

MODAL ADVERB TRANSPOSITION IN OLD ENGLISH

Mykhaylenko V.V.,

King Danylo Galytsky University of Law, Ivano-Frankivsk

The present paper is based on the proposed classification of modal verbs in Old English and examines their relationship in the sentence and discourse structure. The shifts of modal adverbs in the sentence caused their grammatical transposition into sentential ones and then into discourse modal particles, respectively. The traditional role of an adverb is that of modifying a verb or a verb phrase expanded into that of modifying a sentence and then it developed the function of the linking element of discourse. Some explanations of their lexical, semantic, and functional features are discussed in the paper.

Key words: modal adverb, sentential modal adverb, discourse modal particle, linking element, grammaticalization, transposition, sentence, discourse, Old English.

Дана стаття спрямована на дослідження лексичної та функціональної семантики, а також дистрибутивних характеристик модальних прислівників у давньоанглійській мові, зміни яких викликали граматичну транспозицію первісних деривативних прислівників. Їх перехід зумовив парадигматичні зміни у морфології та структурі речення. Це явище допомагає вирізнити формування дискурсивних часток з когезійною функцією, які зберігають свою модальність.

Ключові слова: прислівник як модифікатор дієслова, прислівник як модифікатор речення, дискурсивна модальна частка, дистрибуція, лексична семантика, функціональна семантика, граматикалізація, транспозиція, дистрибуція, дискурс, давньоанглійська мова.

Настоящая статья направлена на изучение лексической и функциональной семантики, а также дистрибутивных характеристик модальных наречий в древнеанглийском языке, изменения которых вызвали грамматическую транспозицию первичных деривативных наречий. Их переход обусловил парадигматические изменения в морфологии и структуре предложения. Это явление помогает различить формирование дискурсивных частиц с когезивной функцией, которые сохраняют свою модальность.

Ключевые слова: наречие как модификатор глагола, наречие как модификатор предложения, дискурсивная модальная частица, дистрибуция, лексическая семантика, функциональная семантика, грамматикализация, транспозиция, дискурс, древнеанглийский язык.

Introduction

There is a continual growth of interest among linguists of all-theoretical denominations in grammaticalization, a concept central to many linguistic (change) theories. However, the discussion of grammaticalization processes has often suffered from a shortage of concrete empirical studies from one of the best-documented languages in the world, English. There must be a discussion of new data and provides theoretical articles based on these data that will help sharpen the theoretical aspects involved, such as the definition and the logical connection of the component processes of grammaticalization.

This article examines the grammaticalisation of modal adverbs in Old English [9, 290–408]. It surveys ways in which adverbs can come to be grammaticalized. When we study grammaticalization processes from a semantic-pragmatic perspective in the history of English we have to refuse a regular approach to the units which undergo grammaticalization as

semantically weakened, on the contrary, we can observe their pragmatic strengthening, for instance, in case of original mood adverbs grammaticalizing into discourse particles: pre-verb modal verb → sentential modal adverb → discourse modal particles in Modern English [cf.: 16, 86–90] or the modal adverbs *sóþlice* and *witodlice* which follow the same formula: original adverbs of manner → sentential adverbs → boundary markers or discourse particles marking thematic discontinuity or rather a change of dialogue roles in Old English [12, 229–230, 485–653; 21; 11; 26; see also: 8, 124–126; 20].

The only work focusing on the formation of adverbs is Nicolai (1907). Nicolai classifies the non-basic adverbs of Old English on the grounds of the category of the base on which they are formed and the morphological process from which the derivative results. Within the sub-class of deadjectival adverbs, which constitutes the most heterogeneous group in adverb formation, Nicolai distinguishes the fol-

lowing patterns (based on own morphological classification):

- a. adverbs derived from adjectives by means of -e: *bealde* 'boldly';
- b. adverbs derived from adjectives by means of -lice: *cwiculi:ce* 'vigorously';
- c. adverbs derived from previously derived adjectives: (adjective in -sum) *wilsumli:ce* 'desirably' [17].

The Nerthus Project aims at compiling a lexicon of Old English based on structural-functional principles. The lexical database of Old English Nerthus (www.nerthusproject.com) contains a total of ca. 30,000 entries, or headwords, taken primarily from Clark Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1996), and secondarily from Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1973) and Sweet's *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* (1976).

