

THE SYNTAX OF MOOD PARTICLES
IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH¹

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1. Introduction: terminology

First, I will say something on terminology, structure, use, and meaning. In the Germanic literature, the term for the particles under investigation is mood or modal particles², hence MPs (e.g. Abraham 1991a; Vismans 1994); in the English literature, terms such as discourse marker (e.g. Schiffrin 1987), cohesive, or pragmatic marker (Brinton 1996), hedge (Östman 1981) are used, to name but a few.

The definition for English MPs is broader as well. Thus, Brinton (1996: 6), in examining the six ME “pragmatic markers” *gan*, *anon*, *gelamp*, *bifel*, *hwæt*, and *I gesse*, distinguishes the following functions:

on the textual level: (a) to mark various kinds of boundaries (to initiate or end a discourse or to effect a shift in topic), and (b) to assist in turn-taking in oral discourse or ‘chunking’ (marking of episode or paragraph) in written discourse; and on the interpersonal level: (a) subjectively, to express speaker attitude, and (b) interactively, to achieve intimacy between speaker and addressee (for example, by appealing to addressee or expressing shared or common knowledge).

Lenker (2000) talks about the OE discourse markers *soplice* ‘truly’ and *witodlice* ‘certainly’, which are not the typical Germanic MPs. The

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2 This is apparently also true in languages such Mandarin and Cantonese. Even though Luke (1990) uses ‘utterance particles’, traditional Chinese grammararians call them ‘mood words’.

English literature is vast and will not be reviewed here (e.g. Lakoff 1973, Brown – Levinson 1978, James 1983, Heritage 1984).

The Germanic literature on MPs is also very extensive (e.g. Altman 1976, Weydt 1979, Abraham 1990; 1991ab; 1995; Hentschel 1986, Helbig 1988, Jacobs 1983; Foolen 1993). However, in this literature, phrases such as *I guess* and *you know* aren't seen as MPs, and MPs are defined syntactically as well as pragmatically. For instance, MPs do not occur in initial position; they can't be stressed; they can't be questioned or negated; and they can be deleted without affecting the meaning of the sentence (see e.g. Abraham 1991ab; Vismans 1994: 45; Aijmer 1996). Full phrases are not included. I'll expand on these differences in section 2. In the Germanic literature, a distinction is made in that scalar/degree particles and Focus Particles (hence FPs) are seen as separate from MPs. Abraham (1991a: 1) focuses on modal/pragmatic particles (but mentions scalar ones as well); König (1991) concentrates on FPs; and Klein (1998) on degree particles (referred to as degree adverbs). The distinction between MPs and scalar particles is justified psycholinguistically by Bayer (1991). MPs and the other particles are related since expressing degree implies focus and focussing something implies subjective judgement, i.e. mood.

In what follows, I initially examine as broad a spectrum as possible, but restrict it in the later sections to MPs in the narrow sense. These have not received as much attention in the English literature. For convenience, I use MP for both English and the other Germanic languages.

2. MPs in Germanic: some differences and similarities

In this section, I first discuss some differences between Modern English and the other Germanic languages and then some similarities.

As mentioned, one of the differences between English and the other Germanic languages is the position of the MP in the sentence. In English, they either occur on the periphery, as in (1a), or are modifying adverbs, as in (1b) to (3). The latter would be considered scalar in Germanic, or focussing, as in (4), discussed in Underhill (1988). They also occur (less typically) as IP adverbials, such as *perhaps* in (5):

- (1) a. **Surprisingly**, he looked well.
b. He looked **surprisingly** well.
- (2) He knocked the man **right** out.
- (3) They had **quite** a car.

- (4) They went **like** to the store.
 (5) Unfortunately, this is **perhaps** not feasible.

It is interesting that the same adverb would have such different functions depending on its position in the sentence. Quirk et al (1985: 445ff.) discuss modifying adverbs and here a variety of MPs can be found, but they are not discussed as such. The difficulty in distinguishing degree adverbs, scalar particles, or FPs, from MPs is clear in e.g. (1b) to (3). In (2), *right* modifies *out* but also adds a sense of exclamation on the part of the speaker. In (1b), *surprisingly* technically modifies *well* but is added to provide speaker comments. This is true in (3) as well. The way to distinguish scalar from MPs is to stress or focus them, as I'll show below. So, the position of the MP in the English sentences is either modifying a clause or a phrase.

In Dutch, which I will take most examples from in this paper, MPs occur in the 'middle', as in (6), a translation of (5), and are less clearly phrasal or clausal modifiers:

- (6) *Dit is jammergenoeg waarschijnlijk niet doenbaar.*
 This is unfortunately probably not doable.

The 'middle' can be made precise as the area between the definite NPs on the left and the indefinite NPs on the right, as in (7) and (9). Abraham (1991b: 244) calls this the area between thematic and rhematic. The ungrammaticality of (8) shows that MPs are not allowed in the definite domain that *het* and *hem* are located in. Sentence (10) shows that MPs are not allowed in the (indefinite) VP-domain either where *een boek* is assumed to stay in the VP (in these sentences, *dan* and *toch* are the clear MPs):

- (7) *dat ik het hem dan toch weer eens een keer uitgelegd heb.*
 thatI it him then yet again once a time explained have
 'that I have once again explained it to him'.
 (8) **dat ik het dan toch weer eens hem een keer uitgelegd heb.*
 (9) *dat ik dan toch weer eens een boek heb gelezen.*
 thatI again once a book read have
 'that I've managed to read a book again'.
 (10) **dat ik een boek dan toch weer eens gelezen heb.*

A second characteristic is the number of such elements, i.e. the possibility of stacking. In Dutch many are possible, e.g. sequences of 7

MPs are possible, as (11) shows, even though, according to van der Wouden (1999: 294), 6 are quite ‘spectacular’ already:

- (11) *Doe dat dan nu toch maar weer eens even over nieuw.*
 Do that then now yet but again once just again new
 ‘Do that again’.

