MODAL ADVERB TRANSPOSITION IN OLD ENGLISH

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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 persperctive 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 partiles: pre-verb modal verb → sentential modal adverb → discourse modal particles in Modern English [cf.: 16, 86–90] or the modal adverbs *sóþlíce* 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), ∂: 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-líce, (cúþe-líce, cúþlíce), ge-wislíce (ge-wisslíce, gewistlíce), gé-sóðlíce (sóþlíce, sóðlíce) which corre-lates with the adverb sóþe, and witodlíce. 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 senten-tial 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 Pagliuka (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 an syntactic aspects of OE adverbs cúþ-líce, (cúþe-líce, cúþlíce), ge-wislíce (ge-wisslíce, gewistlíce), gé-sóðlíce (sóþlíce, sóðlíce) which correlates with the adverb sóþe, and witodlíce. Primarilly 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 cúþlíce wát, Bd. 2, 12; S. 513, 42: 4, 19; S. 589, 25.
1.2. Ðæt his líf ðe cúþlícor ascíneþ 5, 1; S. 613, 14

POST-VERB [acirran / oncnawan / cweðan] MODAL ADVERB + CÚÞLÍCE
1.4. Acyrred cúþlíce from Cristes æ-acute; Exon. 71b; Th. 267, 6.
1.5. Ðæt he eáþmédum ellorfúsne oncnáwe cúþlíce Andr. Kmbl. 643.
1.6. Cweðaþ cúþlíce Ps. Th. 70, 10: 82.

2. *Ge-wislíce*:
(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 gewisslíce,.. Homl. Th. ii. 132, 1.
2.4. Ic nát náht gewistlíce hwæðer ðæs feós swá micel is…Th. Chart. 490, 15.
2.5. Se wítegode be Criste swíðe gewislíce swilce he godspellere wæ-acute; Swt. A. S. Rdr. 69, 414.
2.8. Ic cweðe nú gewislícor *I say now more exactly*, 8, 23; Lchdm. iii. 250
2.7. Seó lenctenlíce emniht is gewislíce 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. Gewislíce ic hæbbe, Coll. Monast. Th. 30, 7.
2.1. Gyf sóþlíce gewislíce rihtwísnysse sprecaþ Ps. Spl. C. 57, 1.

2.2. Gewislíce án þing is neád-behefe Lk. Bos. 10, 42.
2.9. Ðæs ðe hie gewislícost gewitan meahton,.. Beo. Th. 2704; B. 1350.
'to the best of their knowledge,..'

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

PRE-VERB MODAL ADVERB
3.3. Ðám ðe sóðlíce sécaþ Dryhten, Ps. Th. 104, 3.
3.8. Ic sóðlíce meahte ongitan, Exon. Th. 313, 24; Mód. 5.
3.18. Ic sóðlícost wéne, 164, 28.
3.9. Se ðe ðé ðyslíce gife and swá mycle sóþlíce (-re, MS.) Bd. 2, 12; S. 514, 13: Exon. Th. 9, 19; Cri. 137.
3.11. Hí ðý sóðlícor ongeáton ðæt hit wæs sóðlíce his ágen líchoma, Shrn. 68, 33.

POST-VERB MODAL ADVERB
3.4. Ðis wæs sóðlíce eádig wer, Blickl. Homl. 223, 31.
3.5. Ðú bist sóþlíce æ-acute; r þrím dagum genumen of ðínum líchoman 137, 25.
3.6. Is sóðlíce se cwide gefylled, 139, 27.
3.15. Gehýre gé sóðlíce ðæs sáwendan bigspell 13, 18.

SENTENTIAL MODAL ADVERB
3.1. Sóðlíce ðú eart Godes sunu *Dei es,* Mt. Kmbl. 14, 33: 27, 54.
3.2. Sóðlíce ic secge eów 6, 16 (and often).
3.7. Swýþe sóþlíce wé mágon geþencan, ðæt hit biþ deápes ylding swíðor ðonne lífes, 59, 31. 'with great truth'.

DISCOURSE MODAL PARTICLE
3.12. Sóðlíce losep hyre wer Mt. Kmbl. 1, 19 3.14.
3.13. Sóðlíce seó fæ-acute;mne hæfþ on in&dash-uncertain; 1, 23: 2, 9: 3, 17.
3.14. Sóðlíce wé gesáwon hys steorran, 2, 2: 3, 1: 4, 18
3.16. Sóðlíce ic eom man under anwealde gesett 8, 9.
3.17. Sóðlíce 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* (wotetlíce):
(a) certainly, (b) indeed, (c) surely, (d) truly [1, 3, 21], e.g.:

POST-VERB MODAL ADVERB
4.1. Wéne ic ful swíðe and witodlíce, Exon. Th. 461, 5; Hö. 30. II.

SENTENTIAL MODAL ADVERB → DISCOURSE MODAL PARTICLE
4.2. Witodlíce ic wylle Ælfc. Gr. Z. 263, 17.
4.3. Witodlíce ic secge eów, Mt. Kmbl. 26, 21.
4.4. Witodlíce Mt. Kmbl. 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 cosider the inventory of these adverbs in different periods of English to be a relatively closed set [7, 146–190]. The adverbs *soþælice* (← 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 emphasizers. 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 fuction [10, 224–248] — they are used as discourse markers demarkating episode boundarieson 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 soþlice, 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) and 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 into the discourse particles.

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

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

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