Nerthus yields a total of 1,654 adverbs which represent around five percent of the lexicon, as opposed to nouns constitute, approximately, fifty percent of the lexicon, and adjectives and verbs, which count for twenty percent each. Focusing on the adverbs, there are only 138 original adverbs out of 1,654. Accordingly we can say that the adverb constitutes a derived category. This turn out adverbs in Old English are formed namely by zero derivation, conversion, affixation and compounding. Affixation is the most productive derivational process engaged in adverb formation (865 out of 1,654), that is to say, more than fifty percent of adverbs are formed by means of affixation, suffixation qualifying as far more productive than prefixation. To take prefixation first, there were 199 prefixal adverbs. Gema Maiz Villalta made a comprehensive analysis of the Old English adverb derivation: 666 adverbs are derived by means of this process. Around forty percent of adverbs are suffixal. Instances of adverb suffixation include: (5) *elcora* 'else' (-a), *æftan* 'from behind' (-an), *æfterwearde* 'behind' (-e), *ierrenga* 'angrily' (-enga), *andlanges1* 'along' (-es), *ð: yflig* 'brambly' (-ig), *forhtige* 'humbly' (-ige), *bra:dlinga* 'flatly' (-linga), *æ:fenli:ce* 'in the evening' (-li:ce), *bæcling* 'backwards' (-ling), *eallmæ:st* 'nearly all' (mæ:st), *æftum* 'after' (-um), *a:nunga* 'at once' (-unga). The commonest pattern of adverb suffixation makes use of the suffix -li:ce (401 instances), followed by the suffix -e (124 instances). It is worth mentioning that whereas prefixation produces fewer derivatives by means of more prefixes, suffixation turns out more derivatives with fewer suffixes (there are 666 suffixed adverbs derived by 13 different suffixes and only 199 prefixed adverbs derived by means of 31 different prefixes), which stresses the productive character of the 64 compound adverbs have been found throughout the analysis [13, 37–58].

This involves the synthesis of the knowledge generated by a long tradition of philological studies in Old English and its reinterpretation not only

in the light of new evidence but also by means of up-to-date linguistic concepts and methods. (www.nerthusproject.com) [see also: 2; 11; 15].

To sum up, an exhaustive morphological analysis of the Old English adverb has shown that this lexical class is mainly derived and that the direction of derivation is more often from adjective to adverb.

Discussion

We shall be discussing the syntactic and discourse properties of a number of adverbs in Old English: *cúþ-lice*, (*cúþe-lice*, *cúþlice*), *ge-wislice* (*ge-wisslice*, *gewistlice*), *gé-sóðlice* (*sóþlice*, *sóðlice*) which correlates with the adverb *sóþe*, and *witodlice*. We will show that the syntactic and discourse properties of these adverbs reveal a good deal about the changing organization of clause structure and discourse during the Old English period. We will address a number of core issues in the analysis of Old English clause structure, such as the shift from parataxis to hypotaxis, and the changing position of various types of subject [10, 224–248]. An important implication of our discussion will turn out to be that the syntactic organization of the clause, at least in Old English, is interwoven with discourse organization much more closely than has been thought so far, and that the transition to Middle English is one that results in a more strictly syntactic organization of the clause [22, 1682–1686].

It's often said that English has no modal particles, in any case, the exact definition of a modal particle is complicated, let's just define them as any common verbal emotion or as verbal emoticons. They can have different emphatic meanings, so they appear under more than one heading for expressing a wide range of modal senses [5, 345–357; 26, 215–239].

We believe that these phenomena should receive more attention [see: A. M. Zwicky 1998, or F. Palmer 1986; D. Vanderveken, 1985]. That part of the sentential modality that is structurally determined and called sentence mood. It follows that sentence mood is part of the structural meaning of a sentence. B. Mitchell's differentiation of sentence modality into declarative, interrogative, imperative, desiderative, exclamative is based on the traditional sentence communicative function [B. Mitchell, 1985; see also: Magda Sevcikova, 2014; Jiri Mirovsky, 2014]. Ways of coding sentential modality: interrogative words, verbal mood, word order, intonation, modal sentence particles which also mark negation, complementation, attitudes and evidentiality [6, 137–164].

In this paper we will explore some aspects of relationship between linguistic constructions and grammaticalization [see: Adel Goldberg, 1995; Paul Kay and Charles J. Fillmore, 1999]. I assume that language is fundamentally a symbolic system that pairs form and meaning. I thought many concepts germane to grammaticalization were, he is thought to be the first to have used that term. A. Meillet saw it

as the result of the reanalysis (in his view the only way to innovate new grammatical material [14].

He considered “lexical items” to be the source of most instances of grammaticalization, but also included word order, and lexical items context of phrases [14, 131]. Joan Bybee, and William Pagliuca (1994) suggest that grammaticalization theory begins with the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes.