The order is roughly that of tense-mood-aspect (TMA, *dan* and *nu* are also time adverbials; *toch* and *maar* can be seen as mood markers; and *weer*, *eens* and *even* also function as aspectual adverbials), indicating they are possibly situated in functional categories. In English, whenever two or more particles co-occur, they tend to become one phrase, e.g. *already*, *also*, *all right*, *well now*, *although*, *as well*, *even though*. This is much less the case in German and Dutch (see also van der Wouden 2000).

As mentioned in section 1, a third characteristic is that typically MPs such as *dan*, *toch*, as in (12), cannot occur in initial position. If they do, it is as temporal adverbs, not as MPs. The phonologically heavier ones do occur initially, as in (13):

- (12) **Weer vroeg ik het hem.*
 Again asked I it him
 ‘I again asked him to do it’.
- (13) *Misschien zou je dat kunnen doen.*
 Perhaps could you that be able to do
 ‘Could you perhaps do that?’

MPs in ModE and Germanic have a number of characteristics in common. They cannot be focussed through being negated, or questioned, or stressed. If they are, they again are no longer modal but temporal or spatial. For example, take (14) where *like* functions to soften the request to pay back money. If this MP *like* is negated, as in (15), questioned, as in (16), and stressed, as in (17), the result is ungrammatical:

- (14) You like still owe me some money.
 (15) *It is not like you still owe me money.
 (16) *How do you still owe me money?
 (17) *You LIKE still owe me some money.

Sentences (15) and (16) are grammatical if not negating or questioning the MP. *Like* in (15) can function as a complementizer ‘as if’, especially in colloquial English, and (16) could in principle be the answer to another

king of question. The same is true if the MP is on the periphery, e.g. *well* in (18). This is shown by the ungrammaticality of (19) and (20):

- (18) Well, now, if I didn't think it ...
 (19) *Not well, now, ...
 (20) *How well, now, ...

In Dutch, the situation is the same. Even MPs that occur at the beginning of a sentence, such as *misschien* in (13), obey these constraints. Examples are given in (21) to (23), derived from a form of (9). Sentences (21) to (23) are grammatical if the negated, questioned, and stressed elements are temporal or spatial or manner adverbs:

- (21) **Het was niet dan toch dat ik een boek las.*
 It was not then yet that I a book read
 (22) **Hoe las ik een boek?*
 How read I a book
 (23) **Ik las DAN TOCH een boek*
 I read then yet a book

This ban on focussing MPs through negation etc. provides a way to distinguish between MPs and FPs, as many people have indicated, e.g. Bayer (1991), König – Stark (1991), and König (1991). Thus, in (24), *gerade* can only be scalar since it is negated:

- (24) *Er war nicht gerade erfreut*
 'He was not exactly happy'. (from König – Stark 1991: 313)

Thus, syntactically, MPs in Germanic and English share a number of characteristics, namely they do not allow focus through negation, questioning, or stress, but they differ in position in the sentence, in morphological shape, and in stacking possibilities.

What could the structure be? Abraham (1995; p.c.) suggests that there are at least three layers of modality above the VP. MPs are phrases, according to him, in adjoined positions. However, morphologically and syntactically, MPs definitely look like heads since they cannot be modified. This would also account for the absence of English-like auxiliaries in Modern German and Dutch. However, if they were in the head positions, this might stop verb-movement to C, hence this is unlikely. They can't be in the Specifier position, if one assumes a Kaynian tree (cf. Kayne 1994) because the VP would have to move there

to account for word order facts³. For now, without drawing a tree, I will assume they are connected to FCs but do not form barriers to verb-movement.

3. MPs in ModE

At first glance, there are quite a number of MPs in ModE. Table 1 lists the ‘simple’ ones. They are mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and are comparable to MPs in the other Germanic languages in that most do not occur sentence-initially, and cannot (typically) be questioned, negated, or stressed. As mentioned in section 2, unlike Germanic MPs, English MPs are often connected to a phrase and aren’t stacked to the same extent as they are in ModE or Dutch:

Table 1. Simple particles, i.e. possible MPs (– = not in the OED; ? = possibly earlier).

Part	Cat	FP	MP	Du/Gm
about	Adv/P	1055	–	
again	Adv	–	?	
all	Adj	?	?	al
but	P/Adv/ C	–	–	
even	Adj	1600	–	even/eben
just	Adj	1551	–	< French?
like	Adj	?20th	20th	
once	Adv	–	–	eens/einmal
quite	Adj	?17th	–	< French? ‘free’ cf. Du. <i>kwijt</i>
now	Adv	–	OE	nu/nun
right	Adj/v	1400	?20th	
so	Adv/C	OE	OE	zo
still	Adj/v	1600	1699	
then	Adv/C	–	OE	dan/denn
though	Adv/C	–	OE	toch/doch
too	Adv	OE	?20th	te/zu
well	Adv	OE	OE	wel/wohl
yet	Adv/C	OE	20th	

In Table 1, I have used dates from the OED; FP refers to focus, degree, or intensifying use; MP if the particle is used for speaker inference,

3 For instance, the VP *gedaan* would have to move to Spec TP (with *heeft* in T) to derive: i.... dat hij dat toch weer gedaan heeft
that he that yet again done has

probability, comment. Comparing this table of 18 MPs with e.g. Abraham's (1991b: 352-3) table of 16 MPs (*aber, auch, bloß, denn, doch, eben, (so)gar, etwa, halt, ja, nur, schon, wohl* and the complex *eigentlich, einmal, vielleicht*), shows that the inventory is similar. König (1991: 173) mentions "twenty ... or so" and adds *einfach, erst, nun(mal), mal, ruhig*. Hentschel (1986: 3) lists 18 particles, 3 of which (*vielleicht, eigentlich, einfach*) are complex and grammaticalized in the Medieval or 15th century period. So, the inventories of English and German are similar, and most English MPs originate as adverbs; some first as intensifying.

