Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav anglického jazyka a didaktiky

Diplomová práce

Tereza Kupková

Strong adjectival forms in Early Middle English: a syntactic and FSP perspective

Silné tvary raně středoanglických adjektiv z hlediska syntaktického a aktuálního členění větného

Praha, 2014   vedoucí práce: prof. PhDr. Jan Čermák, CSc.

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne 5. 8. 2014

Abstract

The Master´s thesis proceeds from a corpus-based analysis and focuses on strong forms of Early Middle English adjectives. A formal distinction between weak and strong adjectival forms had disappeared during the period of Middle English, the work, therefore, aims at the transitional period between Old and Middle English, when the strong forms could still be identified, either due to the relics of inflectional endings, syntactic position, or context. A representative sample of the most frequent adjectives was chosen from the corpus comprising the extant Middle English texts with help of specific searching code. Consequently, the strong forms were manually chosen from these according to their formal characteristics and position in the sentence. This sample was then analyzed from the syntactic point of view, as well as from the point of view of functional sentence perspective. The results of the analysis show that the indication of indefiniteness was mostly expressed by the mix of syntactic and contextual means in EME. It has also been found out that the adjectives, being used both attributively and predicatively, were by rule part of the rheme.

Abstrakt

Předkládaná diplomová práce vychází z korpusové analýzy a zabývá se silnými tvary raně středoanglických adjektiv. Formální rozlišení mezi tvary slabé a silné deklinace přídavných jmen v průběhu období střední angličtiny zcela vymizelo, práce se proto zaměřuje na přechodnou dobu vývoje anglického jazyka, kdy lze silné tvary stále ještě identifikovat, ať už na základě koncovek, syntaktického postavení či kontextu. Za účelem vytvoření přehledné analýzy byl z korpusu obsahujícího dochované středoanglické texty vybrán vzorek silných tvarů, které se vyskytly u nejfrekventovanějších přídavných jmen. Tato adjektiva byla získána na základě zadání konkrétního vzorce do korpusového vyhledávání, přičemž jejich silné tvary už byly od slabých vyhledávány ručně na základě jejich vlastností, tj. především koncovek a postavení ve větě. Tento vzorek byl následně zkoumán jak z hlediska pozice jednotlivých příkladů ve větě, tak z hlediska informační struktury věty, kdy bylo u silných tvarů zjišťováno, zda-li náležejí k tématické nebo rématické části výpovědi. Na základě projektu bylo zjištěno, že silné tvary raně středoanglických adjektiv už ve většině případů ztratily své specifické koncovky, přičemž se však ještě zcela nerozvinul systém neurčitého členu, kterým je určenost vyjadřována dnes. Dalším dosaženým výsledkem zkoumání bylo, že silná adjektiva byla v rané střední angličtině součástí rématu věty, ať už se vyskytovaly atributivně či predikativně.

List of abbreviations

PG	Proto-Germanic
OE	Old English
ME	Middle English
EME	Early Middle English
PDE	Present-day English
S	subject
V	verb
NomPred	nominal part of the predicate
O_d	direct object
O_i	indirect object
O_{prep}	prepositional object
$Adv_{(man)}$	adverbial of manner
$Adv_{(loc)}$	adverbial of place
$Adv_{(t)}$	adverbial of time
CD	communicative dynamism
FSP	functional sentence perspective
ppcme2	Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition

List of tables and graphs

Table of contents

1. Introduction

The Master´s thesis provides an account regarding the issue of strong adjectival forms prevailing in the Early Middle English period and analyzes them with help of *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (ppcme2),* from which the samples are collected. It is not a description of strong forms on the morphological basis in comparison with the Old English situation that represents a centerpoint of focus, but their syntactical properties and their role within the functional sentence perspective are rather taken into consideration. This thesis seeks to address the following questions: were there any relics of the strong forms of the adjectives in Middle English and if so, how were they recognizable? By what means were they signalled? Was it by the endings as in OE, by their position, or a mixture of both? Were they used attributively and predicatively within a sentence, as it is in PDE? Did the strong adjectives occur mostly in postposition or in the preposed position? Were they used as heads of a phrase in the same way as in OE? What role did they play in functional sentence perspective, i.e. were the strong forms parts of theme or rheme? These are some of the most significant topics which will be dealt with in both theoretical and practical parts of the paper. The main objective is to present a study which answers these questions and therefore offers insight into the specific problems primarily of Early Middle English syntax. The aim is to examine a certain number – 350 – of strong adjectival forms collected from *ppcme2* from the syntactic and FSP points of view. More precisely, it will be studied to determine whether the forms followed the ´old´ means of signalization of the strong character or whether the new system, without any morphological endings, has taken over in the Early Middle English period by this point in time. The means of identification of the strong forms from the weak ones are discussed in section 3.1.2.

There have been much discussion in regards to Middle English syntax (Fischer, 2005; Hogg & Denison, 2006) and functional sentence perspective in synchrony and diachrony. However, few studies have examined specifically the relics of the strong adjectival forms in ME with focus on their syntactic function and role in FSP structure.

The thesis is divided into two main parts with further division into several subchapters. The theoretical section includes some general information concerning syntax and its development from Old to Middle English in chapter 2.2. Functional sentence perspective with its relation to syntax is contained in chapter 2.1. Chapter 2.3. reveals the system of adjectives in Old English

with focus on the strong forms. General introduction into Middle English, also predominantly concentrating on the adjectives, can be found in 2.4.

The section on syntax relies to a great extent on professor Olga Fischer´s linguistic works, such as ´The Position of the Adjective in Old English´, a contribution to the *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies: a Dialogue from 10 ICEHL* (2000), and ´Syntax´ from *A History of the English Language* (Hogg & Denison, 2006). Professor Fischer has been interested in historical linguistics since her studies at the University of Amsterdam where she obtained a BA in English Language and Linguistics in 1973. She continued to study in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and received an MA degree in History of English and General Linguistics in 1975, and in English Language and Literature in Amsterdam one year later. In 1990, a doctorate broadened her collection of University degrees. Since 1977, Professor Fischer has worked as a lecturer in Historical Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam, a reader in Historical Linguistics and a Professor of Germanic Linguistics at the same institution. Furthermore, she gave lectures as a visiting scholar and professor at the University of Manchester, Zürich, Innsbruck, and Vienna. Professor Fischer is currently President of the *Societas Linguistica Europeae* and President of the *International Society for the Linguistics of English*. In her publications, she pays special attention to the historical syntax, namely syntactic change and its relation to changes in word-order, grammaticalization and iconisation in language change and their interaction.[1]

Chapter 2.1. which deals with the theoretical background of functional sentence perspective gains information from, among others, the highly valued monography *Functional sentence perspective in written and spoken communication* (1992) by a Czech professor of the English Studies, Jan Firbas. Professor Firbas was a member of the Department of English and American studies at the Masaryk University in Brno. He received his MA degree there, in English and Philosophy, and since his doctoral in 1948, he had worked there as an assistant, a lecturer, and later as an associate Professor. Due to the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, Firbas was continuously persecuted and prevented from becoming a Professor. It was not earlier than in 1990 that he was appointed an English Professor. Concerning his field of specialization, Jan Firbas, as a follower of the Prague School, focused on the functional

---

[1] Olga Fischer´s University Profile [online]. Retrieved 29 December 2012 from: <http://www.uva.nl/over-de-uva/organisatie/medewerkers/content/f/i/o.c.m.fischer/o.c.m.fischer.html>.

linguistics and elaborated substantially the theory of functional sentence perspective by Vilém Mathesius (Adam, 2008).

The practical section of this thesis includes the research project, partially outlined above. The main source of data for this section was *ppcme2* which is described in more detail throughout chapter 3.1.1. It is closely followed by the methodology for the project and the research itself with the analysis of 350 samples from *ppcme2*. The findings that are submitted in the thesis are of significant importance for the diachronic studies of the English language. They are the results of a unique analysis that adds specific information central for the understanding the development of English adjectives.

2. Theoretical Section

The aim of the theoretical part of the present study is to investigate the issues that are most relevant for the practical section below. Revising the current findings and research concerning functional sentence perspective (FSP) with its relations to syntax and syntactic development from Old to Middle English with focus on adjectives, this part offers the theoretical background necessary for the corpus-based analysis of Early Middle English strong adjectival forms. First, it gives an account of FSP and communicative dynamism in general, whereas the following subchapters deal with the syntactic problems, looking into both clausal word-order and syntax of a noun phrase that include adjectives which represent the primary concern of the thesis.

2.1. FSP considerations

2.1.1. Introduction to functional sentence perspective

The issues of functional sentence perspective are closely connected to the Czech linguistic studies, within which they have represented one of the leading spheres of interest since the times of Vilém Mathesius. The scholar who brought the notion of FSP to attention in the 19th century already, however, was Henri Weil, a French linguist, who in 1844 published a pioneer work on FSP called *De l´ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes* (*The Order of Words in the ancient languages compared with that of the modern languages*). The English translation was published in 1878 and it was this work that inspired Mathesius to research this domain of language (Firbas, 1974: 11-12).

In his study, Weil introduced two concepts – the syntactic movement and the movement of ideas – that are present within every sentence. While the former is expressed by the linear grammatical progression in a syntactic structure and may vary from language to language, the latter, according to Weil, remains rather unchanging, and thus links distant and typologically different linguistic systems. The point that Weil wanted to stress was that people tend to express their ideas in the same way and order, in the history and today alike, and that each sentence ´contains a point of departure and a goal of discourse´, while the movement from the point of departure to the goal of discourse ´reveals the movement of the mind itself´ (ibid.: 14-15) and therefore can be universal. Functional sentence perspective refers to the degrees of

communicative dynamism, or distribution of amounts of information, over the elements of a sentence.

In connection to the goal of discourse, one might mention the possible roles of a subject within a sentence which determine the overall meaning of the utterance and therefore relate to the movement of ideas. There are three distinct functions of a subject stated in Halliday´s *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Hence three distinct kinds of meaning that are incorporated in the structure of a clause. First, one speaks about psychological subject that represents a theme, functioning as a message or the point of departure for the message. Second, grammatical subject functions as an exchange within the clausal structure, ensuring the transaction between the participants of a conversation. The third subject function is a logical meaning or an actor. This logical subject functions as a representation and designates the doer of the action. As a result, one should understand a sentence as a composite entity, with three dimensions of structure and ´it is the structure as a whole, the total configuration of functions, that construes, or realizes, the meaning´ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2012: 56-60). For obvious reasons, it is the thematic structure which is dealt with into more detail below.

2.1.2. Communicative dynamism

The term communicative dynamism (CD) refers to the amount of information that is carried by single elements of a sentence. Firbas describes it as the ´extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication´ (Firbas, 1992: 8-9). The notion of CD is regarded as broader than given-new bipartition because the contribution of each sentential element to the development of the information can be specified more accurately, while each sentence represents a basic ´distributional field´, over which different degrees of CD are spread (ibid.: 15). Generally, so-called principle of end focus comes to play, putting the elements with the lowest degree of CD in the beginning of a sentence, gradually followed by those carrying higher degree of CD. As a result, the least dynamic element, or a theme, appears first, whereas the most dynamic one, a rheme, tends to end the utterance. In languages with fixed word-order, such as English, the theme is defined by its position, i.e. it is the initial element in the sentence, playing the role of the subject. Thus, basic distribution of CD means gradual increase of the degrees of CD from the

beginning to the end of the sentence, with thematic element(s), or the topic, at the beginning and rhematic, the focus, at the end.

To determine the degree of CD, one needs to consider several factors that contribute to the overall layout of the sentence structure. Crucial and most important of them is **context**. The degree of CD highly depends on the context dependence or independence of the respective element, in other words whether the element has been previously mentioned or whether it is newly introduced into discourse. Context dependence in English is by rule indicated by anaphorical devices, such as pronouns or definite articles. Another factor, affecting the arrangement of elements of a sentence, is **semantics**. It is primarily adverbials and verbs whose semantic roles are analyzed in relation to FSP. Some of adverbial semantic roles, mostly temporal and locative, are disposed to function as scene-setting elements, thus being included in the theme, irrespective of their position within the sentence. In the case of verbs, semantics plays a role in the distinction between those that present a phenomenon on the scene, i.e. verbs of existence or appearance on the scene, for example *arrive, arise, exist* or *come*, and verbs that somehow qualify the subject. The latter are usually transitive verbs with complements and other than scene-setting adverbials. Dependency on context influences significantly the fact, to what element the communication is perspectived. If verbs of appearance or existence occur with a context-independent subject, the communication is focused to the subject which is the rheme:

(1) *A car pulled up at the curb.*

(Dušková: Syntax Seminar materials, 2012)

If the subject is context-dependent, the rhematic element is the verb:

(2) *The car pulled up at the curb.*

(ibid.)

If a context-independent subject occurs with a verb that does not express existence or appearance on the scene, but some qualification, feature, action, or feeling, the communication is perspectived to the verb:

(3) *A girl laughed.*

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

In synthetic languages, such as Czech or Russian, the primary indicator of the information structure is **linear arrangement**, or word-order. Provided the utterance has neutral unmarked intonation with its centre at the end, the elements standing at the end of this utterance are the rheme. The universal principle of end focus applies in English as well, although with restrictions imposed by the grammatical function of word-order. In most instances, grammatical structure and FSP structure are in agreement and operate in the same direction:

(4) *Nicholas has bought a new bicycle.*

<div align="right">(author´s own example)</div>

Furthermore, one has to take into account that the position of some clause elements is variable, for instance of reason and purpose adjuncts, and objects of ditransitive verbs. In such cases, the position is by rule in agreement with the degree of CD:

(5) *Because of his illness he had to resign.*

<div align="right">(Dušková: Syntax Seminar materials, 2012)</div>

(5´) *He had to resign because of his illness.*

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

Nevertheless, in the case of scene-setting adverbials and verbs of appearance or existence on the scene, word-order acts counter to the semantics and context:

<div align="center">15</div>

(6) *A strange sound came to our ears.*

(ibid.)

Last of the factors determining the degree of CD is **intonation**. Although it is inherent also in written text, it is a factor of speech and it remains only a supportive factor in writing when analyzing FSP. The carrier of the intonation centre, or sentence stress, is the rheme. In writing it is decisive in cases of ambiguous FSP structure, i.e. in instances where the assignment of the FSP functions is not univocal.