Investigation

The present paper explores semantic and syntactic aspects of OE adverbs *cúþ-líce*, (*cúþe-líce*, *cúþlice*), *ge-wislice* (*ge-wisslice*, *gewistlice*), *gê-sóðlice* (*sóþlice*, *sóðlice*) which correlates with the adverb *sóþe*, and *witodlice*. Primarily these adverbs share a common component in their semantics ‘certainly’:

1. *Cúþ-líce*, *cúþe-líce*:

(a) certainly; (b) manifestly; (c) for, (d) indeed; (e) therefore; (f) familiarly, (g) courteously, (h) kindly, [1, 3, 21], e.g.:

PRE-VERB [witan/a-scinan] MODAL ADVERB

1.1. *Ic cúþlice wát*, Bd. 2, 12; S. 513, 42: 4, 19; S. 589, 25.

1.2. *Ðæt his líf ðe cúþlicor ascíneþ* 5, 1; S. 613, 14

POST-VERB [acirran / oncnawan / cweðan] MODAL ADVERB + CÚÞLÍCE

1.4. *Acyrrred cúþlice* from *Cristes æ-acute*; Exon. 71b; Th. 267, 6.

1.5. *Ðæt he eáþmédum ellorfúsne oncnáwe cúþlice* Andr. Kmb. 643.

1.6. *Cweðað cúþlice* Ps. Th. 70, 10: 82.

2. *Ge-wislice*:

(a) certainly; (b) exactly; (c) truly; (d) especially; (e) besides [1, 3, 21], e.g.:

POST-VERB MODAL ADVERB [GEWISLÍCE]

2.3. *Ðú miht blissigan gewisslice*,.. Homl. Th. ii. 132, 1.

2.4. *Ic nát náht gewistlice hwæðer ðæs feós swá micel is...* Th. Chart. 490, 15.

2.5. *Se witegode be Criste swiðe gewislice swilce he godspellere wæ-acute*; Swt. A. S. Rdr. 69, 414.

2.8. *Ic cweðe nú gewislicor* *I say now more exactly*, 8, 23; Lchdm. iii. 250

2.7. *Seó lenctenlice emniht is gewislice on duodecima kl.* April. Lchdm. iii. 256, 8.

‘the spring equinox is certainly on the twelfth day before the kalends of April’.

SENTENTIAL MODAL ADVERB [GEWISLÍCE] + CLAUSE

2.6. *Gewislice ic hæbbe*, Coll. Monast. Th. 30, 7.

2.1. *Gyf sóþlice gewislice rihtwísnyse sprecaþ* Ps. Spl. C. 57, 1.

2.2. *Gewislice án þing is neád-behefe* Lk. Bos. 10, 42.

2.9. *Ðæs ðe hie gewislicost gewitan meahton*,.. Beo. Th. 2704; B. 1350.

‘to the best of their knowledge..’

3. *Sóþlice*:

(a) truly, (b) really, (c) certainly, (D) verily, [1, 3, 21], e.g.:

PRE-VERB MODAL ADVERB

3.3. *Ðám ðe sóðlice sécaþ* Dryhten, Ps. Th. 104, 3.

3.8. *Ic sóðlice meahte ongitan*, Exon. Th. 313, 24; Mód. 5.

3.18. *Ic sóðlicost wéne*, 164, 28.

3.9. *Se ðe ðé ðyslice gife and swá mycle sóþlice* (-re, MS.) Bd. 2, 12; S. 514, 13; Exon. Th. 9, 19; Cri. 137.

3.11. *Hí ðý sóðlicor ongeáton ðæt hit wæs sóðlice his ágen líchoma*, Shrn. 68, 33.

POST-VERB MODAL ADVERB

3.4. *Ðis wæs sóðlice eádig wer*, Blickl. Homl. 223, 31.

3.5. *Ðú bist sóþlice æ-acute*; r þrím dagum genumen of ðinum líchoman 137, 25.

3.6. *Is sóðlice se cwide gefýlled*, 139, 27.

3.15. *Gehýre gé sóðlice ðæs sáwendan bigspell* 13, 18.

SENTENTIAL MODAL ADVERB

3.1. *Sóðlice ðú eart Godes sunu* *Dei es*, Mt. Kmb. 14, 33: 27, 54.

3.2. *Sóðlice ic secge eów* 6, 16 (and often).

3.7. *Swýþe sóþlice wé mágon geþencan*, ðæt hit biþ deáþes ylding swiðor ðonne lífes, 59, 31. ‘with great truth’.

DISCOURSE MODAL PARTICLE

3.12. *Sóðlice losep hyre wer* Mt. Kmb. 1, 19 3.14.