Table 2 lists the more complex English ones. Some are loans from French into ME; some are phrases; and some are the result of grammaticalization (*al + swa*). In their use as MPs, they have no cognates in Germanic. The second column lists their first use in their modern form in the OED:

Table 2. Partial list of 'foreign' and complex possible MPs, with the date they first occur as adverb in the OED.

after all	1850
also	1200
all right	1837
alright	1175
already	1380
anyhow	1740
anyway	1570
as well	1366
at all	c1350
certainly	1300
doubtless	1340
flat out	?
indeed	1575
in fact	1707
maybe	1848
no doubt	1380
of course	1541
only	1297
perhaps	1534
personally	1398
realistically	1868
really	c1350
truly	a1000
whatever	1900

Table 3 is a partial list of expressions that are originally clausal in nature or are expressions of emotion. These would not be counted as MPs in the Germanic literature, but as interjections, and surrounded by commas or comma intonation. They occur mostly on the periphery:

Table 3. Partial list of clausal expressions and interjections used as ‘MP’.

as I said
 let alone
 (I) for one
 (today) of all (days)
 see
 I mean
 I dunno
 you know
 I think
 oh
 oh well
 on the whole
 I believe I’ll ...

So, in ModE, MPs are CP-oriented, i.e. occur at the edge of a sentence (as topics), and are full phrases, or they are ambiguous with focus markers connected to a phrase but are not phrases themselves. In Dutch, they typically occur in between the definite NPs and the indefinite material connected to the VP.

4. MPs in the history of Dutch and German

Vismans (1994: 102ff.) shows that in Middle Dutch (up to 1500), *toch/doch* occurs as MP in all texts examined. (This is not unexpected since Gothic already seems to have had *thau*, see Hentschel 1986). *Dan* occurs in 3 texts and *eens* in one. In the early 17th century, *ook* and *nou* are added; and the number of MPs gradually increases.

Vismans provides a sociological reason (based on Norbert Elias) and works within a functionalist framework. He does not analyze the syntactic constraints and (1994: 58ff.) divides MPs in reinforcers and mitigators. His Appendix (pp. 224-235) provides all the sentences with MPs from the corpora he uses. *Van den Vos Reynaerde*, a fourteenth century text, provides the following examples:

- (25) *Die conic sprac: ‘Nu segghet dan’.*
 thatking spoke: now tell then
- (26) *Laet mi doch lesen twee paternoster.*
 Let me please read two prayers

Examining the other Middle Dutch sentences from Vismans' Appendix (as well as going through the 15th century *Esmoreit*), it turns out that *nu* is used in the beginning, as in (25), and *doch* (and *eens*) in the 'middle'. As I show in section 5 below, this use is not that different from that in ME.

Doch in Old High German is used in a similar way to Middle Dutch, according to Hentschel's (1986: 87 ff.) data. No data are provided on *nu*. She shows that in Gothic, in addition to *thau*, *jah* was used "metakommunikativ" (p. 74). The two other particles Hentschel examines are *eben* and *halt*, which are outside the scope of this paper. Wauchope (1991) also concludes that *thoh*, *ia*, *thanne* are MPs in Old High German. Many examples are given, e.g. (27) is from Isidor, (28) and (29) from Otfrid:

- (27) *Gab duo got moysieuua dhaz ir doch indheru*
 Gave then God Moses order that he though ...
chihuurfi zigotes minniu endi zi rehtnissa uuerchum ???
 Return to God's love and to the work's of justice.
 (Wauchope, p. 69)
- (28) *Ther puzz ist filu diofer; war nimist thu thanne*
 The well is much deep; where take you then
ubar thaz wazar fliazzantaz?
 over the water flowing
- (29) *Thiu ougun sie imobuntun ... joh fragetun ginuagi,*
 They bound his eyes ... and asked enough
wer inan thanne sluagi.
 who him then hit. (Wauchope, 1991: 153)

The reason for looking at MPs in Old High German and Middle Dutch is that the same set is expected in OE and ME.

5. Modal particles from earlier to ModE

Since the cognate of *though* appears to have been the earliest MP in Gothic as well as Middle Dutch and Old and Middle High German, I'll first examine that MP. Looking through some texts, an additional MP is *eke*, a cognate of Dutch *ook* and German *auch*. Then, I look at *now* and *then*, which have remained MPs in ModE (be it in a different position), and lastly at *even* which is a degree adverb. This review shows that by Late ME, the MP use of many of these particles is lost, and their position is on the periphery or modifying a phrase.

The loss coincides with the loss of verb-second (see e.g. van Kemenade 1987). This fits with Abraham's (1991b) observations that it is not the verb-final aspect but the verb-second aspect of the Mittelfeld that is relevant to licensing MPs. The loss of MPs also coincides with the complementizer becoming optional in the subordinate clause (see van Gelderen 1993), another indication of the C-position losing influence. Then, as the verb ceases to move to C (in Chomsky to appear movement of this kind is phonological) and the I position becomes more important (argued to occur around Chaucer's time in e.g. van Gelderen 1993; 1997), MPs become restricted to the CP periphery. In section 6, I speculate more on what causes this relation between the loss of MPs and the loss of verb-second and suggest that the introduction of auxiliaries (their grammaticalization) is responsible.

5.1. *Though*

Though is a cognate of Dutch/German *toch/doch*. The OED lists some instances of 'adversative particle'⁴ *though* from OE on, and these are definitely comparable to the Middle Dutch examples above. For instance, (30) and (31). These, however, are the only examples provided by the OED:

- (30) Blickling Homilies 37, from 971
Ne mazon þis þeah ealle men don
 'Not might this though all men do'.
- (31) Lambeth Homilies 119, from 1175
ac hi þah ledað to deðe on ende
 'but they though lead to death in the end'.