2.1.3. FSP and word-order

As outlined above, the distribution of elements within a sentence is tightly linked with their degree of communicative dynamism carried by them. Therefore, functional sentence perspective works in close connection with word-order. English sentences in general tend to apply the end focus principle as well as grammatical word-order, such as in the following example:

(7) *He was a nice funny little man.*

(ibid.)

There exists, however, a great number of clauses which deviate from grammatical word-order or from basic distribution of CD and in which the indication of FSP is nonlinear. First, let us focus on sentences in which the principle of end focus does not apply due to the presence of thematic objects:

(8) *Surely few people could pray that prayer with any sincerity.*

(ibid.)

or thematic adverbials in postverbal position:

16

(9) *Cowslips are a delicacy among rabbits.*

and rhematic subjects:

(10) *A kind of telepathic feeling has to flow through them.*

These constructions pose a difficulty when being translated, especially into a synthetic language, when one needs to take into account semantics and context to decide about the theme-rheme relations and arrangement of elements.

Second, one may encounter clauses deviating from grammatical word-order, although they do not occur very frequently. One of the examples is represented by the reversal of the customary order of postverbal elements:

(11) *while the mourners pressed on him the traditional cooked ham and rich fruit cake.*

The reversal can be caused by several reasons, most important of them being a weighty postmodification that follows the element in question. Another deviation appears in form of inversion with an initial adverbial:

(12) *Behind the ornaments were two coloured photographs.*

This arrangement is stylistically marked and is frequently present in descriptive passages. Finally, fronting of direct or prepositional object is included in this category. This feature occurs mainly as an indicator of the context:

(13) *One of these, Buckhorn, Hazel knew well.*

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

Third, special devices are employed serving to change the order of units of a sentence, and thus deviating the linearity. These devices allow the speaker to stress various clausal elements. The one most frequently used is the passive, with help of which it is the verb that becomes the rheme:

(14) *A little way in front of them, the ground had been freshly disturbed.*

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

In existential construction, on the other hand, the subject is being perspectived to:

(15) *There is some strain of the Woodhouses of Hartfield in us.*

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

Cleft sentences serve the purpose of stressing a particular clausal element:

(16) *It was Oliver who broke the window here.*

(16´) *It was here that he broke the window.*

(16´´) *It was the window that was broken.*

<div align="right">(author´s own examples)</div>

Among the special devices also belongs a subject construction of an adverbial element:

(17) *A few seconds brought him to the oak.*

(Dušková: Syntax Seminar materials, 2012)

Positions of adjectives with respect to their role within the FSP are the main concern of chapters 2.3 and 2.5, and they are further analyzed with help of the corpus study in the practical section of the thesis.

2.2. Syntactic considerations

2.2.1. Language change

Before specific syntactic changes will be discussed, a general question should be pondered: *Why is it that languages change?* It is natural for each language to evolve, though not all linguistic systems undergo the same changes in the same stage of development. There exist many kinds of change on every language level; the changes might be morphological, syntactic, phonological or semantic, and they are often interdependent. Recently, many discussions have been held on this matter and there has been published a vast number of publications dealing with linguistic change, either sound change, grammaticalization, or other types. Due to limited space, this subchapter introduces only an overview of possible causes of change, and afterwards very briefly touches upon the mechanisms of syntactic change, while the following subchapter applies the general background knowledge of syntactic change on the specific example of English.

As Hogg and Denison point out in *A History of the English Language* (2006), there is a number of possible theoretical explanations available for language change and various linguists favour different approaches to this matter. One assumption can be that grammar of a language represents an internal set of rules that is used by a speaker unconciously, which may change, however, when new generations acquire a slightly different set of grammatical rules due to some ´performance factors´, such as recurrent errors. Language acquisition in childhood is then one of the decisive ways which can cause a language change. On the other

hand, language change may be triggered by interaction of the speakers of a given community and the language usage is likely to adapt to e.g. social status or specific norms. What is agreed on by all of the linguists is that there are certain factors inducing language change, namely **structural**, **functional**, **social**, and last but not least **extralinguistic** (Hogg & Denison, 2006: 38).

Having been brought to attention, the factors affecting linguistic change should be at least briefly defined. With help of the monography mentioned above (Hogg & Denison, 2006), let us demonstrate an example of a structural factor: this could be the increasing use of the quantifier *less* with both countable and uncountable nouns (while *fewer* ´should´ be preferred with countable nouns). Generally, structural issues deal with what a language system is made of and what are the relations between its components, while functional analysis focuses on how the components work and what is their function in the system (Lass, 2006: 43). Among so-called functional factors is for instance the tendency to avoid ambiguity in a language. It is possible that phonetic or other change makes words that have various meanings sound the same, which often leads to the loss of one of the meanings, for example *let*, meaning both ´allow´ or ´hinder´ from the verbs *lætan* and *lettan*, respectively, but the latter is found archaic. Language iconicity, i.e. ´an explicit parallelism between linguistic form and meaning´ also serves as an example of a functional factor (Hogg & Denison, 2006: 38-39).

Social factors are connected with social groups and their interaction with each other. A change may originate among the speakers of one social class and may gradually spread through the language and be adopted by all the remaining classes (ibid.: 39). Dialectal borrowings have been the phenomena occurring frequently throughout the history of the English language. Extralinguistic factor is closely related to social factors but it includes transmission not only within one linguistic system but among two or more different languages, in other words language contact. In the history of English there have been cases when the English language was affected by another one. In the times of Old English it was mostly Latin and Scandinavian, whose influence can be still traced today in the extant manuscripts from that period. Latin, as a language of religion and education, and its structures often had an impact on the English syntax, whereas the most frequently used example of the Scandinavian influence is the adoption of the third person plural pronouns *they* and *their*. During Middle English times, the main source of borrowings was represented by Norman

French. Yet, extralinguistic factors comprise not only language contact but also cultural contact leading to new vocabulary in order to describe new concepts, plants or tools, and technical development, inventions, and changes in the world in general cause language change, too.

Let us focus now on syntax for it is the main concern of this chapter. This level of the English language has changed to a great extent from the Proto-Germanic period to this day, due to both internal and external factors. Relying mostly on Lyle Campbell´s *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (1999), the following paragraph seeks to briefly outline the three main mechanisms of syntactic change – **reanalysis, extention**, and **borrowing** – before dealing with more specific issues, mainly the development of word-order and the role of adjectives. Reanalysis works on the presumption that there is the possibility of more than only one analysis of a construction in question. It ´changes the underlying structure of a syntactic construction, but does not modify surface manifestation´ (Campbell, 1999: 226). In other words, the constructions might be identical in form, their internal structure, however, differs. The change in grammatical categories, as a part of the change in the underlying structure, is clearly observable on the example from OE that reads in PDE:

(18) *To the king was offered a seat.*

(ibid.: 226)

In the OE sentence, *(þæm) cyning-e* appears in the initial position, behaving as a prepositional object. Through the loss of the dative marker –e, nevertheless, the representations of the dative and nominative cases became identical. Therefore, ´king´ happened to be reanalysed as a subject in the nominative case (ibid.: 232), because of the speakers´ growing reliance on a more fixed word-order that required a subject standing in front of the verb.

Extension may be described as the opposite compared to reanalysis, for it ´results in changes in surface manifestation, but does not involve immediate modification of the underlying structure´ (ibid.: 226). It works in close connection with reanalysis, which precedes it or prepares ground for extension to spread. Syntactic borrowing occurs due to the language

contact, similarly to other kinds of linguistic borrowing. The examples mostly include the direct borrowing of various affixes, such as negative affix, case affixes, and number affix (ibid.: 231).

2.2.2. From Old to Middle English: syntactic development and word-order changes

English has undergone a significant evolution during the centuries of its existence. The ´Englishes´ that are spoken today across the world do not correspond with the language of the Middle Ages – although we have no speech of that time recorded and the linguists rely only on the extant written documents and also with help of synchronic studies they gain information about the language in diachrony. The transformation of the OE ´free´ word-order into the fixed word-order of PDE was caused by several factors, both internal and external. Phonological weakening, that characterizes the ´transitional´ period between Old and Early Modern English, had a great effect on the reduction and consequent loss of grammatical endings. Intense contact with other languages, particularly Danish and Norman French, also played an important role and prepared ground for the decline of inflection. As a result, the role of syntax became more significant in expressing the functions of the words within sentences that had earlier been expressed by morphology. Positions of parts of speech became more fixed and the number of possibilities of ordering words within a sentence was reduced.

Even though the speakers of Old English had more possibilities where to place sentence elements such as, for example, objects, there existed, as Millward & Hayes (2012: 112) point out, sentence patterns which were preferred to the others and which, in fact, have been preserved until today. Despite of relatively free word-order, the most frequent ordering in a sentence was subject - predicator, as it is generally in PDE. Millward & Hayes give an example of this pattern using a sentence from Alfred´s *Orosius* accompanied by word-by-word PDE translation:

> (19) *Hē sǣde ðæt Norðmanna land wǣre swȳþe lang and swȳþe smæl.*

> (19´) *He said that (the) Northmen's land was very long and very narrow.*

> (Millward & Hayes, 2012: 112)

However, it is not rare to encounter the word-order such as SOV, VSO, and OSV in Old English. Examples are given in (20a, b, c).

(20) a. *Hi to him gebædon.* [SOV] (=They prayed to him)

b. *þa æt-ywde drihtnes engel iosepe on swefnum.* [VSO] (=then a Lord´s angel came to Joseph in his sleep)

c. *þone wer hie gesawon.* [OSV] (=then they saw a man)

(*The Three Magi*, WS version of The Bible)

To sum up, in the most frequent ordering in a sentence, the finite verb stood second in a main clause. Interestingly, the verb tended to follow this pattern even when the first element of a sentence was not a subject but, for instance, an adverb. Thus, after certain adverbs such as *þa* or *soþlice*, the clause pattern had the form of VSO. In PDE, this rule has been retained only when there is a sentence-initial negated element or as a literary device. In a dependent clause, the inflected verb usually occurred at the end in OE, as it still does in modern German:

(21) *Ða hi þt gebod gehyrdon, þa ferdon hi.* (=When they heard the command, they set off).

(*The Three Magi*, WS version of The Bible)

Although it is not quite clear, according to Blake (1996: 25), whether ´the ancestor of English was a verb-second or verb-final language´, modern English and German syntax have come from the same roots from the times of the common Germanic language. Since that period, however, English has been influenced by different factors than German, which led to its adherence to SVO word-order.

What is closely connected with problems of word-order is the possibility of omitting the subject in OE, whereas in PDE, subject position must always be occupied in the standard language. When the inflections still carried the information about the meaning of a word and

its role in a sentence, it was not necessary for the subject to be expressed; empty subjects existed in OE:

(22) *nis me earfeðe to geþolianne þeodnes willan* (=it is no hardship to me to endure people´s will)

<div align="right">(as cited in Fischer & van der Wurff, 2006: 161)</div>

As regards interrogative sentences, inversion was generally used, even when a question contained an interrogative element. The periphrastic *do* had not emerged yet, it became more frequent, as Görlach (1997: 103) suggests, in the period of Middle English, around 1500.

(23) *Eart þū se Beowulf sē þe [...]?* (=Are you the Beowulf who […])

(24) *Hwæt sægest þū?* (=What do you say?)

<div align="right">(Görlach, 1997: 93)</div>

Generally, word-order could be influenced by the purpose of the utterance. Moreover, Old English texts often imitated the style of Latin sources that were copied, and one can find some ´Latinisms´, such as the use of *nelle –> ne + wille* in negative imperatives (Millward & Hayes, 2012: 119), and various factors could thus affect ordering of the elements within a sentence (Görlach, 1997: 103).

In Early Middle English, the patterns of Old English were, naturally, still in use. Owing to the linguistic development and extralinguistic factors, however, other alternatives began to appear during this and later periods. With the gradual loss of inflectional endings, the preferred order SVO became much more common and syntax thus partially took over the indication of the role of the clausal elements. This usage, nonetheless, still could be – similarly as in OE– deviated from, mainly for stylistic reasons in order to place some other elements in the thematic position within a sentence, or for the rhythmical reasons (Horobin & Smith, 2002: 92). The former is illustrated by the example below, in which it is the object that stands first,

followed by the auxiliary verb, the subject, the prepositional object, and the lexical part of the verbal phrase:

(25) *This tresor hath Fortune unto us yiven, in myrthe and joliftee oure lyf to lyven.* (=Fortune has given us this treasure, to live our life in joy)

(Horobin & Smith, 2002: 99)

Some other constructions typical for Old English can be still found in Middle English, separating the subject and verb, such as:

(26) *This olde man ful mekely hem grette.* (=The old man greeted them heartily)

(ibid.: 100)

This construction occurs frequently when the object of the clause is a pronoun. Another OE phenomenon may still appear in subordinate clauses, namely a delayed verb phrase, when the finite verb stands last:

(27) *Whan that Aprill with his shoures **soote**, the droghte of March hath perced to the roote...* (=When that April soothes his shores, the drought of March pierces to the root)

(ibid.)

When the clause is introduced by an adverbial, the OE usage of verb occupying the second position is maintained:

(28) *Unnethe ariseth he out of his synne.* (=In vain he arises out of his sin.)

(ibid.)

This pattern is also employed in questions in ME; the ´dummy do´ is still to come:

(29) *Why lyvestow so longe in so greet age?* (Why do you live so long until such an old age?)

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

While the examples above demonstrate the similarities between ME and OE, it is necessary to mention also the syntactic developments that had occured between these two stages. Apart from the gradual fixation of word-order, pleonastic subjects were introduced and subject pronouns became essential to use. Moreover, the usage of auxiliaries increased and the articles were introduced, in connection to the phenomenon of grammaticalization (Gelderen, 2006: 132).

