that Adverbials, unlike Os, cannot be mistaken for Subjects[52] and so can more easily be accommodated in initial position than the O when there is no clear case distinction. Naturally, the situation may have been different when English (or the pre-English Germanic dialect) had a fully functioning case system. However that question lies outside the scope of the present studies. Another point of interest is the change in variability of movement seen over time with Adverbials and this extra factor is one reason why this particular study is worthwhile. Factors important to this study are those of theme and givenness, which can influence whether an element appears initially in a clause, and weight, which affects the appearance of elements in all positions. After looking at these factors a discussion will follow as to what extent early English could at any time be regarded as a V-2 or TVX language. It should be noted that the tables in this chapter giving data on weight of Adverbials in the *LH* text were based on a sample of the whole text as there was not time to do the detailed tagging required for the whole text. Nevertheless they represent close to a third of the text and should be reliable for the general points which they are used to illustrate.

[52]Because the Adverbial is either a prepositional phrase or is morphologically distinct, e.g. without any noun inflection (which though weakening, still remained in many cases) and very often with its own typical morpheme attachment, *-lice* (*-ly* PDE).

7. 2 Factors influencing A position

Inter-sentential factors: theme and givenness

Although it is said that the position of the Adverbial is relatively free in PDE, and this is true compared to the other elements of clauses, in fact there are certain restrictions as to where they can appear. This is seen particularly in the number and kind that can appear in medial position (i.e. between S and main V). Work by Kohonen (1978) and others (e.g. Bean 1983, Davis 1991, Shores 1970, Swan 1991) has shown that much Adverbial material, not just O/Complement material, was moved over time from early/medial position in clauses to the end position. With O/Complement material, the end position became more or less fixed for grammatical reasons, so that topicalised Object/Complement material seems to the modern eye/ear particularly emphasised but topicalised A in initial position - performing much the same function - does not. In fact certain classes of Adverbial have developed in PDE which perform sentential and inter-sentential functions[53] and therefore tend to occur initially more than in other positions.

ex1. "However, nevertheless, meanwhile, therefore, typically, notwithstanding."

However, the main point here is that A material also shifted rightwards over time and this factor can be used to compare different texts. This movement is exemplified in these data from Kohonen from which the following tables have been extracted.

[53] See article on Adverbial development: Swan, in Kastovsky, 1991.

Table 15: position of Adverbial in clauses (from Kohonen, 1978).

CH	Initial	Medial	Final
ICl	286 (37%)	116 (15%)	372 (48%)
CjCl	22 (5%)	224 (51%)	194 (44%)
DCl	24 (4%)	368 (62%)	202 (34%)

SW	Initial	Medial	Final
ICl	37 (26%)	13 (9%)	92 (65%)
CjCl	12 (9%)	15 (11%)	108 (80%)
DCl	6 (4%)	48 (31%)	101 (65%)

N.B. headings: initial = pre V and pre S; medial = between S and V; final = post V; (V = main verb).

From these figures it can be seen that, from the period of the OE text, *CH* to that of *SW*, Adverbial material moved away from the early and medial positions in clauses to become preponderant in the final position. It may be noted that in both periods occurrences of the Adverbial in initial position are only really high in the ICls, with the DCls having the lowest ratio of A in initial position[54]. This agrees with the contention that such early material performs mainly a topicalisation and/or connective function in the text. Material performing such a function is relatively rarely to be found in non-ICls, since the ICl is where the sentence theme/topic is to be found. Other clauses in sentences are, generally, extensions of the theme/topic of the main clause; conjunctions and Pns tend to perform the connective function, usually to the ICl and any other related clauses. The important differences between the two texts above are therefore seen in the medial and final field data. Particularly noticeable are the data for medial fields in CjCls and DCls and this, of course, matches a similar reduction in medial O seen in

[54] An example of initial position Adverbial in a DCl is: "In halie chirche bo betere and wurse ... <C SCl>alse in hors-hus bo fule and clene". *LH* (B), VIII.

Chapter 4, 4.3. What is different is that although the amount of initial field Adverbial is reduced in the *SW* text, it is still fairly high. It may be noted that there is a small increase in the initial field Adverbial material shown in CjCls for *SW*. Such an increase, as was seen previously, is a result of a later CjCl usage one does not find in OE texts. There is a reduction of initial field material - notable, but not comparable with that seen with the medial fields - which on the face of it seems in keeping with the kind of developments examined in Chapter 4.

However, when one considers that PDE still makes frequent use of topicalised Adverbials even, as has just been stated, developing new Adverbials for connective/commenting purposes which very often appear in initial position in the clause, then one has to consider why there appears to be such a reduction. First, these new Adverbial types just mentioned are relatively recent developments and other factors have to be considered. For instance, the development of the cleft sentence by which topicalised heavy elements are highlighted for emphatic purposes by use of the phrases, "*There is/are; it is...*", so that such emphasised elements appear at the end of a short clause whose main purpose is to throw a particular element into relief.

ex2 "It was *near the lake* that we saw the creature." (PDE)

"*Near the lake* we saw the creature." (PDE and earlier English)

Of course, the latter example is perfectly possible today, but the point is that there is a choice that was not available in earlier periods, so that the chance of fronting of the Adverbial is reduced in PDE. The main point is that, during the eME period, cleft sentences using dummy subjects and the creation of many new connective/commenting Adverbials were developments still in their infancy. The tendency, in this early period, for non-Subject elements to move rightwards was a strong influence but a combination of light weight and/or topicalisation often caused them to appear earlier in medial or initial position.

Another factor to be considered here is the variability of the Adverbial position, even when medial position was becoming rare for this element. This can be seen by the figures for the *VV* text, which so far has been ignored for the purposes of clarity. There is a lower figure for initial A in *SW* than in the *CH*, but the *VV* has more initial A than either of these texts, having 46% to the *CH* ratio of 37%. This is unlikely to be a throwback to an earlier usage, for *VV* also has a lower ratio for medial A than either *SW* or the *CH*, that is 6% to the *SW* ratio of 9%. The *VV* text also displays a higher initial A ratio for CjCls than *SW*, this being a sign, as has been seen, of later language.

Now the data in the *LH* text must be examined.

Table 16: Adverbial position in the *LH*.

LH (A)	IF	MF	TF
ICl	126 (33%)	19 (5%)	240 (62%)
CjCl	70 (30%)	11 (5%)	155 (65%)
DCl	29 (5%)	103 (17%)	464 (78%)
LH (B)			
ICl	44 (29%)	4 (3%)	102 (68%)
CjCl	22 (25%)	3 (3%)	64 (72%)
DCl	9 (4%)	30 (13%)	194 (83%)

A curious thing about these data is that, whereas with all the other elements *SW* appeared to be a more ''advanced'' text than *LH*, here it is *LH* which seems most advanced, at least as far as medial A is concerned. If less use of early positioning of A - that is initial A and medial A - was a sign of more advanced language, then *SW* appears more advanced, for it has lower ratios than either of the *LH* sections. Also, looking at final position, *SW* has higher ratios of terminal field data than *LH* (A) in ICls and CjCls, but not in DCls. *LH* (B) has higher ratios for ICl and DCl, but lower for CjCls. These data, which to an extent

contradict what has been seen earlier, would appear to be a result of *SW* having far more medial A material. The problem then is to explain why there is this contradiction.

Such initial elements can be influenced by style, subject matter of the text and even the kind of material comprising the A. Factors such as the meaning and the weight of the A can have an effect on position as Kohonen showed[55]. The two *LH* sections are quite close to *CH* in ICl initial A, a sign perhaps of influence from OE texts. Initialisation of A for topicalisation purposes was a very notable feature of the OE texts and could easily have been retained while other changes were made. Of course, the Ælfric sermons were an important reference source of both subject matter and style for the early English scribe[56]. In the *LH* A section, for example, two copies of complete Ælfrician homilies are included which differ very little in syntax - except for some loss of morphology - from the originals.

ex3

"and God hom ledde ofer þa rede se; mid druge fotan. þa iwende pharaon þe king of þam londe efter heom ledde muchele ferde. þa þe heo comen on midden þere se. þa wes þet godes folc up of þere se agan. and god bisencte þa þe pharaon; and al his genge" *LH* IX.

"and God h lædde ofer a Readan sæ mid drium fotum. þa tengde se Pharao æfter mid mycelre fyrde Ða he com on middan ære sæ. þa wæs þæt Godes folc up agan and God besencte one Pharao and eal his werod"

Catholic Homilies: In die Sancto Pentecosten. (Thorpe 1844)

It is worth noting, though, that CjCls have much higher ratios of initial A than *CH*, and this is a sign of more advanced language since it shows such clauses

[55]See Kohonen 1978, Appendix 3: tables 10-12.
[56]See Wilson 1968, 106-109.

being considered more as a kind of ICl rather than a form of SCl. The lower ratio for *SW* is, however, puzzling, and one must suspect that the stylistic and semantic usage of the *SW* scribe was a factor in this.

In PDE some inter-sentential connective function is often performed by such sentence Adverbials as "nevertheless" - which is contrastive with a previous sentence - whereas in OE it was more often carried out by topicalised elements such as Adverbials (non-sentential) and Object/Complements. Of course deictic elements such as Pns played their part just as today. However, topicalisation is no longer possible to the extent it was in earlier times due in part to the loss of the OE case system - i.e. all Pn Os may be topicalised, but other Object/Complements only where the S is a Pn. Even where it is possible it is a rarer usage in PDE, due to the other options which are available in the modern language.

One important factor to consider is that OE used different, or rather more of different Adverbial material (Kohonen 1978, Swan 1991), in initial position compared to PDE. In the medial position, the situation is that OE allowed both more and different material (Kohonen 1978). This is another aspect of the development from SXV to SVX in English, since naturally at one time all X - material (A, O, I, C,) and S occurred pre-verb. Examples of medial Adverbial occurrence in OE are:

ex4 "7 hi ðær togædere fæstlice fengon" (SAAAP) (*ASC* 1004)

"7 se cyning Ælfred æfter þæm gehorsuda here mid fierde rad" (SAAP) (*ASC* 877)

"7 he lytle werode unieðelice æfter wudum for" (SAAAP) (*ASC* 878)

A distinct change from the later language can be seen in these examples. There are three elements in the first and third examples and the prepositional phrase acting as an Adverbial of direction in the second, both impossible in PDE. As was said previously, there is a change in both numbers and kind[57] of Adverbial elements which can occur in medial position over time. The simplest of these to examine is the number of elements, seen in the previous tables, above, from Kohonen and the data from the analysis of the *LH* text.

An examination of Adverbial types would help but is not possible, but an examination of numbers of elements in Adverbials would help. A full examination of Adverbials in all positions was not possible, but a more limited examination of data from SAV order for all clause types and an examination of initial versus final position for ICls only is feasible and this may shed some light on the problem.

Weight

Another factor which is important for diachronic comparison of texts is that of both weight and number of Adverbials which appear in particular positions. In OE several adverbs or prepositional phrases could occur together in positions other than post-V, including medial position, whereas in PDE most "long" sequences of Adverbial material would occur in final position, at least in everyday speech. In PDE two or more[58] Adverbials can occur in initial position but normally only one - usually light, or at least only a single word - in medial position.

ex5 *Nevertheless, when he'd decided, somehow it seemed clear*
The man naturally wished to try it out beforehand

[57]For instance it would be impossible to use an place adverb like "there" medially in PDE the way it is used in the first example above.

[58] This occurs rarely with heavy material, normally only in a literary work, and usually making use of sentence Adverbials which were rare in earlier English. So in fact although no longer affecting outcome of S, V, O elements (since PDE is almost always SVO), weight has not totally disappeared as an influence on element position.

This process can be seen to have been well underway in the eME period if the figures for the *LH* texts, and that of *SW* below, (tables 16 and 17) are compared. As was seen in chapters 5 and 6, there was a tendency for heavy elements to appear at the end of sentences and light elements to appear in initial or medial position (between S and V). Over time, as SVO order developed, the tendency for any but light elements to appear in medial position reduced so that any sign of heavy medial elements appearing in this position is suggestive of older language. This was a feature of the development from OE to ME which continued through ME until anything in this position except certain light medial As became rare. A sign of the development from eME to ME (and later language) is that light, non-S elements will start to appear in later position, and heavy S will appear more and more in initial position. A similar feature to look for, even though Adverbials can appear in a variety of positions, is a growing preponderance of heavier Adverbial elements in final position. This may not always be straightforward as the tendencies of topicalisation still remained strong and could result in differences between texts even of the same period.

Before any data is examined, a few points must first be made about the make-up of the tables seen below. One-word Adverbials are simply adverbs; other examples are, in the main, prepositional phrases - e.g. *in wudum, at ðam tide* - although occasionally modifier plus adverb can appear - e.g. *swiðeliche wel* - or even using case instead of preposition - *mildere steuene*. The assumption made after examining these texts is that phrases which are written as separate words are meant to be spoken as if they were separate words. This would mean that some stress is carried by each word in the phrase. It would be expected that a phrase written as a single word has main stress on one syllable and light or no stress on the others. It is not possible to be sure from textual evidence alone whether an unusually long single word may not have enough combined stress (adding together the main stress plus the light stress) to match that of, for instance, a

phrase consisting of two or three very short words. However, such examples would be small in number and an analysis based on stress patterns, rather than word count, would not necessarily have been more accurate since it is not possible to be sure how stress was patterned simply by analysing a written text. Naturally, three word material is comprised mainly of prepositional phrases of the form "pr/det/H" or "pr/M/H". The following examples are from the *LH* text.

ex6 *On oðer stude* *Of rihte ileue*
Of clene Lif *Ine þe Sune*

and 4-plus word material usually consists of the above plus extra determiner and/or modifiers,

ex7 *Of þe Halie Fulht* *Et þe chirche dure*

and this also includes Adverbials containing RCl modifiers and Adverbials = ACls.

Some single word elements may occasionally seem to match two or three word elements in numbers of syllables, hence in weight. However it should be remembered that in most of these cases the stress patterns would very likely show more regular emphasis of alternate syllables (and endings such as final "e" which are ignored today were pronounced in early English) in multi-word elements than with single words where there would be more likelihood of compression of pronunciation. Undoubtedly there will be a few instances when this is not the case and the single word element matches in weight some multi-word elements comprised of several short words. Nevertheless without performing the much more detailed and difficult task of matching elements by syllable count and stress on syllables - and it is not always possible to be sure where heavy stress will fall - it is not possible to avoid this problem. The analysis as given here at least

matches reasonably closely that done by Kohonen and so a useful comparison can be made.

The data from the *LH* text are designed to match that of Kohonen in the way it was compiled, but they are based mainly on a selection from the *LH* rather than the whole text itself. The exception is that of medial A since the amount of this kind of material was so low that extra analysis was performed to capture all examples from the *LH* text for this feature; for the same reason, with medial A, a full range of clauses is examined. With the initial and final A elements (tables 19 (a and b) below) attention is focused on the ICl only. Combined, the *LH* selections represent a reasonable proportion of the text - they consist of more clauses than for instance the *SW* data from Kohonen (1978, 232), seen below. However the separate section for B may not be very reliable, owing to the low level of data in some subdivisions of the table.

Table 17 a) and b): analysis of Adverbial numbers in medial field.

LH (A)

No. of Words	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 word	16 (84%)	8 (73%)	74 (72%)	98 (74%)
2 "	3 (16%)	-	20 (19%)	23 (17%)
3 "	-	3 (27%)	9 (9%)	12 (9%)
4 "	-	-	-	-
Totals	19	11	103	133

LH (B)

No. of Words	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 word	3 (75%)	-	17 (57%)	20 (54%)
2 "	-	-	10 (33%)	10 (27%)
3 "	-	2 (66%)	2 (7%)	4 (11%)
4 "	1 (25%)	1 (33%)*	1 (3%)	3 (8%)
Totals	4	3	30	37

*Includes RCl in phrase.

Table 18 a) and b): No. of words in APs for *CH/SW*, extracted from Kohonen's original data.

CH	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 words	49 (43%)	75 (33%)	109 (30%)	233 (33%)
2 "	29 (25%)	54 (24%)	107 (29%)	190 (27%)
3 "	25 (22%)	68 (30%)	121 (33%)	214 (30%)
4 + "	11 (10%)	28 (12%)	29 (8%)	68 (10%)
Totals	114	225	366	705

ratio of As to clauses = 40:100

SW	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 words	6 (46%)	8 (53%)	27 (56%)	41 (54%)
2 "	4 (30%)	2 (13%)	12 (25%)	18 (24%)
3 "	2 (15%)	1 (7%)	7 (15%)	10 (13%)
4 + "	1 (8%)	4 (27%)	2 (4%)	7 (9%)
Totals	13	15	48	76

ratio of As to clauses = 16:100

The data shown in the tables above are for medial Adverbials only. Just as with medial Object/Complement, medial Adverbial showed a declining tendency

to occur as sequences of more than one or two words. It is also clear from the totals of the data extracted from Kohonen that the *CH* had more 3 and 4-plus material than *SW* and *SW* had more 1 word material than the *CH*. This is what one would expect since in OE sequences of Adverbials in medial position were much more common than in ME, and by the later period SAV order was only common with single Adverbials. The data for ICls and CjCls are problematic. Owing to the very low actual figures here (except with the *CH*), it is best to be careful with conclusions drawn from these data and consider the DCls and the totals as the most reliable information[59]. The number of Adverbials consisting of more than one word in medial position has declined between the period of the *CH* and that of *SW*. In contrast the *SW* shows much more (+ c.20%) medial A consisting of a single word. This fits in with the general movement of "X" material in SXV order rightward to form SVX order, and particularly - at first - that of heavier material. These differences are seen really only in the CjCls and DCls. This is partially explained by the previously established patterns where it is seen that such movement occurs earlier with ICls and at a later stage spreads to other clause types. This was particularly seen with SXV order, since by late OE the period ICls had become very much SV order rather than SXV order and this trend is seen to continue with the texts here. Evidence in chapters 5 and 6, above, supported the view that, by the eME period, English was becoming very like an SVX language, even in the DCls. This is seen, not just in the fact that SV order was the majority order, but because, even where a fairly high amount of SXV order was to be found, (e.g. in the DCls where there was for instance c.27% SOV order[60]) this consisted mainly of light material. Once the language developed further towards SVO order, such light material also began to move to final position (except where it was subject or thematic) and this is the sign of the

[59] Though these figures in table 17 are based on a search of the whole of each section.
[60] table 2a, above (chapter 4 & 6).

beginning of the true SVO language. It will be necessary to examine late and final position for the Adverbial, to see to what extent it fits in with this development.

The *LH* data shows the vast majority of its medial A elements to occur in the DCls and the majority of these to be single Adverbial elements. With *LH* (A) one seems to see more advanced language than *SW*, something a little different from the previous evidence. This is seen in the greater number of elements consisting of more than one word which appear medially in *SW*. Figures for the ICls and CjCls in the *LH* (B) data must be used with great care - as they consist only of a total of 7 clauses; however the figures for DCls and the totals seem to be much closer to that of *SW*. Even here, however, the *SW* data have more A elements with 3 or more words in them. It should be pointed out that the fact that these figures for medial A are so low may be significant. That is, it could be that the *LH* (B) text contains so few examples because it used medial A less often than either *SW* or *LH* (A). It should always be borne in mind that both the *LH* (B) and *SW* are both clearly more advanced in the feature of medial A than the *CH* text. So the point is to explain the difference between texts relatively close chronologically to each other. It may be that this is only a matter of style, since it could be a personal preference whether or not to use Adverbials, or at least whether or not to use a particular form - i.e. adverb, phrase or clause - and this would naturally affect where in the clause the Adverbial occurred at this period of the language's development.