The position of the MP is very much like that in Modern Dutch and German, after the definite pronouns.

Examining the Helsinki Corpus confirms that the use of *though* as MP might be rare (but that may also be due to the genre of the sources). In the period before 950, Alfred uses it⁵, as in (32) to (35); between 950 and 1150, there are a few examples, e.g. (36):

- (32) Orosius, 64.17
hie þeh Philippus besirede mid his lotwrencum
 they though Philippus deceived through cunning

4 Chen (2000: 104) stresses its origin may not be adversative, but additive.

5 Note that Jucker (1993) also gives examples of an MP in Alfred, namely *well*. *Well* will not be discussed since already in OE it is sentence-peripheral.

- (33) Idem, 66.6
Philippuses yfel mehte þeh þagiet be sumum dæle
gemetlic þyncan
 Philippus' evil could though then-yet to some extent
 sufficient seem
- (34) Idem, 98.6
& he þeh sige hæfde
 and he though victory had
 'and he was victorious'.
- (35) Idem, 123.2
hie þeh þurhtugon þæt hie ofslogon Lucius
 they though achieved that they killed Lucius
- (36) Rushworth Gospels, Matthew 15.20
þis sindon þa þe besmitaþ monnum þæh unðwegenum þonne
hondum ete ne besmitaþ þæt monnum.
 'These are the things that defile a man though with unclean
 hands to eat does not defile a man'.

In (36), *though* is a C (which occurs quite frequently in that period), and in (35), the position of the MP is strange but may still be the Mittelfeld (if the CP extraposes).

The Helsinki Corpus points towards Alfred as using *though* as MP, especially in (33) with multiple MPs in medial position. Alfred's Pastoral Care (hence PC) has 426 instances of *(swa)though* and 46 of these occur medially, as in (37) to (42), with the MP typically in the Mittelfeld. These 'feel' very much like the Dutch or German MPs. However, note that the position of *though* in (38) is similar to that in (35). This position would be different in Modern Dutch since the V would have to be in second position. All other instances conform though:

- (37) PC 51.7 Hatton (similar in Cotton)
Ond næs swaðeah to anwillice ne forbuge he
 and not-was such too unwilling not decline he
 'and yet he must not decline it too obstinately'.
- (38) PC 99.21-2
& sua suiðe sua he ... he ðeah gehwyrfd e his heortan eage ... to
 'and although he ... he still directed his mind's eye to ...'.

- (39) PC 199.10-1
gedo he ðeah ðæt his hieremenn ongieten ðæt he ...
 do he still that his underlings understand that he
 ‘let him make his subjects understand that he ...’
- (40) PC 147.12
Ac hit is ðeah suiðe earfeðdæde ðæt mon ...
 but it is though very difficult that one ...
- (41) PC 263.16
Nalles ðeah sua egeful ðæt hie ealneg ðurhwunigen on
ðæm ege
 not-want though so fearful that they always continue on
 that fear
 ‘yet they shouldn’t fear as much as to always continue fearing’.
- (42) PC 265.6
hit mon sceal ðeah geendigean for sumes godes lufum.
 ‘yet he ought to finish from the love of something good’.

Most instances of *though* are conjunctions, as in (43), and they are mainly clause-initial (and occur mainly after *and*), with a few clause-final:

- (43) PC 31.6
ðeah ðæt folc ðyrste ðære lare
 though the people thirst for instruction

In Middle English, the MP use of *though* dies out. Layamon’s *Caligula* version from the 13th century has about 35 instances (that I could find) of variants of *though* (*þah* 10 times; *þeh* 22 times, and the rest *þeah*, *þeih*, *þaih*, not searched for *þæh*). These all introduce clauses and are less often combined with *and*, *al*, *nu* than they are later. In late ME, e.g. in Chaucer, *though* is never an MP. It occurs 378 times and only functions as a clause introducer, often followed by *that* or preceded by *and*, *but*, *for*, *as*, *all*, and a few times by *ne* or *eke*. There are 90 instances of a variant of *although*, used the same as *though*.

The first use in the OED of *although* is 1325, as in (44), (but note that *though al* occurs in Layamon) and of *even though* in 1697:

- (44) Song Mercy 168
Al þau3 i kouþe, yf þat i wolde.
 ‘although I could if I wanted’.

In ModE *though* is still used on the periphery of the clause, as in Middle English. Some of the 19 instances from Tom Sawyer are:

- (45) TS, chap 7
Well, I'll just bet I will, though.

Although is limited to complementizer in the text, and occurs only 6 times.

Concluding, the use of *though* as MP in OE is rare, except perhaps in certain texts such as Alfred; its use dies out by Early ME.

5.2. *Ac, eek, eke, ek*

The OED lists *ac* as a conjunction cognate with Old High German *oh*. It lists *eke* 'also, in addition' as an adverb, derived from OE *eac*, but the origin is uncertain. The two are not said to be related. I will consider them together, however, since in ME they are hard to distinguish.

In Old English, *ac* is quite frequent⁶, especially introducing a clause, as in (46):

- (46) Chronicle (Plummer 1965/1992P, p. 136)
Ac for eallum þissum se here ferde swa he sylf wolde.
But for all this the army went so it self wanted

In the OE4 part (=1050-1150) of the Helsinki Corpus, there are 265 *acs*, mainly initial, as in (46), and sometimes before *swa þeh*. There are no forms of *eke*, but *eac* occurs 203 times, as in (47), (and in 10 of these, *swa* follows, already pointing to a grammaticalization of *also*):

- (47) Wulfstan Homilies, p. 221
Hi namon eac him ða þat to wisdom þurh deofles lare
They took also him then that to wisdom through devil's lore

However, unlike *ac*, which always occurs clause-initially, *eac* frequently appears in the 'middle' of a sentence. In fact, only 45 (=22%) occur after *&/and*, and 28 (=14%) occur at the beginning of a sentence. That leaves

6 The OE Vespasian Psalter has *ec* as 'also'; *ec swelce* 'moreover', *ec ðon* 'besides'. *Ec soð* occurs 12 times; *ex soðlice* 2 times. It also has *ah* 'but, moreover' translating Latin *sed*, *ah hweðre*, *ah ne*. These seem to be in competition. Latin *iam*, *enim* and *ergo* are translated as *soðlice*.