3.13. *Sóðlice seó fæ-acute; mne hæfþ on in&dash-uncertain*; 1, 23: 2, 9: 3, 17.

3.14. *Sóðlice wé gesáwon hys steorran*, 2, 2: 3, 1: 4, 18

3.16. *Sóðlice ic eom man under anwealde gesett* 8, 9.

3.17. *Sóðlice ðæt ðe ásáwen wæs on ðæt góde land qui vero in terra bona seminatus est*, 13, 23, 29. [O. Sax. sóðlíko: Icel. sannliga.]

4. *Witodlice* (wotetlice):

(a) certainly, (b) indeed, (c) surely, (d) truly [1, 3, 21], e.g.:

POST-VERB MODAL ADVERB

4.1. *Wéne ic ful swiðe and witodlice*, Exon. Th. 461, 5; Hö. 30. II.

SENTENTIAL MODAL ADVERB → DISCOURSE MODAL PARTICLE

4.2. *Witodlice ic wylle* Ælfc. Gr. Z. 263, 17.

4.3. *Witodlice ic secge eów*, Mt. Kmb. 26, 21.

4.4. *Witodlice* Mt. Kmb. 1, 21.

Jerzy Nykiel points to the interplay of modal verbs and modal adverb [18, 143–164]: in some case Old English modal adverbs correlate with modal verbs to strengthen modality of the sentence.

Richard M. Hogg, R. D. Fulk consider the inventory of these adverbs in different periods of English to be a relatively closed set [7, 146–190]. The adverbs *sopælice* (← truly ← *soth* ‘truth’, *sothlice* ‘true’) and *witolice* ‘truly’, ‘certainly’) are employed in various functions in Old English: on the phrase level they may be used as manner adverbs mainly in direct speech with the first person subject, e.g.: *Ic sec3e 3e solice* ‘I tell you truly’, or they are employed as emphasers. Yet they have also another function which is not commonly noted in dictionaries — in Old English prose as sentence adverbials and eventually discourse markers they lose much of their original meaning extend their scope from the phrase level to at least the sentence level at the same time develop a metatextual function [10, 224–248] — they are used as discourse markers demarkating episode boundaries on the global level of discourse and as highlighting devices on the local level [cf.: 12, 229–249]: Clause internal manner adverb → sentence adverbial → discourse particle.

Ursula Lenker introduced the communicative principle to describe *soplice*, *forsoothe*, *truly* in the history of English defining them as truth intensifying adverbs. The term ‘particle’ encompasses a wide range of elements with differing functions, and it is not at all clear that they can all be classed as one homogeneous category [24, 25; see also: Laura Baily, 2013]. Criteria for determining what a particle is are not agreed upon. Generally, a loose definition is something like ‘an invariant element with grammatical function that does not belong to one of the major grammatical categories’. The negative aspect of this definition allows for the inclusion not only of question particles and similar, but of interjections, prepositions, phrasal

verb particles, German or Italian modal particles etc. Certain properties do appear to apply to all types of particle. J. Struckmeier’s (2008) analysis of German modal particles with question particles produced the following list of criteria: (a) constitute a closed lexical class; (b) are often stressless (or may be phonologically null); (c) do not select an argument as complement; (d) lack descriptive content; (e) are invariant in form; (f) usually have a lexical counterpart to which they are historically related; (g) are immobile; (h) are typically monosyllabic; (i) cannot be modified; (j) appear in fixed order in relation to other particles of the same class; (k) are sensitive to sentence type; (l) usually appear only in matrix clauses [4, 151–164; cf.: 19, 485–653].

Conclusions and Perspectives of Investigation

The fact is that the object of the historical study remains stable. It is our comprehension that changes due to new approaches to analysis and our analytical experience. To enrich it we must introduce a corpora analysis and project the results of investigation onto the contemporary language phenomena which expect their original solution.

Old English modal adverbs constitute a relatively closed lexical set of units though their survey on the word level, on the phrase level, on the sentence level logically revealed their further transposition into the discourse particles.

Shifts in the distribution caused Old English pre-verb modal adverbs transfer into sentential modal verbs which can easily turn into discourse particles developing a new linking function and retaining its primary meaning, see:

clause internal manner adverb → sentence modal adverbial → discourse modal particle.