The *LH* (A) text is seemingly more advanced than *SW* with regard to this medial A data - for instance 74% of the 1-word As are in medial position compared to 54% for the *SW*. *LH*'s section B data, at least in the totals, is not too far away from that of *SW*, so apparently neither is less advanced than *SW*. This contradicts the evidence above regarding the general movement of Adverbial material towards final position, where SW seems (except for B) the more 'advanced'. It shows the problem of dealing with Adverbial material at this intermediate period, where position in the clause is dependent on various factors

some of which may be present in some texts but not in others. It is possible that the most likely explanation is that *SW* overall is at least slightly more advanced than *LH* in this feature (seen by the general figures) but that *SW* makes much more use of Adverbial material which is semantically more likely to occur in medial position than other kinds of A. That *LH* (A) text should be more advanced than *LH* (B) text fits in with the some of the earlier data, which showed section A as being more advanced at phrase level, despite contradictory evidence from the clause level element order data.

However, any conclusions drawn from these data, some of which contain the relatively low numbers given here, must be of necessity rather tentative, especially where use of Adverbials are concerned. The position of the various Adverbials very much depended, even in the earlier forms of English, on the semantic content of the Adverbial as well as its weight. It should be noted also that weight alone does not account for medial position of the A element. It may be assumed that such elements in medial position are non-thematic, or the S element is the main theme (and is perhaps also given). Certainly, heavier A material might be expected to be information that would appear finally - or would appear initially if topicalised - and heavy medial A becomes rarer throughout this period. Thus the medial position would appear to be a somewhat neutral position in this regard, tending as time went on to contain only light, non-thematic material. As heavy material became less frequent in this position and more non-S material of all weights became more common in final position, the notion (which would have been an unconscious expectation of language users) that the VP part of the sentence should have VX order rather than XV would take hold. This is of course a necessary part of the development towards true SVO order, but the point to be made here is that language users tend to avoid having material between the VP elements, the verb and its complement. This was mentioned earlier (chapter 2, 2.3 ii), but is also a reason why heavier A elements - along with O - tended to

move to the right[61]. There was a further development along these lines, which would have been new at this period whereas the development just mentioned was ongoing through the OE period. There would have been a growing dislike of having too much material between the S and the VP, although SXV continued as a valid word-order for a few centuries. This developed to the situation of PDE where medial elements are rare except for certain types of Adverbial. It may be that the differences between the *LH* (A) text and the *SW* text are due to a greater preponderance of certain types of A in the former text. A much more detailed analysis of Adverbial material including these factors is obviously required before anything really definite can be concluded.

While examining the medial Adverbial data on its own, it was necessary to some extent to ignore other factors such as theme. This was due mainly to the low figures for medial A in ICls, which are the clauses on which most of the study of theme must concentrate. However, when data showing the variance between data in initial and final field are examined, such factors can be taken into account because there are enough data to allow such factors to be considered. Thus the idea that theme, givenness and other factors could result in elements which were not light being drawn to the initial position in a clause can be tested. Such factors affected the ICls most strongly, so only ICls are examined in the following tables.

Table 19. (a) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in *LH* (A)

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	27 (84%)	4 (31%)	12 (28%)	3 (8%)
Final Position	5 (16%)	9 (69%)	31 (72%)	33 (92%)

[61]As was stated earlier, developments of post-modifiers involved prepositional phrases and RCls, which would fit more easily in post-verb position, since these would otherwise come between the verb and its complement.

Table 19. (b) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in *LH* (B)

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	34 (81%)	2 (15%)	6 (20%)	4 (18%)
Final Position	8 (19%)	11 (85%)	24 (80%)	18 (82%)

Table 20. (a) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in the *CH*

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	217 (84%)	32 (28%)	18 (10%)	20 (18%)
Final Position	40 (16%)	83 (72%)	159 (90%)	92 (82%)

Table 20. (b) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in *SW*

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	16 (43%)	9 (29%)	3 (14%)	9 (23%)
Final Position	21 (57%)	22 (71%)	18 (86%)	30 (77%)

These data show that in one respect the A material followed the same pattern as the other elements examined so far in that a clear tendency is seen for heavy material to be found in the final, post-V, position and light material to be found in the initial position. Above it was seen that, in this period, the clauses with medial A most often had light material also. It must be remembered also that givenness and newness of information also tends to follow this pattern and is to an extent a complementary influence. This pattern also applies to the natural tendency to order things by theme and rheme, but in this case theme can sometimes be a new - or heavy - element more usually to be found as part of the rheme. This is when topicalisation occurs. Some of the effect of this can be seen in the above tables since, in *LH* (A), 15 out of 46 examples (in initial position) have 3 or more words while in *LH* (B) it is 10 out of 46. There are obviously much smaller ratios when the As in final position are also considered. The point however is that despite the data agreeing with the accepted trend towards non-S material appearing later, in

the post-V position of the clause - although still tending to be heavy rather than light - it is still possible for heavy material to appear initially and this is usually due to topicalisation.

It should be noted that with the one word elements in the above table, the data for the *LH* texts match quite closely that of the *CH*. The *LH* (A) text is also close to that of *CH* with the 2 word element data. When the data for 3 or more word elements are examined however, one sees that there is a difference between the figures for the *LH* texts and that of the *CH* which suggests that the *LH* data may show slightly more advanced language in this feature. There is a problem however with this particular breakdown of the data. For instance, with the 3 word element data (and to a lesser extent the 2 word data) there are clear differences which would suggest more advanced language for the *LH* texts. The *LH* (B) text has 10% more such material and the *LH* (A) text 18% more material than the *CH* for Adverbial in initial position. However, with the data for 4 words and more, *LH* (B) matches the *CH* and *LH* (A) seems less advanced than the *CH* with only 8% of such data in initial position compared to the *CH*'s 18%. This means of course that *CH* shows more sign of weight influence with 3 word elements than it does for 4-plus word elements, and the reverse is the case for the *LH* (A) with *LH* (B) remaining similar to the *CH* text in this feature.

Since earlier evidence with the O did not give such a problem, it seems logical to assume that one main difference here lies in the greater likelihood of the Adverbial element being thematic, which was mentioned in the previous section. This would suggest that in a text with a style which tended to use more Adverbials, and, in particular, use topicalisation as a discourse tool (for emphasis, connection, building thematic concepts) it would be quite possible for a certain distortion of the expected weight distribution of elements to occur. Indeed it may have been a necessary factor in the development of SVX order, since it would counteract the expectation that weight should always be distributed purely in a light-heavy order across the clause. Otherwise orders like OSV and SOV with O

Pn might have lasted much longer and much more inverted order might have survived into PDE. If figures for all Adverbial elements with 3 or more elements are combined the data makes more sense in the context of the evidence of previous chapters. In initial position *LH* (A) and (B) have 17% and 19% respectively, *SW* has 20% and the *CH* has 13%. This fits in better with the known dating of the texts since there is a steady increase in the amount of heavy material appearing in initial position over the time period. So when the most general analysis is applied, the data are closer to the pattern seen with the O element types - the pattern that would be expected. However, the combined lighter elements show the figures to be very similar for the *LH* and *CH* texts - 31%, 33% and 33% for the *LH* (A) *LH* (B) and *CH* texts respectively.

Another factor that should be mentioned is that unlike with the O, more than one Adverbial element could appear in a clause. This meant that if every heavy element in a clause appeared at the end a clause might be unbalanced. The Germanic languages have a particular rhythm so that the light/heavy balance goes not just across the clause but also across phrases. It is possible that, in conjunction with the tendency for some Adverbials to be thematic, there might also be a "weight distribution" tendency so that elements of varying weight are spread about the clause in a balanced pattern. Certainly, since weight was a tendency and not a strict rule, one can imagine that, whenever more than one heavy element was to appear in a clause, the distinction between a heavy element and a slightly heavier element may not have been important. Therefore the variation seen above between the heavier weights of elements may be due simply to chance and only the overall tendency may be significant.

It is notable that, while *SW* shows a big difference compared with *CH*, the *SW* and *LH* texts are much closer; although there are some similarities between the *CH* and the *LH* texts, the differences there are greater than that between the *LH* texts and *SW*. One would expect to find similarities in one grouping not found, or found to a lesser degree, in the other grouping. An example of this is the data for

1 word material in the above tables. With these data it is seen that the *LH* text matches the *CH* text very closely in terms of light Adverbial material, the vast majority - 80% - appearing in initial position, whereas with *SW* the figure is 43%, with the other 57% of light material in final position. This would suggest that *SW* is a more advanced text than the *LH* texts. The increase in the appearance of light material in final position is a sign of the development towards a true SVO type of language. A kind of SVX order was possible in OE, but the appearance of elements after the V was very much affected by weight. When elements begin to appear in post-V final position regardless of weight, a situation exists when the true SVO language can develop. It should be remembered that the *LH* texts are collections of texts, some - although adapted - based on texts originating from an earlier period. This would tend to make them display some features more typical of texts produced in an earlier period. The large difference in the light material though suggests that even so it must be assumed that the *SW* represents language more advanced than that of the *LH*.

Looking back to chapter 6, section 6.3, it will be seen that this reduction in the effect of weight matches to some extent what was seen with light and heavy O material (see table 11). The only difference is that there is more of a distinction seen (for light material) between the *LH* and *CH* texts than is apparent here. There are some possible reasons for this. First, the comparison between the two is not exact: all the light O elements are Pns which are by their nature mostly monosyllabic. A small number of the light A material is multi-syllabic, hence the comparison between the two may be inexact. Another inexactness that will exist is due to the fact that the earlier figures show IF, MF and TF divisions all together whereas in this chapter the MF has been split off for the purposes of the earlier discussion. These can be recombined for ICls here to give a more accurate figure. It should be remembered that while the medial figures above (tables 19 and 20) were from the whole text, these data is taken from the selection of the text. Because the *LH* (B) figures for the whole text were so low (see table 16), the

corresponding figures here are possibly not a good match. The *LH* (A) figures on the other hand seem a much better match. The ratio is a little higher than that of the earlier table, but here the data are concentrated on light A elements and so that is to be expected. If *LH* (B) had contained more medial A material in the ICls a similar increase should have been seen here, but the ratio remains almost the same. This still gives something worthwhile comparing with the O Pn data as the rest of the figures consist of reasonable amounts.

Table 21 (1 word Adverbials in ICls)

	IF	MF	TF
LH (A)	27 (68%)	8 (20%)	5 (12%)
LH (B)	34 (79%)	1 (2%)	8 (19%)
CH	216 (71%)	48 (16%)	40 (13%)
SW	16 (37%)	6 (14%)	21 (49%)

These data point up some similarities, as well as some clear differences between the light A element data and that of the Pn O data seen in the previous chapter. There, Pn O appeared medially in 58% of *LH* (A) and 39% of *LH* (B) of ICls and it appeared in final position in both LH sections for more than 30% of ICls. This shows that the tendency of A to be a thematic element in a clause - plus the naturally freer movement of A elements counteracted the trend for lighter material to move towards the end of the clause. Although the *LH* (B) evidence may seem a little weaker because of the very low medial data, the fact that it has higher ratios of light A in both initial and terminal fields than the *CH* does suggest that it may be a little more advanced than the *CH* text. What is odd with these data is that *LH* (A) appears less advanced than the *CH* text in the MF and is very close in the TF. The figures in table 19 (a) above also showed *LH* (A) to be very like the *CH* text in this feature. Since the O Pn data in chapter 6 seems more

consistent with what one would expect from such data it is necessary to try to explain this.

It was seen at the start of this chapter that initial A occurs far more often than initial O as the A represents a wider variety of possible thematic ideas whereas the O is more likely to represent a part of the rheme (being connected to the VP as part of S VP ordering). When such an element also has thematic value, it will appear initially, but if not and it is a light element, it will very likely appear medially - although possibly it could occur in the IF but not as the first element. However, it is likely that most A elements occurring in the initial field whether as the first word or not have some thematic purpose. It can be seen that the *LH* (A) text has a high medial A count, however its having a larger medial A figure than the *CH* may be down simply to it having fewer topicalised light A elements than the other text. It would appear however to be more in line with the *CH* text with regard to the level of final light A material. This no doubt is partly a result of the fact that the *LH* is in many ways a mixed text with older material combined with material more contemporary with the period the text was written down. It also illustrates the fact that language changes do not occur all at once, but are usually piecemeal, large changes being built up out of many small ones.

This shows the problem that can arise when the distinctions between different texts may be affected by stylistic factors and in these particular kinds of texts the use of certain Adverbial types and forms and the tendency to topicalise such forms was a distinctive stylistic feature. Another contributing cause could be the structure as a whole and the subject matter of each text, which could result in certain themes being prevalent in one text and not in the other. If some themes are better expressed as Adverbials - i.e. concepts such as time and space - then a larger amount of Adverbial themes in initial position might be seen. Some of these ideas may only be able to be expressed as prepositional phrases, there being no distinct suitable word, bringing about a situation where an unusual amount of heavier material of one type may be seen. It should be borne in mind that the *LH*

texts continued a tradition which Ælfric helped develop and which became an important influence on later OE texts. Indeed it has been pointed out (chapter 4 above) that the *LH* text even contained pieces of text by Ælfric adapted to varying degrees and this shows how strong the influence was. This may mean that similar themes and even turns of phrase could recur in later texts, such as the *LH*, because they were part of that tradition. Finally, the contradictory evidence seen here may be a result of the low figures seen for the *LH* texts and *SW* which may mean that certain features are being exaggerated.

7.3 Initial A and inversion

There is a problem in finding suitable comparison data from the Kohonen data used so far (which is about the best). Only two studies of suitable data make comparisons taking account of the effect of topicalised elements on word order. These are Marion Bean's *Development of Word Order Patterns in OE* (1983) and George Davis's *Studies in the Element Order of Selected Works of Ælfric* (1991). Bean's main data are derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*ASC*), but this covers a very wide period: an extract from it of data about a single period would be limited. Also, the *ASC* itself tends to maintain particular stylistic features which are peculiar to itself, some possibly archaic. A selection from the period c900 - c1050 gives ratio of 12% XSV to 88% XVS[62]. It is very likely that the *ASC* maintained this as traditional style, scribes copying what they saw in earlier chronicles which go back to the earliest OE period[63]. Such a high incidence of one particular order especially in a text which shows a limited range of style, would agree with the arguments previously made regarding the likelihood of a deliberate maintaining of a linguistic feature. As a result, use was made of Davis' figures, which are based on a large selection of homilies by Ælfric and are

[62]Figures calculated from Bean's tables.

[63]The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle represents a tradition of linguistic usage which was fairly well maintained (despite some variation which Bean has shown) from the ninth century, but incorporating earlier material, until the eleventh century. Then, as is seen in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, this tradition broke down and more contemporary language was used.

therefore very suitable for comparison. However, a word of caution must be given since he only gives figures for clauses which have some other element besides A, S and V[64]. His particular study does not give comparable figures for ASV/AVS where these are the only elements; however, they are based on a large selection of text and should still make a reasonable basis for comparison. The figures from Davis are for ICls only.

Before the relevance of this to the *LH* A and B comparison is discussed, it should be noted that even in an OE text, albeit one of a late period, a large proportion of SV order with initial A is seen. The figures above from the *ASC* show that there has been a trend away from the much more common inversion (to VS order) of earlier periods. David Shores' analysis of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1970) shows figures (admittedly for combined ICl/CjCl data) quite close to those of Kohonen for the *CH*[65]. However when the *Peterborough Chronicle* is examined focusing on clauses with initial A, the resulting data seem more archaic in appearance than the Ælfric material examined by Davis and Kohonen.

Table 22: *Peterborough Chronicle.*

Order	Number/Ratio
ASV	28 / 22%
AVS	98 / 78%

When this is compared with the data for the earlier period of the *ASC* given earlier, there appears a shift of 10% from VS to SV order with initial A, suggesting that even this very notable feature of the *ASC* was changing under the influence of the later language. Of course there is not enough information about the weight of the A and S elements in the clauses to be sure if this is really a

[64]Since he was considering the effect of the weight of other elements in clauses on the element order outcome.

[65]See tables 3a & b above. Shores data comes out as: SV=55%; SXV=6%; VS=39%.

significant difference but, considering how the other data from the *LH* sections show a development towards an increase in ASV order, one would be inclined to believe that it is. The *Peterborough Chronicle* of about c.1122-1155 shows clear signs in this and in other ways of the break-up of the long maintained traditional style and language of the *ASC* and is seen as an example of the beginning of eME. The nearness of the *Peterborough Chronicle* - in its ICls/CjCls - to the *CH* of Ælfric (although more detailed analysis shows some differences, for instance in DCls the much lower levels of SXV order in the *Peterborough Chronicle*) is not so surprising since only just over a century separates them, whereas the earlier *ASC* maintains traditional features which stretch back several centuries to the earliest period of Old English as a written language. This is an important point because there has been much discussion about whether English was at one point in its history a V-2 language.

As was said in the introduction to this chapter, initial Adverbials are a common feature of V-2 clauses. However they are also found in initial position with SVO order at all stages of English from OE to ME. This raises the question as to whether English at any time in this period could have been considered a V-2 language like, for instance modern German. First of all, the occurrence of V-2 type clauses at different stages of the language should be considered, beginning with OE. Data used in earlier chapters can give us the required information. The first of these tables shows the table from chapter 6 which includes the overall ratio of V-2 order in lOE, or at least in one of the most typical texts of the lOE period. The latter includes new data from Davis (1991), which gives information that is not available from the Kohonen data, that is, the variance between SV and VS order where initial A occurs.

Table 3 (a)

ICls	CH	SW
SV	52%	70%
S-V	10%	6%
VS	38%	24%

Table 23. (Ælfric's Homilies)

ICls	CH and SH
ASV	175 (40%)
AVS	267 (60%)

The table above gives a ratio of 60/40 for AVS order in IOE in ICls, a majority figure, although ASV was still a common order. The fact that the more general data for VS order have a lower ratio than the data including only clauses with initial A is evidence that the majority of V-2 clauses involved an initial Adverbial. It may be noted that the figure for *SW* shows a reduction in VS order and a clear move towards SV order. There are no initial A data for *SW* to match that of the *CH* data so it will be necessary to rely mainly on the data from the *LH* text. Before examining these it should be noted that the equivalent to the table 3 (a) figures (for ICls only) in the *LH* text sections are 74% SV, 26% VS order for the A section and 72% SV, 28% VS order for the B section (Chapter 4, section 4.3 above). This is clearly very close to the figure for *SW* making the *LH* a reasonably representative text for the eME part of the comparison.

By referring back to table 14 above it will be seen that in the *LH* texts (sections A and B) the ratios for ICls plus CjCls are 55% ASV and 45% AVS which is moving towards a reversal of what is seen in the Ælfric Homilies. To ensure the comparison is as valid as possible ICls alone should be considered and this gives ratios as follows.

Table 24.

ICls	*LH* (A)	*LH* (B)	Totals (A + B)
ASV	96 (52%)	35 (42%)	131 (48%)
AVS	90 (48%)	49 (58%)	139 (52%)

With these data it can be seen that, by the eME period, the proportions have to some extent reversed themselves. Where AVS was the most common order with initial A, it can be seen that now the majority of ICls with initial A show SV order. The amount of VS order with initial A here is far greater than is seen when all ICls are examined, so this stronger tendency for inversion with initial A is seen to continue into the eME period. In fact this tendency has been such a strong feature of English historically that a remnant of it is still to be seen in PDE where a small number of Adverbials occurring initially can still be accompanied with inversion of SVVS order.

ex8 *On the table lay a book.*
Then came the dawn.