130 (=64%) sentence-medial, as in (47), i.e. possibly as MP. Checking Alfred's PC shows that *eac* is quite frequent (i.e. 342 times), that many occur medially, namely 112, not counting when they follow initial adverbs and conjunctions, e.g. *ac*, *ne*, *for ðæm*, *oft*). Many of the medial ones, however, still have the adverbial meaning, as in (48):

- (48) PC 163 1-3
 & *ne sceal he ... , ac he him sceal eac cyðan*
mid hwelcum cræftum he him wiðstondan mæg.
 and not only shall he ... but he them shall also show
 with which crafts they can withstand them

Eac often occurs together with other adverbs, which means it might be an MP. Thus, *oft eac* occurs 20 times; *sua eac* 19 times; *ge eac* 10 times; *ne eac* 9 times; *hwilum eac* and *ac eac* 5 times each. It also occurs in possible MP environments such as *wh*-interrogatives, three times, as in (49) and (50), 10 times after *gehi(e)ren*, as in (51), and 5 times after pre-modals, as in (52):

- (49) PC 165.3
Hwa bið medtrum, ðæt ic ne sie eac for his ðingum seoc?
 who is sick that I not am also on his account sick

- (50) PC 133.14-16
 ... *hwæt getacnað ... Hwæt getacn[i]að eac ða stanas*
 What mean ... What mean also the stones
ðæs halgan huses buton ... Hwæt getacnað eac
 of the holy building except ... What mean also
sio rume stræt butan ...
 the wide street except ...

- (51) PC 299.9-16
Gehieren eac ða upahæfenan hu gewitende ða ðing
 Let hear also the proud how transitory the things
sint ... Gehieren eac ða upahæfenan on hira mode hwæt ...
 are ... Let hear the proud also in their hearts what ...
Gehieren eac ða upahæfenan on hira mode hu
 Let hear also the proud how
he eft cuæð ...
 he later said ...

- (52) PC 304.1
Oft we magon eac ða upahæfenan ðy bet gelæra
 Often we can also the proud the best teach

to urum willan
to our will

The meaning is predominantly adverbial though. *Ac* occurs 496 times and is always clause-initial.

In the Helsinki Corpus ME1 (from 1150-1250) section, there are 154 *acs* (many *ac gef* ‘but if’), 62 *ecs*, 35 *eacs*, and 2 sentence-final *ekes* (Caligula has the first). The distribution of *ac* is mainly sentence or phrase initial (=91%); that of *ec* as well (=71%), except for 9 sentence-final (6 from Ormulum) and 9 medial, and *ec* may be ‘picking up’ some of the ‘eacs’. *Eac* occurs less frequently (19 initial and 16 medial) but ‘feels’ definitely modal, as in (53) and (54) from the 12th century:

- (53) Bodley Hom, p. 98
Swa eac nu mæg ealc mon deofel ofercumen
so also now may every man devil overcome
- (54) Idem, p. 106
hit is nu eac on þare niwæ læge æfter bocæ tæcinge rihtlic.
it is now also on the

In (54), the 2 MPs, if that is what they are, occur in the same place as in Modern Dutch.

In ME2 (from 1250-1350), there is a total of 171 *acs*; they are all sentence-initial, and function as complementizers. There are 34 *eks*, of which 16 initial, 5 final, and 13 medial, as in (55). The latter are not stacked, as in (54), and do not function as MPs:

- (55) Robert of Gloucester 2925
& ibured was ek þer
and buried was also there.
- (56) Idem 2941
Elianore of brutaine. deide ek þulke 3er.
Elianore of Britain died also that year.

There are 10 *ekes*, 9 of which occur after ‘and’ and function as coordinators; 1 is clause-final.

In ME3 (from 1350-1420), the numbers are 37 *EEK*, 13 *ek*, and 15 *eke* (see Table 5 for details). However, in Chaucer’s works (parts are included in ME3), variants of ‘eke’ occur frequently (namely 500 *EEK* of which 286

after *and*, 266 *ek*, 236 *eke*, of which 113 after *and*, and 1 *eeke*) and occasionally, as in (57) to (60), the form is possibly an MP:

- (57) Clerke's Tale, 1205
In jalousie I rede eek thou hym bynde
 'I suggest you bind him in jealousy'.
- (58) Astrolabe, p. 679
And tak eke anon the altitude of any sterre fix
that thou knowist
 and take also at once the altitude of a star fix
 that you know
- (59) Wife of Bath's Tale, 14
Herkne eek, lo, ...
 Listen also, take note, ...
- (60) Melibee, 1210
Thou shalt eek considere alle thise causes
 You should also consider all these causes

In ME4 (1420-1500), there are 23 *ekes*, but they have become real adverbs with the meaning 'also' and only 4 follow *and*. In EMODE1 (1500-1570), there are only 2 *ekes* left after 'and' (in *Roister Doister* by Udall), probably *also* has 'taken over'. The numbers are summarized in Table 4:

Table 4. The use of 'ac', 'eac' and its variants in the Helsinki Corpus

	ac	ec	ek	eac	eke	eeke
OE4	265	-	-	203	-	-
ME1	154	62	-	35	2	-
ME2	171	-	34	-	10	-
ME3	-	-	13	-	13	37
ME4	-	-	-	-	23	-
EMOD1	-	-	-	2	-	-