2.2.3. Noun phrase

Whereas the previous section focused on syntax of a sentence, this subchapter looks at syntactic properties of a noun phrase and its development. In connection to the relatively free word-order in OE, positions of the modifiers were not strictly given. Although there existed certain preferred patterns, they could either precede or follow the head of the phrase, which often resulted in structures which modern reader may not have to be familiar with, e.g.:

(30) […cyssan] *Crīstes rōde tācn* (=the token of the Christ´s rood)

<div align="right">(From the Anglo-Saxon Laws: *Trial by Ordeal*, Čítanka staroanglických, středoanglických a raně novoanglických textů, 2001: 32)</div>

and

(31) […] *mid þy storme þæs wintres* […] (=by the winter storm)

<div align="right">(The Venerable Bede, *Ecclessiastical History of the English People: King Edwin of Northumberland´s Conversion)*</div>

Görlach (1997: 92) claims, however, that pre-position became the rule by [the 13th century], while the exception was the genitive *of*-construction. What is interesting is that the order within a ´sequence of premodifiers was similar to that of PDE´ (ibid.: 92).

Concerning the grammatical agreement, there was concord in OE between attributive articles (ibid.: 92), pronouns, adjectives, and their heads in case, number, and gender. According to Görlach, when the noun did not have any morphological ending, it was its attributes that indicated case, number, and gender. Four basic cases were distinguished in OE and each of them was expressed with help of particular endings. All elements of a noun phrase were in the same case, and the role of the whole noun phrase within a sentence was thus signalled. Generally, the case system is necessary in a language and it has been retained in English until today, the means of expressing it, nevertheless, have changed from the use of morphological endings to the use of functional words such as prepositions and also a specific word-order. Particular use of case can be included in the valence and semantics of a verb, too. Görlach says that cases have a remarkable function in languages in general, when nominative marks agent in an active sentence, genitive marks possessive, dative beneficiary or indirect goal, and accusative indicates effected object or aim (ibid.: 92). It is the genitive, that has undergone considerable development in English. As the only case, it has resisted to be expressed fully by the analytical means.

Genitive had complex functions in OE and several classifications are possible to made. Let us use the one suggested by Quirk and Wrenn (1993: 62), who at first offer two groups of usage: subjective (active) and objective (passive). Furthermore, the former is closely related to the possessive and instrumental genitives and the genitive of origin, while the latter is associated with the genitive of measure, descriptive and defining genitive, and partitive genitive. Quirk & Wrenn add that the adverbial genitive is also connected with the objective usage, and several such forms had been grammaticalized in the development of English and became adverbs, e.g. *hwilum* or *ealles*. However, the genitive markers have been levelled so that there remains only *–(e)s* ending and its distinct functional usages have been shifted to various prepositions.

After dealing with morphology within the noun phrase, let us analyze its syntactic properties. Word-order of an OE noun phrase tended to follow a certain pattern, although the rules were not strictly given, especially in poetry. Generally, as Ans Van Kemenade points out in her *An Outline of Old English syntax* (2000), the preference was for all the modifiers to precede the head noun in the following order, not much differing from PDE: quantifier, demonstrative/possessive pronoun, numeral, *oþer*, adjective, genitive noun, head. There is no

such text, however, in which one could attest all of these modifiers with one head (Van Kemenade, 2000: 46). Thus, the examples involve mostly three or less modifiers:

(32) *anum unwisum cyninges þegne* (=to an unwise king´s thane)

(33) *ealle his woruldlican æðelborennysse* (=all his wordly nobleness of birth)

There are, nevertheless, some exceptions to this word-order attested, such as *monig* which could follow a demonstrative or *oþer* which could precede a quantifier:

(34) *þara monegana gewinna* (=of many battles)

(35) *oðre fela bisceopas* (=many other bishops)

Van Kemenade also discusses certain cases of postmodification in her chapter and exemplifies them with quantifiers and modifiers ending in –*weard*:

(36) *hlafordswican manige* (=many traitors)

(37) *alle Cent eastewearde* (=all eastern Kent)

Other cases are, according to her, infrequent and occur mostly in poetry for rhythmical and artistic reasons:

(38) *mægwine mine* (=my kinswoman)

(39) *cyle þone grimmestan* (=the grimmest chill)

Elements that carry weighty information always follow the rest of the noun phrase, for instance prepositional modifiers and relative clauses, as demonstrated in (40) and (41):

(40) *ane boc be cyrclicum ðeawum* (=a book of the customs of the church)

(41) *to þam ylcan campdome þe heora fæderas on wæron* (=to the same warfare that their fathers wore)

(ibid.)

The second constituent of two conjoined premodifiers may also follow the head element:

(42) *liflice onsægednysse and halige and Gode andfenge* (=lively and holy offering and approved by God)

(ibid.: 48)

If a noun phrase includes two nouns one from which specifies or modifies the other, then these two nouns can stand in apposition. This phenomenon is usually encountered with an appellative in combination with a title, when the name precedes the title (Van Kemenade, 2000: 48):

(43) *Sidroc earl se gionega* (=Cedric the young Earl)

(ibid.)

Moreover, pronouns can also be modified by a noun phrase in apposition, unlike in PDE:

(44) *He cwæð, se apostol Paulus* (=He said, the apostle Paul)

(ibid.)

One more singularity was typical for Old English noun phrase, namely its possibility to be discontinuous:

(45) *maran cyle ic geseah, and wyrsan* (=I saw a cold mare and worse)

Having outlined the syntactic properties of the noun phrase, the ground has been prepared for the analysis of the modifier most relevant for this thesis: the adjective. The following chapter deals with its development and classification, but most importantly with its syntactic position in relation to FSP.

2.3. Adjectives in Old English

2.3.1. From PIE to OE

The word class of adjectives in OE provides an interesting field for an analysis, the main reason for this being that the adjectives had broader range of properties in OE than they do in PDE.

The double paradigm of adjectives in OE has its roots in Proto-Germanic. Even earlier, in the times of Proto-Indo-European, the declination of adjectives worked on the same basis as the declination of substantives, as Josef Vachek points out in his *Historický vývoj angličtiny* (1978). This is obvious from the Greek, Latin, and Slavonic languages (Vachek, 1978: 59). Don Ringe adds in *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic* (2006), that PG adjectives had lexically vowel stems, while consonant-stem adjectives had been rather eliminated. He continues with arguing that nearly all of the adjectives, however, gained a second, parallel inflectional paradigm, so-called n-stem (Ringe, 2006: 169). The older vowel-stem paradigms had been innovated in the sense that their original nominal endings were replaced by ´those of "pronominal adjectives" – of quantifiers that were inflected like the relative pronoun and largely like the determiner "that"´. As a result, the vowel-stem paradigms with pronominal endings represent the ´strong´ adjectives, whereas the n-stem paradigms ´weak´, as

demonstrated in (46) and (46´) below. Such a double inflection of this word class remains unique to Germanic (ibid.: 169).

(46) ´heavy´:   strong infl. - *kuru-, fem. *kurjō-

weak infl. - *kurjan- (?), fem. *kurjōn-

(46´) ´carrying´:   strong infl. - *berand-, fem. *berandijō-

weak infl. - *berandan-, fem. *berandīn-

(Ringe, 2006: 169)

Proto-Germanic had thus elaborated a type of declination, the n-stem ´weak´ paradigms, that appeared in other languages as well, but only sporadically. As an example serves the Latin adjective *rufus* (=red-head) and the noun with the same root *Rufo*, used as a proper name or a nickname (Vachek, 1978: 59). Similar example is *catus* (=shrewd) and *Catō* (=the Shrewd) (Ringe, 2006: 170). Ringe implies that Proto-Germanic ´weak adjectival inflection developed from the PIE n-stem "indiviualizing" suffix that also appears in Greek and Latin names´, mentioned above (ibid.: 170). Furthermore, he hypothesizes that ´the n-stem suffix of the weak adjectival paradigm was originally a definite article – the first of several that arose within the development of Germanic – and its use with determiners was originally pleonastic´. According to his opinion, this would explain why there exist a few Old English documents, such as *Beowulf*, in which weak adjectives are often used without any determiners. Nevertheless, the syntactic developments that had been involved in the emergence of n-stem paradigms are not quite clear. As Ringe concludes, ´it is not clear whether lexemes marked with the suffix had always been adjectives which could appear attributively within the NP or were originally nouns in apposition (separate NPs) which were reanalyzed as attributive adjectives. It is also unclear whether this phenomenon has anything to do with the spread of "pronominal" inflection to all strong adjectives in PGmc´ (ibid.: 170).

2.3.2 Classification of Adjectives

Shifting from historical development of adjectives, let us touch upon their practical usage in Old English. Generally, the adjectives could be part of a noun phrase or a verb phrase: this

was connected with the two types of use, attributive and predicative, respectively. When they modified a noun, they carried the information about case, gender, and number that agreed with the information carried by the noun. The use of ´weak´ and ´strong´ forms of adjectives depended on the grammatical context in which they occured. ´Weak´ endings were taken by those adjectives that were preceded by a definite article, a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun, and a numeral. The weak forms were also used in the address. Adjectives with ´strong´ endings appeared in all other instances, e.i. when ´they carr[ied] the grammatical load themselves´ (Hasenfratz & Jambeck, 2005:168-170).

Weak adjectival endings were in fact almost identical to those of the weak nouns (the only difference being the genitive plural ending –ra) (ibid.: 171):

table 1: Weak adjectives

	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Neuter**		**SUMMARY**	
				Masc.	**Fem.**	**Neut.**
SINGULAR						
N	gōda	gōde	gōde	-a	-e	-e
A	gōdan	gōdan	gōde	-an	-an	-e
G	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan	-an	-an	-an
D	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan	-an	-an	-an
PLURAL						
N	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan	-an	-an	-an
A	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan	-an	-an	-an
G	gōdra, -ena	gōdra, -ena	gōdra, -ena	-ra, -ena		
D	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum	-um	-um	-um

Strong adjectives could be divided into short- or long-stemmed adjectives. A short-stemmed adjective contained ´in its stem a short vowel followed by a single consonant´ (ibid.: 38) (e.g. ´grim´), while a long-stemmed adjective had ´either a long vowel followed by a single

consonant´ (e.g. ´gōd´) ´or a short vowel followed by two or more consonants´ (ibid.: 38) (e.g. ´ællmihtig´).

table 2: Short-stemmed strong adjectives

	Masculine	Feminine	Neutral	SUMMARY Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
SINGULAR						
N	til	tilu	til	-	-u	-
A	tilne	tile	til	-ne	-e	-
G	tiles	tilre	tiles	-es	-re	-es
D	tilum	tilre	tilum	-um	-re	-um
I	tile	***	tile	-e	***	-e
PLURAL						
N	tile	tile, -a	tilu	-e	-e,-a	-u
A	tile	tile, -a	tilu	-e	-e,-a	-u
G	tilra	tilra	tilra	-ra	-ra	-ra
D	tilum	tilum	tilum	-um	-um	-um

table 3: Long-stemmed strong adjectives

	Masculine	Feminine	Neutral	SUMMARY Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
SINGULAR						
N	gōd	gōd	gōd	-	-	-
A	gōdne	gōde	gōd	-ne	-e	-
G	gōdes	gōdre	gōdes	-es	-re	-es

D	gōdum	gōdre	gōdum	-um	-re	-um
I	gōde	***	gōde	-e	***	-e

PLURAL

N	gōde	gōde, -a	gōd	-e	-e,-a	-
A	gōde	gōde, -a	gōd	-e	-e,-a	-
G	gōdra	gōdra	gōdra	-ra	-ra	-ra
D	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum	-um	-um	-um

(Hasenfratz & Jambeck, 2005: 168-169)

OE adjectives, in comparison to those of PDE, could function as nouns without any formal change or adding of the article, hence examples (47) and (48):

(47) *Ge-seh þā hālig hāligne.* (=Then the holy one saw another holy man)

(48) *Hē for-lēt þone gōdan.* (=He permitted the presence of the good one)

(ibid.: 173)

Following the examples above, it is clear that both strong and weak adjectival forms may behave as nouns within a sentence. Their Modern English counterparts need to employ a noun like *one, man, woman,* or *person* in singular. The phenomenon most similar to this OE one is the use of the adjective in plural with the definite article, determining a group of people with identical characteristics, which could be found, however, already in OE, too (Vachek, 1978: 85).

2.3.3. Position and syntactic function of adjectives

The Grammars discussing the position of the adjective in Old English commonly offer the conclusion that due to the inflectional endings and a relatively free word-order, the adjective position could vary without strict limitations. Olga Fischer (2005: 254), however, argues that the variation was not free but rather meaningful - ´at least in some contexts, and it was conditioned by a number of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors´. These factors, Fischer continues, were not specific to Old English, being not arbitrary but rather motivated, for a

similar use of postposition can be found in Modern Greek or Italian, too. Therefore, the position of adjectives still depended on certain rules in OE and also in ME to some degree. The majority of these rules have disappeared and do not govern the position in PDE any more.

There are three main factors that determined position in early English, according to Fischer. First, it was ´the nature of the adjective itself and its possible satellites´, which means that certain adjectives tended to occur only in certain environments. Second, the number of adjectives that were involved also played a significant role in determining their positions within the phrase. Third, there was the importance of ´the functional role the adjectival phrase play[ed] in terms of information structure within the noun phrase and within the context of the discourse as a whole´. This factor was related to the fact, whether the adjective constituted one information unit with its head or whether it constituted a separate unit, carrying new information, and thus being rhematic. To sum up, when the adjectival phrase preceded its head, it created a whole with it, whereas when it followed, it offered new, additional information about its head. The linear order, therefore, could influence the perception of the structural item and hence also the interpretation. This phenomenon is called iconic principle and is a subtype of ´iconicity of motivation´. Thus, the postnominal position of the adjective iconically indicates by the word-order that the topic of conversation is the head and the adjective in addition comments on its quality or character (ibid.: 254-255).

To express new information in a NP involving an adjectival phrase, Old English could use either a strong adjective placed prenominally or a strong adjective in postnominal position. On the other hand, a weak adjective preceding the noun was used to express a given piece of information. Fischer claims that adjectives that were postposed, were rhematic in general, and thus also nonrestrictive and predicative, while thematic and attributive adjectives showed tendency to be placed early in the noun phrase (ibid.: 256).

2.4. General introduction to Middle English

A question that is often considered when examining the Middle English period, is how one should circumscribe it, since the opinions on its dating differ. Some scholars favour setting borders with help of significant historical events, while the others prefer determining the period rather on the basis of linguistic and literary evidence. Therefore, it is possible to take

1066, the year of the Norman invasion, 1100, or even 1200 as the starting point, and Caxton´s introduction of printing in 1476, the beginning of the Tudor dynasty in 1485 (Crystal, 2004: 105), or simply 1500 as the ending point. For the purposes of this thesis, the delimitation supported by the literary evidence is given preference, for the paper analyzes the Early Middle English era, and thus it is crucial to trace the transitory period between OE and ME. Consequently, the focus is placed on the 12th and 13th centuries.