However the fact that the ratio between ASV and AVS order is starting to reverse itself suggests that such inversion is a tendency that is gradually weakening during the lOE → ME period. This, then, suggests that English could only have been a V-2 language in the OE period, if it ever was[66]. A certain amount of flexibility on this question must be allowed since it has already been stated that languages rarely match perfectly, if at all, the typical typological forms that are often assigned to them. There would be no argument over this if, in the whole range of extant texts from OE, initial A or O was always (or almost always) accompanied by inverted order. This is not the case, as the data, for instance that

[66]There have been claims for a period of V-2 order in ME and this is discussed briefly below.

in table 23, shows. However, a more flexible definition of a V-2 language may still allow this to be considered a valid notion for some period of early English.

Some of those who belong to the Transformational Grammar (TG) school have suggested that much of the XSV evidence above, which apparently disproves a V-2 type for early English, can be explained away by the idea of a clitic Pn. The most recent TG consensus for English word order (as expressed by Stockwell and Minkova 1991; Jucker 1990) is as follows. OE had an SOV base element order, with a strong V-2 constraint in the Main Clauses. By the eME period (c1200) it had developed into a V-2 base order proper, which continued through the ME period (till c1400). This was followed by a changeover to SVO (V-3) order which exists in PDE. This gives two major re-analyses of the language in a little over two centuries, and during this period various new TG rules need to be created and then "lost" to account for various element orders which commonly occur but which are inconsistent with the theory of a true V-2 language.

The claim that the S Pn is a clitic when it appears in V-3 forms during a supposed V-2 period is meant to account for a great deal of seemingly contradictory data. For a twelfth century date this is clearly wrong. Not only is there is clear evidence of OSV and ASV order at this period, including from the LH text, as can be seen in the tables above, but many of these clauses contain subjects which are not Pns and so cannot possibly be explained away by the clitic argument[67]. The following examples (which are by no means a full listing of all such clauses) are strong contrary evidence. It should be noted that there are examples of heavy A elements, as well as light ones, beside the heavy subjects.

ex9

ASVA "Swa longe þe deofle wunað swa inne þesunfulle men" (*LH* III)

ASVO "Sunnedei God sende manna" (*LH* XIV)

[67]Perhaps the error results from examining a limited coverage of available texts: some texts used an archaic style, or by accident of the thematic forms used tended to have more inversion, and within one text could make V-2 order seem more consistent than it truly was in general.

ASVA "Bluðeliche þe mon wile gan to scrifte" (*LH* III)

ASVO "Þus þe deofel wule bilesnien þe wreche" (*LH* II)

ASVO "Onforward þos Cristendomes ech man leornede his bileue" (*LH* VII)

The following tables examine the kind of data given above in more detail.

Table 25[68]

A

ICl	Total	H/H	L/L	H/L	L/H	AAH	AAL	+SH	+SL
ASV	96	17	26	40	7	6	0	2	4
AVS	82	18	24	4	30	8	0	7	1

In ASV, there is 1 negative (AASV); in AVS, 12: 5 in H/H, 3 in both L/L and H/L; 2 in L/H

B

ICl	Total	H/H	L/L	H/L	L/H	AAH	AAL	+SH	+SL
ASV	35	10	11	12	2	0	0	0	0
AVS	47	24	1	0	20	2	0	2	0

The weight data above can help to some extent. That is, if there is anything in the arguments mentioned above regarding cliticised Pns, the data should show, in most cases of ASV order, a subject Pn. This is because otherwise the apparent evidence for a clitic might be explained purely in terms of weight, as light subject Pns would tend to stay in the pre-verb position and other (heavy) subjects move to the post-verb position, at least where there was also an initial Adverbial, and particularly where the Adverbial is heavy.

[68]Key: X/Y (e.g. H/H) refers to A/S: if H, then heavy; if L, then light (S = Pn in this case). For AAS (last four columns) figures refer to: (for AA) if H then 1 A at least is heavy, if L then both As are light. S figures show simply numbers of heavy or light S elements. N.B. initial, single As = ACl are ignored.

As can be seen, most strongly in the *LH* (A) text, there are enough data showing light A/S Pn with VS order to suggest that the notion of a clitic Pn being responsible for the ASV order seen is incorrect. There are 29 such examples out of the 129 clauses showing AVS order, about 1/5th of the total. Even stronger counter-evidence is the data which shows both initial A alongside a heavy S (i.e. S which is not a Pn) since a full noun-element can not be explained away as a clitic. Out of all the clauses showing ASV order in the above table, there are 36 such clauses from a total of 131. These figures are not large, but they are large enough to show that although ASV order subjects tended to be Pns, other noun-elements could occur here and Pn subjects could also appear in AVS order. This could not be the case if the S Pn was truly a clitic. This combined evidence shows that the clitic Pn explanation, which attempts to prove that ASV order seen in early English is only apparent and not real, does not hold up for the eME period. It may on the other hand hold up for the OE period, and certainly there is far more VS order to be seen in this period. It is not one of the aims of this dissertation to discuss the state of OE in detail, but a few points can be made. OE certainly showed fewer examples of ASV order with S type nouns, but examples did occur: for instance the following from Ælfric's *Parable of the Vineyard*[69].

ex10

"Soðlice Godes wingeard is Israhela hiwæden"

"Witodlice ðæs hiredes ealdor gehyrde wyrhtan into his wingearde"

There is, unlike with the eME evidence above, an explanation which could explain away this kind of example and this will be discussed shortly. The argument for a full-blown V-2 typology for OE, however, is weakened by the fact that both light A and S Pn can occur with AVS order, just as they can with ASV order. A few examples are

[69]Quoted from Sweet's *Anglo Saxon Reader*, 1967: 62.

ex11

"Þa ongunnon hi to ceorigenne ongean" Sweet p61)

"Nu hæfð he þone wurðmynt" (Sweet p84)

These show that S Pn could exist in OE with both ASV and AVS order, and this is sufficient to cast doubt on the possibility of a S Pn clitic in this earlier period. The evidence for the S Pn always being a clitic is not strong enough since it requires all Pns which are likely to occur as subjects (i.e. all the nominative Pns: *ic, we, he, hi, hie, þu, eowe*) be clitics and also that the clitic can attach itself either before or after the verb in various conditions. Although there is some textual evidence of some Pns behaving like clitics, it is inconsistent and not found over the full range of nominative Pns. A full study has been made by Koopman (1992), specifically to test the claims of Van Kamenade (1987), and the resultant article - which gives many examples - came to the conclusion that the case for Pn clitics in OE cannot be proved. There is some evidence for *Þu* being a clitic (and much less for *hit*) as reduced forms of the word are found, which is what might be expected of a clitic since it attaches itself to another element. The other evidence he finds variable; for instance, there is evidence that some pronouns are not clitics since they are modified, co-ordinated, or a complement of the verb. Obviously a clitic, being attached to one element, cannot be detached to form relationships with any other elements. Koopman's discussion is much broader than the specific one here regarding VS order, but it does show the difficulties in proving such a claim from the textual evidence.

Although this argument for V-2 is weakened by this removal of the clitic Pn explanation for ASV evidence in the texts, there is another argument which may maintain the possibility of at least some limited V-2 tendency in OE. In a recent article (1994), Leiv Breivik and Toril Swan show good evidence that in Old English inversion after an Adverbial element was to a great degree dependent on

whether the Adverbial in question was a sentence Adverbial or non-sentence Adverbial. This was by no means a hard and fast rule, but it may have been an important factor which contributed to the impression of some kind of V-2 rule for OE. The authors found, in a wide range of OE texts examined, the following ratios of inverted clauses.

ex12	Sentential A	non-Sentential A
	22%	68%

The data in this example implies of course that SV order occurred in 78% of clauses with Sentential A and in 32% of clauses with non-sentential A. The point of this is that sentential adverbs may be said to be comments on the clause to which they belong, and perhaps in a sense have more to do with the whole text discourse than the individual clauses in which they appear. If this is the case, then the fact that the great majority of ASV clauses in OE begin with such sentential Adverbials would explain away a good many examples which contradict the argument for V-2 in OE. However, these data, while very revealing, still allow for a significant ratio of clauses with non-sentential Adverbials to have ASV order and so again there is insufficient evidence of true V-2 order in OE.

Earlier, it was stated that in defining the typological status of a language some flexibility must be allowed, so it would be wrong to say that V-2 order was totally disproved by the above evidence. What can be said is that the language was certainly not of the V-2 type in the sense that modern German is a V-2 language - although obviously this language has much in common with OE, for instance OE's strong tendency to have SOV order in dependent clauses. This is obviously a result of the common Germanic origin and the similar developments that both English and German followed up to a point. However, it would appear that from the late OE period onward they diverged, with inverted order gradually slipping out of the English language while it became more fixed in German. Features

which become standard in a language, often have their origins in similar, but non-standard features in an earlier period of a language's development. A linguistic feature does not just emerge from nowhere. While it is clear that inverted order was a common feature of OE, the evidence does not appear to support its being a true V-2 language in the sense that present-day German and Dutch are. It may be that, if a more flexible definition of V-2 were admitted, OE could then be accepted as a form of V-2 language, perhaps using the description TVX. The term topic-prominent might capture this idea well since it suggests a language in which the topic is fronted without implying an absolute rule of inversion as one would get with a V-2 language. Not all languages described as belonging to one language type fit it exactly, and it might be best to use the main typological definitions as prototype element order types, which languages may fit to varying degrees of closeness[70]. Also it must be accepted that despite the usefulness of typological descriptions for languages, some languages apparently go through periods in which no absolutely clear type (or even prototype) can be assigned to them, although lines of development obviously can.

This is not strictly relevant to the main thrust of this thesis, which is concerned with the eME period. However, it will still be important to consider whether such earlier features continued into the eME period. In the element order examples given above (ex8), from the *LH*, the majority were non-Sentential A plus heavy S. This pattern was accidental as no search was made for any A type, only for ASV clauses with heavy S. However, an analysis of ICls was made to test how many ASV clauses had initial A of sentential A type. Out of 131 such clauses in the *LH* text, only 10 were clearly sentential A, showing a massive change from the OE evidence studied by Swan and Breivik. Typical sentential As occurring were *noðeless, bluðelice, soðlice, fulsoð, þerihtes.* Sentential As also occurred in AVS clauses but were always followed either by another non-sentential A or by a

[70]The idea of prototypes as a solution for the problem of the "fuzziness" of language is discussed in Taylor, 1995.

negative. It seems that the sentential As did not become associated with VS order. Non-sentential As seem to have continued to be a factor associated with this element order outcome, but became less and less limited to being associated mainly with inverted order. Above, it was stated that OE never developed fully into a V-2 language, while German did. It may be that one important factor in the different direction that English took was the increased occurrence of non-sentential As in initial position from clauses with inverted order to clauses with normal SV order.

The conclusion from all this is that the evidence from the *LH* text does not support the proposition that English in the twelfth century was a V-2 language. It is more feasible to suggest that English developed along lines - up to the lOE period - which could have led to it becoming a V-2 language to some degree. However owing to various factors, including those just discussed and others such as the far greater loss of S/O distinction in NPs in English than in German[71], the language began to develop more of these features which are typical of a V-3 language rather than a V-2 one. If there is such a thing as directionality in language change it is a very general influence - in fact, as was discussed in chapter 2 (2.3, ii), it is sometimes possible for languages to reverse an apparent trend, or to take off in a direction completely different from what the seemingly expected progression ought to be. Language contact - for instance - and particularly if through invasion, is one method that springs to mind whereby a language can drastically alter. However it seems more common for languages to follow a general trend, but these trends can occasionally be reversed, and are never towards any ultimate goal. English and German in their origins were very similar, and followed similar paths up to a point, but they can be seen to be, in their present day forms, very different in structure in several key features. The fact that Scandinavian languages differ from German in structure also shows that this

[71]In German the determiner has maintained case distinction to some degree which is totally lost in PDE, hence a far wider range of NPs can be distinguished as S even when not in pre-verb position. This is not the sole reason of course for V-2 in German, but it was an important factor.

divergence between German and English cannot be put down purely to the invasions (Norse and Norman) which England suffered, but is in the end due to the fact that the directions that languages take cannot be predetermined. The most one can say is that when a language moves in one direction, several further pathways become possible which are more likely to be followed than others. Which one may be followed, or whether any is followed, can never be predicted with certainty.

7.4 Summary.

Regarding the general position of the A, it was seen that this element followed the general trend of the period with a movement away from initial and medial position towards final position, as the language began to develop towards a SVX structure. This was very obvious with the medial A data which showed far fewer examples in the *LH* text than would be seen in OE. It was also noticeable that the weight of the kinds of elements appearing in medial position was much more likely to be light with very few examples of several medial A element occurring in the same clause (i.e. SAAV). As English developed a syntax which made less and less use of SXV order, the X element naturally appeared more and more frequently in one of the two other positions, that is in initial or final position. Because of the continuing influence of weight in the early period of this change, the tendency was for heavy elements to appear in the final position unless there was a strong thematic reason that they should appear earlier. Light elements would be more likely to appear in initial or medial position and in the case of NPs there would be additional pressure for this to happen as many (indeed the most common) light NPs were Pns, which were naturally anaphoric, and such given elements are more likely to appear in an earlier position in the clause.

The influence of weight was less clear with Adverbials since these elements were more often to be found performing a thematic or connective (hence anaphoric) role than NPs, certainly those NPs which were not Pns. The Adverbial

also was less commonly light when anaphoric than the NP. For instance the following examples (all from the *LH* text):

ex13

"On þon deie þa engles of heofene ham iblissied" (*LH* IV)

"Þurh þis tacne þe king constantinus ouercom þet folc" (*LH* XII)

"Hunfald mare þu scoldest halden cristes bihest" (*LH* III)

This is not to say that the difference was so great, since often the linking Adverbial could also be light. Common adverbs like *þa, þenne, þus, swa* often introduced clauses and can obviously be referential to some degree. However, many more Adverbials are likely to be thematic than NPs because semantically they can refer to a wide range of situations and contexts within which a basic expression is being made. Hence they are more likely to appear in the thematic position than full NPs (i.e. NPs which are not Pns). A full NP appearing initially is usually the Subject of a clause and any similar element appearing in clauses following on from it (and connected thematically or in some other way to it) will usually be a Pn, repeating the theme of the earlier subject. However, the Adverbial can easily introduce a new theme, often while a Pn S maintains discourse continuity, thus allowing variations on an original theme. Initial NPs can be Os, but this is rare today and was still not anywhere as frequent as initial Adverbials even in early English, as has be seen from the data shown in this chapter. This was partly due to the weakening of case structure in the language which limited the O elements which could appear initially, but even so it is likely that initial A always predominated over initial O. As a result one finds a situation with the Adverbial in this period where the move away from SXV order to SVX order is apparently modified to some degree by the fact that the Adverbial is more likely to be a thematic - particularly a topicalised - feature in a clause.

Theme was counterbalanced in this period by the effects of the weight of elements. The *LH* text shows a very strong movement away from SXV order (as far as the Adverbial as X is concerned) which makes it appear in this feature more advanced than the OE text, the *CH*. Weight was a declining influence, but was still a noticeable feature of the language. This was to be seen in the data in tables 19 and 20 where a trend could be seen for heavier elements to appear in final position and for light elements to appear initially. This trend however allowed for both heavy elements to appear initially and light ones in final position. The appearance of heavy elements initially is mainly a sign of the thematic needs of a clause overcoming the effects of the weight of elements. It may also be a sign, if it is significantly more frequent than in texts of an earlier period, of the weakening of the influence of weight, but this is hard to judge when theme is such a variable influence, often a matter of style and content and not only diachronic change. An increased appearance of light elements in final position would however be clearer evidence of the development away from a stage in which weight played a clear part in the move towards SVX order and towards a stage in which SVX order is starting to become established as the natural word order, but this evidence does not appear to be shown by the analysis of the Adverbial data shown in this chapter.

This could be due to the effects of theme and other factors just mentioned, but it is also the case that languages do not change in a straightforward progression. A development will appear in one area of a language, but may not develop elsewhere until much later - or may not even develop at all. For instance in PDE the standard past tense produced by addition of *d/ed/t* has still not spread to certain core words, such as *come, see, know, etc.* and it is not surprising that SVX order is not apparent in the *LH* text for the Adverbial evidence to the same degree as it is in the *SW* text. The fact that the *LH* text contains material that has been adapted from older texts has possibly exaggerated these differences. Since the Adverbial has always been more mobile in the clause, older examples containing

Adverbials in less usual positions might be left unchanged - seen as the traditional style - whereas a newer text, like the *SW*, not so clearly part of this tradition but is very much influenced by newer French models[72], would be less likely to use similar ordering of elements.

The final section of this chapter addressed the question of whether early English went through a stage comparable to a V-2 language. It was concluded that it did not, although in the OE period it did display features compatible with a V-2 language and might well be described as a TVX or topic-prominent language. The question of directionality in language, and even of whether one can really talk of there being a language type, an important element of which is word order, is one that requires some discussion and is best left to the final chapter of this thesis. It seems certain however that the evidence definitely does not support a form of V-2 language for the period in which the *LH* texts were written down.

[72] Bennet and Smithers 1968: 266-277.

Chapter 8: Verb-data.

8.1 Introduction

The existing evidence suggests that early English developed from a Germanic ancestor which was of a more consistently SOV type. In terms of syntax, this evidence is not always straightforward since the earliest written evidence (Gothic versions of the Bible) may have been influenced by Greek and/or Latin. Much of the reliably Germanic evidence exists as very short texts - sometimes just naming of people or places[73] - which were carved on stone or metal artefacts. These give very limited information about the general syntax: not only is inverted order and SOV order found but SV and other orders also. So there is no clear evidence that Germanic, at any of the periods for which any kind of written (or carved) text exists, was a completely consistent SOV language. It may be that such a thing only existed in the Proto-Indo-European dialects, and there is no direct evidence for this. However the general trend, seen from the earliest evidence in Germanic to OE and ME, is that of a language (or languages, since similar trends are seen in the Scandinavian languages) with many clear SOV features - and features such as inversion in ICls - developing into an SV and then SVO language. Owing to the freedom of movement of elements that was possible in the language before the full development of SVO order, a wide range of element orders was still seen, often, in some texts, showing a greater ratio for some orders than would appear to be the norm for their particular period. This can result in difficulties in judging the state of the language for any particular text. However, there are linguistic features which are more consistent at any period and these can be used to overcome this problem.