REFERENCES

1. Bosworth J., Toller T. N. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary / J. Bosworth, T.N. Toller. — Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1973 (1898).
2. Campbell A. Old English Grammar / A. Campbell. — Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1987 (1959). — 423 p.
3. Clark Hall J. R. A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary / Clark Hall J.R. — Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1996 (1896) — 388 p.
4. Collins P. The Analysis of the English Modal Auxiliaries as Main Verbs / P. Collins // Kivung. — Vol. 7. — Pp. 151–164.
5. Cruschina Silvio. On the Syntactic Status of Sentential Adverbs and Modal Particles / Silvio Cruschina // Language Typology and Universals Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung. — 2010. — Volume 63. — Issue 4. — Pp. 345–357.
6. Fischer Olga. The Development of Quasi-Modals in English: Radical Versus Gradual Changes / Olga Fischer // Neophilologus. — 1994. — Vol. 78. — Pp. 137–164.
7. Hogg Richard M., Fulk R. D. A Grammar of Old English: Morphology. — Volume 2: Adjectives, Adverbs and Numerals / Richard M. Hogg, R.D. Fulk. — Oxford : Blackwell Publishing, 2011. — Pp. 146–190.
8. Hopper Paul J., Traugott Elizabeth C. Grammaticalization / Paul J. Hopper, E. C. Traugott. — Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1993. — 276 p.

9. Kastovsky D. *Semantics and Vocabulary* / D. Kastovsky // R. Hogg (ed.). *The Cambridge History of the English Language I: The Beginnings to 1066*. — Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992. — Pp. 290–408.
10. Kemenade van Ans, Los Bettelou. *Discourse Adverbs and Clausal Syntax in Old and Middle English* / Ans van Kemenade, Bettelou Los // *The Handbook of the History of English*. — Oxford : John Wiley & Sons, 2009. — Pp. 224–248.
11. Lass R. *Old English. A Historical Linguistic Companion* / R. Lass. — Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1994. — 391 p.
12. Lenker Ursula. *Sothlice and Witodlice: Discourse Markers in Old English* / Ursula Lenker // Olga Fischer, Anlett Rosenbach, Dieter Stein (eds.). — Amsterdam; New York : John Benjamins Publishing, 2000. — Pp. 229–249.
13. Maiz Villalta Gema *The Formation of Old English Adverbs: Structural Description and Functional Explanation* / Gema Maiz Villalta // *Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies*. — 2010. — Volume 41. — Pp. 37–58.
14. Meillet Antoine. *L'évolution des formes grammaticales* / Antoine Meillet // *Scientia (Rivista di Scienza)*. — 1958 [1912]. — Vol. 12. — No. 26/6. — Pp. 130–148.
15. Mitchell B. *Old English Syntax (2 vols)* / B. Mitchell. — Oxford : At the Clarendon Press, 1985. — 820 p. — 1080 p.
16. Mykhaylenko Valery V. *A Functional Shift of the Adverb in Old English and New English* / Valery V. Mykhaylenko // *Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету*. — Вип. 15. Германська філологія. — Чернівці : ЧДУ, 1997. — С. 86–90.
17. Nicolai O. *Die Bildung des Adverbs im Altenglischen* / O. Nikolai. — Whitefish MT, US : Kessinger Publishing, 2010 [1907]. — 64 S.
18. Nykiel Jerzy. *The Interplay of Modal Verbs and Adverbs: A History of Moeg Eaðe* / Jerzy Nykiel // *English Historical Linguistic. 2008: Selected Papers from the Fifteenth ed.* by Ursula Lenker, Judith Huber, Robert Mailhammer. — Amsterdam / Philadelphia : John Benjamins Publishing, 2010. — Pp. 143–164.
19. Quirk Randolph, Greenbaum Sidney, Leech Geoffrey, Svartvik Jan. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* / Randolph Quirk Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Svartvik. — London : Longman, 1985. — 897 p.
20. Smith Jeremy. *Old English: A Linguistic Introduction* / Jeremy J. Smith. — Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2009. — 199 p.
21. Sweet H. *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* / H. Sweet. — Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1976 [1896]. — 250 p.
22. Traugott Elizabeth Closs. *Syntax* / E.C. Traugott // R. Hogg (ed.). *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. — Vol. I. — Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992. — Pp. 1682–1686.
23. Traugott Elizabeth Closs and Bernd Heine (eds.). *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Vol. 2* / E.C. Traugott et al. — Amsterdam : Benjamins, 1991. — Pp. 241–271.
24. Trips Carola. *From OV to VO in Early Middle English* / Carola Trips. — Amsterdam / Philadelphia : John Benjamins Publishing, 2002. — 356 p.
25. Visser Frederick Theodore. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language. (3 parts, 4 volumes)*. — Leiden : Brill, 1963–73.
26. Zaefferer Dietmar. *On the Coding of Sentential Modality* / Dietmar Zaefferer, George Bossong, Bernard Comrie (eds.) *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology. 8*. Berlin. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. — Pp. 215–239.