Thus, in OE and ME, *ac* and *ec* are complementizers and *eac* is a manner adverb and possibly an MP. *Eek/eke* are 'successors' to *eac*, but even so many occur after *and*, suggesting the MP is located on the periphery. In Table 5, I have shown the variants of *eke* in sentence-medial position. By the end of ME, the use is very rare:

Table 5. Possible MP use of *eac/eke/EEK* (defined in terms of medial position) in proportion to the absolute use in the Helsinki Corpus

	eac	ec	ek	eke	EEK
OE4	130/203 (=64%)	-	-	-	-
ME1	16/35 (=46%)	9/62	-	0/2	-
ME2	-	-	13/34	0/10	-
ME3	-	-	2/13	0/13	10/37
ME4	-	-	-	14/23	-
EMOD1	-	-	-	0/2	-

Eac/eke/EEK also has a competitor in *also*. The latter grammaticalizes during the 12th century from the adverb *swa*, reinforced by the degree particle *al*, and may have contributed to the demise of *eac/eke*. For instance, in Chaucer, there are 424 instances of *also*, 8 of *al so*, and one of *all so*. These often occur after *and* in the beginning (=80 times), or final, as in (61) and (62), which are unusual in that both *EEK* and *also* are present:

- (61) The Miller's Tale, 3631
and eek his wenche also.
 'and also his servant girl also'.
- (62) The Pardoner's Tale, 894
And eek the false empoysonere also.
 'and also the treacherous poisoners too'.

Also is somewhat frequent after modals (=9 times), as in (63), and 10 times in existentials, as in (64), mainly to indicate change-of-topic:

- (63) The Clerk's Tale, l. 1197
 Thou shalt also have in suspect...
- (64) General Prologue, l. 118
 Ther was also a Nonne, a Prioressse

So unlike *though*, *eac/eke* continues into the ME period, but dies out by Late ME, certainly as MP.

5.3. *Now*

The ModE MP *now* has been discussed in Aijmer (1988) and Schiffrin (1986). Kryk-Kastovsky (1996), in examining the historical development of

Germanic and Slavic ‘now’, shows that in Indo-European, ‘now’ was both a temporal adverb and “a particle emphasizing requests or questions, expressing doubts or second thoughts” (p. 323). If this is true, it is not surprising to see ‘now’ as MP in Middle Dutch, as in section 4 above. In this section, I provide some examples of MP use throughout the history of English.

Now is used in commands in OE, as in (65) and (66), from the OED. Looking through the 171 instances of *nu* in OE1-2 from Helsinki Corpus confirms the use of *nu* as MP. It often occurs in the ‘middle’ in (67) to (69), unlike in Middle Dutch above:

- (65) Vespasian Psalter ii
And nu, cyningas, on3eotað ...
 ‘And now, kings, learn/see ...’
- (66) Blickling Homilies
Cleopian we nu in e3lum mode ...
 ‘Speak we now in loathsome manner’.
- (67) Alfred, Boethius XVIII, ¶ 3
þeah he nu maran wilni3e, he ne mæ3 furðun þæt forðbringan ...
 ‘though he now more wishes for, ...’
- (68) Katherine 977
þis is nu þe derfschipe of þi dusi onsware
 ‘this is now the strength of thy foolish answer’.
- (69) Hali Meidhad, Bodley l. 12
Ant hwet is nu þis lare, þet tu nimest se deopliche
 ‘And what is now this teaching that you take so seriously’.

Looking in Chaucer, i.e. late ME, the use of *now* is very frequent (i.e. 1409 times). It is often used as MP, as in (70) to (72). Most of the time, however, it occurs in the beginning of a clause, as in the first instance in (70) and in (71), but sometimes in the middle, as in the second instance in (70). At most they occur with one other possible MP, e.g. *but now* is frequent (=72 times):

- (70) Boece, p. 436
 “Now confesse I wel” quod I “that Y see wel now certeynly
 withouten doutes
- (71) General Prologue, l. 3136
 Now herkneth, quod the Millere, ...

- (72) General Prologue, l. 831
Lat se now who shal telle the firste tale
- (73) Romaunt of the Rose, l. 2082
Now, certis, this is noon outrage.

From a structural point of view, *now* triggers verb-second frequently when it is in initial (or semi-initial position), as in (74) and (75); subject first, as in (76), is less frequent. For instance, with first person singular, there are 23 instances of *Now I Vfin...* but 122 of *Now Vfin I ...* in Chaucer). This means *now* is already in Spec CP, and show that the loss of verb-second was not directly responsible:

- (74) Melibee, 1234
But now wolde I fayn that ye wolde condescende in especial.
- (75) Romaunt of the Rose, 2343
Now wol I shortly heere reherce.
- (76) The Nun's Priest's Tale, l 3411
Now I am come unto the wodes syde.

In the remainder of this section, I show some of the characteristics of *now* in ModE by looking at Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer*. There are 284 instances of *now*. Very few of these, 10 to be precise, occur in the 'middle', and the ones that do are temporal, as in (77) and (78). A few occur in expressions such as *now and then* and they are not counted as 'middle':

- (77) TS, chap 11
He was now become to them ...
- (78) TS, chap 9
the doctor, who was now standing.

The vast majority have a comma on either side and occur at the beginning, or after another MP, as in (79) and (80):

- (79) TS, chap 1
Well, now, if I didn't think ...
- (80) TS, chap 2
Oh come, now, you don't mean to ..

Most of these are MPs, as in (81) and (82). The ones at the end are often temporal, as in (83):

- (81) TS, chap 4
Now, children, I want you all to sit up just as straight and pretty as you can.
- (82) TS, chap 4
There, now, that's a good boy.
- (83) TS, chap 34
but I reckon it's not much of a secret now.

So *now*, unlike *though*, survives as an MP but, already in ME, it is related to the CP layer. Around Chaucer's time, i.e. the end of the 14th century, verb-second still occurs, and the loss of verb-second can therefore not be the cause that MPs are pushed to the periphery.