The most important of these features are the phrasal elements themselves, for as was discussed in chapter 2 (2.3, ii), typology is not just a matter of the element

[73]eg "ek hlewagastir holtijar horna tawido" (*Hlewagastir, son of Holti, made the horn*); this from the horn found at Galleus in Jylland (Scandinavia). Source: Page 1987: 28.

order of clauses, but also the word ordering within phrases. An instance of this is the change from the use of postposition to preposition. The interaction between pre/post position and NP is very similar to that between verb and NP (O). Because of this relationship, it is often seen that a change from V-final towards V-late (and finally V-3rd, in which O is always final) is accompanied by a change from postposition usage, where the NP comes first, to preposition usage, where the NP come afterwards. By the lOE period however, this change just described was almost complete and so is of little use in comparing the *LH* text with the *CH* - OE - text. Fortunately there is a phrase-level feature which is very suitable for the purpose. This is the verb phrase (VP) - to be exact, the VP consisting of auxiliary verb (aux) plus main verb (MV) - which is a useful guide to the kind of language being used in a text such as the *LH*, because certain aspects of the development of the VP followed a similar chronological path as that of SOV to SVO development and were indeed intrinsically linked to it. For instance one early development towards SVO order was the movement of the light auxiliary element from final position to early position in the clause, so that the following examples were possible. They are from the *LH* text; although a common feature of early OE, examples were still seen even in early ME, although here mainly in the DCl.

ex1

(SPOV) "Þet *wile* his cristindom *folege*"

(SPCVA) "And *hit* scal king *bon* on þet endelese kineriche"

(SPAVA) "Þeh alle men *beon* of hore sunnen *iclensed* et þe fulht"

(all exs, *LH* VII)

The first example here is clearly V-final, with the order SOV, the other two are what is best described as V-late, since although there is an obvious SXV order not possible in PDE, a late, heavy X element appears finally after the main verb. It should be noted that in the early stages of this process O or C still appeared

before the verb with heavy Adverbial elements appearing after the main verb. This may be an essential stage in any development towards SV order appearing in a language, to be followed later by V-late with one-word VPs. It was an intermediary stage in the move towards true SVX order, but like true V-final itself, it continued to appear - in diminishing numbers - after SVX became a common order[74]. Development of this V-late kind of ordering has been attributed to both weight and afterthought (Bean 1983; Hyman 1975; see above Chapter 2, 2.3) and both probably contributed to some extent. Arguments for weight being an influence on this development (linked to thematic ordering no doubt, because rheme elements are usually heaviest) are seemingly justified by the longer retention of "older" SXV orders where X = a light Adverbial or Pn. In DCls, V-final and V-late were much more common than in other clauses (both being descended from the original SXV order) and were retained for a longer period as the developments in the language took place at first, and were more pervasive, in the ICl and CjCls rather than in the DCls.

However, table 26 below, (Kohonen 1978, adapted from appendix 3, table 13) demonstrates how V-final, and even V-late order was diminishing in eME.

Table 26 (Note: SXV#=V-final; SXVX=V-late)

CH	SV	SXV#	SXVX
ICls	368 (84%)	31 (7%)	41 (9%)
DCls	331 (43%)	369 (48%)	66 (9%)

SW	SV	SXV#	SXVX
ICls	122 (92%)	6 (5%)	4 (3%)
DCls	155 (74%)	28 (13%)	26 (12%)

[74]These examples are of course proof of this, since they come from the eME *LH* text. As will later be seen, more examples appeared in OE and the variation in the usage of such features is a useful standard of comparison between texts from the different periods.

In the above table, all the VPs are combined, whether single V, aux(X)MV, MVaux or auxMV. In the early Germanic ancestor of English, the order of this kind of VP was always MVaux, the aux as the finite verb naturally taking the final position in an SOV type language. Movement of the light verb element to initial position was a factor in the break-up of the V-final order. Thus MVaux order is a hang-over from a much earlier form of the language. Analysing data with VP containing both aux and MV presented the problem of deciding element order when the VP was split and the order therefore not as clear as with clauses containing a single-word VP. The V-final/V-late forms, comparable with those clauses with a single verb VP, are only seen when aux and MV are together as one unit. If the VP elements are split, then the aux has to be treated (since it is the finite verb form) as the marker for V- position in the clause. This is perhaps not always a totally satisfactory analytical solution, but it is one which fits in reasonably well with the way the aux/MV VP developed historically and it is that which has been used as the basis for many analyses of element order where the VP is split.

An analysis of some of Kohonen's data, which concentrates on the order of aux and MV (1978, 103), suggests that V-final/V-late order occurred much more with (inverted) MVaux order than with auxMV order which seems to have been restricted more to SVX and VS order. In one of the divisions used by Kohonen (1978, 103), what he calls SMVaux order is described as representing a non-final pattern, but one which could contain an element between MV and aux. The rest of the MVaux order is clearly V-final, the (probable) V-late consisting 4% of the 15% total of the MVaux pattern. As all other variations therefore totalled 85% of compound verb VPs, this shows that by lOE this order was becoming rare. However, for auxMV order in final position, the equivalent ratio was 1%, which shows that, despite its low occurrence, in OE, MVaux was the main order for compound VPs in final position. Kohonen is not absolutely clear as to what extent the SauxMV pattern in his data includes V-late, but he is clear about the V-

final difference. This may only be a feature of *CH*, perhaps a deliberate archaism by Ælfric. Older texts give many examples of such order and it appears to be more common the further back one goes. It is even possible that the MVaux order was used - particularly when seen as late as the eME period - as a way of emphasising particular meanings, for the number of auxiliary verbs was small and many of these had a modal aspect to them: e.g. *most, can, wolde,* etc.

> "He specð of þet *wes* to cumene alse hit icumene *were,* for he wiste þet hit cume *sculde*". (*LH* XVII)

The placing here, for instance, of the aux in the final position of the DCls highlights the contrast in meaning between *wes*, indicating with the infinitive simple futurity - and *were* and *sculde*, indicating more subtle meanings of *"as if already happened"* and *"must happen"*. It is even arguable that the modals *were* and *sculde* were particularly emphasised in delivery. There seems to be little work done on this facet of the development of the VP, although it has been generally noted that MVaux ordering seems to be a feature of DCls. This is to be expected since DCls always maintain a higher level of V-final/V-late order than other clauses and there is a link between the two features.

In an article in Marckwardt (1964), D. P. Harris compares aux/MV patterns in a selection of clauses from texts ranging from OE (ninth to eleventh centuries) into eME (twelfth century). He does not give any details of the exact positioning of these VPs in the clause (although general outlines of element orders are given, one cannot tell if VPs are in final position or late) but his data supports the view that the arguments discussed above are correct. His SOVV table gives 76% for DCls in the ninth and tenth centuries and 72% for the eleventh century, with 37% for twelfth century. His figures for ICls run counter to the trend, but are rather low so may not be relevant. He also makes an interesting point regarding ordering of the elements of the VP. Harris shows that MVaux order occurred

more frequently where the O appeared before the VP. He argues that as Os were gradually shifted to end position there would be a tendency for the VP to take the order auxMV due to *Behaghel's Law*[75] (Hock 1986) which indicates that there is a strong tendency for grammatically related elements in a clause to stay close together. If this argument is correct, then there is even clearer evidence of MVaux order in the VP being closely linked to V-final/V-late ordering. Obviously, this order would be most likely to occur when SOV order was common, and since SOV order was gradually reduced through the OE/ME period one should, and does, see a reduction of the inverted VP in the language. This ordering can therefore be taken as a sign of archaic language and is useful in examining the text, as will be seen below. Similarly, SauxMV order can be seen as a sign of advanced language with an earlier form of this - in the form of the "split" VP with aux and MV forming the sentence brace Saux(X)V - being an intermediary form. This must have been established while DCls still commonly took SXV order, (possibly helped by the influence of weight) since by the lOE period aux/MV order is a well established order even in DCls.

In fact the following theory is commonly accepted. After a number of auxiliaries developed, their light weight (and see Hock 1986 re aux as "sentence clitic") allowed them to drift to earlier positions in the clause, forming auxMV and aux(X)MV orders. Initially this took place in ICls since, for pragmatic reasons, elements were more mobile there. These same developments may also have been influential in the development of inverted (VS) order, which possibly appeared first when light aux elements were shifted rightwards to the initial position in a clause. More work is needed to verify these arguments, although they seem reasonable. The development of the aux/MV VP in the ICls later spread by analogy to DCls resulting in MV/aux order becoming rare. Now here Harris's

[75]The crux of which is that languages (at least those with the kinds of structures that European languages have) tend to avoid having too many elements, or too heavy an element, between the Object and the VP. The verb and its Object/Complement are semantically linked and very important to the overall meaning of a sentence, therefore they tend to be close together - if separated, usually it is only by light elements.

suppositions may be brought into play. In the earlier stages, the attraction of the MV and O/C may have contributed to the maintenance of the split VP, while the O/C tended to occur often in a medial position. Once the influence of weight, however, began to draw such elements into late position in clauses, the MV would be drawn towards the aux since the MV and O/C combination could in the long run only be maintained at a reasonable distance (with limitations on intervening A). This development would have been encouraged by the fact that a form of SVO order would have been seen early with the split aux/MV pattern - i.e. SauxOMV - which would have helped make it more acceptable for the Object or Complement to appear after the main verb. Kohonen's study showed that in the CH text there was still a great deal of use of MVaux order (although auxMV order was clearly the majority usage, even then). All this is not totally new, but it is essential background to the following discussion, beginning with the VP and including its single and compound verb forms.

8.2 V-final/V-late comparison

It is important to obtain a general view of V-final/V-late order. To do this, first it is necessary to refer once again to table 26 which is based on Kohonen's data. This table (which omits VS order for clarity) shows both the movement away from general SXV order and the movement within clauses of that order from true V-final to V-late. The aux/MV clauses form only a small percentage of the overall figure. It can be seen there how great a change there was in DCls compared to ICls with SXV order. Similar data, extracted from the *LH* text, will allow a comparison between both the *LH* and *CH* texts and between the *LH* sections A and B.

Table 27.

(N.B. SauxV(X) = SV order but any SXauxV[Vaux] = V-final(#), V-late (VX))

LH(A)	SV	SXV#	SXVX
ICls	321 (84%)	24 (6%)	36 (10%)
DCls	561 (73%)	125 (16%)	79 (10%)
LH(B)			
ICls	158 (94%)	6 (4%)	4 (2%)
DCls	229 (77%)	57 (19%)	11 (4%)

First, neither of the two *LH* sections shows anything like the ratio of V-final data compared to V-late that one sees in *CH* DCls, although *CH* ICl data shows little difference from that of the 2 LH sections. A glance at the data in table 26 will show that there is little difference between *CH* and *SW* in the ICls for V-final clauses, but there is a small difference for V-late. *SW* has a lower ratio as would be expected, but it also has a lower ratio for V-late than for V-final; the same is true for the *LH* (B) text. This may however be due to the lower figures seen in these two texts - at least they are very low if only V-final/V-late clauses are considered as a group in the ICls. It is also possible the difference is due to chance, since the style of one text may result in short DCls, with few elements beyond basic S, V and O and with little use of heavy O, A or other elements. Such a style would mean more V-final clauses than V-late. This argument is borne out to some extent by the DCl data where the *SW* and *LH* texts follow the expected pattern of having much lower figures for V-final clauses than the *CH*. If these data were matched in other contemporary OE texts (e.g. *Wulfstan*) this would be useful evidence against arguments of some researchers (e.g. Stockwell and Minkova 1991) that SVX order really started in SCls and then spread to other clauses. The apparent greater SVX order in SCls sometimes seen in some lOE/eME texts is really more likely to be due to the greater mobility of elements

in ICls and CjCls which continued well into the ME period and which to some extent hid the underlying SVX order of these clauses in some texts. These arguments are, however, a minority view.

If the differences between the *LH* A and B texts are examined - beginning with the ICls - it can be seen that, although A has more SXV order than B (tables 1a and 1b), it also has more V-late order than V-final (+4%) whereas B has less (-2%). This is not unlike the case with medial pronouns above, where an apparent greater use of the older element order in A is countered by the fact that B actually uses more archaic formations at the phrase level (above, using more nominals than pronouns in medial position). In the DCl data one sees that this is confirmed by B having far more V-final to V-late data than A (+ 15% to +6%). This evidence suggests a clear difference between the texts. However it also suggests that this archaism is limited, coming either from genuine OE base texts and diluted over generations of copying, or resulting from an attempt by a scribe to maintain old linguistic traditions which are not completely natural to him. It could also be that familiarity with older texts has allowed some of the older syntactic forms to become more common in a scribe's linguistic repertoire, and still used for a specific purpose. Also likely of course is some combination of factors.

It should be realised that the actual differences between these tables is exaggerated slightly by the inclusion of A as X in SXV (and other) clauses. As was argued in the previous chapter, by the period in which the *LH* were copied the kind of usage of Adverbials found between S and V was much closer to PDE than to OE. Thus it is worthwhile looking at sets of data where A is ignored in SXV order, as well as those used so far. Here are found the following figures for ICls/DCls:

Table 28.

LH (A)	SV	SXV	*LH* (B)	SV	SXV
ICls	318 (86%)	50 (14%)		161 (96%)	7 (4%)
DCls	641 (84%)	121 (16%)		251 (85%)	44 (15%)

Here, although the ratios are different, the differences between A and B do not vary much from those in the previous table. In the table above the difference between A and B DCls for SXV (in total) is 3%, here only 1%. The differences between A and B for ICls in both is exactly the same - 10%. So this shows at least that the inclusion of the A as X in SXV order has had little effect on this particular analysis. It was argued earlier in this thesis (Chapter 4, 4.3) that the larger SXV order in A (ICls) does not necessarily represent older material, and the fact that B contains more V-final to V-late material tends to strengthen this argument.

8.3 Developments with Compound Verb

The discussion above, in the introduction to this section, described the difference in the way SVX order developed with compound verbs (auxV) compared to single verbs. Two features stood out which can be useful in comparing texts of this period. First, the fact that MVaux order was a declining phenomenon means that the ratio of MVaux order to auxMV can be a guide to the state of the language. It can therefore be surmised that the more auxMV outweighs MVaux order, the more advanced the language is. The development to SauxVX order was through various stages which will be examined in this and the following section, including various stages of the sentence brace, and these stages overlapped so that an analysis of the prevalence of each over the others can also be a useful guide to the state of the language in the text. A start will be made with the former analysis; in the selection from *LH*, one finds the following aux/MV data:

Table 29.

A	aux-MV	MVaux	B	aux-MV	MVaux
ICls	43	0		30	0
CjCls	18	0		16	0
SCls	43 (93%)	3 (7%)		17 (77%)	5 (23%)
RCls	23 (89%)	3 (11%)		10 (92%)	1 (8%)
Totals	127 (96%)	6 (4%)		73 (93%)	6 (7%)

It should be noted immediately that in the *LH* texts there are no examples of MVaux order outside of the DCls. This is evidence, perhaps, that V-final/V-late order had almost completed disappeared from non-DCls by the early ME period. The *CH* text had 15% MVaux order (mainly in DCls) whereas *Vices and Virtues* (*V & V*) had 4%, similar to SW's 3%. The *LH* text shows A = 4% and B = 8% so, in this feature, there is a difference - albeit small - between the two textual divisions, at least in the overall totals. The A section of the *LH* is clearly using a great deal less of this order than the *CH*, as is the B section, although the figure here is slightly closer to that of *CH*. So, overall, the *LH* text shows a movement away from a feature more common in OE than in eME and the A section has less of this feature than the B text. A bigger difference is seen if one looks at the clauses individually, with A having 7% and 11% respectively for the two types of DCl whereas B has 23% and 8%. However, the figures for B are so small with this subdivision that it is probably best to concentrate on the overall numbers. It should be noted that the "inverse" aux/MV order only occurs in DCls - Kohonen (1978) notes that, even in the earlier *CH*, this is very much a DCl phenomenon (his only other examples are from CjCls) - and this fits in with this form being very much a hangover from the much older, true V-final language. Here, in the *LH* text, this order has disappeared entirely from the ICls and CjCls. The MVaux pattern is never split - i.e. SMVXaux - in the few examples in the *LH* selection. It seems safe to say that, by the end of the twelfth century, the MVaux pattern,

which had been gradually declining, had almost disappeared from the English language, being found only rarely. The differences between A and B in this respect are so small that they could be said (considering the B section's low figures) to be due merely to chance; however the slight difference does seem to fit in with the general trend of the other data.

The development of auxMV order was closely linked to the move away from V-final, hence the reverse order remained almost exclusively a DCl/V-final occurrence. It would tend therefore not to be split, as the split VP was an intermediary stage of the development towards the more recent VP form. Harris's (1964) tables, which show a clear VP split (SVOV/VSOV), show zero for MVaux. His data for SVVO/VSVO clauses shows that in the earlier period (the ninth to tenth centuries) MVaux order occurred as follows: 21% in DCls, 5% in ICls. By the eleventh century he has only 7% and by the twelfth century only 4% in DCls with zero in other clauses; he does not however say if any of these involved split (VSVO) MVaux, but none of his other tables (covering 7 general patterns) have the MVaux split. In Mitchell (1985, 282) there is a table which shows that the MVaux split could exist, but this was rare since it was very much associated with the end position of the clause and was a hangover from an older form of the language. Mitchell does not give any general comment or data regarding order of auxMV and position of the VP in the clause. However from the limited data actually given in Mitchell (1985), Harris (1964) and Kohonen (1978) - plus the fact that this was certainly a feature surviving from the older V-final language - it can be assumed that MVaux order was rarely split and usually was to be found at the end of a clause. Thus, in the following tables (in section 8.4), all the MVaux data have been combined in one column.

8. 4 The VP and Element Order variation.

Now the texts will be examined according to the development towards a more advanced VP formation and clause position. The following table from Kohonen

(1978) combines all clause types, although in every case the majority of examples are to be found in the DCls.

Table 30 (a) and (b).

CH	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)	VSXaux	Vaux
All Cls	140	116	91	6	64
%	(34%)	(28%)	(22%)	(1%)	(15%)

SW	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)V	SXaux(X)V	Vaux
All Cls	65	18	24	4	3
%	(57%)	(16%)	(21%)	(3.5 %)	(2.5%)

Since the PDE arrangement is SauxVX (with occasional light A between aux and MV), this order can be taken as a marker of a more advanced language. Inverted MVaux order can be taken as a sign of archaism and the other orders can be looked on as intermediary to a greater or lesser extent. This is rather crude, but makes the analysis straightforward. It can be seen that *SW* in the tables above, is obviously more advanced by this test than *CH*, with 23% more SauxV order, 12% less Saux(X)V order and 12% less MVaux order. The SXauxXV(X) (V-final/late) order is slightly bigger in *SW*, but figures here are very low, so there may be an exaggeration of the difference - which is small enough possibly to be meaningless. However there is an obvious move (when MVaux figures are taken into consideration) away from V-final/V-late order in *SW*. If more data had been available for this feature in the texts it might have been possible to compare true V-final order (containing compound VP) with orders that are merely V-late.

Inverted auxSVX order shows little change: possibly this suggests that inversion remained more common with an aux than with a single word VP. In Kohonen's data (1978) for ICls - including all VPs - *SW* had clearly less VS order than the *CH*. On the other hand, the aux/MV data here has had to combine all

clauses and the fact that *SW* had more VS order than the *CH* in CjCls means that the total figures for these are much closer, although *SW* still has the lower ratio (-3%). In ICls there is a big difference with *SW* having 14% less VS order than *CH*. Since DCls show very little of this order one would expect this to be due to *SW* having a greater percentage of VS in CjCls, and indeed this is the case.

This is in fact a sign of more recent language since - as has been noted above (Chapter 5, Chapter 7) - use of ICl type element order in CjCls is a feature of the later period. This suggests that the similarity, in some features, between *CH* and *SW* here is artificial and is a result of the combining of material from different clauses. It is probably reasonable to assume that the aux/MV material would split the same way - if it was available - between ICls and CjCls, showing a bigger difference between the two texts. Kohonen does not give this however, as the actual figures would be too low to be sure of relevance. Of course in this form the data do not make it possible to see if influences such as initial A are operating more in one text than in the other with this particular feature.

Similar data is now given for the *LH*, with discussion to follow. As the amount of data available on this feature is limited, totals of all clauses are used in this first - and main - examination of the feature.

Table 31 (a) and (b).

