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## АКТУАЛЬНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ ЛІНГВІСТИКИ

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### EXCLUSIVE ADVERBS IN OLD ENGLISH? A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF AN(E)

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*The study deals with means of expressing exclusive meaning in Old English records based on the texts of Helsinki Corpus TEI XML Edition 2011. The aim of the article is to investigate variant expressions in the English records of VII-XI cen. that laid the foundation for Present-Day English (PDE) exclusive focusing adverb only standing. The tokens retrieved from the Corpus are automatically analyzed with the help of #LancsBox which software package has been employed to analyse the data using the following tools from the package: KWIC, GraphColl, Words and Ngrams. Since focusing adverbs are known by their syntactic mobility as well as their interaction with Focus structure of the sentence the article investigates OE exclusive constructions from the perspective of scope and regularities of their positional variation as a result of information-structural effect. The notion of scope presupposes singling out two positions of the adverb: pre- and post-modification of the element it refers to. The methodology applied relies on c-commanding and phase principle enriched with Question Under Discussion method. The next methodological stage involves tagging of the sentence elements taking into account discourse representation structure. Thus, three major layers have been distinguished, viz. discourse given-new information, as well as, Focus and Topic of the sentence. As a result of the methods applied it has been proved that the form an(e) (PDE only) though correlating with sentence information structure has little, if any, effect on the arrangement of word-order constituents. Yet, the investigation has found that positional variations of the OE adverb are used as a mechanism of marking a peculiar type information actualization in the discourse, as well as, certain types of sentence Focus (informational, identificational, contrastive and emphatic), which are governed by the focus adverb position in relation to the word it modifies.*

**Keywords:** information structure, discourse representation structure, given/new information, Focus, focusing adverb, exclusive adverb, corpus.

### ЕКСКЛЮЗИВНІ АДВЕРБИ У ДАВНЬОАНГЛІЙСЬКІЙ? КОРПУСНЕ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ AN(E)

Андрущенко О. Ю.

*Дослідження присвячене засобам вираження ексклюзивності в давньоанглійських писемних пам'ятках на основі фрагментів текстів, виокремлених із Helsinki Corpus TEI XML Edition*

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2011. Мета статті – визначити варіантні вирази в англійських пам'ятках VII–XI ст., що заклали основи для становлення фокусувального адверба *only* в сучасній англійській мові. Автоматичний аналіз токенів із корпусу здійснено на основі #LancsBox, програмне забезпечення якого використовували для аналізу даних за допомогою такого пакету інструментів, як KWIC, GraphColl, Words та Ngrams. Оскільки фокусувальні адверби відомі своєю синтаксичною мобільністю, а також взаємодією з фокусом речення, вивчення давньоанглійських ексклюзивних конструкцій здійснювалося з урахуванням області їх дії та особливостей позиційної варіації як результат інформаційно-структурного впливу. Поняття області дії передбачає виокремлення двох позицій окресленого адверба: пре- та постмодифікації елемента, до якого він належить. Використана методологія ґрунтується на с-командуванні та принципі непроникності фаз, доповнених методом відповіді на актуальне запитання. Наступна методологічна стадія передбачає тегування елементів речення з урахуванням структури репрезентації дискурсу. Так були виокремлені три основні шари: дана-нова інформація для дискурсу, а також Топік і Фокус речення. У результаті застосування запропонованих методів доведено, що форма *an(e)* (суч.-англ. *only*) хоча й корелює з інформаційною структурою речення, проте має незначний або жодного впливу на аранжування конститuentів речення. Незважаючи на це, дослідження показало, що позиційні варіації давньоанглійського адверба використовуються як механізм маркування певного типу актуалізації інформації в дискурсі, а також окремих типів фокусу речення (інформаційного, ідентифікаційного, контрастного та емпатичного), що корелюють із позицією адверба та тим словом, що він модифікує.

**Ключові слова:** інформаційна структура, структура репрезентації дискурсу, дана/нова інформація, фокус, фокусувальний адверб, ексклюзивний адверб, корпус.

**Introduction.** The paper focuses on introducing exclusiveness in Old English (OE) as one of the basic semantic concepts in the language. In Present-Day English (PDE) this notion is mainly represented by focusing adverbials, which are morpho-syntactically realized as adverbial expressions (*at most*) or adverbs (*only, just, exclusively, merely, simply, purely*) [16]. The **goal** of this study is to discuss variant expressions of exclusiveness in the English records of VII-XI cen. that in PDE is represented by adverb *only*. In line with the research available [10; 33; 34; 38], the current investigation attempts to look at the relevant forms from the information-structural perspective in order to cast new light on the main defining properties of exclusive adverbs in OE works, namely their interaction with Focus structure of the sentence.