5.4. *Then*

Then is closely related to *now* (e.g. Schiffrin 1986: chap 10). In their adverbial uses, they are opposite temporal deictic markers; in their MP use, *now* indicates "speakers' attention to upcoming talk" (p. 317), and *then* "makes warranted requests". *Then* has received some attention in a historical context, e.g. see the review in Brinton (1996: 9-12).

According to the OED, *then* has been a 'particle of inference' from OE on. However, there is only one OE example, as in (84). ME has more, as in (85), and from 1600 on, examples such as *well then*, and *now then* become frequent, often surrounded by commas:

- (84) Blickling Homilies 39
Us is þonne mycel nedþearf þæt we 3ebu3on to him.
us is then much need that we obey to him
'We need to obey him'.
- (85) Hali Meidhad (Bodley), 6/48-9
Nis ha þenne sariliche (as ich seide ear) akeast
Not-is she then sorely (as I said before) cast

It is difficult to examine *then/than* in a corpus since the forms vary so and are used as adverbs as well as demonstratives. In the Helsinki Corpus, OE4 has 2 *þanne*, 3 *þane*, 272 *þone*, 249 *þonne* (and several dental fricatives followed by *æne/æne*), and 1294 *þa*. ME1 has 231 *þanne*; 46 *ðanne*; 161 *þenne*; 3 *ðenne* (231 *þanne* but no *þæne*) and over 1100 *þa*. I will examine Chaucer's use of *then*, since there are other MPs such as *eke* that function as MPs in Chaucer.

Chaucer's entire works have 41 instances of *then* and 979 of *than*; these are most often comparative. There are also 10 *thenne* and 19 *thennes*, and these are mainly temporal. *Thanne* occurs 871 times, mainly clause-initially; some are MPs, as in (86):

- (86) The Knight's Tale, l. 2965
But shortly to the point thanne wol I wende.
- (87) Romaunt of the Rose, ll. 2448-9
For thanne agayn shall come to thee/ Sighes and pleyntes with
newe woo
- (88) Boece, p. 462
by this manere thanne, althoughe the prescience ne hadde
nevere iben

So as with *eke/eeek* and *now*, *then* occurs in Chaucer as an MP. The word order facts are similar too, at least checking first person singular: 6 times *thanne* is followed directly by the subject *I* and then the finite verb, whereas it is followed by a finite verb and then the subject *I* in 97 instances. This suggests *then* is (already) connected to CP and triggers verb-second.

By Early ModE, in the Helsinki Corpus (MODE1), the use is much reduced. There are 573 instances of *then* and 5 of *thenne* (many comparative, and initial, no MPs), 288 *than* and 27 *thanne*, 1 *thone*. So, the use of *then* as MP is comparable to the use of *eke/eeek* as MP: still used in Chaucer, but not much after 1500.

In the ModE period, *then* occupies the periphery of the clause. For instance in Twain's *Tom Sawyer*, most of the 306 instances are sentence initial, as in (89), almost half occur after *and*, as in (90), and very few occur at the end, as in (91) to (93), and two in the middle, (94) and (95):

- (89) TS, chap 1
Then she had a new inspiration.
- (90) TS, chap 4
and then you'll look back and say ...
- (91) TS, chap 19
What will you come for, then?
- (92) TS, chap 3
Ah, how would she feel then?
- (93) TS, chap 1
Why, don't you DO it then? ... Why don't you DO it?

- (94) TS, chap 21
Is this, then, Life?
- (95) TS, chap 1
He then held a position at the gate for some time...

Apart from the sentence-final instances of *then* and one of the medial ones, these are not very MP-like and, in keeping with that non-MP character, do not occur regularly with other particles, e.g. three times with *well*, and three times with *but*.

Then functions as MP in OE and ME but comes to be sentence-initial or final by Early ModE.

5.5. Degree adverbs

So far I have looked at MPs that originate in temporal and aspectual adverbs and complementizers. It may be the case (Abraham, p.c.) that the development of MPs that originate as Focus Particles is different. In this section, I therefore look at degree/focus adverbs briefly (but see Nevalainen 1994; Peters 1994 for more).

Based on the Helsinki Corpus, Traugott (1998) shows that in the period up to 1500, there are three clusters of meaning for *even*: ‘smoothly, in equal degree, and exactly’. Even though scalarity is involved, these meanings are not scalar/focus, according to Traugott, and focus *even* is said to occur only from 1570 on. Traugott does not mention the MP use and checking *even* in the 19th century, e.g. Austen’s *Emma*, only provides instances of focus particles. So the change from FP to MP is not a quick one in this case:

- (96) *Emma*, vol 1, chap 8
“Even your satisfaction I made sure of”.

According to the OED, the use as FP did not arise before the 16th century. One of the early examples is from Shakespeare’s *Timon*. This is certainly in accordance with Traugott’s observations:

- (97) *Timon*, I, i, 82
Make sacred euen his styropp.

Looking at Table 1, it seems that in cases where MPs derive from words that also become FPs, the latter is always first. If *even* is not an FP in ME, one wouldn’t expect it to become an MP either, certainly not in ModE, where heads are not often used.

In summary to section 5, I have shown that MPs occur in OE and ME in a limited way. Most previous research has focussed on the pragmatic function of discourse markers in OE and ME, or on complex markers such as *in fact*, *indeed*, *certainly*. I have focussed on their position in the sentence and their status as heads, since that makes MPs in German and Dutch different from those in ModE.