LH (A)	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)V	SXaux(X)V	Vaux
All Cls	62	36	12	17	6
%	(47%)	(27%)	(9%)	(13%)	(5%)

(Vaux = 4.5%, rounded up)

LH (B)	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)V	SXaux(X)V	Vaux
All Cls	36	19	12	6	6
%	(46%)	(24%)	(15%)	(8%)	(8%)

(V-aux = 7.5%, rounded up)

Using the same principles just outlined to examine the *LH* sections, it can be seen that both texts are very close as far as percentage of SauxV order is concerned (the difference is only 3%). Both are c.10% greater in this order (9% and 12%) than the *CH*, which suggests a more advanced order than that OE text, though one not quite as advanced as the *SW* text, which is 11% to 14% greater. This would suggest that *LH* is at some intermediary stage between the two. In the SauxXV order column, the sections of *LH* range from 24% to 27%, which is very close to the *CH* figure and a good deal more than *SW*. This is one of the intermediary orders mentioned, and it could be argued that it has lasted into the beginning of the eME period, but begins to decline by the time of the *SW* text. With the other intermediary order - the V-final/V-late orders with SXaux(X)V - the data show that *LH* has a greater amount of this order than either *CH* or *SW*. Surprisingly, *Vices & Virtue (V&V)* has 19% of this order, more than *LH*. The most likely reason for this is that the MV was gradually drawn towards the aux in clauses over the lOE/ME period. Kohonen (1978) describes this as occurring probably as follows: MVaux → aux/MV → auxXMV → auxMV, obviously with some overlap as older orders would continue, though declining in number. It is not as straightforward as this, however. There is also the problem of judging to what extent the MV was truly regarded through the whole OE period as a true verb. It is possible that, in its origin, the MV was a form of Complement to the aux verb[76], which would of course then have been the only verb in the clause. At one stage this became reinterpreted as an aux/MV pattern, although at what stage this was complete is not absolutely clear. It may have begun when MVaux order was still common, or it could have been later, when one sees evidence of the early movement of aux to a clause-initial position, with the MV remaining stranded at the end of the clause. Only later, owing in part to the influence of *Behaghel's law*,

[76]i.e. with word forms capable of interpretation, in a period of weakening morphology, of being an adjectival Complement or past tense form of verb.

did it rejoin the MV in a new position. The gradual combining of the aux and MV in close proximity (in auxMV order) in either immediate post-S or clause-final position is probably the best evidence that the aux/MV unit has become totally accepted as a true VP[77]. This is because the language at the same time shows clear signs of SVX order, with the auxMV appearing as V, and also a range of aux verbs is beginning to develop[78] so that the MV can no longer be regarded as a complement. The evidence as to exactly when this occurred is not clear, however, and more research is needed in this area.

What is clear is that when the aux moved forward, it was seen mostly in ICls and inverse MVaux order was retained longest in DCls and seen mainly in V-final/V-late (or SauxV order where there was no O/C). This suggests that the development of the compound VP, while it may have begun as a movement from MVaux to auxMV or auxXMV, soon followed two separate directions. Thus SauxXMV was to become the common ICl order (later also SauxMVX) and SXauxMV the common DCl order. This at least is how the evidence from data such as Harris's figures could be interpreted. It may be noted that saying that SXauxMV is the common DCl order is to say that it is the common order where the aux precedes the MV. It has already been stated and is seen in Harris's (1964) evidence that MVaux was more common in OE for V-final/V-late position. However, even then it was not the most common order overall as V-final/V-late order was uncommon in non-DCls. It would seem then that, by analogy, the order auxMV in V-final/V-late position became more common as the language moved from OE into eME. Thus it is possible to say that a reduction in use of the compound VP in DCls in late position, first in the use of MVaux order altogether, then in the use of any compound VP, is a sign of more advanced language[79]. If

[77] Although this may have occurred earlier, it is not possible to be sure from the evidence, whereas the recombining of the two elements later is very clear evidence that they are both seen as verbal elements, which will tend to come together - as suggested by *Behagel's law*.

[78] e.g. willan, cunnan, magan, sculan, etc.

[79] This is an assumption based on the far quicker rate at which the MVaux VP was disappearing compared to the auxMV VP from final position: it seems however a reasonable one to make.

the clause level tables are examined, looking only at data for clauses with O included, they show *SW* to have much lower levels of SOV order than both *LH* sections, A and B: i.e.

Table 32.

DCls	*SW*	*LH* (A&B)
SVO	49%	50%
SOV	14%	22%
OSV	33%	27%
(O)VS(O)	4%	1%

By this measure *SW* looks to have much less V-final/V-late material than the *LH*. There are also data for the individual *LH* A and B sections. The difference then seen here, where the total *LH* figure is 8% greater than that of *SW*, is +9% for A and +5% for B at clause level. At phrase level, for the compound VP, the difference is +10% for the *LH* total, with +12% for A and +9% for B when examining all V-final/V-late material, again *SW* having the lower figure[80]. It is clear from the data that *LH* is less advanced than *SW* in all relevant aspects of the compound VP and that this fits in with clause level data just shown. The difference between *SW* and *CH* - in one aspect at least - is seemingly artificially reduced, since SXauxXV order contains both an intermediary SXVXV as well as SXVV order[81]. The figures are too low here to make the difference worth detailing, but it is likely that if this were to be investigated using a wider range and greater amount of text, one would see a clear difference between the OE and ME material on this point with the older material showing more SXVV than SXVXV order.

[80]These figures are calculated from tables 30 and 31, above.

[81]That is, the second X element is optional in these particular data, and this class is described best as being those clauses where an X element appears between S and the auxiliary verb.

How much the SXVXV order had advanced compared to the older SXVV order cannot really be said with the data available. It can be noted in Kohonen's tables (1978) that relatively high figures for V-final/V-late aux/MV material can be seen, most of this material being MVaux order. A development later - assuming Ælfric's language was not deliberately archaic, in which case it may already have been underway - of MVaux → auxXMV → auxMv (including, for a period, auxMV in V-final/V-late position) seems reasonable. However it must be remembered that such a straightforward development is not to be expected. When a variety of choice is available in any linguistic area, there may be a strong trend towards a single usage, but it is always possible that individual texts will display the extreme limits of what is possible. In fact there is a case here of two strong trends interacting. The movement of aux to early position was to become part of a longer term movement towards SVX order. At the same time, the tendency - mentioned above - for aux and MV to be drawn back together again, something itself partly a result of the movement of the O/C to final position, led to a temporary appearance of auxMV VP in final position. It was not inevitable that this would be a temporary stage, since OE had the potential to develop into a V-2 type language, where V-final/V-late could have survived in the DCl. However, the language's development took a different course and the long term trend was for V-final/V-late to disappear as SVO order became prominent. It would appear however that V-final/V-late order with the auxMV VP appearing as a unit may represent one of the extreme limits: more work is required to determine what these limits were, and what one can be sure was typical for these periods.

Again comparing the two sections of *LH*, one can see that in the most advanced feature and the most archaic feature of V-final/V-late order both the A and B sections are very close (1% difference in SauxV; 3% V-final/late). However, it is clear that text A has more of the intermediary SXauxV order than B. It has more than double auxV to Vaux in V-final/V-late position, while B splits about 50/50. For the intermediary order SauxXV, the figures are also very

close. Since for the other intermediary order SXauxXV the figures are much lower in *SW* than *CH*, it may be assumed that this order was losing ground quicker than that of the other SauxXV order. This may be evidence that the aux was becoming more fixed into early/medial position in the clause so that by the beginning of the thirteenth century (as seen in the *SW*) this factor, plus the tendency for the MV to move to join the aux in early position, was causing the majority of compound VPs to be in the form SauxVX with other orders declining. The B section has slightly less material than A for both the intermediary orders, but no more for the advanced order SauxX and slightly more for the archaic MVaux order. This is evidence that B - if the levels are significant - may be the older of the two texts linguistically. The B section has somewhat more inverted auxSVX order than A and this agrees to a degree with the general figures for clause-level VS order. There the difference is smaller (A, 12%; B, 14%) but it may be that the growth of the advanced SauxVX order has an effect of reducing this order in a more advanced text. *SW* does have less VS order with aux than with all VPs but the difference is only 3%, not necessarily significant. Of course the difference may be greater if single V data is taken separately.

Combined totals like these are not completely satisfactory: neither really is a proper breakdown into all clause types, since the figures for some columns will be too low to be relevant. A compromise is to combine ICls and CjCls in one grouping and bring all kinds of DCls together. This gives us the following tables:

Table 33 (a) and (b).

LH (A)	SauxV	SauxXV	auxSXVX	SXauxXV	MVaux
IC/Cj	29 (48%)	13 (21%)	11 (18%)	8 (13%)	-
DCl	32 (46%)	23 (33%)	1 (1%)	9 (13%)	5 (7%)

LH (B)	SauxV	SauxXV	auxSXVX	SXauxXV	MVaux
IClCj	28 (61%)	5 (11%)	12 (26%)	1 (2%)	-
DCl	8(24%)	14 (42%)	-	5 (15%)	6 (18%)

Now there is a seeming contradiction in the data as it can be seen that, in the ICl/CjCl rows for A and B, *LH* (B) is apparently more advanced since it has a greater ratio of the order SauxXV than the A section. This suggests, in the light of the other data in this column, that it is later than A in its usage. Not only that, the ratio of inverted, auxSV, order is greater in B than in A, so there can be no distortion caused by an unusual amount of this data in A (that is by A having less SauxV because it happens to have more of the inverted order). However, the row for DCls makes the B section of *LH* appear to contain the older material. Here A has the greater ratio of SauxV order (+22%) and though the amount of auxMV V-final/V-late material is about the same (+2% for B), B has a much greater ratio of V-final/V-late with MVaux order, a clear sign of older language. The *LH* (B) section also has more of the intermediary order than A, in fact the situation is completely reversed in the DCls.

However, if it is remembered what was concluded in Chapter 6, above, on the O NP, the data can be interpreted as follows. The A section has much more Pn O data overall than B and this means that SOV order in A will be exaggerated since, as was shown earlier (Chapter 6), Pn O was more likely to occur medially than nominal O. The reason for there being more V-final/V-late order in the B section DCls is that, in a less advanced text, more clauses would occur with nominal O in medial position, counteracting the effect of the greater number of Pns in the *LH* A text. It should also be considered that a text which is more advanced, but perhaps still developing towards ME proper, would show mixed features - particularly in the ICl/CjCls data - so A has more intermediary VP data whereas B splits more in the traditional way between DCls and non-DCls. So one could regard the evidence as pointing towards B being the less advanced text, this evidence not

being particularly strong perhaps at any one point, but being convincing more by its consistency across several areas of comparison.

8.5 Summary

Of course it must be recognised that this does not necessarily mean B is really a less advanced text. It may be that this is a case where part of the *LH* is subject to more revision and, perhaps, less careful copying than the other part, leading to more advanced language creeping in. It is also possible that one scribe has deliberately or unconsciously been more influenced by older texts and maintained more of an older style. A mixture of both these possibilities, combined with the possibility that one text does happen to contain more older material within it than the other, is also a reasonable assumption. Although it is reasonably certain that the differences that have been examined in this chapter are genuine, they are sometimes small and can only be seen as meaningful in the wider context of an analysis taking in a wide range of factors. The *V&V* text, which was an eME text showing some OE features, has a considerably higher percentage of V-final with auxMV order (19% of all such VPs against only 2% with the older order). It must be remembered, though, that these figures, from Kohonen (1978), are expressed as a percentage of all VPs (with aux) in all clauses and that if only V-final/V-late are considered, there is a ratio of 12% auxMV to 88% MVaux. From this viewpoint, auxMV was very much a minority order in this position, but V-final/V-late auxMV order did appear to some extent, enough it would seem to be meaningful. It confirms, to some degree, the argument that auxMV was becoming the normal order for the VP so that, even in the one area where the old, MVaux order had survived, it was beginning to be supplanted.

Chapter 9: Summary and Conclusions.

9.1 Introduction.

This thesis consists of several studies, all inter-related but nevertheless distinct, with brief summaries at the end of each study. In this final chapter, brief resumés are required of each study before any conclusions can be drawn from a consideration of the data *in toto*. Therefore, this final chapter will go over, in brief, the conclusions to be drawn from the studies in chapters five through to eight, and then comment on what these show as whole about the texts examined here and about the development of the language at this period. Further to this there will be brief discussions about the usefulness of the typological description for such studies, and also the possibility of further developments of such studies, particularly with the use of computer packages to analyse the source texts. Finally, there will be a discussion regarding the format of the *LH* text, with particular attention to the claims made by Sisam (1951) regarding the language represented by the two sub-sections of the *LH* described by her as A and B.

9.2 The *LH* text and element order development.

It was shown that the declining use of VS order and the increase in the occurrence of SV order continued through the eME period, and can be seen in the *LH* evidence. It was an important feature of the language which developed from OE that CjCls became more and more like ICls in the later language (having been in some ways more like DCls in OE) even showing an increase in VS order when, in the ICls, VS order was declining. A difference is also seen when the weight of elements is taken into account. It was noticeable that although weight had been an important factor in helping to establish SVX order, it was a declining - although still active - influence on element order by the eME period. It was seen in the data presented that light O elements in particular were beginning to appear more frequently in final position in the clause and heavy S elements were appearing more often in initial position. The first was an undoubted sign of

development towards SVO order, the latter a factor in the decline in the use of VS order - a decline which also contributed to the establishing of a fixed SVO order. The studies showed that, where S was a full N, only a small difference between the individual A and B sections of the *LH* and the *CH* could be seen. Where the S was a Pn, both *LH* texts had a good deal more SV order than the *CH*. Although apparently contradictory, this evidence - put in the context of the VS order development - shows some of the underlying cause of the decline of this order. The increased SV order with light S is a sign of the movement towards SVO order with the increase in initial S and decline in VS order. The similarity in the heavy S order shows that the influence of weight was still a factor so that the movement towards greater SV order is seen more strongly with the light element - in this case - first and only later becomes more widespread with the heavy S, as weight decreases further as an influential factor.

Also considered was the case of SV/VS order where there was another initialised (or topicalised) element. In most of these cases the topicalised element was an adverbial. This particular analysis showed that there was a clear difference between both *LH* sections and the *CH* text. Throughout the whole *LH* text, ASV order was more frequent than AVS order. The difference between the *CH* text and the B section of the *LH* was noticeable, but not exceptional, *LH* (B) having, for instance, 36 clauses with ASV order to 49 AVS. However, the A section showed a further move towards ASV order with the result that in the A section the ASV is the majority word order where there is a topicalised Adverbial element. This seems strong evidence of the development towards modern English and the V-3 word order. If it is considered that the A section has a greater amount of Pn-type S than the other texts, this may partly explain the size of the differences between the B section and the *CH*. That is, the true difference between the *CH* and the *LH* texts is closer to that shown by the comparison with *LH* (B), the *LH* (A) difference being exaggerated by the higher number of Pn elements used.

It is still possible, however, that a genuine development is shown by this evidence. The S Pn data, for instance, shows the *LH* (A) to be much closer to the *CH* than it is to the *LH* (B) text - but the *LH* text sections are, with the exception of the ICl data much closer to each other (when element order is examined) than they are to the *CH* text. So this suggests the element order difference is something that is real, not just created by the influence of the weight of the S element[82]. The effect of weight was also considered with regard to the O, for instance, where OSV/OVS order was examined. It was seen that weight did indeed play a part, with almost all OVS clauses having at least S as a full noun and often both S and O full Ns (although the number of examples were small for this particular element order). However, it was also shown that OSV order could occur with both S and O being full Ns. It was also seen that SOV order in the *LH* texts occurred in the vast majority of cases with Pn O, and this was particularly the case with the *LH* (A) text.

The data seem to support the view that the primary development towards O-final position (and hence to SVO order) took place most strongly with the N-type O. Pn-type O was more affected by givenness and more likely to appear in non-final position owing to its light weight and its retention of case which allowed a certain amount of element order variation. For these same reasons, however, the appearance of light material like pronouns in later position was a sign of more advanced language. Also apparent in the data was variation in the development of the language in different clause types and how, for instance, the usages found in CjCls changed after the OE period, to become more like ICls. This evidence suggested that the language of the *LH* text was later than that of the *CH*, but earlier than that of *SW*. It is also notable that such distinct syntactic changes should be so noticeable over a period of c. 200 years (and certainly less than 100 years in the case of the comparison of *LH* and *SW*). This was no doubt due to the particular kinds of change the language was going through. That is, there was a

[82] Since the B section of *LH* is different in its S Pn data.

period when the element order was variable though tending to SV/VS in ICls and SXV in other clauses and this changed in a few centuries to a tendency for a more stable element order, tending to SVO (V-3). It has to be remembered also that, up to the end of the eleventh century, a strong written tradition existed which preserved many aspects of the language - particularly the morphology - which was falling out of use in the spoken language. This is shown in the sudden change in the language of the text of the later *Peterborough Chronicle* (that of the twelfth century) compared to that of earlier parts of the *Chronicle*. So the changes shown may not have been quite so sudden as they appeared. It could also be that scribes trying to maintain a stylistic tradition of an earlier period exaggerated a linguistic tendency that they noticed in the older texts that they were familiar with. Whatever the reason, there can be seen a distinct difference between the A and B sections of the *LH*. This difference is one in which B shows an apparently artificially higher level of SV order with Pn-type S and a higher VS order with N-type S. This could be explained, at least in part, by the fact that B has a very much higher number of N-type S than either the A section of *LH* or the *CH*, just as there was a higher amount of Pn O in the LH (A) section which possibly had the effect of increasing the amount of SOV order. It suggests that in the *LH* text weight was still an important factor in element order outcome.

The Adverbial element was shown to be an important factor relating to VS order in the clause, this of course agreeing with the evidence of many previous studies. The Adverbial's effect was related to thematic factors and it was influential in the preponderance of VS order seen in OE, as demonstrated by the *CH* text. Adverbials, being in the main easily recognisable from the Object/Complement - regardless of the state of morphological decay - were always the most mobile of elements. This of course was an important reason (besides the fact that they often had meanings particularly useful for the placing of discourse into a particular context, such as time, place, etc.) for their very regular appearance in the initial position in clauses. It was notable that despite this well

known mobility of the Adverbial, it was the element least found in the medial position in the *LH* texts. The data for *LH* (B) were unusual in the very low ratio of medial Adverbial which they display - even compared to the slightly later *SW* text. A possible explanation for this may be the semantic content of the Adverbials in the different texts, some being more likely to be medial than others. However there is no way of confirming this with the data collected from this study although it would obviously be something worth pursuing in future research. This nevertheless was an important finding as it showed one feature where the *LH* text was very different from the older *CH* text. Particularly important was the fact that the *LH* text had very few examples of medial A which consisted of more than one word. In OE texts such as the *CH* Adverbial phrases of several words (and sometimes two or more such phrases together) were to be found in medial position. This is rarely the case in the *LH* text - indeed some of the few examples of this in the *LH* were obvious taken, with adaptation, from OE originals.

The examination of the initial/final positions of the Adverbial in detail - medial being ignored because of its low occurrence in the *LH* text - allowed consideration of the influence of theme on element order position. For instance a higher ratio of heavy Adverbial elements appearing in initial position could very likely be accounted for by thematic influence, since otherwise they would be more likely to appear finally, due to both weight and the fact that the S would then be the most thematic element. The data showed that, although the overall tendency was for more heavier elements to appear in the initial position in the later texts - i.e. the *LH* and *SW* texts, a closer examination showed that there was a variance in this tendency when the individual groups (for 2, 3 and 4 plus words) were analysed. This demonstrates a problem one has with this particular kind of analysis when one examines such a mobile element as the Adverbial. There is also the added difficulty of deciding whether these variations are due to real language change or merely style - which may cause a particular element to be placed in unusual positions just for effect.