Middle English itself is often regarded as a transitory period between two radically different stages of English. Whereas the Old English character could be characterized as Old Germanic with its sounds, spellings, morphology, and word stock, the changes in Middle English helped the English language turn into a much more familiar state from the modern point of view. This period has often been labelled ´a dialect age´ of English. The reason for that lies in a vast number of documents written in various dialects that have been preserved; something the scholars miss when dealing with OE. Moreover, no standard variety had emerged yet, which facilitates a unique view on the whole linguistic situation. The linguistic development between OE and ME, however rapid it may seem to us today, had necessarily taken a considerable period of time; there was no sudden shift. As new forms within the language system gained ground, the old ones did not cease to be used and there existed a certain period when the OE and ME texts amalgamated. Thus, the origins of ´the last Old English text´, a copy of the Old English Gospels written in Canterbury, can be dated in 1190s, while the writing called ´the earliest Middle English text´, the translation from Latin *Sermo in festis Sancti Marie uirginis*, was composed some seventy years earlier, between 1114 and 1122 (ibid.: 107).

Developments within the language are possible to explain by a number of reasons. Nevertheless, the most significant among them is the complex linguistic situation on the British Isles after the Norman Conquest. Newly arrived French and the continuously used English, as well as Norse in the Danelaw and Celtic in Scotland and Wales, got into contact, accompanied by Latin, the main language of the Church and education at that time (Millward & Hayes, 2012: 145). This multilinguistic environment could not leave English unaffected. On the contrary, it changed its shape irreversibly. Syntactic changes, including different sentence structures as well as the position of single clause elements, represent the main focus of this thesis, and the attention is drawn to adjectives in particular.

2.5. Adjectives in Middle English

2.5.1. Position and syntactic function of adjectives

The rules governing the position of adjectives in OE were still active in the early period of ME. They began, however, to weaken under the new circumstances, among which were the increasingly fixed word-order, the gradual loss of inflections, the arising system of determiners, and the emergence of new compound noun types. Same as in OE, both prenominal and postnominal positions were present in ME, even though the preposed adjectives grew to be preferred in the new era. The postposition, nevertheless, was still used and its usage was affected by a number of factors that have disappeared by PDE and only a vague residue has been left over (Fischer, 2005: 282).

The contemporary Grammars differ in opinions concerning the context, in which postposed adjectives occur. Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 559) gives three such contexts for PDE, namely i) when the adjective starts in a- (*alive*), ii) when it is accompanied by a prepositional phrase complement, and finally iii) when it belongs to a handful of restricted adjectives, i.e. in French and idiomatic phrases. In Biber et. al. (1999: 519), one may find four contexts stated, comprising i) adjectives with indefinite pronoun heads, ii) ´certain´ adjectives that tend to follow (e.g. available), iii) fixed expressions, and iv) heavy adjectival phrases. This suggests that the general rules of OE and EME do not apply any more in PDE (ibid.: 254).

In comparison to this PDE situation, Fischer (2005: 267) mentions twelve contexts or factors influencing the postposition of adjectives in ME. To begin with, postposition depends on the type of the noun phrase: it appears in indefinite noun phrases in particular. Furthermore, adjectives often occur in postposition when preceded by a preposed quantifier. The postposed position is also frequent when the adjective is a present or past participle, when it contains the suffix *–ful*, a negative morpheme (for example *un-, in-, -less*), or when it is used with a negative adverb. Moreover, the adjective is postposed when it is in the comparative or superlative or combined with the adverbs *more* and *most*. When it is accompanied by an adverbial or a prepositional phrase, it also tends to follow its head, similarly to the situation when the adjective itself is adverbial in nature, when its origin is French or Latin, or when the head is semantically empty. Finally, postposition occurs in fixed phrases, mainly in vocatives

or referential phrases, such as *god almighty*, or when two adjectives are joined by *(n)either –*
(n)or, both – and (ibid.: 267).

In the case of serial adjectives, the use of the connector *and* was still generally the rule in ME.
These adjectives could all precede or follow the head, or they could be ambilateral, i.e. that
one of them is prenominal and the other postnominal. This construction may also be called the
postnominal AND-construction and there are two ways of interpretations, namely the second
adjective can be used substantively:

> (49) *in oþre manne house <u>guode and large</u> [...]* (=in other man´s good and large
> house)

> (*ppcme2*)

or it behaves as a postposed predicative adjective, such as in an OE example below:

> (50) *ne scyle nan mon siocne monnan and <u>gesargodne</u> swencan* (=no one should
> cause any trouble to a sick man in pain)

> (Fischer, 2005: 278)

Variation in the position was possible to use for stylistic reasons as well; some authors could
express their desire for balance and striking contrast by placing the adjective postnominally,
while the inclination to alliteration also frequently influenced the final structure.

To conclude, throughout the ME period, the prenominal position of adjectives slowly began to
be the preferred one. With the gradual fixation of the word-order, the postposed adjective
became more easily confused for an adverb. Additionally, postposition ´was still used to
express new, salient information (including contrast) but it bec[ame] awkward due to the
increasing frequency of prenominal adjectives and due to the fact that no formal distinction
was possible anymore between weak and strong adjectives when preposed. When the
preposed distinction [...] was lost, and the preposed adjectives could therefore also be used to
convey new information, it became uneconomical, especially in a time of increasing word-
order fixation, to preserve the old postposed adjective, which did the same´ (ibid.: 282).

3. Research Project

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. On the corpus

All the data in the analysis below were obtained from *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition (*ppcme2*). The samples included in this corpus come from the Middle English section of the Diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. There are four main Helsinki time periods covered by the corpus, namely M1-M4. Each of them represents approximately one hundred years, while some of them are further divided into subperiods. Moreover, ´texts originally written in a given period but for which the earliest manuscript is from a later period are given two digit period designations´ (Kroch & Taylor, 2000). The following analysis deals with Early Middle English phenomena, the corpus search was, therefore, restricted on the first four subperiods, into which it is divided (see Appendix I).

3.1.2. On the analysis

The corpus has recently been made available on the official website of the Institute of the Czech National Corpus, thus becoming better accessible for even wider public. Its comprehensibility enables a straightforward access to the data, while the whole searching system is very clearly arranged, offering a great number of specific query possibilities.

In order to gain information concerning strong forms of the adjective in early Middle English, several subsequent steps of corpus research must have been carried out. First, it was necessary to find out which adjectives were most frequently used in writing in this period in general. Application of this method guaranteed working with such adjectives in the further stages of the analysis, that were the most common, and therefore evinced certain stable characteristics within the linguistic system, mainly as regards the inflectional endings or position.

For the sake of the systematic character of the analysis, four most distinctive ´strong´ adjectival endings were selected and searched for, specifically –ɸ (nom. all genders, acc. neut.), -re (gen. + dat. fem.), -es (gen. masc. + neut.), and –ne (acc. masc.), representing the main focus among the other forms of the most frequent adjectives obtained with help of the first query. As resulted from the search, however, the inflectional endings began to melt and

disappear in the Early Middle English already. Therefore, the strong adjectives in the corpus can be accurately identified not through the distinctive endings but through either their position, or, more significantly, elements that accompany them within a clause. The strong forms were identified in the way that they, contrariwise to the weak forms, were not preceded by a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun, or an ordinal number. This technique proceeds from the OE rules of indicating indefiniteness that have been preserved until PDE. In fact, the signalization of the indefiniteness ceased to be quite clear in EME, since the indefiniteness was not signalled by post-position of the adjective or by their endings any more, but the indefinite article has not yet emerged completely with the function it has today. Thus, one may find examples of the old signalization (though only 2), examples of so-called transitory stage (217), as well as those of the new signalization of indefiniteness (131).

After obtaining the intended number of samples, each of them was analyzed from the syntactic and FSP point of view. Thus, the objective was to identify their syntactic role within a sentence/clause, to analyze their behaviour within a phrase, and, finally, to scrutinize their position in relation to communicative dynamism. Each example is accompanied not only by its translation into PDE, but also by a word-order pattern in relation to OE and PDE, and by the statement discussing how the indefiniteness of the adjective in question is expressed.

3.2. Findings and Results

3.2.1. The most frequent adjectives in EME texts

First of all, such adjectives needed to be obtained from the *ppcme2* that would show certain frequency in their use. A vast number of adjectives were acquired, from which a list of twenty most frequent adjectives, that were used in M1, M2, M23, and M24 periods, is given in the following graph:

graph 1

Frequency of the EME adjectives in the corpus
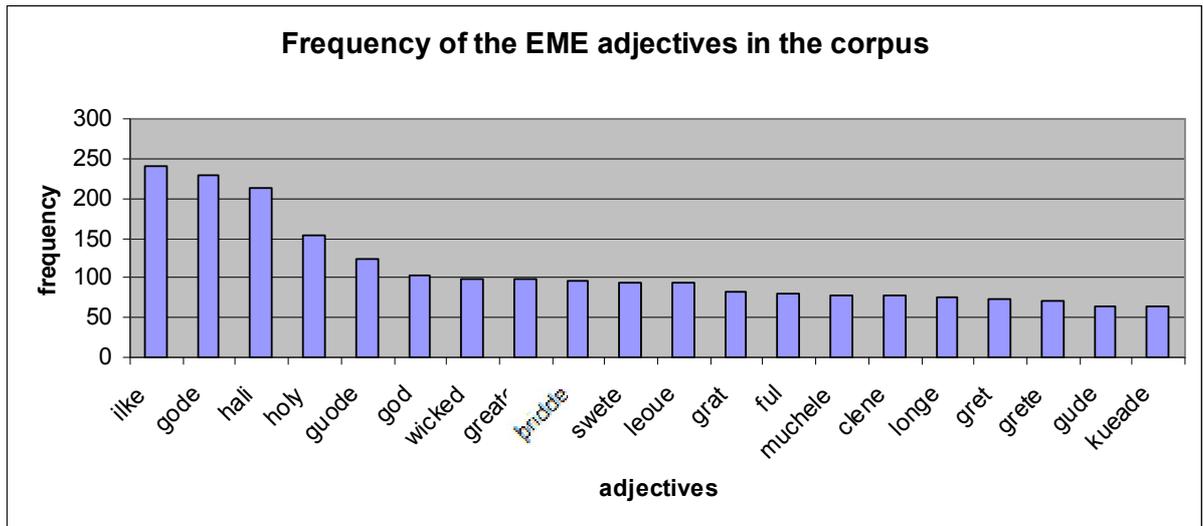
From these twenty adjectives, the first eight are used in the analysis below, providing enough study material for the thesis, more specifically 350 instances of strong forms. There occur several forms of a single word, such as *gode* and *guode*. These are counted separately from each other.

3.2.2. Strong adjectival forms and their syntactic function

Distinguishing weak and strong forms of adjectives gradually became less and less simple in Early Middle English. The distinctive endings of the strong adjectives merged in most cases into −e or −ɸ, therefore, the ´strong´ character could be indicated only through the grammatical context and position. Hence the use of these factors also in the analysis performed below. First, it is neccessary to run the search in the form of e.g. *[word="ilk.*"* *& tag="ADJ"]*, which finds all instances of the given adjective. Then, from these, the strong forms have to be gained by manual search, focusing on forms not preceded by a definite article, a possessive or a demonstrative pronoun, and a numeral.

It has been pointed out that strong adjectives in Old English could be used in two ways: attributive and predicative. This has been proved for Early Middle English, too. Yet, the formal distinction between weak and strong forms became vague and the analysis needs to rely on the grammatical context. Apart from the attributive and predicative uses, the use of

such strong adjectival forms was attested that behaved as heads of the phrase, showing the nominal character. This phenomenon was relatively common in OE, when it was not neccessary to add another elements to the adjective as it is in PDE, such as a definite article (*the* rich) that suggests plural or a definite article and a numeral *one* in singular (*the* rich *one*). Early Middle English, on the contrary, could still employ an adjective placed independently in such contexts.

Among the analyzed samples, there are 246 instances of adjectives functioning as premodifiers within a nominal phrase, 83 predicatives, 18 functioning as noun, and 3 attributive adjectives in postposition.

table 4: Syntactic function of the strong adjectival forms

Syntactic function of the strong form	Number of instances
Premodifier within a NP	246 (70.28%)
Postmodifier within a NP	3 (1.15%)
Head (Substantivization)	18 (5.14%)
Predicative	83 (23.43%)
Total	350 (100%)

3.2.2.1 Strong forms used as attributive preposed modifiers

First of all, the class of adjectives functioning as premodifiers within a noun phrase (NP) is taken into consideration here, for it is the most numerous group of all the adjectives that have been analyzed. Naturally, the adjective plays a role of an attribute within such NPs, which, nevertheless, appear in various syntactic functions in a sentence. NPs retrieved from the corpus may function as a subject, an object, a complement/attribute, an adjunct, or a nominal part of the predicate.

From the above mentioned possibilities, strong adjectival forms occured mostly within NPs functioning as a **direct object**, specifically in 62 instances of all premodifying strong adjectives. These NPs rarely involve multiple modifiers, or even any other elements apart from the head and the preposed adjective. In fact, only one example of multiple premodifier has been attested, namely:

(52) *whan we haue ouercome , wit gret trauayle ,* grete and wickede *temptaciouns and passiouns of þe flehs , we schul be aboute to make vs clene* (=when we have overcome, with great effort, great and wicked temptations and passions of the flesh, we shall be about to make us clean)

(CMAELR3, 35.250)

(52´) EME pattern: S – V – Adv(man) – Od – (S – V – Od – NomPred)

PDE pattern: S – V – Adv(man) – Od – (S – V – Od – NomPred)

OE pattern: S – Vaux – Adv(man) – Od – V2 – (S – V – Od – NomPred)

(52´´) The indefiniteness of the adjectives is not expressed by endings nor postposition; context is the main indicator of their indefinite character: so-called transitory stage

Intensifiers were also used in two NPs:

(53) *a feorli god word þe hali iob seiþ* (=the holy Iob says a very god word)

(CMANCRIW-1, II.118.1474)

(53´) EME pattern: Od – S – V

PDE pattern: S – V – Od; OE pattern: Od – S – V

(53´´) Indefiniteness is not expressed by the endings, but by the indefinite article and the context

and

(54) *þe herte [...] onderuangþ ane wel greate hete of þe loue of god* (=the heart undertakes a very great heat of the love of God)

(CMAYENBI, 111.2147)

(54′) EME pattern: S – V – Od

PDE pattern: S – V – Od; OE pattern: S – V – Od

(54′′) Indefiniteness is not expressed by the endings, but by the indefinite article and the context

The indefinite character of the strong forms within the NP is thus expressed either by the use of emerging indefinite article in various forms (*a, an, ane*), adjectives (*any, many, mani, some, an oðer, swucche*), or the lack of any other determiner (*[…] brenge mid ham greate bokes*). All in all, from 62 NPs functioning as direct objects, 46 consist of bare attributive adjective and its head, while 16 are complemented by one or two more elements at maximum.