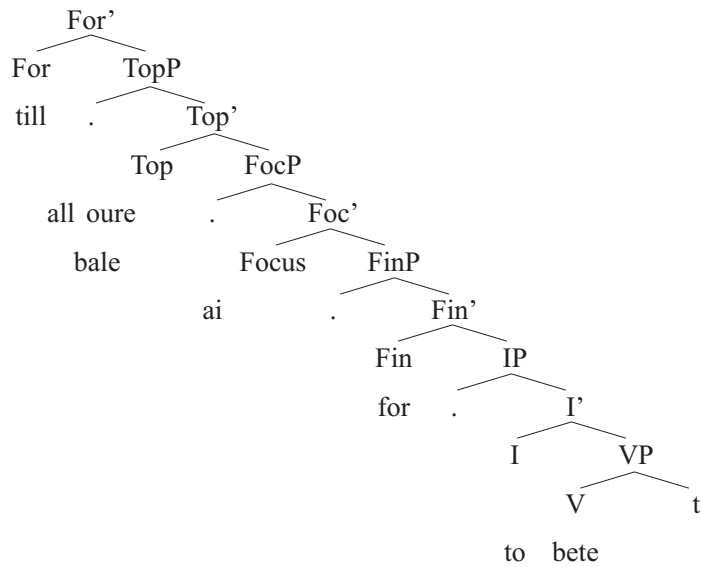
6. MPs and syntactic change

Abraham, as mentioned above, has related having a *Mittelfeld* to having MPs. Above, I show that certain MPs disappear by ME, certainly those in medial position. The loss of verb-second, i.e. the loss of a possible *Mittelfeld*, is usually seen as a gradual process, starting in ME. The verb-initial word order is introduced by 1250. So, the relationship is there but is difficult to pinpoint. For instance, Chaucer is still quite verb-second (as indicated a few times above), but not verb-final, and has some MP use but mainly in the periphery. In the Early ModE period, both overt verb-movement and medial MPs die out.

Showing there is a possible correlation between the loss of MPs and the loss of a *Mittelfeld* does not account for this relation. It is possible to argue that the loss of verb-second freed up the CP, and made it possible for MPs to be in CP. This cannot be correct since the structure of the CP was quite elaborate in ME, more so than in later stages of the language (when the language became more I-oriented, see van Gelderen 1993; 2000). Thus, sentences such as (98) occur, with a structure as in (99), adapted from Rizzi (1997):

- (98) CM, Cotton, 105-6
Til all oure bale ai for to bete,
 so all our sorrow always for to heal
Oure lauerd has made þat maiden.
 our lord has made that maiden
 ‘Our lord has created that woman in order to heal our sorrow forever’.

(99) ForP



Sentences such as (98) show that around 1300 the CP was more elaborate (or certainly as elaborate) than it is at present. That leaves us with the question why sentence-medial particles move to the periphery in Late ME when the CP becomes less elaborate.

Another explanation is to build on the insights that stacking gives us, namely that they show a TMA sequence, as in (11) above, and that their loss coincides with the grammaticalization of auxiliaries. However, as we'll see this runs into theoretical problems. Abraham (1995; p.c) argues there are at least 3 functional MoodPs above the VP as well as TP and ASPP to accommodate MPs in German. As is well-known, main verbs start to grammaticalize into auxiliaries (see Lightfoot 1979, Traugott 1972 for changes in auxiliaries) in ME. The language learner confronted with these new auxiliaries places them in positions such as TP and ASPP. This banishes MPs to the periphery, namely CP, and would also explain that FPs lag behind.

The problems with this account are theoretical. If MPs are heads (and they look like heads), V-to-C movement should be blocked in Modern German and Dutch but obviously is not since verbs move to the second position. This can be solved if the MP heads are adjuncts and do not count as barriers. If MPs are heads that do not form barriers for head movement, the difference between English and Dutch is that the former uses CP more for expressions of mood because the head positions of the

TMA categories are used by auxiliaries (sequences such as *may have been being* occur in English but not Dutch). Some evidence for this account can be found in Chaucer. Around the time of Chaucer, modals, perfect and passive auxiliaries start combining. Their combination with MPs is interesting, in that the original manner adverb *ek/eke* always follows the perfect and modal auxiliary. It never precedes, as expected if MPs occupy specific FCs, and manner is aspectual and close to the V:

- (100) Troilus and Criseyde, ll. 1614-5
I have ek understonde/ How ye ne do but holden me in honde.
- (101) Troilus and Criseyde, l. 454
And for the harm that myghte ek fallen moore
- (102) Romaunt of the Rose, l. 5989
Oure maydens shal eke pluk hym so

Though never occurs after an auxiliary since it is originally a sentence adverb or complementizer, i.e. higher. The temporal adverb *now* mainly precedes the auxiliary in Chaucer. For instance, there are 40 instances of ‘now wol I/ye’ but only 3 of ‘I wol now’. Looking through the 1411 instances of *now*, this ratio seems representative. This indicates that unlike *ek/eke* which is a manner adverb, *now* may be being pushed out since tense has to be filled.

If there is a problem having MPs as heads, why not have them as specifiers? This would be a possibility but then the Complementary Distribution between emerging auxiliaries and disappearing MPs would be lost. It would also be problematic for asymmetric approaches (see note 3).

7. Conclusion

In section 5, I show that there are quite some potential MPs in OE and ME. A lot of variation exists, e.g. *though* occurs in OE; *eac* in OE and eME; *now* and *then* throughout the history of English; and *even* is more restricted. The position of the elements is interesting, e.g. in Chaucer many are already clause-initial, but by the modern period, they predominate in peripheral positions. This is quite unlike the other Germanic languages. So, the answer to the question posed in the introduction is that older varieties of English do have MPs in a way similar to other Germanic languages (namely clause-medially). MPs are not stacked as much as in Modern Dutch (but Middle Dutch didn’t either and that may be the problem with lacking spoken data). They also already occur quite a bit on the periphery in ME.

As to being able to correlate the loss of verb-second, i.e. the loss of a Mittelfeld, this is difficult to do with certainty. Chaucer is still quite verb-second (as indicated a few times above), but not verb-final, and has some MP use. By eModE, both overt verb-movement and medial MPs die out. An explanation I have suggested but which needs to be explored more is to relate the stacking of the auxiliaries in ModE to the loss of medial MPs.

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