9.3 Adverbials and V-2 order

To return to the earlier point above, a thematic initialised Adverbial often resulted in inverted VS order; indeed in some early studies certain Adverbials were suggested to be the direct cause of the inversion, though it has been shown by later studies that various factors are always involved. When comparisons are made between the OE text, the *CH*, and the *LH* text, some clear changes can be seen to be occurring. For instance, there was less VS order in the *LH* compared to the *CH*. This is an important consideration given the likelihood that inverted order after an initial Adverbial was a common feature of the traditional style of such texts. Of particular interest however was the finding that whereas in the *CH* text VS is the most common order after initial A, in the *LH* text the most frequent order after initial A is SV. This is an important step towards the V-3 language which English was to eventually become. The data related to the weight of both S and initial A together showed more signs of the movement towards the predominance of XSV order over XVS as it was seen that ASV order occurred often with both heavy S and A. This and other evidence seemed to support the view that the proposal of a clitic S Pn for this period, in order to explain away XSV evidence and maintain the argument for a V-2 stage of the language, could not be upheld. That is there should not have been an increasing number of XSV clauses with both heavy A and S elements in them if this was the case. The ASV examples should have been almost always with light Pns if this was the case. There were also enough examples of AVS order with light Pn to cast doubt on the clitic theory. Clitics usually being fixed in a particular position, one would expect to find almost all of the Pn S elements to appear after the A and before the V. In fact the data show this not to be the case with the *LH* (A) data - although it does appear to be the case with *LH* (B). However, enough ASV order compared to AVS order occurs with heavy S in the *LH* (B) text to make it doubtful if this

can be used to support the use of a clitic explanation for the ASV order which appears in the text.

An interesting phenomenon linked to this was the development of the sentential A since this historically had been less likely to promote the output of VS order. Since this type of Adverbial was no doubt originally seen as being no more than a comment on the discourse to follow, it had much less effect on the element order of the clause it was attached to than the normal, non-sentential Adverbial. The evidence from the *LH* text showed that this continued to be the case in the eME period (at least as represented by the *LH* text). However, the non-sentential Adverbial did not continue to be linked mainly to VS order. As has already been seen, an increased amount of ASV order occurred in the *LH* text with non-sentential Adverbials. No doubt this in part accounts for the increased ASV order compared to AVS order which was noted differentiates the *LH* from the *CH* text. This is also evidence against a V-2 period for eME, since this feature which was apparently strongly connected to VS order is now becoming less likely to produce VS a outcome. The sentential Adverbial does not become more associated with VS order, because the trend is the other way. VS order is beginning to be no longer as regular an outcome of certain linguistic factors in the language as before. Those factors, such as weight, theme (which naturally was non-sentential when expressed by an Adverbial) and givenness, would make it a more likely outcome in OE than SV order, but never an automatic one. By the eME period it is becoming more of an optional order which the speaker/writer can choose to use or not to use. Of course it was still more likely to be used in some of the circumstances just mentioned, but whereas these had produced a very strong tendency for VS order in OE, this was weaker in the eME period and would continue to weaken in the following centuries.

9.4 The Verb Phrase

The VP was examined as a feature which could shed some light on the state of the language in the *LH* text. The development of the VP was closely linked to the early move away from V-final element order through to V-late and eventually forms of SV order. The once clause-final aux verb at an early stage moved to an early position in the clause, thus creating the possibility for a development of element orders such as SVX, VS and even the sentence brace, SauxXV. As the language became more fixed again as it moved towards SVO order, the aux and MV were drawn together again, until today they cannot be separated except by a limited number of light Adverbials. It would appear, from what is seen in the *LH* evidence, that the point at which MVaux order is just dying out, and the aux and MV are coming more and more together is the same point at which SVX (although not yet SVO) order is becoming dominant in the language. This is shown by the very low figures for MVaux order in the *LH* text as well as the fact that such a VP order is only found in the DCl and in final position and so can be seen to be a feature of the old V-final order which is now almost confined to the DCl. This was declining even through the OE period as the *CH* figures show it to have been very much a minority feature although a clearly larger one than is seen in the *LH*. The VP variations mentioned above included SauxXV, auxSXV and SXauxV order. With these intermediary orders the *CH* text had the larger ratio of those where the aux and MV are split, but the *LH* text has the greater ratio for those where the aux and MV are coming together as the auxMV VP - that is, including the SauxVX order. Thus the *LH* text shows itself to have more of these orders which signify the language is developing towards the kind of forms seen in the later language. This is an important piece of evidence as the VP was not usually subject to variation for stylistic variation to the extent that other elements were.

To summarise, there is evidence that the *LH* represents (compared to the *CH* and the early thirteenth century *SW*) an intermediary stage in the language. There

is more SV order and in particular there is more SV order where a topicalised element, particularly an Adverbial, is present, compared to the language of the *CH*. However, there is less SV order than with the *SW* - although there is nothing to compare it with for topicalised A clauses[83]. It can also be seen that, although the effect of weight is lessening, as shown by the Pn/N data, it was still an important factor, probably contributing to some of the differences seen between the A and B sections of the *LH*. The increase of XSV clauses in the *LH*, particularly in the A section, and the fact that one can easily find examples of XSV order with both heavy X and S element shows that it is not necessary to propose an intermediary V2 stage as has sometimes been suggested for this period. It is more likely that what is seen a language form which is becoming more SV in nature with the option of using either the V2 like form or the more "modern" form of XSV. The S is not yet fixed to the pre-V position, but it is becoming more common in this position and more importantly it is becoming more common in this position when other elements are topicalised. Finally, the VP evidence shows again the intermediary nature of the *LH* text, and is clearly not an OE text with some amendments, but a genuine eME text[84] which happens to incorporate some OE material. Although it is an earlier text than the *SW*, it is much closer to it than it is to the *CH*. This might perhaps be what one would expect given the small time difference between the *LH* and *SW* compared to the *CH* (c.50 years compared to c. 150 years) but it must be remembered that there was a suggestion (Sisam 1951; O'Brien 1985) that much of the material in the *LH* was originally copied, with varying degrees of amendment, from OE texts amended to varying degrees and the language resulting may have as a result been much more like that of the *CH*. Now follows a comparison between the two sections of the *LH*.

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[83] It will be remembered that evidence from other sources was used to compare initial A order with the Ælfrician OE text. None such was found for the *SW*.

[84] The main criteria for this assertion are: (in comparison to the OE *CH* text) it has very little Maux material; it has fewer VS order ICls; it has more light O material appearing in late position in clauses; it has more XSV order ICls which is a sign of progression towards an SVO type of language.

9.5 The LH text and Sisam's analysis.

The analysis of the two sections of the *LH* confirmed that Sisam was correct in maintaining they were copied from sources of different periods. The evidence also suggests that the B section of the *LH* represents in some ways an earlier stage of the language than the A section, despite what has been argued by Sisam (1951). What differences exist may, as has already been said, be more due to the way in which different scribes have attempted to maintain the OE written tradition than the actual stage of development of the language of the texts. The continued examination of the texts and the data extracted from them gave the impression that the A section consists of a mixture of different kinds of texts[85] which it would appear have undergone several copyings. On the other hand, the B section is more consistent in style and it is reasonable to assume it has not been recopied so often and when it was more care was taken in maintaining the style of the original. Even so there was also evidence that the two sections were quite close in some ways, and the evidence for this will now be summarised.

On the surface, looking at the main element order tables (e.g. tables 1 to 5), the A section of the *LH* appeared in some ways to be the one which had more - or more unadapted - older material within it. However, a more detailed analysis suggested that the opposite may have in fact been the case. For instance the greater amount of SOV found in ICs and DCls with the A section was shown to be explicable by the fact that this section has a much greater amount of O Pn material in it than the B section - since SOV occurred more often, particularly in later periods, with O Pn. This possibility is made more likely by the fact that the B section has the largest ratio of SOV order - a much larger ratio than the A section - in CjCls. In OE the CjCl was much more like a DCl in the element order it showed, so this is a very strong sign that the B section contains older material. Another sign of older material is that weight will have a stronger influence, with more heavier material in final position and lighter material tending to appear in

[85]Sisam (1951) points out that there are at least three distinctive sections within the *LH* (A) text.

medial[86] or initial position - although with the latter unusual ratios of heavy material can sometimes appear initially due to the possibility of topicalisation. When the figures for O Pn and O = N were examined it was seen that for this feature the *LH* text seems closer to the *CH* text than the *SW* text. The *LH* shows itself in both the MF and TF data to be more advanced than the *CH* however, with less medial O data and in particular more final position O Pn data - movement of light material to final position being a sign of the newer language. The A section has, surprisingly, more medial O Pn material in the ICls than the *CH* text (which has 11%), but on the other hand neither of the *LH* sections has any O = N type material in the ICl and in the DCls they have much less than the *CH*. In the CjCls the A section has no O = N type material in medial position while the B section has 10% to the *CH* text's 50%[87]. Apart from the first figure mentioned this shows both *LH* sections to represent a language moving away from the OE of the *CH* text. If - again - it is accepted that the higher medial O Pn data is due in part to the A section having more O Pns than the B, then it can be argued that the B shows the older language because of the greater ratios of medial O = N, and the greater ratio of final position O Pn in A compared to B. It should also be noted that the examination (see Chapter 8, tables 26 and 27) of V-final/V-late order showed that both *LH* texts had much less V-final order than the *CH* text. The figures were 16% and 19% for A and B respectively (to 48% for the *CH*) which shows that, in this aspect, the two sections were close.

With the Adverbial data comparisons, lower ratios for initial and medial fields and higher ratios for the final position fields are seen in the *LH* texts compared to the *CH*. This is all in accordance with the *LH* text showing "newer" language than the *CH* text. The differences between the *LH* sections is not great, although the biggest difference shows B to have consistently more final position Adverbial material than the A section: the highest being for CjCls, with +7%. This could be

[86]However, medial O could be a sign of older language, particularly if heavy, as this was a development from the older, V-final stage of the language.
[87] See table 11a.

partly explained by the mobility of the Adverbial which was liable to be found in initial position more often than any other element except the Subject. The analysis of weights of Adverbial elements in medial fields showed the A section to have more lighter material and slightly less heavy material, but again given the mobility of the Adverbial, it is difficult to be sure this is significant. The figures for weight of elements in initial and final fields are possibly more useful, since one would expect more light elements in final position even if the mobility of the Adverbial meant that one did not see the same degree of development of this factor as could be seen with the O. In this feature the A section of the *LH* is seen to have clearly more final position light A (one word) than the B section. The data for clauses showing initial Adverbial were checked as to whether the initial Adverb concerned was a sentential or non-sentential Adverbial. No sign was seen in either of the two *LH* sections of the sentential/non-sentential aspect of the Adverbial having any effect on the outcome of ASV or AVS order. The sentential Adverbial continued to be found with ASV order, unless a negative or other non-sentential Adverbial also appeared in the initial field. However, more non-sentential Adverbials introduced clauses with ASV order in the *LH* compared to the *CH*. The difference between the two A sections here was minimal.

The final aspect to be examined was that of the aux/MV VP, which is closely linked to developments with V-final and V-late word order. The B section of the *LH* text shows a higher ratio of V-final order in DCls than the A section, the A section having a slightly ratio in ICls. The difference is small, no more than 3% at most. The A section has a higher ratio, this time up to 8% in ICls for V-late order, this figure no doubt being where the difference seen between the A and B sections in SOV order is to be found. It was suggested that this difference may have been due to higher ratios of O Pn in the A section, and the fact that B has the slightly higher - and certainly not lower - figure for V-final may support this, SOV being originally a V-final order. The V-late order was a development from V-final, so a higher proportion of this order could be a sign of greater development

in the language. However, one would want to have seen a similarly high difference in the ratio of V-final clauses before taking this to be conclusive; it is as a result merely suggestive.

The aux/MV data for the *LH* text - as stated above - strongly support the notion of the *LH* showing language which has developed some way from that in the *CH*. The old order, MVaux, is seen only in DCls and is generally seen much less often. The total figures for A and B show B to have 7% to a figure of 4% for A, again a small difference only between the two text sections. The A section has a slightly bigger - by 3% - ratio for RCls than the B section; these figures are of course low enough not to have any significance. The only large difference - and this is one of 16% - shows the B section to have a much bigger ratio of MVaux order in SCls. The data, when split by clause types for this analysis, give a rather low number for clause type, however, and this makes it possible that there is an exaggerated result here because of this. The figure based on the totals is therefore the best one to make any assumptions on. It is suggestive of the B section being an older text, but is low enough so that it may not be significant. Looking at the variations in aux/MV it could be seen that the two sections of the *LH* text were almost indistinguishable as far as the SauxMV order was concerned. This was the most advanced VP order and it is significant that they should be so close with this feature. The *LH* (A) section had slightly more (3%) SauxV order and a little more (5%) SXaux(X)V order, these intermediary orders thus being slightly in favour of the A section having the more advanced language. The auxSV order is of course a variation of VS order and much affected by topicalisation. Even so, VS is an order which was gradually to disappear from the English language, so the fact that the A section has 6% less of this order than the B section is again in favour of A having the more advanced language.

The most certain conclusion which can be drawn from the data just discussed is that the supposition made by Sisam (1951), that the A section of the *LH* contained the older language, cannot be upheld - except for section A2 which has been

excluded from the analysis[88]. With this exception, the A section of the text shows itself to be an example of eME rather than (possibly slightly amended) OE. The evidence, although not truly conclusive, is mostly in favour of the B section containing more of the older linguistic forms than the A section. This suggests very strongly that A does not have the older language and even that A is a more recent text than the B section. None of the individual pieces of evidence is strong enough to wholly support the latter view, but the fact that so much of the separate kinds of evidence does tend to support this interpretation encourages one to take this view. However it is not absolutely clear cut. Sisam based her conclusion to a great degree on orthographic evidence and on the fact that the A section contains material very easily traceable to OE origins, whereas the B section showed - or seemed to show - more evidence of the use of French language vocabulary, something that came into English after the OE period. One important factor that must be borne in mind is that Sisam showed that the B section was a fairly homogeneous piece of work whereas the A section is comprised of different kinds of material.

The section Sisam describes as A2 was, as mentioned above, left out of the analysis. It would have skewed the analysis of *LH* (A) towards OE and prevented a proper study of the kind of language used by the scribes when they were not merely copying an OE text. Even so the rest of the text in the A section is far from being as consistent as the B section and Sisam identified at least two other subdivisions within it. It is this contrast between the consistency of language shown in the B section compared to the lack of it in the A section that may offer the best interpretation of the data seen in these studies. The B section - as Sisam described - is a fairly accurate copy of an earlier text, which itself may have been copied from earlier versions. There seems no evidence that any of this came

[88]As was stated in Chapter 4, above, this consisted of two homilies which seemed close copies of original Ælfrician texts. They are of interest for orthographic and morphological studies, but are so close to the originals in syntax that the element order appears to be much the same as the homilies they are based on.

originally from OE texts, although certain matters of style do seem to suggest a continuation of the Ælfrician tradition. The evidence seen in these studies suggests that the *LH* text is definitely an eME text, albeit one which incorporates some OE material, and, from what has been discussed in the Sisam article(1951), one would expect that the original from which the *LH* (B) text was copied was probably produced no later than the mid-twelfth century and certainly not before c.1100. If Sisam is correct regarding the accuracy of the copying of this text then it is possible that it represents the language of the decades between 1100 and 1150. The *LH* (A) text on the other hand is a mixed text, even with the A2 section withdrawn from the study. The incorporation of some pieces of OE text into at least one of the other sections, albeit somewhat adapted, means that it is necessary to be cautious when attempting to describe the linguistic status of the A section.

Despite this it seems a reasonable assumption to say that the *LH* (A) text displays evidence of actually being a slightly more advanced text than the *LH* (B) text. Any incorporated text - and any other similar text included, which might not be noticeable because its original has not survived - has either not been large enough, or has been so much adapted to the later language, to have a strong effect on the element order outcomes of the text as a whole. The A2 section is not counted as incorporated text as it stands clearly apart from the rest of the *LH* (A) text as a pair of individual OE homilies. Incorporated text is taken to be any OE material which appears within an otherwise eME section of the text. It also adds further impetus to the view that the A section displays the more recent language since if this was not the case one would expect the OE material within it to skew its element order more towards that of the older language. However, it must be remembered that many of the differences between the two text sections were small, and the argument for A having the more recent language is based on the accumulation of such small differences and not on any real clear cut one. It is just as reasonable to argue that in fact both texts are more or less the same in terms of

the language displayed and such differences as are seen are merely due to the wider variation in such features related to element order in eME compared to the present day language. In favour of this argument is the fact that - excepting inclusions such as the OE homilies in the A section and the verse pieces of the B, the originals of the homilies of which they consist must have been composed very close to each other chronologically. In key features for determining the language, such as ASV order and non-sentential Adverbial and the VP, they are very much alike. It is probably impossible to say for sure which is the more likely since this would require seeing the original texts from which the *LH* text descended and this is not possible.

9.6 Summary

There was clear evidence in the data examined of the development towards SVO order. This was seen in the general increase in SV order and the complementary decrease in SOV and VS order seen in the eME texts, including the *LH*. Particularly notable was the evidence of an increase in SVO order with Pn O elements. As there had been a strong tendency for light and anaphoric elements to appear in an early position in the clause, this was firm evidence that SVO was becoming a basic element order in the eME period. The decline in the use of VS order was also evidence that eME was not a period when V-2 could be ascribed to the language. Whereas, in OE, the appearance of a non-sentential Adverbial in initial, topic position usually (though not always) resulted in inverted, VS order, by the eME period - as shown by the *LH* evidence - it could equally well result in ASV order. In fact, the *LH* showed a majority of ASV order with topicalised A when previously, as shown by the evidence in Davis (1991), the majority order was AVS in this situation. This is another vital piece of evidence as it is an essential development if a true SVO order is to be established, which allows two elements to appear regularly before the verb rather than invert the normal SV order. Evidence at phrase level, from an examination of the VP with

aux and MV, also confirmed that the *LH* was an eME text in terms of its language. This was shown in the very low ratio for MVaux order, combined with the much higher ratio for SauxMVX, in *LH* compared to the *CH* text. SauxMV being the PDE order and MVaux being an order than only existed in OE and to a lesser extent in eME, this provides clear evidence that the *LH* - in both sections - is an eME linguistic artefact.

The fact that both sections of the *LH* are very close for these two features of the VP suggests that any linguistic differences between them are more on the surface than basic to their language. There were features, however which might suggest that the *LH* (B) text was slightly earlier than the *LH* (A). The B text has, for instance, more SOV order in CjCls (this being a feature common to OE) and, while the A section has more SOV order generally, the B section has more SOV order with heavy O elements - a sign of older language. The evidence is therefore slightly contradictory, although it does tend, overall, to favour the A section as having the more recent language. It would be more reasonable, nevertheless, to presume that the closeness between the sections seen in many features is more important than the differences. Texts were often adapted - both deliberately and unintentionally - over years of copying. It seems likely that (with the exception of the material excluded from this study) the originals of the A and B sections were first produced possibly as eME imitations of OE homilies[89], and from the start contained much of the contemporary language in them. As the two texts went through various stages of copying, the language of the A section underwent more reworking and amendment than the B section. It can be seen - and was discussed by Sisam (1951) - that the B section was a more homogeneous and consistent text than the A section, whose original probably derives from a variety of sources. What seems most probable is that the *LH* (A) section is not an OE text, or even an eME text including a large amount of OE language, but is a

[89]The A section of course held two actual OE homilies, somewhat amended: the A2 section, not included in the analysis.

genuine eME text, of roughly the same period as the B section. The differences seen between them are not consistent and large enough to consider them texts from different periods. One interpretation is that the A section, undergoing more adaptation through less consistent copying, has changed slightly in the direction of a more recent text (perhaps closer to the end of the twelfth century rather than the beginning of the century) while the B text has stayed closer to the original from which it was copied. The other interpretation is that the *LH* is based on texts which attempted to maintain certain features of an OE scribal tradition, but still displayed a great deal of the contemporary language. The *LH* (B) section kept the tradition more consistently than the A section and, as the A section was also more of a mixed collection, the B appears to have the more traditional or older appearance. However the two sections are quite close linguistically, as far as syntax is concerned.