Second most frequent type of a NP involving an attributively used preposed adjective is a NP functioning as a part of a **verbonominal predication**, occuring after copula verbs. There are 43 instances of such NPs among the analyzed samples, 11 of which appear in connection with a preposition, namely *in* and *of*, e.g.:

(55) *[…] neren heo of god ordre?* (=wasn´t he of a good order?)

(CMANCRIW-1, I.48.88)

(55′) EME pattern: V – S – NomPred

PDE pattern: V – S – NomPred; OE pattern: V – S – NomPred

(55′′) Indefiniteness at the transitional stage

(56) *[…] is of zuo guod smac* (=is of such a good taste)

(CMAYENBI, 251.2297)

(56′) EME pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

PDE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred; OE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

(56′′) Indefiniteness at the transitional stage

(57) *[…] byeþ ine greate pays of herte* (=are in pains of heart)

(57´) EME pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

PDE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred; OE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

(57´´) Indefiniteness at the transitional stage

(58) *[…] byeþ ine greate balance* (=are in a great balance)

(CMAYENBI, 30.490)

(58´) EME pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

PDE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred; OE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

(58´´) Indefiniteness at the transitional stage

The rest comes either as a two-element ADJ-N phrase or is accompanied by an indefinite article, an adjective (*an oðer, on oðer*), or an intensifier (*wel, swyðe, zuo, very*). From the total number of 43, only 3 NPs include a multiple preposed adjectives:

(59) *hou gode, hou ioiful þing it is* (=how good, how joyful thing it is)

(CMEARLPS, 163.7230)

(59´) EME pattern: NomPred – S*it* – V

PDE pattern: NomPred – S*it* – V; OE pattern: NomPred – S*it* – V

(59´´) Indefiniteness at the transitional stage

(60) *[…] byeþ greate and dyadliche zennes* (=are great and deadly sins)

(CMAYENBI, 34.588)

(60´) EME pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

PDE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred; OE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

(60´´) Indefiniteness is expressed by the context

(61) *[…] is in a certayn god maner of lyuyngge* (=[…] is in a certain good manner of living)

<div align="right">(CMAELR3, 39.388)</div>

(61´) EME pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

PDE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred; OE pattern: [S] – V – NomPred

(61´´) Indefiniteness is expressed by the indefinite article

As regards the copula verbs occuring with these NPs, they are only 3, thus being less variable than those occuring with solely adjectival predicatives that will be discussed further in this chapter.

Adverbials may have the same form as prepositional objects, both syntactic functions have been, therefore, carefully dealt with and distinguished. It is the **adverbial of manner**, however, that occurs far more frequently than any other type of adverbials or prepositional objects and all of them function grammatically as adjuncts. 39 such NPs are of preposition-ADJ-N character, while there is only one that involves more elements:

(62) *as meste greate tresor* (=as the greatest treason)

<div align="right">(CMAYENBI, 112.2160)</div>

(62´) EME pattern: [S – V – Od] – Adv(man)

PDE pattern: [S – V – Od] – Adv(man); OE pattern: [S – V – Od] – Adv(man)

(62´´) Indefiniteness is expressed by the context

What might be of special interest is that a significant number of these NPs refer to an entity that is generally known by the readers, and still employ an adjectival form without any determiner that should be inherently used to express indefiniteness, for example:

(63) *in hali chirche* (=in the holy church)

<div align="right">(CMJULIA, 124.521)</div>

(63′) EME pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

PDE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

(63′′) Indefiniteness is expressed by the context and by not employing a demonstrative

(64) *in hali writ* (=in the holy writing)

(CMANCRIW-2,II.297.868)

(64′) EME pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

PDE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

(64′′) Indefiniteness is expressed by the context and by not employing a demonstrative

Almost identical number as NPs in adverbials of manner represent NPs that behave as attributes, or subject/object complements; they are 39. Similarly to the previously discussed types, such NPs only sporadically include more than three elements of the typical pattern *of-ADJ-N*. 3 NPs were encountered that involved the indefinite article in the form of *a* and there was one instance of multiple adjective, namely

(65) *[…] of great oðer of hech heorte* (=[…] of great or of high heart)

(CMANCRIW-2,II.254.133)

(65′) EME pattern: [S – V] – NomPred

PDE pattern: [S – V] – NomPred; OE pattern: [S – V] – NomPred

(65′′) Indefiniteness is expressed by the context

Concerning NPs in the role of **subject**, none of those among the sample comprise multiple preposed strong adjectives. From 28 occurences, there is only 11 NPs that involve any other element than ADJ-N phrase. Moreover, all of such additional elements serve as indicators of indefinite number (*ani, some, sum, manig, an, a non, non swa, an oðer*). More than a half of the NPs again show their indefiniteness through omitting any determiner that would be placed in front of the strong adjectival form.

Interestingly, from 24 instances of NPs functioning as **local adverbials**, only one indicates indefiniteness with help of the indefinite article in front of the adjective (*in ane ...*). Among 7 NPs being part of **prepositional objects**, one consists of multiple preposed adjective (*softe and swete*), while the other 6 form the preposition-ADJ-N pattern. The same might be said about NPs within **indirect objects** that occur two times as the preposition-ADJ-N phrase and once as *so ane*-ADJ-N phrase.

3.2.2.2. Strong forms used as postposed modifiers

Among the total number of 350 samples from the *ppcme2* corpus, there have been found only 3 instances of attributive strong adjective placed postnominally. One of those instances represents the ambilateral type, in which one of the two attributive adjectives precedes and the other follows their head:

(66) *[...] in other* gode *thoghtes* and swete (=[…] in other good and sweet thoughts)

(CMROLLEP, 118.971)

(66´) EME pattern: [S – V] – (att)Adv(loc)(att)

PDE pattern: [S – V] – (att)(att)Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – (att)Adv(loc)(att)

(66´´) Indefiniteness is expressed by the context and postposition

Both adjectives from this postnominal AND-construction bear the same ending –*e*, as is also typical of other multiple adjectives within the NPs obtained from the corpus irrespective of their position. Their strong character is thus supported only by the absence of the definite article.

Similarly to the first example of the postposed adjective that was part of a NP functioning as a local adverbial, the second example also appears within such NP but differs in the way that the modifying adjectives are both postposed:

(67) *[...] in oþre manne house* guode and large (=in another man´s good and large house)

48

(67´) EME pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)(att)(att)

PDE pattern [S – V] – (att)(att)Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)(att)(att)

(67´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by postposition

The last instance is represented by a single postposed adjective modifying two nouns, while the whole phrase functions as a direct object within an embedded clause:

(68) *Ac þe ilke þet heþ uirtue and charité* guode *[…]* (=But the same one that has virtue and good devotion […])

(68´) EME pattern: S – V – Od – Od(att)

PDE pattern: S – V – Od – (att)Od; OE pattern: S – V – Od – Od(att)

(68´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by postposition

It is obvious that the use of the postposed adjective had lost popularity since the times of OE, as has resulted from the corpus research. The ME preposed adjectival form may have been used to convey either given or new information, and the postposed adjectives became more easily confused for an adverb. The examples above, however, belong to the category of adjectives postposed for a reason because they offer new, additional information about their heads. Mere one instance of the postnominal AND-construction clearly suggests the gradual decline and the other two occurences support this stance. Interestingly, all three examples come from a religious treatise (two of them from the same manuscript), which would defend the idea that religious writings more than others inclined to maintain the older constructions, either due to keeping a specific tradition or more frequent copying.

3.2.2.3. Strong forms used as adjectival predicatives

There are 83 instances of strong adjectives among the samples that were used predicatively as parts of verbonominal predicates. Such type of predication serves to ascribe qualities to the subject or express relations. One may distinguish between qualifying, identifying, classifying,

existential, and possessive predication types (Dušková et al., 2006: 408-409). It has been found out throughout the analysis that only two types occur among the analyzed samples: qualifying and existential. Furthermore, the verbs express either some kind of state or a change of state, and thus belong to the so-called *be-* or *become-* type (ibid.: 413). The specific numbers of occurences are given in the table 5 below. This overview shows figures that are of a marginal importance for the thesis. However, it is intriguing to see to what extent the verb phrase has changed since ME.

table 5: Types of predication

Type of predication	Verb phrase	Number of occurences
qualifying	be+ADJ	69
	seem+ADJ	1
	think+Oi/Od+ADJ	7
	be+*me*+ADJ	1
	be+*made*+ADJ	1
	hold+Od+ADJ	1
	make+Od+ADJ	2
existential	be+*of*+ADJ	1
total		83

It is not surprising that the greatest number of predicative adjectives come together with the most frequent copular verb *to be* for it is the most frequent type even in PDE.

Additionally, it is possible to find several multiple predicative adjectives, such as in the example below. Five of them consist of two elements, e.g.:

(69) *swete and gracious he was* (=he was sweet and gracious)

<div align="right">(CMAELR3, 41.455)</div>

(69´) EME pattern: NomPred – S – V

PDE pattern: S – V – NomPred; OE pattern. NomPred – S – V

(69´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

(70) *should þy talkyngge be sauery and swete* (=should your talking be bittersweet)

<div align="right">(CMAELR3, 49.733)</div>

(70´) EME pattern: V1 – S – V2 – NomPred

PDE pattern: V1 – S – V2 – NomPred; OE pattern: V1 – S – V2 – NomPred

(70´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

and one of more than two:

(71) *god is guod and almiȝti. wys. and uayr. grat and milde. zuete* (=God is good and almighty, wise and fair, great and mild, sweet)

<div align="right">(CMAYENBI, 108.2095)</div>

(71´) EME pattern: S – V – NomPred

PDE pattern: S – V – NomPred; OE pattern: S – V – NomPred

(71´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

Apart from these 6 multiple predicative adjectives, there are 4 verbonominal predications that involve intensifiers (*ful* and *swa*) placed in front of the adjective. The rest of the predications solely comprise only a single strong adjectival form.

3.2.2.4. Strong forms of nominal character

Not only the characteristic attributive or predicative nature of adjectives has been spotted among the sentences of the *ppcme2* corpus, but there are also strong adjectival forms without any determiners that function as nouns. Such quality had been maintained from OE to EME, but is not regarded as standard in PDE. Such adjective constitutes a part of a NP expressing a subject, an object, an attribute, and a local adverbial, as shown in the table below:

table 6: Syntactic function of the phrases

Syntactic function of the phrase	Number of instances
Object	9
Attributive postmodification*[2]	5
Subject	3
Local adverbial	1
Total	18

The following examples are supplied in order to give evidence about the four types. Among those phrases with a substantivized adjective functioning as an object, one could mention

(72) *Ich habbe isehen* hali (=I have seen the holy one)

(CMMARGA, 72.280)

(72´) EME pattern: S – Vaux – V2 – Od

PDE pattern: S – Vaux – V2 – Od; OE pattern: S – Vaux – Od – V2

(72´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

or

---

[2] no official terminology

(73) *swa hie moten alle,* euele and gode (=so they [bore witness] of all [of the deeds], evil and good)

<div align="right">(CMVICES1, 141.1741)</div>

(73´) EME pattern: S – V – Od

PDE pattern: S – V – Od; OE pattern: S – V – Od

(73´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

as the examples for both simple and multiple elements.

6 instances of substantivized adjectives have been identified as attributes, all of them, surprisingly, expressed by the word *wicked*. These instances represent the stage of development that could be called ´anarchy´, since the indefiniteness of the adjective is signalled neither by the ending, nor the article or particle. Interestingly, these instances occur all in the same manuscript of the Bible, but the ´anarchy´ stage of the adjectives occurs throughout all the analyzed samples. The overall situation concerning percentage of the strong adjective signalled by the ending and the strong adjective of a so-called transitional character described above will be presented at the end of this subchapter.

(74) *[…] in þe counseil of* wicked (=[…] in the council of the wicked)

<div align="right">(CMEARLPS, 1.6)</div>

(74´) EME pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

PDE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

(74´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage (no article)

(75) *[…] fram þe face of* wicked (=[…] from the face of the wicked)

<div align="right">(CMEARLPS, 16.613)</div>

(75´) EME pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

PDE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

(75´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage (no article)

(76) *[…] and min ere shal here þe wordes* of hem *arysen oȝains me,* and of wicked

(=[…] and my ear will hear the words of those who have arisen against me and of those who are wicked)

<div align="right">(CMEARLPS, 114.4981)</div>

(76´) EME pattern: S – V – Od(att)$_{(S – Vaux – V2 – Adv(man))}$(att)

PDE pattern: S – V – Od(att)$_{(S – Vaux – V2 – Adv(man))(S – V – NomPred)}$

OE pattern: S – V – Od(att)$_{(S – Vaux – V2 – Adv(man))}$(att)

(76´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage (no article)

The last example differs from the others in a way that it is included in a multiple attributive phrase which is, however, separated by a modification of the first element and thus slightly resembles the postnominal AND-construction that was discussed in 3.2.2.2.