9.7 Further research using computer analysis

The data, compiled from a computer analysis of the *LH* text (and including some data from previous studies by other authors) presented in this thesis have been invaluable in the analysis and discussion which made up the various studies contained therein. The data have allowed not just a comparison of basic element orders, but also an examination of many of the factors which contributed to element order outcome and the changes which took place in element order during the period under discussion. These data, as they were produced by computer analysis, were more detailed and covered a wider range of analysis than would have been possible otherwise in the allotted time had they been generated by non-mechanical means. Also, once the basic tagging was complete, it was possible to double-check any analysis for accuracy very quickly, and it was also possible to check particular details not considered at the outset of the studies: for instance the aux/MV VP analysis.

This suggests that similar types of analysis based on a similar methodology would be a valuable tool in extending the study of element order in this field in future. Of course it must be realised that, since this thesis was first begun, technology has moved on and other work on texts has been done which could, with careful adaptation of the methodology, further enhance any future work done in this field. This thesis was very likely among the first to ever use a PC for a text analysis to study element order. The PC used, when the research and analysis began, had one megabyte[90] of RAM[91] and no hard drive. For the longer analyses it was sometimes a little slow - though of course much quicker than a human being. As it nears its completion, this thesis is now being typed up on a PC with sixteen megabytes of RAM and a hard drive of two gigabytes[92], not to mention that it makes use of a much faster processor. This is by no means the most powerful PC available at present, and it is expected that the performance of such machines will continue to improve for at least the next decade. A machine like this is as powerful as many main-frame computers of a decade or so ago, but the difference is that it can be used by a single person, or small group of people to perform their own, dedicated tasks. In the past, before the PC was developed, a mainframe had to be shared and could only be used with the aid of the staff of the computing department of the academic institution at which the linguistic analysis was being made.

Now, with the more powerful PCs being developed and programs such as OCP and TACT (see Chapter 3, above) available to allow tagging and analysis of texts, a researcher - or small research group - has the ability to organise and carry out a quite sophisticated and detailed textual analysis using a computer to execute it more quickly and over a wider spectrum of material than was possible in the past. Another development, of value in this kind of study, has been the growth over the past decade of the production of a wide range of texts, from different periods, in

[90]One million bytes. This thesis is about 450 kilobytes, almost half a megabyte in size.
[91]Random Access Memory: the working memory.
[92]A gigabyte being 1,000 times a megabyte.

computer format. The *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Oxford-Sheffield Canterbury Tales Project* and the *Oxford Text Archive* are excellent examples of this, and many academic institutions have made useful texts available on the Internet; for instance at Glasgow University the STELLA laboratory has a range of English and Scots texts available on-line. Having such a wide range of material available in machine-readable form naturally can speed up the analysis of a text and allow more to be done, since less time is required in reading or scanning in a text and proof-reading it afterwards.

On the more specific objective of developing what has been covered in this present thesis, there a few lines which should be pursued. The analysis of element order in early English to date has concentrated on a small number of texts and - with the exception of Kohonen (1978), and to a lesser extent Davis (1991) and Shores (1970) - on a limited analysis of the text. This was to a great extent due to the limited amount of work in this field that could be done by a single researcher in a restricted period. It is notable that of the analyses just mentioned, two were completed using a computer text analysis. The result is that the kind of analysis done has often been limited either to a limited selection of text or an analysis of basic element order alone with perhaps some phrase level analysis. To advance this type of study, it is necessary to cover a wider range of texts, and make the study as detailed as possible.

A great deal of research has concentrated on the works of Ælfric[93], understandably since it is a large, well-preserved corpus of known date and consistent style. The *ASC* also has been extensively studied by Bean (1983), Shannon (1964) and Shores (1970). Of the eME period only the work of Kohonen and Shores, with a coverage of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, *SW* and *V & V* seem of note. This means that further work should concentrate on OE works beyond the Ælfric homilies and the *ASC* - particularly earlier OE texts - and the range of eME works should be extended with an effort to move the study further

[93]For instance Harris (1964), Kohonen (1978), Davis (1991).

into the thirteenth century. Possibilities are the *Blicking Homilies,* and the *Vercelli Homilies* for OE and *Ancrene Wisse,* the *Katherine Group* (which includes *SW*) and the *Trinity Homilies.* These would obviously be very suitable for comparison with previous studies using homiletic texts, including this present study, although eventually one would have to extend these studies as far as possible throughout the ranges of different texts, including verse. An analysis of texts from later centuries would obviously be a logical extension of such studies.

The ideal analysis should involve, as well as element order, the morphology of the language in the text, word-order within individual phrases, the weight and givenness of various elements and some analysis of theme/rheme ordering in the text. It would also be well worth while performing a semantic analysis of certain elements of the clause, for instance the Adverbial, since its meaning is often found to have an effect on its position in a clause. This may seem a great deal of work, but the power of modern PCs and the existence of machine-readable corpora, mean that the researcher can concentrate on the tagging and analysis of the text, making the best use of resources. The need therefore is for clear objectives, good organisation and careful analysis of the text when tagging is performed. The more of the "ideal" analysis performed the better for, as this thesis has shown, all these different factors are inter-related and the best analyses will include as many of them as possible.

9.8 Conclusion

The studies presented in this thesis have achieved the following:

- A tagging system was devised which allowed the *LH* text to be analysed both for element order and information regarding the phrasal elements themselves.
- The system allowed the extraction of suitable data and was flexible enough to provide data useful in the examination of a range of factors. As well as

element order, the weight and composition of phrasal elements were also examined.

- The data from the *LH* analysis, combined with that from earlier studies, supplied evidence for an SV type of language for eME, with signs of development towards SVO. There were still evidences of the survival of features from OE, such as frequent use of inversion and SOV order (though not always V-final order) in the DCls. Thus the language was seen to be of a mixed nature, not falling neatly into any specific typological category

The variety of functional and semantic factors which contributed to element order outcomes in this period were examined. It was shown that theme/rheme and weight were of particular importance in the arrangement of elements in clauses. They were both, in different ways, factors in the development of SVO becoming an option in the earlier language, thus helping to create a situation in which the language could develop into a true SVO type.

- Topicalisation with Adverbials moving to initial position was seen to be an important factor in the production of VS ordering in early English. It was also shown - from evidence in the *LH* text and elsewhere - that arguments for a V-2 type of language in eME could not be sustained. Although it was argued that under a strict typological interpretation V-2 order could not be upheld for OE, it might be that, under a looser interpretation, a form of V-2 might be maintained for OE. This was also felt to be reasonable as language does not easily fit into fixed and unchanging patterns. It is adaptable and flexible, for this is why language is forever changing.
- The *LH* text was shown to be an eME text in terms of the kind of language found within it. It did appear however to be a slightly earlier form of language than that of the SW - which dates from c.1200. It appeared from some of the evidence that the A section might contain - when the two copies of Ælfric's homilies are removed - the more recent language; however the evidence was not consistent enough to confirm this. What was clear, was that Sisam's

(1951) supposition that the A section, as a whole, was older in language could not be maintained. This was shown in particular by the evidence from the VP, in chapter 8.

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Appendix 1: abbreviations

A	Adverbial
A	*A* italicised refers to the *A* section of the *LH* text.
ACl	Adverbial Clause
Aj	Adjective
AP	Adverbial (Prepositional) Phrase
ASC	Anglo Saxon Chronicles (OE text)
aux	auxiliary verb
Av	Adverb
B	*B* italicised refers to the *B* section of the *LH* text.
c.	circa
C	Complement
CH	Catholic Homilies (OE text)
CjCl	Conjunctive Clause
DCl	Dependent Clause
det	determiner
E	Element
EETS	Early English Text Society
eME	early Middle English
EOL	end of line
etc.	etcetera
ex	example
FSP	Functional Sentence Perspective
HM	Head-Modifier (order in a phrase)
I	Indirect Object
ICl	Independent Clause
IF	Initial Field
LH	Lambeth Homilies (eME text)

lOE	late Old English
MH	Modifier-Head (order in a phrase)
MCl	Main Clause
ME	Middle English
MF	Medial Field
MS	Manuscript
MV	Main Verb
N	Noun
NCl	Noun Clause
NP	Noun Phrase
N-type	Noun-type
O	Object
OCP	Oxford Concordancing Program
OE	Old English
OV	Object-Verb (word order)
P	Predicator
PC	Personal Computer
PDE	Present day English
Pn	Pronoun
Pn-type	Pronoun-type
Post-V	Post-Verb
pr	preposition
Pre-V	Pre-Verb
RAM	Random Access Memory
RCl	Relative [modifying clause]
Rel. Pn	Relative Pronooun
S	Subject
SCl	Subordinate
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb (word order)

STELLA	Software for Teaching English Language and Literature and its Assessment
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object (word order)
SW	Sawles Warde (eME text)
TACT	
TF	Terminal Field
TG	Transformative/Generative (grammar)
TVX	Topic-Verb-X (any other element) (word order)
V	verb
VO	Verb Object (word order)
VP	Verb Phrase (single verb or aux verb + Main Verb)
vs	versus
VSO	Verb-Subject-Object (word order)
VV	Vices and Virtues (eME text)
V-1	Verb-First (word order)
V-2	Verb-Second (word order)
V-3	Verb-Third (word order)
X	when used with V, signifies any other element except the Subject

Appendix 2: tables

In this appendix all the tables used in this thesis are collected together for the convenience of the reader.

Tables 1a and 1b. (S and V ordering regardless of other elements present.)

LH (A)

	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SV	321(62%)	149 (69%)	375 (73%)	187 (66%)
SXV	60 (12%)	37(17%)	110 (22%)	93 (33%)
VS	133 (26%)	29 (14%)	26 (5%)	2 (c.1%)

LH (B)

	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SV	158(68%)	64(74%)	142(72%)	88(77%)
SXV	10(4%)	13(15%)	42(21%)	25(22%)
VS	65(28%)	9(11%)	12(6%)	1

Tables 2a and 2b[94]

LH (A)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SVO	130 (60%)	58 (60%)	145 (64%)	60 (37%)
SOV	18 (8%)	18 (19%)	61 (27%)	30 (19%)
OSV	16 (7%)	12 (13%)	17 (8%)	72 (44%)
VS	53 (24%)	8 (8%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)

[94]Please note there is some rounding up of fractions in some columns.

LH (B)	ICls	CjCls	SCls	RCls
SVO	64 (59%)	20 (59%)	55 (66%)	22 (31%)
SOV	5 (5%)	9 (27%)	19 (23%)	10 (14%)
OSV	13 (12%)	3 (9%)	4 (5%)	39 (55%)
VS	26 (24%)	2 (6%)	-	-

Tables 3a and 3b

ICls	*CH*	*SW*	CjCl.	*CH*	*SW*
SV	52%	70%	SV	60%	62%
SXV	10%	6%	SXV	33%	12%
VS	38%	24%	VS	7%	26%

Tables 4a and 4b

	ICl		CjCl	
CH	IF	MF/TF	IF	MF/TF
Pn	211(73%)	79(27%)	: 153(100%)	-
N	225(56%)	175(44%)	: 78(86%)	13(14%)
Total	436(63%)	254(37%)	: 231(95%)	13(5%)
SW				
Pn	81(84%)	15(16%)	: 31(82%)	7(18%)
N	49(71%)	20(29%)	: 18(69%)	8(31%)
Total	130(79%)	35(21%)	: 49(77%)	15(23%)

Tables 5a, 5b & 5c

	ICl		CjCl	
A	IF	MF/TF	IF	MF/TF
Pn	97(83%)	20(17%)	: 37(86%)	6(14%)
N	38(57%)	29(43%)	: 22(71%)	9(29%)
Total	135(73%)	49(27%)	: 59(80%)	15(20%)

	ICl		CjCl	
B	IF	MF/TF	IF	MF/TF
Pn	31(97%)	1(3%)	: 20(100%)	-
N	43(51%)	42(49%)	: 33(89%)	4(11%)
Total	74(63%)	43(37%)	: 53(93%)	4(7%)

(Table 5 (c))

Totals of all (A and B combined) Pns and Ns:

	IF	MF/TF	IF	MF/TF
Pn	128(86%)	21(14%)	: 57(90%)	6(10%)
N	81(53%)	71(47%)	: 55(81%)	13(19%)

Table 6 (total number of Pn/N subjects)

	Pns	Ns
CH	290 (42%)	400 (58%)
LH (A)	117 (64%)	67 (36%)
LH (B)	32 (27%)	85 (73%)

Table 7: O-initial clauses.

A	OSV	OVS	B	OSV	OVS
ICls	14	2		13	11
CjCls	12	2		2	2

Table 8: O-initial clauses

CH	OSV	OVS
ICls	12	6
CjCls	4	1

Table 9.

	A	B
ICls	Pn/N = 36/138 (21%Pn)	Pn/N = 13/76 (15%Pn)
CjCls	" 29/52 (36% ")	" 10/20 (33% ")
SCls	" 81/129 (39% ")	" 15/54 (22% ")
Total	(excl. RCls) 145/319 (31%)	38/150 (20%)

Table 10: Pn/N ratios with SOV order

	Pn	N
A	90 (93%)	7 (7%)
B	18(55%)	15 (45%)

Table 11a: Position of Object (extracted from Kohonen, p107).

	ICL			CjCl			DCl		
	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF
CH/Pn	23%	51%	26%	6%	85%	10%	37%	60%	3%
/N	4%	11%	85%	1%	50%	49%	2%	69%	30%
SW/Pn	14%	14%	71%	4%	15%	81%	49%	23%	28%
/N	8%(1)	-	92%	7%	4%	89%	6%	12%	82%

Table 11b: Position of Object (*LH* sections A and B)

	ICL			CjCl			DCl		
	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF
A/ Pn	6%	58%	36%	14%	62%	24%	47%	42%	11%
/ N	13%	-	87%	19%	-	81%	3%	9%	88%
B/ Pn	31%	39%	31%	20%	70%	10%	73%	21%	6%
/ N	25%	-	75%	5%	10%	85%	-	21%	79%

Table 12: DCl data (combined RCls and SCls).

	LH (A)	*LH* (B)	*CH*	*SW*
SVO	51%	49%	26%	49%
SOV	24%	19%	61%	14%
OSV	25%	31%	13%	33%
VS	-	-	-	4%

Table 13: SCl and RCl data from the LH; Pn/N (O) comparison.

	SCl			RCl		
	IF	MF	TF	IF	MF	TF
A/Pn	11(14%)	54 (68%)	14 (18)	72 (76%)	19 (20%)	4(4%)
/N	6 (5%)	7 (6%)	114 (89%)	-	11 (17%)	53(83%)
Totals	17 (8%)	61 (30%)	128 (62%)	72 (45%)	30 (19%)	57 (36%)
B/Pn	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	3 (20%)	39 (83%)	7 (15%)	1 (2%)
/N	-	13 (25%)	40 (76%)	-	3 (14%)	20 (86%)
Totals	6 (9%)	19 (28%)	43 (63%)	39 (57%)	10 (15%)	21 (28%)

Table 14.

	Total (ICl+CjCl)		Total (ICl+CjCl)
ASV	206 (55%)	OSV	41 (71%)
AVS	167 (45%)	OVS	17 (29%)

Table 15: position of Adverbial in clauses (from Kohonen, 1978).

CH	Initial	Medial	Final
ICl	286 (37%)	116 (15%)	372 (48%)
CjCl	22 (5%)	224 (51%)	194 (44%)
DCl	24 (4%)	368 (62%)	202 (34%)

Table 15 (continued): position of Adverbial in clauses (from Kohonen, 1978).

SW	Initial	Medial	Final
ICl	37 (26%)	13 (9%)	92 (65%)
CjCl	12 (9%)	15 (11%)	108 (80%)
DCl	6 (4%)	48 (31%)	101 (65%)

N.B. headings: initial = pre V and pre S; medial = between S and V;final = post V; (V = main verb).

Table 16: Adverbial position in the *LH*.

LH (A)	IF	MF	TF
ICl	126 (33%)	19 (5%)	240 (62%)
CjCl	70 (30%)	11 (5%)	155 (65%)
DCl	29 (5%)	103 (17%)	464 (78%)
LH (B)			
ICl	44 (29%)	4 (3%)	102 (68%)
CjCl	22 (25%)	3 (3%)	64 (72%)
DCl	9 (4%)	30 (13%)	194 (83%)

Table 17 a) and b): analysis of Adverbial numbers in medial field.

LH (A)

No. of Words	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 word	16 (84%)	8 (73%)	74 (72%)	98 (74%)
2 "	3 (16%)	-	20 (19%)	23 (17%)
3 "	-	3 (27%)	9 (9%)	12 (9%)
4 "	-	-	-	-
Totals	19	11	103	133

LH (B)

No. of Words	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 word	3 (75%)	-	17 (57%)	20 (54%)
2 "	-	-	10 (33%)	10 (27%)
3 "	-	2 (66%)	2 (7%)	4 (11%)
4 "	1 (25%)	1 (33%)*	1 (3%)	3 (8%)
Totals	4	3	30	37

*Includes RCl in phrase.

Table 18 a) and b): No. of words in APs for *CH/SW*, extracted from Kohonen's original data.

CH	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 words	49 (43%)	75 (33%)	109 (30%)	233 (33%)
2 "	29 (25%)	54 (24%)	107 (29%)	190 (27%)
3 "	25 (22%)	68 (30%)	121 (33%)	214 (30%)
4 + "	11 (10%)	28 (12%)	29 (8%)	68 (10%)
Totals	114	225	366	705

Ratio of As to clauses = 40:100

SW	ICls	CjCls	DCls	Totals
1 words	6 (46%)	8 (53%)	27 (56%)	41 (54%)
2 "	4 (30%)	2 (13%)	12 (25%)	18 (24%)
3 "	2 (15%)	1 (7%)	7 (15%)	10 (13%)
4 + "	1 (8%)	4 (27%)	2 (4%)	7 (9%)
Totals	13	15	48	76

Ratio of As to clauses = 16:100

Table 19. (a) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in *LH* (A)

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	27 (84%)	4 (31%)	12 (28%)	3 (8%)
Final Position	5 (16%)	9 (69%)	31 (72%)	33 (92%)

Table 19. (b) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in *LH* (B)

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	34 (81%)	2 (15%)	6 (20%)	4 (18%)
Final Position	8 (19%)	11 (85%)	24 (80%)	18 (82%)

Table 20. (a) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in the *CH*

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	217 (84%)	32 (28%)	18 (10%)	20 (18%)
Final Position	40 (16%)	83 (72%)	159 (90%)	92 (82%)

Table 20. (b) Weight of Adverbials in initial and final position in *SW*

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 plus
Initial Position	16 (43%)	9 (29%)	3 (14%)	9 (23%)
Final Position	21 (57%)	22 (71%)	18 (86%)	30 (77%)

Table 21 (1 word Adverbials in ICls)

	IF	MF	TF
LH (A)	27 (68%)	8 (20%)	5 (12%)
LH (B)	34 (79%)	1 (2%)	8 (19%)
CH	216 (71%)	48 (16%)	40 (13%)
SW	16 (37%)	6 (14%)	21 (49%)

Table 22: *Peterborough Chronicle.*

Order	Number/Ratio
ASV	28 / 22%
AVS	98 / 78%

Table 23. (Ælfric's Homilies)

ICls	CH and SH
ASV	175 (40%)
AVS	267 (60%)

Table 24.