Less frequently, only three times in fact, adjectives with the nominal function behaved as subjects, e.g.:

(77) *Onsont ne groweð nan* god (=From that does not grow any good)

<div align="right">(CMANCRIW-2,II.295.836)</div>

(77´) EME pattern: Adv(loc) – V – S

PDE pattern: Adv(loc) – V – S; OE pattern: Adv(loc) – V – S

(77´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context and particle *nan*

(78) *non ne wes neure ariȝt* guod (=There has never arisen any good)

<div align="right">(CMAYENBI, 79.1527)</div>

(78´) EME pattern: V1 – Adv(t) – V2 – S

PDE pattern: S1 – Vaux – V2 – S; OE pattern: V1 – Adv(t) – V2 – S

(78´´) Transitional stage of the indication of indefiniteness

The nominal character of the first example is further stressed by placing the determiner *nan* in front of it. Of similar function is the determiner *many*, accompanying the substantivized adjective in the phrase functioning as an adjunct of place:

(79) *[…] among many* god (=[…] among many good ones)

<div align="right">(CMEARLPS, 65.2865)</div>

(79´) EME pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

PDE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc); OE pattern: [S – V] – Adv(loc)

(79´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage

Out of the total number of strong adjectival forms of a nominal character, two belong to a contrastive construction with another such form:

(80) *swa hie moten alle,* euele and gode (=so they [bore witness] of all [of the deeds], evil and good)

<div align="right">(CMVICES1, 141.1741)</div>

(80´) EME pattern: S – V – Od

PDE pattern: S – V – Od; OE pattern: S – V – Od

(80´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage

(81) *For ðessere swete clepienge cumeð baðe* gode and euele (=For these sweet words come both the good and the evil)

<div align="right">(CMVICES1, 71.816)</div>

(81´) EME pattern: Adv(c) – V – S

PDE pattern: Adv(c) – V – S; OE pattern: Adv(c) – V – S

(81´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage

The latter one may be further contrasted with a construction very similar to it that also occurs in the corpus but comprises weak forms because they occur with the determiners, unlike the strong ones:

(82) *[…] for to deme baþe* þe gode and þe uuele (=[…] in order to judge both the good ones and the evil ones)

<div align="right">(CMLAMB1, 143.294)</div>

The overall tendency, resulting from the analysis of the syntactic role of the strong adjective in EME, seems to be for the adjective to begin to play the role we are accustomed to in PDE. The morphological endings distinguishing weak and strong forms are not present any more, thus facilitating word-order fixation within the noun phrase. Strong adjectives may appear prenominally with the identical endings as weak forms, mostly –e or –ϕ, leaving the postnominal position rather to the adverb. EME was, therefore, the transitional period in which the weak and strong distinction lost ground, and the strong forms may have been identified from the sample only through their grammatical and semantic context. The stage of so-called ´anarchy´, in which the old signalization of indefiniteness by the endings is lost and the new one using syntax and derterminers has not utterly taken over yet, complicates the identification of the strong forms. The search in the corpus, therefore, relied on the fact that the strong forms do not appear accompanied by a determiner functioning as a definite article.

Only 2 instances have been found that still bear the OE strong ending, namely

(83) *Ac ȝif ðu hauest **godne** radȝive* (=But if you get a good advice)

<div align="right">(CMVICES1, 75.848)</div>

(83´) EME pattern: S – V – Od

PDE pattern: S – V – Od; OE pattern: S – V – Od

(83´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the ending

<div align="center">56</div>

(84) *Mid him ferde þes kinges stiward of France, Amalri, Hugo Gerueises sunu,*

*Hugo of Munford, fela oðre **godre** cnihte.* (=With him went the king´s steward of France, Amalri, Hugo Gerueises´ son, Hugo of Munford, and many other good knights)

<div align="right">(CMPETERB,45.110)</div>

(84´) EME pattern: Oprep – V – S

PDE pattern: Oprep – V – S; OE pattern: Oprep – V – S

(84´´) Indefiniteness is expressed by the ending

Out of these two examples, only (83) shows the use of the strong ending in the old way, while (84) may be explained rather as a misuse of the scribe, for the NP occurs in nominative plural and as such, it would be *gode cnihte* in OE.

To sum up, the search in the corpus evinces that the old signalization of the strong adjective characterized by the distinctive ending is no longer in use. A majority of the samples (62%) belong to the transitory stage of ´anarchy´, in which the endings had disappeared but the syntactic means of indicating (in)definiteness of the adjective and the system of definite and indefinite articles had not yet been fully established. This is clear from the following table.

table 7: Means of indication of indefiniteness

Indication of indefiniteness	Number of examples
by endings (´old´ system)	2 (0.6%)
transitory stage	217 (62%)
´new´ system (ind. article/nominal part of the predicate used as in PDE)	131 (37.4%)

3.2.3. Strong adjectival forms and their role within FSP

Having described the function of strong adjectives from the syntactic point of view, it is time to look at the problem from the point of view of the functional sentence perspective (FSP). Both approaches are interconnected, working closely with word-order as one of their main components. In this chapter, the following points will be investigated and manifested by means of the samples collected from the *ppcme2* corpus. First, it will be decided whether the 350 sentences, or clauses, are perspectived towards or away from the subject. Second, the analysis will reveal whether the representative samples tend to conform to the principle of end focus, and thus whether the FSP is shown through word-order. If not, reasons will be given explaining the deviation from the grammatical word-order and from basic distribution of communicative dynamism (CD). Third, the role of the strong adjectives within the information structure will be scrutinized.

It has been suggested by the authors of *A Handbook of Functional Sentence Perspective* (Adam, 2008) that the most suitable starting point of the FSP analysis is to determine whether a sentence or a clause is oriented towards or away from the subject. This will be decided at the beginning of this analysis, too. There have been found 234 instances which are perspectived away from the subject, while there are only 11 that are perspectived towards the subject. Frequently, the orientation of the sentence/clause towards or away from the subject corresponds to the subject being a rheme or a theme, respectively. It is not unusual, however, to spot a sentence in which all elements are context-independent, and in such a case the type of the verb comes into play. If a context-independent subject occurs with verbs of existence or appearance, the rheme is the subject. It is possible to find 4 instances of either existentional constructions or the constructions involving the verb of appearance on the scene among the samples, namely:

(85) *Ðer byeþ of greate and of smale* (=There are some great and some small)

(CMAYENBI, 37.635)

(85´) EME pattern: S1 – V – S2

PDE pattern: S1 – V – S2; OE pattern: S1 – V – S2

(85´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

(86) *þer comeþ greate ziknesses* (=there come great sicknesses)

(86´) EME pattern: S1 – V – S2

PDE pattern: S1 – V – S2; OE pattern: S1 – V – S2

(86´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

(87) *þer aros a great tempeste of winde* (=there arose a great tempest of wind)

(87´) EME pattern: S1 – V – S2

PDE pattern: S1 – V – S2; OE pattern: S1 – V – S2

(87´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article

(88) *Hier cumeð an oðer hali mihte* (=Here comes another holy power)

(88´) EME pattern: S1 – V – S2

PDE pattern: S1 – V – S2; OE pattern: S1 – V – S2

(88´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article

In the other clauses from the 11 instances in which the subject is being perspectived to, the subject stands at the end as well but the predicate belongs to neither of the previously mentioned groups of verbs.

On the other hand, if the subject occurs with a verb that expresses some qualification, feature, action, feeling, or similar, the communication is oriented towards the verb which is the rheme. This indicates that the position of the subject is not decisive in determining towards which element the communication is perspectived. Among the 11 instances of the analysis,

nevertheless, there is none that would represent the deviation from the basic distribution of CD, i.e. in all of them the subject stands at the end of the utterance, e.g.:

(89) *For ðessere swete clepienge cumeð baðe gode and euele* (=For these sweet words come both the good and the evil)

(CMVICES1, 71.816)

(89´) EME pattern: Adv(c) – V – S

PDE pattern: Adv(c) – V – S; OE pattern: Adv(c) – V – S

(89´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context; transitional stage

(90) *Hier cumeð an oðer hali mihte* (=Here comes another holy power)

(CMVICES1, 123.1502)

(90´) EME pattern: S1 – V – S2

PDE pattern: S1 – V – S2; OE pattern: S1 – V – S2

(90´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article

table 8: Orientation of sentences

Orientationtion	Number of clauses/sententces
towards *S*	339
from *S*	11

Having decided in what way the analyzed samples are perspectived, let us concentrate on the issue whether or not the principle of end focus is conformed to and whether the clauses display both grammatical word-order and basic distribution of CD. Most of the 350 samples that constitute fields or sub-fields of CD with their own information structure comply with the unmarked distribution of CD, i.e. they do ´follow the linear progression of an information unit´ and the high information value comes towards the end (Adam, 2008). In addition, they

show an unmarked, objective, grammatical word-order. Before we proceed, it should be pointed out that these characteristics have been approached from the point of view of PDE. The analysis, therefore, also includes such examples in which the elements are ordered – for a modern reader – in a non-standard way and that have the structure of, for instance, SVO_dV_{inf}, where the verb phrase tends not to be separated in PDE. 17 clauses, however, have been found in which the principle of end focus, the grammatical word-order, or both are deviated in some way, and they are going to be further examined below. Moreover, each clause is accompanied by the literal PDE translation expressing the unmarked, grammatical word-order.

The analysis has revealed that when the principle of end focus was broken, it was always connected with the use of the ungrammatical word-order. In other words, if any non-thematic or even the most dynamic element is placed initially or soon in a clause, being followed by some thematic element(s), such clause subsequently shows a marked word-order, too. In contrast to this, not every clause with the marked word-order needs to violate the end focus principle. 11 examples represent the case in which the distribution of amounts of information over the elements is not linear and the word-order does not indicate the information structure, e.g.:

(91) *hu ðu scalt gode werkes don* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$S - V - O_d - V_{inf}$

(CMVICES1, 65.717)

(91´) /how you should do good works/

$S - V - V_{inf} - O_d$

This example involves an auxiliary verb and an infinitive which is placed at the end of the dependent clause. That was a common phenomenon with certain Old English dependent clauses and it is clearly maintained in this Middle English clause. Thus, despite of carrying a smaller amount of new information than the direct object, the infinitive occurs last. More examples will represent a similar development, where the infinitive part of the predicate would appear at the end, separately from the finite verb form, e.g.:

(92) *ich wulle o great grome al biteachen* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$S - V - O_{prep} - O_d - V_{inf}$

(92′) /I want to teach all about great punishment/

$S - V - V_{inf} - O_d - O_{prep}$

A rhematic element, namely the prepostitional object, stands again in front of the infinitive verb form. Besides, it precedes the direct object as well, which also carries less communicative dynamism. Placing the rheme in this position signals its stressing and it is being put emphasis on. The same arrangement of the verbal forms is demonstrated by another sample:

(93) *Hie sculen […] mid þine grace hali menn becumen* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$S - V - Adv_{(man)} - NomPred - V_{inf}$

(93′) /They should […] become holy men by your grace/

$S - V - V_{inf} - NomPred - Adv_{(man)}$

In this example, it is possible to clearly observe the difference between the still relatively free word-order of EME and the fixed word-order of PDE in which the nominal part of the predicate, though being a rheme, is tight closely to the verb, while the thematic adverbial comes last.

4 other instances of dependent clauses with the finite verb in the final position appear among the samples. None of the verbs, similarly to the previous cases, is the most dynamic element of the clause but occurs last due to the old grammatical rule still in use in the times of EME. The examples are as follows:

(94) *ðurh wan ich god muȝe bien* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

conj – S – NomPred – V – V$_{inf}$

(94´) /wherefore I may be good/

conj – S – V – V$_{inf}$ – NomPred

(95) *ȝif he ani god wille hafð* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

conj – S – O$_d$ – V

(95´) /if he has any good will/

conj – S – V – O$_d$

(96) *þet þurch gode beleauee him seruede* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

S – Adv$_{(man)}$ – O$_i$ – V

(96´) /who served him with a good belief

S – V – O$_i$ – Adv$_{(man)}$

(97) *þeih hie swete bien* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

conj – S – NomPred – V

(97´) /though they be swete/

conj – S – V – NomPred

These 4 clauses evidence that the syntax within dependent clauses in EME often did not comply with the principle of end focus as it usually does today and the information structure did not correspond with the linear grammatical word-order.

63

Another 3 clauses belong to such a type in which the rhematic element is emphasized and therefore placed initially. It would be worth to note that intonation plays a significant role in such cases as fronting. This factor, however, remains unanalysable when working with English historical corpora. The examples of emphatic fronting of the rheme follow below:

(98) *Lo, a feorli god word þe hali job seið* (indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article)

$O_d – S – V$

(CMANCRIW-1,II.118.1474)

(98′) /Lo, the holy Iob says a very good word/

$S – V – O_d$

(99) *To greate noblesse hit ssolde come* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$O_{prep} – S – V – V_{inf}$

(CMAYENBI, 87.1700)

(99′) /It should come to a great excellence/

$S – V – V_{inf} – O_{prep}$

(100) *[If þou will aske] how gode es he or scho* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$NomPred – V – S$

(CMROLLEP, 109.787)

(100′) /[If you want to ask] how good he or she is/

$NomPred – S – V$

The last example above is interesting also in another way. The dependent clause belongs to the nominal content interrogative group of dependent clauses and this particular one suggests that the word-order in indirect questions in EME was not unfrequently identical as in the

direct ones, i.e. the inversion concerning the verb and the subject was not a phenomenon peculiar merely to the interrogative sentences.

Should we turn our attention to the examples that do not evince the deviation from the linear distribution of communication dynamism but still show the ungrammatical word-order, we may identify 6 such clauses. The first one that is going to be analyzed resembles those examples above in which the infinitive verb form appeared at the end.

(101) *bute ʒif ðu woldest mid god wille ðarto lhesten and hes understanden* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$S - V - Adv_{(man)} - V_{inf} - O_i - V_{inf}$

(CMVICES1, 47.521)

(101´) /but if you with a good will listen and understand [his words]/

$conj - S - Adv^{(man)} - V^{aux} - V_{inf} - [O_d]$

In this particular clause, the focus of the utterance is placed on the verb forms, while the adverbial preceding them carries less amount of new information. The final position of the verb forms is further validated by the fact that these rhematic elements are considerably heavy. Interestingly and in contrast to PDE, one may notice the EME use of an auxiliary verb *woldest* after a conjunction introducing a dependent conditional clause, which would not be considered standard in PDE.

A very similar clause comes next. The infinitive verbal parts of the predicate again occur finally in the EME clause, carrying the highest degree of CD at the same time and being preceded by an adverbial representing a transition between thematic and rhematic elements. In the PDE translation, the elements are ordered in a different way, the adverbial occuring last by rule.

(102) *for heorte is in hali writ heaued bitacned*

$$S - V - Adv_{(loc)} - V_{inf}$$

<div align="right">(CMANCRIW-2,II.297.868)</div>

(102´) /for the heart has been marked in the holy writing/

$$conj - S - V_{aux} - V - Adv_{(loc)}$$

The third clause manifests how the principle of end focus may have been maintained in EME with help of a freer word-order. Thematic and transitional elements are placed in front of the rheme proper, even though the rheme is represented by the predicate:

(103) *[he] his house mid greate strengþe wolde loky* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$$(S) - Od - Adv_{(man)} - V - V_{inf}$$

<div align="right">(CMAYENBI, 263.2518)</div>

(103´) /he would secure his house with a great strength/

$$S - V - V_{inf} - Od - Adv_{(man)}$$

The principle of end focus is preserved in the following example, too, in which the nominal part of the predicate precedes the verb and the subject that carries the highest degree of CD and therefore occurs finally. The rhematic character of the subject is further indicated by the indefinite article, usually not excessively used in EME:

(104) *for ðan betere is an god saule* (indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article)

$$conj - NomPred - V - S$$

<div align="right">(CMVICES1, 37.445)</div>

(104´) /because better is a good soul/

$$conj - NomPred - V - S$$

<div align="center">66</div>

The deviation from the grammatical word-order has been found in the next example, in which the rhematic direct object closes the sentence instead of the adverbial, which comes early in the clause, even preceding the finite verb form. Thus, the principle of end focus is maintained again:

(105) *þe wyche in swete drynke of fleshly loue ʒaue me puysoun of fowl vnclennesse*

(indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

S – Adv – V – O_i – O_d

(CMAELRS, 52.848)

(105′) /who in sweet drink of fleshly love gave me the poison of foul uncleaness/

S – Adv – V – O_i – O_d

The final example that belongs to the clauses deviating the grammatical word-order but not the linear indication of FSP is represented by a short sentence, in which one may find the inversion with an initial adverbial. The nominal part of the predicate, placed last, is the most dynamic element:

(106) *In halie chirche boð betere and wurse* (indefiniteness is indicated by the context)

$Adv_{(loc)}$ – V – NomPred

(CMLAMB1, 85.211)

(106′) /In the holy church are the better and the worse ones/

$Adv_{(loc)}$ – V – NomPred

One of the most crucial and relevant conclusions that may be seen from the analysis above is the fact that the EME authors still employed the possibility of a relatively free word-order. The other apparent conclusion concerns the deviations from the principle of end focus that occurred in more than a half of the clauses. The variant of placing the rhematic element early in the clause seems considerably frequent. In this, EME could be compared to synthetic

languages, having itself undergone the transition from the more synthetic to the more analytic linguistic stage. Still not entirely fixed word-order together with intonation – that, however, cannot be determined from the written texts – allowed to stress rhematic elements by placing them initially or early in the clause. It is also true, on the other hand, that many of the examples were such dependent clauses that involved some indefinite verb foms, placed at the end by the OE rule still in use, and thus shifting the rheme from the final position.

table 9: Deviation from end-focus principle and grammatical word-order

Sentences deviating	Number of clauses/sentences
- end-focus principle	0
- grammatical word-order	6
- both	11

Let us concentrate on the strong adjectival forms once again. The final point of the analysis is based on the examination of their position in relation to the information structure. It will be decided what amount of information carries the phrase they are part of, i.e. whether they belong to the thematic or rhematic part of the clause. As have been noted before, they should inherently appear among the dynamic elements of the clause, as the strong forms by rule conveyed new information in OE. After carrying out the analysis, it has been found that this inherited property of the strong adjectives was still observable in the EME texts from the corpus, albeit the formal differentiation between the weak and strong forms vanished.

First, it is vital to point out that the strong adjectives analyzed in the thesis never occur as thematic elements. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are always part of the rheme proper. They might be found within a subject phrase but even here they add a new piece of information about the subject, representing a new element in the theme. More precisely, it may be said that the adjectives represent the non-given part of the structure. As outlined above, the syntactic position did not always correspond with the gradual increase of the degrees of CD from the beginning to the end of the clause. And yet, most of the 350

sample sentences or clauses put the most dynamic element at the end and evince the unmarked word-order, as it is standard in modern English. There are 18 of them, nevertheless, that involve a rhematic subject placed initially and in those instances, strong adjectival forms are part of the subject phrases, e.g.:

(107) *An hali mihte is icleped* (=A holy power is presented)

(CMVICES1, 25.271)

(107´) EME pattern: S – V1 – V2

PDE pattern: S – V1 – V2; OE pattern: S – V1 – V2

(107´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article

(108) *for a wicked man myght do […]* (=because a wicked man might do […])

(CMROLLEP, 111.822)

(108´) EME pattern: S – Vmod – V2 – [Od]

PDE pattern: S – Vmod – V2 – [Od]; OE pattern: S – Vmod – V2 – [Od]

(108´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article

(109) *An holy saynt seiþ: […]* (=A holy saint says: […])

(CMAELR3,)

(109´) EME pattern: S – V – [Od]

PDE pattern: S – V – [Od]; OE pattern: S – V – [Od]

(109´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the indefinite article

The strong forms can also serve to modify the subject phrase in form of genitive attributive phrases, adding a new piece of information, such as in the following clause:

(110) *þe hope of wickede men schal perysche* (=the hope of wicked men will perish)

(CMAELR3, 56.955)

(110´) EME pattern: S – V1 – V2

PDE pattern: S – V1 – V2; OE pattern: S – V1 – V2

(110´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

The above mentioned examples included the adjectives that were constituents of noun phrases. Some of the predicatively used strong adjectives, nevertheless, may also be found in the beginning of the clause, even though being rhematic. The various reasons for placing the rheme initially have been discussed above, the most apparent one being the stressing of the element. Among the clauses showing this kind of fronting are counted the following:

(111) *[…] how gode es he or scho* (=[…] how good he or she is)

(CMROLLEP, 109.787)

(111´)   EME pattern: NomPred – V – S

PDE pattern: NomPred – S – V; OE pattern: NomPred – V – S

(111´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

(112) *how swete and gracious he was* (=how sweet and gracious he was)

(CMAELR3, 41.455)

(112´) pattern: NomPred – S – V

PDE pattern: NomPred – S – V; OE pattern: NomPred – S – V

(112´´) Indefiniteness is indicated by the context

table 10: Role of strong adjectives within the information structure

strong adjectival forms	following the end-focus principle	FSP motivated ungrammatical word-order
as part of the thematic element	0	0
as part of the rhematic element	333	17

Although the analysis carried out in this paper centers on a relatively narrow field of study and thus leaves some space for further research, e.g. on the lexical level, it provides sufficient material for some conclusions to be drawn. Should we try to generalize, the conclusion concerning adjectives and their role within FSP would be that the ungrammatical word-order, in the cases where it occurs, is FSP motivated. It means that the clause elements are ordered either according to the gradual increase of the degrees of CD or, where not, the deviated word-order is used to emphasize a certain rhematic element. The majority of the studied clauses (95.4 %), however, displays such word-order that is common in PDE, i.e. SVO. This kind of word-order was, in fact, the most frequent one in Old English, too, but the proportional values were considerably lower. The texts of the Early Middle English period, therefore, demonstrate that the shift towards the more analytic language had already progressed. With help of the analysis, it might be argued that the difference between the EME and PDE sentence structure is not that striking as it may have seemed at first glance. The most apparent development considers the position of verbal forms within the clause, especially the infinitive verb forms that, in specific clauses, used to be placed at the end, separately from the finite form. This phenomenon is not further in use in PDE, where the verb forms tend to occur in a close proximity.

4. Conclusion

This thesis has outlined the use of strong adjectival forms in Early Middle English written texts. The forms had undergone a remarkable development in the stage between Old and Middle English, and this transitional period thus offers interesting possibilities for diverse analyses. First, this thesis sought to describe the strong adjectives from the syntactic point of view, identifying what elements they most frequently modify and determining their position within the sentence or clause. In accordance with the initial expectations, it has been found that the strong adjectives may be used both attributively and predicatively. The former type of usage has proved to be much more frequent, being used 249 times out of 350. Moreover, unlike in OE, the EME adjectives were mostly preposed. This suggests the gradual decrease in the differentiation between weak and strong forms in regards to their position within the noun phrase. As for OE, the attributive strong adjectives used to occur in pre-position but frequently also in post-position. On the other hand, in EME the postposed adjectives were in minority (only 3 of the samples) due to their resemblance to adverbs caused by the loss of inflectional endings. The predicative use represented a smaller percentage among the analyzed samples (83 instances). Interestingly, the EME adjectives still may have been used as the head of phrases, without any determiners, as it would be necessary today. There has been a total of 18 of these found. This property inherited from OE was to disappear in the later stages of the linguistic development.

Secondly, the analysis focused on the functional sentence perspective and the role played by the strong adjectives within the clausal information structure. After determining whether the individual sample clauses are perspectived towards or away from the subject, it had been decided whether they do or do not deviate the principle of end focus and whether the grammatical word-order is maintained or not. A vast majority of the clauses (95.4%) displayed the SVO structure which is the most common in PDE as well. However, 17 of them did deviate from the principle of gradual increase of the degrees of communicative dynamism and/or displayed a marked word-order. These deviations have been attributed to the attempt to emphasize certain rhematic elements and thus place them initially or early in the clause, or to the grammatical rule surviving from OE that tends to separate the finite and non-finite verbal forms. The latter, though often being less dynamic than the element(s) preceding them, occurs last in the sentence and deviates the principle of end focus.

The final aim of the thesis was to examine whether the strong adjectival forms belong to a thematic or a rhematic part of the clause. It is worth noticing that they never conveyed given information as such. They predominantly occur in rhematic elements, although several examples have been spotted in which they modified a thematic object. Even in such cases, nonetheless, the adjectives represented new elements providing additional information about the theme.

References

ADAM, M. (2008). *A Handbook of functional sentence perspective: FSP in theory and practice.* Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

BIBER, D. et al. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English.* Harlow: Longman.

BLAKE, N. F. (1996). *A History of the English Language*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

CAMPBELL, L. (1999). *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

CRYSTAL, D. (2004). *The Stories of English*. London: Penguin Books.

ČERMÁK, J., H. ZNOJEMSKÁ and O. ZÁMIŠ (2001). *Čítanka staroanglických, středoanglických a raně novoanglických textů.* Praha: Karolinum.

DUŠKOVÁ, L et. al. (2012). *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*. Praha: Academia.

FISCHER, O. (2000). ´The Position of the Adjective in Old English´, a contribution to the *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies: a Dialogue from 10 ICEHL.*

FISCHER, O. (2005). ´On the position of adjectives in Middle English´ in *English Language and Linguistics 10.2*, pp. 253-288. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FISCHER, O. and W. van der WURFF (2006) ´Syntax´ in R. Hogg, D. Denison (eds.) *A History of the English Language*, pp. 109-198. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GELDEREN, Elly van (2006). *A History of the English Language.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

GÖRLACH, M. (1997). *The Linguistic history of English: an introduction.* London: Macmillan.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. and Ch. M. I. M. MATTHIESSEN (2012). *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 4th edition. Taylor & Francis Limited.

HOGG, R. and D. DENISON (eds.) (2006). *A History of the English Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HOROBIN, S. and J. J. SMITH (2002). *An Introduction to Middle English.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

HUDDLESTON, R. & G. K. PULLUM et. al (2002). *The Cambridge grammar of the English language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KEMENADE, Ans Van (2000) ´An Outline of Old English Syntax´ in O. Fischer, A. Van Kemenade, W. Koopman, W. Van Der Wurff (eds.) *The Syntax of Early English*, pp. 37-67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LASS, R. (2006) ´Phonology and Morphology´ in R. Hogg, D. Denison (eds.) *A History of the English* Language, pp. 43-108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MILLWARD, C. M. and M. HAYES (2012). *A Biography of the English Language*. Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage learning.

MUGGLESTONE, L. (ed.) (2006). *The Oxford History of English.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

QUIRK, R. & C. L. WREN (1993). *An Old English grammar.* London: Routledge.

RINGE, R. (2006). *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic: A Linguistic History of English*, Volume I. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

VACHEK, J. (1978). *Historický vývoj angličtiny.* Praha, SPN.

Sources

KROCH, A. and A. TAYLOR (2000). *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English,* second edition [online]. Retrieved 3 April 2014 from:

< http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-3/index.html>

Czech summary

1. Úvod

Úvod předkládané diplomové práce stručně nastiňuje téma prostupující část teoretickou i praktickou. Centrální problematikou jsou pozice a funkce silných tvarů adjektiv v raném období střední angličtiny, a to z hlediska syntaktického a funkční větné perspektivy. V úvodu se objevují hlavní otázky, na které se práce v dalších kapitolách snaží nalézt odpověď. Mezi těmito otázkami jsou např. zda ve střední angličtině stále ještě existují silné tvary adjektiv a zda jsou v takovém případě formálně rozpoznatelné, jakou pozici ve větě zastávaly, nebo zda jejich syntaktická funkce zůstala srovnatelná s tou, která jim byla vlastní v angličtině staré. Dále úvodní část zmiňuje nejdůležitější monografie, ze kterých práce čerpá především v teoretických kapitolách, a zběžně nás seznamuje s jejich autory.

2. Teoretická část

Druhá kapitola této práce se zaměřuje jak na problematiku funkční větné perspektivy, tak následně i na otázku syntaxe. Nejprve je v sekci 2.1.1. představena koncepce aktuálního členění větného tak, jak ji navrhl už v polovině 19. století francouzský jazykovědec Henri Weil, především však podle zpracování českého profesora Viléma Mathesia, jenž z Weilova díla později vycházel. Weilova teorie podtrhuje fakt, že každý jazyk nezávisle na jazykové rodině, ke které náleží, vyjadřuje tok myšlenek stejným způsobem, tj. jeho syntaktické struktury vždy obsahují východisko a jádro výpovědi. Tato vlastnost je podle Weila univerzální, a tudíž vlastní každému jazyku. Na základě Mathesiova přístupu lze mluvit o formálním členění věty a o aktuálním členění věty, přičemž základními prvky formálního členění sentence jsou gramatický subjekt a gramatický predikát, zatímco základními prvky aktuálního větného členění jsou právě východisko a jádro výpovědi. Podle Mathesia je poměr mezi aktuálním a formálním členěním větným jednou z nejcharakterističtějších vlastností každého jazyka. V souvislosti s pojmem jádra výpovědi jsou zmíněny ještě tři funkce podmětu, které může zastávat, a tím určit celkový význam výpovědi. Tyto různé funkce způsobují to, že jsou v každé větě zahrnuty tři možné významy. Mezi tyto role patří tzv. psychologický podmět, gramatický podmět a logický podmět neboli činitel. V souvislosti s touto jazykovou vlastností by měl člověk chápat větu jako složenou jednotku, jejíž celkový význam je vlastně konfigurací výše zmíněných funkcí.