ICls	*LH* (A)	*LH* (B)	Totals (A + B)
ASV	96 (52%)	35 (42%)	131 (48%)
AVS	90 (48%)	49 (58%)	139 (52%)

Table 25

Key: X/Y (e.g. H/H) refers to A/S: if H, then heavy; if L, then light (S = Pn in this case). For AAS (last four columns) figures refer to: (for AA) if H then 1 A at least is heavy, if L then both As are light. S figures show simply numbers of heavy"or light S elements. N.B initial, single As = ACl are ignored.

A

ICl	Total	H/H	L/L	H/L	L/H	AAH	AAL	+SH	+SL
ASV	96	17	26	40	7	6	0	2	4
AVS	82	18	24	4	30	8	0	7	1

In ASV, there is 1 negative (AASV); in AVS, 12: 5 in H/H, 3 in both L/L and H/L; 2 in L/H

Table 25(Continued)

B

ICl	Total	H/H	L/L	H/L	L/H	AAH	AAL	+SH	+SL
ASV	35	10	11	12	2	0	0	0	0
AVS	47	24	1	0	20	2	0	2	0

Table 26 (Note: SXV#=V-final; SXVX=V-late)

CH	SV	SXV#	SXVX
ICls	368 (84%)	31 (7%)	41 (9%)
DCls	331 (43%)	369 (48%)	66 (9%)

SW	SV	SXV#	SXVX
ICls	122 (92%)	6 (5%)	4 (3%)
DCls	155 (74%)	28 (13%)	26 (12%)

Table 27.

(N.B. SauxV(X) = SV order but any SXauxV[Vaux] = V-final(#), V-late (VX))

LH(A)	SV	SXV#	SXVX
ICls	321 (84%)	24 (6%)	36 (10%)
DCls	561 (73%)	125 (16%)	79 (10%)
LH(B)			
ICls	158 (94%)	6 (4%)	4 (2%)
DCls	229 (77%)	57 (19%)	11 (4%)

Table 28.

LH (A)	SV	SXV	*LH* (B)	SV	SXV
ICs	318 (86%)	50 (14%)		161 (96%)	7 (4%)
DCls	641 (84%)	121 (16%)		251 (85%)	44 (15%)

Table 29.

A	aux-MV	MVaux	B	aux-MV	MVaux
ICls	43	0		30	0
CjCls	18	0		16	0
SCls	43 (93%)	3 (7%)		17 (77%)	5 (23%)
RCls	23 (89%)	3 (11%)		10 (92%)	1 (8%)
Totals	127 (96%)	6 (4%)		73 (93%)	6 (7%)

Table 30 (a) and (b).

CH	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)	VSXaux	Vaux
All Cls	140	116	91	6	64
%	(34%)	(28%)	(22%)	(1%)	(15%)

SW	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)V	SXaux(X)V	Vaux
All Cls	65	18	24	4	3
%	(57%)	(16%)	(21%)	(3.5 %)	(2.5%)

Table 31 (a) and (b).

LH (A)	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)V	SXaux(X)V	Vaux
All Cls	62	36	12	17	6
%	(47%)	(27%)	(9%)	(13%)	(5%)

(Vaux = 4.5%, rounded up)

LH (B)	SauxVX	SauxXV	auxS(X)V	SXaux(X)V	Vaux
All Cls	36	19	12	6	6
%	(46%)	(24%)	(15%)	(8%)	(8%)

(V-aux = 7.5%, rounded up)

Table 32.

DCls	*SW*	*LH* (A&B)
SVO	49%	50%
SOV	14%	22%
OSV	33%	27%
(O)VS(O)	4%	1%

Table 33 (a) and (b).

LH (A)	SauxV	SauxXV	auxSXVX	SXauxXV	MVau
ICl/CjCl	29 (48%)	13 (21%)	11 (18%)	8 (13%)	-
SCl/RCl	32 (46%)	23 (33%)	1 (1%)	9 (13%)	5 (7%)

LH (B)	SauxV	SauxXV	auxSXVX	SXauxXV	MVaux
ICl/CjCl	28 (61%)	5 (11%)	12 (26%)	1 (2%)	-
SCl/RCl	8 (24%)	14 (42%)	-	5 (15%)	6 (18%)

Appendix 3: sample text

Sample tagged text from the text-analysis file.

The following few pages contain some sample text used for analysis processing implementing the OCP text analysis program. This contains the full tagging used, which is described in chapter 3, and including an extra tag not used in the analysis, for "semi-dependent clauses", that is CjCls which have no subject as they share the same subject as the ICls to which they are attached. Other tags used were "i" for interjection, or exclamation, and ~RPn for relative pronoun. An analysis of such clauses had been considered in the beginning, but was in the end discarded. Also included in the tagging are the homily numbers - as given by Morris (1868) - with the code "QCC" which is purely to allow it to be distinguished from any piece of text which happens to be followed by a number. The first selection contains only the clause-level tagging but selection 2 also has tagging for phrase-level elements.

Since the concern of the studies in this thesis was with changes in the English language, the Latin quotations which appeared in the original text have been omitted. In case it is felt necessary for this Latin text to be returned to the text for some future study, the places where text has been removed is marked thus: "{LAT.Q.}". It should be noted that since the text was typed in originally using a very basic word processing program - and there were limitations with the OCP program used regarding recognition of special characters, such as "þ" - a rather cumbersome method of marking such special characters had to be used. To recap from chapter 3, upper case is used for all characters still used in PDE, with "*" added to represent capital letters, while early English characters no longer used in PDE are represented by lower case letters which approximate them to a degree: "y" for "þ", "g" for *yogh*, and "d" for *eth*. A copy of the text selected from the *LH*, and tagged, is available the *COMET* web page at Glasgow University. The

URL for the text collection held here is :

http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/www/english/comet/comet.html.

Selection 1

<QCC1> .{LAT.Q.} <C ICl> !iSPCA *GODE MEN HIT IS AN HESTE DEI TO DEI <C RCl> !SPA yE IS ON .XII. MONyE <C ICl> !SPOx yIS GODSPEL SED <C SCl> !ASPAAAx HU yE HELEND NEHLECHEDE TOWARD IERUSALEM yARE BURH TO DEI MID HIS APOSTLES AND EC MID OdERE FLOC MANNA <C SCl> !SPA yA HE COM TO yERE DUNE <C RCl> !SP OLIUETI HIS IHATEN <C ICl> !APSO yA SENDE HE IS .II. LEORNICNIHTES <C SDCl> !PAOx AND CyED TO HEOM <C SCl>!PA *GOd IN yANE CASTEL <C RCl> !SPA yET IS ON-gEIN EOU <C CjCl> !SPAAO AND gE FINDEd REDLICHE yAR ANE ASSE <C RCl> !PA gE-BUNDEN MID HIRE COLT <C ICl> !PO UNBINDEd HEO <C CjCl> !POA AND LEADEd HEO TO ME <C SCl> !SPOA gIF ENIMAN SEId EAWIHT TO EOU <C ICl> !POx SEGGEd <C SCl> !SPAO yET yE LAUERD HAUEd yAR-OF NEODE <C CjCl> !ASOPA AND REDLICHE HEO EOU LETEd FERE yER-MID. {LATIN QUOTE} <C ICl> !SP *yA APOSTLES EODEN <C SDCl> !PAx AND DEDEUN <C SCl> !SOP ALSWA yE HELENDE HEOM HET <C ICl> !SPO HEO NOMEN yE ASSE AND HERE COLT <C SDCl> !PA AND LEDDEN TO HIM <C CjCl> !SPOA AND HEO DUDEN HEORE CLAyES HUPPON yE ASSE FOLE <C CjCl> !SAPAA AND URE DRIHTEN SEOdyAN RAD yER-ON UPPEN TOWARD IERUSALEM <C ICl> !APSVAOx yA WES HIT CUd OUER AL yE BURH <C SCl> !SPA yET yE HELIND WES yIdERWARD <C ICl> !SPACA HEO URNEN ON-gEIN HIM AL yA HEBREISCE MEN MID GODERE HEORTE AND SUMME MID UFELE yEONKE. <C ICl> !SPO *MONI OF yAN FLOC MANNA <C RCl> !SAPO yE EARyON FULIEDEN URE DRIHTEN AND EC yA gE-LEAFULLE OF yERE BURH HEO NOMEN HEORE CLAyES AND yE BESTE <C RCl> !OSP yET HEO HEFDE <C SDCl> !PAAxAx

AND STREHITEN UNDER yA ASSA FET <C SCl> !SPA yER DRIHTEN
RAD INNE yE WEIgE. <C SCl> !OP HIM TO LUUE <C SDCl> !P
AND HERIgINGE <C ICl> !SPA yA OdRE MEN <C RCl> !SOP yE
REIL NEFDEN HEO STIgEN UPPEON yE GODES CUNNES TREOWE
<C SDCl> !PO AND NOMEN yA TWIGGA AND yA BLOSTME <C SDCl>
!PA AND DUDEN UNDER yE ASSA FET <C SDCl> !POAx AND
BISTREWEDEN AL yANE WEYE <C SCl> !OP HIM TO WURySCIPE
<C CjCl> !SPOAx AND AL yE HEBREISCE FOLC <C RCl> !SPA
yE EODE EFTER HIM AND BIUOREN HIM SUNGUN yISNE LOFSONG
<C SCl> !AP HEHLICHE TO HERINGE <C SDCl> P AND
CWEyEN.{LATIN
QUOTE} <C ICl> !SP yET IS <C ICl> !SPC HE IS IBLESSED
<C RCl> !SAPA yE yE HER CUMET ON DRIHTENES NOME.
<C ICl> !ASOP *yUS HA HINE HEREDEN <C RCl> !SPA A yE yE
RAD IN ET yAN EST gETE yERE BURH <C RCl> !ASPO yET gET
ME HAT. *SPECIOSA PORTA . <C ICl> !SP yET HIS <C ICl>
!CSPO yET FAIRE gET ME HAT HIT <C ICl>!AAPSV AND
<C SCl> !SP SEOdyAN yE CRISTINDOM WES NEFRE OUER .XII.
MONyE NIS HIT UNDON <C CjCl> !ASPAAA BUTE TO DEI AL yAT
FOLC EODE yAR FORd TO PROCESSIUN TO MUNTE OLIUETI; AND
IN AL SWA. <C ICl> !iAxAPSVAOx *NU LEOUE BROdRE
<C SCl> !SIPOVA NU IC EOU HABBE yET GODSPEL ISEID
ANFALDELICHE NU SCULE gE UNDERSTONDEN TWA FALDELICHE
<C SCl> !OSP yET HIT BI-TACNET. <C ICl> !SPAAOx gE IHERDEN
ER ON yE GODSPEL <C SCl> !SPOAAx HU URE DRIHTEN SENDE HIS
.II. APOSTLES PETRUM AND IOHANNEM ON-gEIN yENE CASTEL
<C SCl> !SPO yET HEO UNBUNDEN yAT ASSA AND HIRE FOLE MID
HIRE . <C CjCl> !ASPA AND HU HURE DRIHTEN SET UPPEN dA
ASSA FOLE. <C ICl> {TAG} !iSPOx *LEOUE BROdRE AND SUSTRE

gE HI HERED <C SCl> !OSP HU MUCHEL EDMODNESCE URE DRIHTEN
DUDE FOR US <C ICl> !SPAxA HE MIHTE RIDAN <C SCl> !SP gIF HE WALDE ON RICHE STEDE AND PALEFRAI AND MULE AND ARABISZ
<C ICl> !nPSA NALDE HE NO.{?} NA FORyON UPPON yA MUCHELE ASSA AgC UPPON yA LUTTHLEFOLE <C RCl> !AOSP yAT gET HIT WES SUKINDE <C ICl> !nPSVAA NE BER HIT NES NEFRE NANE BURdENE <C ICl> !nSPAVA NE HI NES NEFERE IFULED OF NANE OdRE ASSA. <C ICl> !ASPA *IN SWA MUCHELE EDMODNESSE GODALMIHTI HINE DUDE FOR US <C SDCl> !APIO AND EC SETTE US BISNE <C ICl> !AxnPSAC <C SCl> !POA yAg{?} HABBE WELE TO OUER STOHWENESSE ON yISSE LIUE NE BEO yU yEREUORE PRUD NE WILDE NE STERC NE WEMOD NE OUER MODI <C ICl> !AxSPCAx <C SCl> !ASPOA AH yES yE WE HEOUEDEN MARE WELE ON yISSE LIUE. yES WE AHTE TO BEON yE EDMODDRE.AND yA MARE IMETE <C SCl> !SCP AL SWA HIT URE WELE NERE <C SDCl> !PIO AND yONKIEN HIT URE DRIHTEN <C RCl> !SOIP yE HIT US LENDE <C SDCl> !POA AND DON yAN MONNA yEROF <C RCl> !SOP yAT HIT NABBET. <C ICl> !iSP *GODEMEN yA gE-LEAFULE EBREISCE FOLC EODEN <C SDCl> !PAAAx AND STREWEDEN MID TWIGAN IN DRIHTENES WEYE <C SCl>!ASP yER HE RAD. <C ICl> !ASPOx yA HIT WES IFULLET <C SCl> !OSPA yET YSAIAS yE PROPHETE IWITEGEDE {UEALE HUND WINTRA ??} <C SCl> !SP ER yIS WERE <C SDCl> !P AND CWEd. {LAT.Q.} <C ICl> !PAO REREd UP DRIHTENES WEI <C CjCl> !POA AND MAKIET HIS WEOgES RIHTE. <C ICl> !SPO *yET TACNET <C SCl> !SPOA yET WE SULEN HABBEN URE HEORTE <C SDCl> !PO AND HABBEN GODNE ILEAFE TO URE DRIHTEN. <C ICl> !SPOx yE WITEgA HET

<C SCl> !SPO yET WE SCULDE MAKIEN HIS STIgES

Selection 2

QCC4{IN DIEBUS DOMINICIS.}

<C ICl> !eAxSIPAVA e ~ACl <C SCl> !SP gEF ~SPnX gE ^VX LUSTEN ^VY WULEd. <C CjCl> !SAOP AND ~SPnX gE ~Av1 WILLELICHE ~OPn HIT ^V UNDER-STONDEN ~SPnX WE ~IPn EOW ^VY WULLEd ~Av1 SUTELICHE ^VX SEGGEN ~AP5 OF yA FREDOME <C RCl> !SPA ~SRPn yE ^V LIMPEd ~AP5 TO yAN DEIE <C RCl> !SPO ~SRPn yE ^VYX IS ICLEPEd ~ON1 SUNEDEI.\

<C ICl> !SPO ~SN1 *SUNEDEI ^YX IS IHATEN ~ON3 yES LAUERDES DEI <C SDCl> AND EC yE DEI OF BLISSE AND OF LISSE AND OF ALLE-IREST.

<C ICl> !ASRPAx ~AP2 *ON yON DEIE ~SN3 yA ENGLES OF HEOFENE ~RPnW HAM ^V IBLISSIEd. ~ACl <C SCl> !SPOA FORdI yE ~SN2 yA ERMING SAULEN ^V HABBEd ~ON REST ~AP2 OF HEORE PINE. <C SCl> !SPOx *GIF ~SRPn HWA ^VYX WULE WITEN ~ONCl <C SCl> !SAPOI ~SRPn HWA ~Av EREST ^V BI-WON ~ON RESTE ~INW2 yAM WRECCHE SAULE

<C ICl> !AxASIP ACl ~AP1 TO SOdE ~SPnX IC ~IPn EOW ^V SEGGE. <C ICl> !SPC ~SPn yET ^V WES ~CN4 SANCTE PAUL yE APOSTEL AND MIHHAL yE ARCHANGEL

<C ICl> !SPAAAxAx ~SPn1 HEO TWEIEN ^V EODEN ~AP2 ET SUME TIME ~AP2 IN TO HELLE ~ACl + <C SCl> !ISP ALSWA HEOM DRIHTEN HET

~ACl <C SCl> !POx FOR ^V TO LOKIEN ~ONCl <C SCl> !SAP HU ~SPn HIT ~Av yER ^V FERDE. <C ICl> !SPA ~SN *MIHHAL ^V EODE ~Av1 BI-FOREN <C CjCl> !SPA AND ~SN PAUL ^V COM ~Av EFTER

<C CjCl> !APSAO AND ~Av yA ^V SCAWEDE ~SN MIHHAL ~AP2 TO SANCTE PAUL ~ON5 yA WRECCHE SUN-FULLE <C RCl> !SAP ~SRPn yE ~Av yER ^VYX WERE WUNIENDE

<C ICl> !ASIPO ~Av1 yER-EFTER ~SPnX HE ~IPn HIM ^V SCEAWEDE ~ON5 HEgE TREON <C RCl> !APA ~Av1 EISLICHE ^V BEORNINDE ~AP3 ET-FOREN HELLE gETE.

<C CjCl> !ASIPOx AND ~AP2 UPPON yAN TREON ~SPnX HE ~IPn HIM ^V SCEAWEDE ~ONCl <C SCl> !SP ~SN2 yE WRECCHE SAULEN ^V A-HONGE. <C SDCl>*SUMME BI yA FET. SUMME BI yA HONDEN. SUMME BI yE TUNGE. SUMME BI yE EgEN. SUMME BI yE HEFEDE. SUMME BI yER HEORTE.

<C ICl> !ASIPO ~Av *SEODdAN ~SPnX HE ~IPn HIM ^V SCEAUDE ~ON4 AN OUEN ON BERNINDE FURE

<C ICl> !SPAO ~SPnX HE ^V WARP ~AP2 UT OF HIM ~ON1 SEOFE LEIES {?} UWILCAN OF SEOLCUdRE HEOWE <C RCl> !SCPCx ~SRPn yE ~CN ALLE ^V WEREN

<C SCl> !AP ~Av1 EATELICHE ^V TO BIHALDENE {?} AND MUCHELE STRENGRE <C RCl> !SAP yEN ~SPn EANI ~Av yURG ^V TO yOLIEN.

<C CjCl> !APSV AND ~AP2 yER WId-INNEN ^VY WEREN ~SN2 SWIdE FEOLE SAULE ^VX A-HONGE.

<C ICl> !ASIPO ~Av gETTE ~SPnX HE ~IPn HIM ^V SCEAWEDE ~ON3 ANE WELLE OF FURE <C CjCl> !SPI AND ~SN2 ALLE HIRE STREMES ^V URNEN ~IN1 FUR BERNINDE.

<C CjCl> !IPSAx AND ~IN1 yA WELLE ^V BI-WISTEN ~SN5 .XII. MEISTER DEOFLEN <C RCl> !SPC ~SRPn1 SWILC HA ^V WEREN ~CN KINGES ~ACl

<C SCl> !PAO ^V TO PINEN ~AP2 yER WIdINNEN ~ON5 yA EARMING SAULEN <C RCl> !SCP ~SRPn yE ~CAj FOR-GULT ^V WEREN;