Sekce 2.1.2. se zaměřuje na výpovědní dynamičnost a poskytuje teoretický přehled na základě práce profesora Jana Firbase. V anglickém jazyce se uplatňuje tzv. principle of end focus, při jehož působení je pořadí prvků ve větě od základu výpovědi (téma) směrem k jádru výpovědi (réma), které stojí na konci. V jazycích s fixním pořádkem slov, jako je angličtina, je tedy pozice tématu daná, a to na začátku věty, zatímco réma se zpravidla nachází na konci. K určení výpovědní dynamičnosti jednotlivých větných členů je zapotřebí zohlednit několik faktorů. Nejdůležitějším z nich je faktor kontextový, podle něhož jsou stanoveny prvky, které již byly v rozmluvě zmíněny, ale také ty, o kterých se mluví poprvé. V angličtině se kontextová závislost projevuje použitím anaforických prostředků, jako jsou osobní, přivlastňovací či ukazovací zájmena nebo určitý člen. Dalšími z těchto faktorů v anglickém jazyce jsou faktor sémantický, lineární uspořádání slov ve větě a intonace. V následující sekci 2.1.3. je popsán vztah mezi funkční větnou perspektivou a pořádkem slov ve větě.

V kapitole 2.2. se práce zaměřuje na syntax jako takovou. Nejprve se krátce zabývá jazykovou změnou z obecného hlediska a možnými důvody, které napomáhají jejímu vzniku. Následně se do popředí dostávají syntaktický vývoj a změny v pořádku slov ve větě v období mezi starou a střední angličtinou. Velký důraz je zde kladen na vývoj jmenné fráze, neboť právě v ní se vyskytují atributivní přívlastky v podobě přídavných jmen. Sekce 2.2.3. zkoumá jak morfologický, tak syntaktický vývoj v rámci jmenné fráze.

Následující sekce 2.3. už představuje pozadí vývoje anglických přídavných jmen, především specifika vývoje slabých a silných tvarů, které se objevily už v éře pragermánské. Tato jazyková vlastnost přetrvala a přešla i do staré angličtiny. Rozdělení staroanglických adjektiv podle jejich příslušnosti k silné nebo slabé flexi je představeno v podkapitole 2.3.2., která je pro názornost doplněna několika tabulkami. Pro syntaktickou analýzu je důležitá podkapitola, která následuje, neboť ta zkoumá pozici staroanglických přídavných jmen z hlediska syntaxe. Adjektiva se zpravidla vyskytovala ve funkci atributivní či predikativní. Slabé tvary byly používány v prenominální pozici a vyjadřovaly kontextově závislou informaci (téma), na druhé straně tvary silné flexe mohly stát buď před jménem, či za jménem, a nebo predikativně jako jmenná část přísudku. Ať už se silný tvar objevil v jakékoli pozici, zpravidla vždy vyjadřoval informaci novou, kontextově nezávislou (réma). Olga Fischer ve své studii *On the position of adjectives in Middle English* (2005) uvádí, že adjektiva v pozici za jménem, které

modifikují, mají všeobecně tendenci vyjadřovat réma, zatímco atributivní adjektiva, která vyjadřují téma, většinou předcházejí podstatnému jménu, které je jimi určováno.

Závěrečné kapitoly teoretické části práce 2.4 a 2.5. se soustřeďují na rané období střední angličtiny. Nejprve je tato doba krátce představena na pozadí historických událostí, poté je shrnut i lingvistický vývoj a jazyková situace v dané době. Závěrem se práce opět vrací k vlastním přídavným jménům a zkoumá jejich již zmiňované vlastnosti, tentokrát ve střední angličtině. Toto období je z fonologického a morfologického hlediska charakteristické postupnou ztrátou koncovek, která se týkala téměř všech slovních druhů včetně adjektiv. Tento jev přirozeně narušil formální vymezení silných tvarů od slabých a postupně výrazně omezil jejich identifikaci v textu. Poslední kapitola se dále zaměřuje na postavení několikanásobných modifikátorů v rámci jmenné fráze a zmiňuje také specifickou konstrukci, ve které jedno z atributivních adjektiv předchází modifikovaný prvek a druhé za ním následuje. Několik takovýchto konstrukcí, které už nejsou vlastní moderní angličtině, se totiž vyskytlo právě v textech analyzovaných v praktické části diplomové práce.

3. Praktická část

Třetí kapitola přináší výsledky vlastního výzkumu, který je korpusově založen a zaměřen na analýzu raně středoanglických textů. Na úvod je stručně představen korpus, ze kterého byl materiál k práci získán. Jelikož práce vychází z raně středoanglické doby, vyhledávání v korpusu bylo omezeno na první čtyři po sobě jdoucí období, která jsou v něm zaznamenána, to znamená, že se výzkum vztahoval na texty pocházející z let 1150 – 1350. Pro analýzu bylo zapotřebí získat reprezentativní vzorek silných tvarů přídavných jmen. Nejprve byla tedy v korpusu vyhledána nejfrekventovanější adjektiva jako taková a z těchto byly poté ručně vybrány pouze silné tvary, a to na základě nikoliv jejich koncovek, které už nevykazovaly v této době dostatečnou diferenciaci od koncovek slabých, se kterými se ve většině případů shodovaly, nýbrž na základě jejich kontextové závislosti a větných prvků, v jejichž blízkosti se vyskytovaly. Takovýchto přídavných jmen bylo zaznamenáno 350, což představuje dostatečný počet pro analýzu v práci daného rozsahu.

Hlavním bodem syntaktického výzkumu bylo stanovit, jakou roli hrají vybraná silná adjektiva v rámci jmenné fráze, jejíž součástí jsou. Z celkového počtu jich 246 plnilo funkci přívlastku

předcházejícího řídicí podstatné jméno a 3, které následovaly až po něm, dále 18 adjektiv představovalo řídicí člen jmenné fráze v pozici podmětu či předmětu a 83 bylo použito predikativně jako jmenná část přísudku. Bylo zjištěno, že v rámci prvně zmiňované skupiny použití přídavných jmen se silné tvary nejčastěji vyskytovaly jako součást jmenné fráze představující přímý předmět, dalšími frekventovanými typy byla jmenná fráze jako součást přísudku a příslovečného určení způsobu. Mezi spíše sporadicky se vyskytující fráze zahrnující silné tvary patřily ty v pozici podmětu, příslovečného určení místa, předložkového a nepřímého předmětu.

Staroanglická a středoanglická adjektiva v postpozici nabízejí zajímavý materiál ke zkoumání, neboť jejich používání na základě jazykového vývoje postupně upadalo a v moderní angličtině bychom je, kromě určitých výjimek a ustálených spojení – většinou adjektiva románského původu ve funkčním stylu právní prózy – již nenašli. V korpusu *ppcme2*, respektive ve vzorku, se kterým se v analýze pracuje, byly však nalezeny pouze 3 případy takovýchto postponovaných adjektiv. V jednom případě se jedná o tzv. *and*-konstrukci, ve které jeden přívlastek předchází podstatné jméno a druhý ho následuje. Takovéto konstrukce byly častější v období staré angličtiny, vyskytovaly se však, jak je vidět, i v angličtině raně střední, i když v nižší míře. V dalším ze tří příkladů bychom také nalezli několikanásobný přívlastek, jehož oba prvky se v této frázi nacházejí za modifikovaným podstatným jménem. Tento jev byl také charakteristický pro staroanglické texty a tato pozice umožňovala zdůraznit novou informaci, kterou nesla právě atributivní postponovaná adjektiva. Poslední ze tří případů má podobu jmenné fráze, kde jsou dvě podstatná jména modifikována jedním přívlastkem, který je následuje. Jak bylo zjištěno, všechny příklady postponovaných atributivních adjektiv pocházejí z náboženských textů, což naznačuje, že právě tyto texty nejvíce následovaly určitou tradici a při jejich opisu se často zachovávaly konstrukce i slovní spojení textů původních.

Častým typem použití silných adjektiv bylo dále použití predikativní, kdy přídavná jména tvoří jmennou část přísudku. Těchto případů bylo nalezeno 83 a mezi sponovými slovesy se vyskytovaly např. *be* (být), *seem* (zdát se), *think* (jevit se komu), *make* (udělat), a *hold* (mít [někoho za co]). Určité konstrukce již nejsou v moderní angličtině příliš často používány, např. *þat him ðuhte swete* (*it seemed sweet to him*; připadalo mu to krásné). Na této konstrukci se projevuje flektivní charakter jazyka, neboť pozice nepřímého předmětu je stále relativně

variabilní. Syntetický charakter jazyka je zřejmý i u další vlastnosti staroanglických, resp. raně středoanglických adjektiv, která pomocí konverze bylo možné zaměnit za substantiva, a to bez jakékoli formální změny či přidání determinátorů, které jsou nutné dnes (cl. *the* rich: [ti] bohatí, *the* rich *one*: [ten] bohatý).

Role silných tvarů přídavných jmen v rámci funkční větné perspektivy je popsána v podkapitole 3.2.3. Prvním bodem analýzy bylo určit, zda jsou jednotlivé klauze získané z korpusu orientovány k podmětu, nebo směrem od něj, resp. jestli je podmět tématem nebo rématem. Celkem se mezi větami objevilo 11 takových, u nichž je jádrem výpovědi právě podmět, a ve všech případech je jeho pozice stejná, tj. na konci výpovědi. Poté se práce zaměřila na to, zda je dodržen princip, kdy se réma vyskytuje jako poslední, a zda se shoduje lineární pořádek slov ve větě se základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti. V případech, ve kterých tomu tak nebylo, konkrétně u 16 vět, byly určeny důvody této deviace. Narušení základního rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti jednotlivých prvků bylo vždy spojeno s nestandardním slovním pořádkem, tj. s pořádkem lišícím se od tzv. SVO. Středoanglické věty se například vyznačují tím, že určitý a neurčitý tvar slovesa jsou často separovány, přičemž tvar neurčitý se, především ve vedlejších větách, vyskytuje na konci, a to nezávisle na jeho výpovědní dynamičnosti. Zde ještě přetrvala pravidla ze staré angličtiny. Dalším specifikem středoanglických vět je to, že réma je nezřídka vytýkáno za účelem jeho zdůraznění, a proto se nenachází v závěru věty, nýbrž na jejím začátku, případně mezi podmětem a přísudkem. Tento jev, který však není cizí ani moderní angličtině, opět poukazuje na ne zcela analytický charakter jazyka.

Rozbor role silných adjektiv v rámci funkční větné perspektivy následuje v poslední fázi analýzy a zabývá se především otázkou, zda je fráze, jejíž jsou přídavná jména součástí, tematického či rematického charakteru. Ve staré angličtině nesly silné tvary vždy novou informaci, tudíž nebývaly součástí východiska výpovědi neboli tématu. Totéž lze říci i o silných adjektivech středoanglických, která se většinou objevují jako součást jádra výpovědi, případně přechodu mezi tématem a rématem. Několikrát však silná adjektiva rozvíjela i fráze, které v sobě nesly kontextově závislou informaci, tzn. měly charakter tématu, vždy ovšem platilo, že fráze s přídavnými jmény ať už v podobě přívlastku, či spony, jako takové přinášely informaci novou, tzn. představovaly réma.

4. Závěr

Závěr diplomové práce shrnuje nejzásadnější poznatky, které byly zjištěny v korpusově založeném výzkumu. V souladu s předpoklady na základě vývoje přídavných jmen mezi obdobími staré a střední angličtiny se ukázalo, že formální rozdíly mezi slabými a silnými tvary vymizely a koncovky přestaly hrát zásadní roli v jejich rozlišování. Tvary silné flexe tak lze identifikovat pouze podle kontextu či determinátorů, které se s nimi vyskytují. Pouze u dvou případů byla zaznamenána původní staroanglická koncovka silného tvaru. Co se týče analýzy jejich syntaktických vlastností, silná přídavná jména byla používána atributivně nebo predikativně, přičemž možnosti postavení přívlastků byly relativně flexibilní. V rámci výzkumu zpracovávajícího informační strukturu vět bylo potvrzeno, že silné tvary ve většině případů tvoří součást takových jmenných frází, které vykazují vysoký stupeň výpovědní dynamičnosti.

APPENDIX I: ppcme2 tables

table 1: Helsinki periods (ibid.)

Period designation	Composition date	Manuscript date
M1	1150 - 1250	1150 – 1250
M2	1250 - 1350	1250 – 1350
M23	1250 - 1350	1350 – 1420
M24	1250 - 1350	1420 - 1500

Table 2 gives wordcounts for individual periods and wordcount summary by individual texts used in the analysis is given in table 3:

table 2 (ibid.)

Period	Wordcount
M1	195,494
M2	93,999
M23	17,013
M24	35,591

table 3 (ibid.)

Period	Text	Genre	Wordcount
M1	Cmancriw-1	Religious treatise	48,566
	Cmancriw-2	Religious treatise	15,224
	Cmjulia	Biography	6,810
	Cmkathe	Biography	8,699
	Cmkentho	Homily	4,048
	Cmlamb1	Homily	6,459
	Cmmarga	Biography	8,069
	Cmpeterb	History	6,757
	Cmsawles	Homily	4,111
	Cmvices1	Religious treatise	27,677
M2	Cmayenbi	Religious treatise	45,944
	Cmearlps	Bible	44,521
	Cmkentse	Homily	3,534
M23	Cmaelr3	Rule	17,013
M24	Cmrollep	Religious treatise	17,960
	Cmrolltr	Religious treatise	17,631

APPENDIX II: ppcme2 samples used in the analysis in broader context

see the CD attached to the thesis