The research outlines the major properties of exclusive adverbs in PDE,

narrowing its scope to PDE adverb *only* and its equivalents in Old English records. The investigation **is based** on Old English part of Helsinki Corpus containing 70 abstracts from Old English texts of Helsinki Corpus TEI XML Edition 2011 [21] with 506,601 tokens and 68,463 Lemmas. The automated analysis is made with the help of #LancsBox [8; 9], which software package has been employed to analyse the data using the following tools from the package: KWIC, GraphColl, Words and Ngrams.

**Literature Review.** In PDE exclusive focusing adverbs such as *only, just, exclusively, merely, simply, purely and solely* are well represented in the language, which is proved by the browse search of these adverbs in COCA [12] with *only* ranking 112 among most widely used words in the Corpus (See Table 1).

**Table 1.**

**Frequency rank of exclusive adverbs in COCA**

Word	PoS	FREQ	RANK
<b>just</b>	ADV	2270900	51
<b>only</b>	ADV	905093	112

<b>simply</b>	ADV	166556	580
<b>merely</b>	ADV	40843	2140
<b>solely</b>	ADV	14236	441
<b>purely</b>	ADV	11697	5105
<b>exclusively</b>	ADV	4773	12948

Focusing adverbs are known by their syntactic mobility, as well as, their interaction with Focus structure of the sentence (see among others: 18; 19; 30; 36). These properties are illustrated in example (1).

(1) (Only<sub>1</sub>) Fred (only<sub>2</sub>) showed (only<sub>3</sub>) the exhibition (only<sub>4</sub>) to Mary.

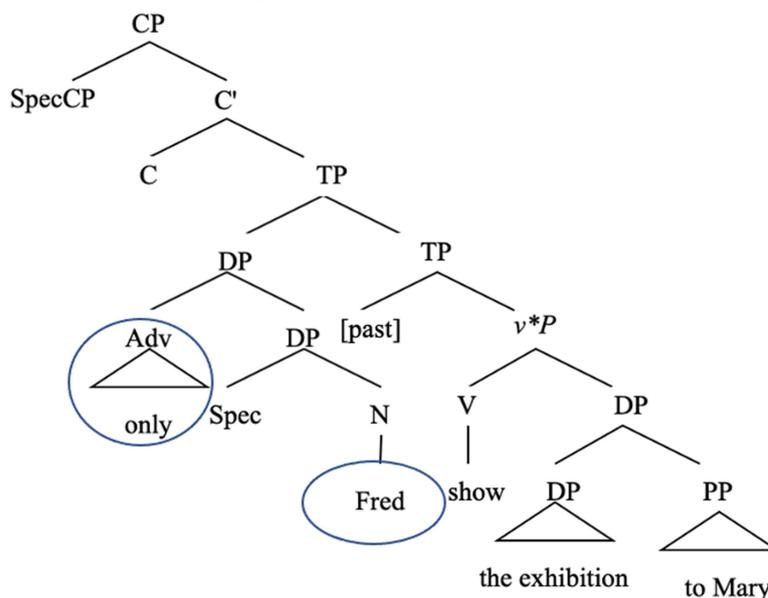
Other common structures in PDE are associated with focusing adverbs in its post-position to the element it marks. E.g.

(2) I saw FRED only.

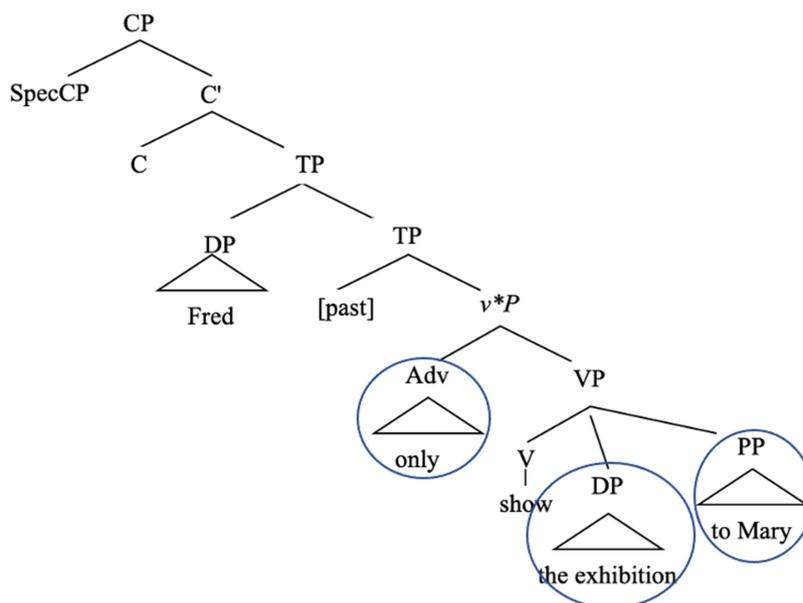
The same tendency is observed in the records of VII-XI cen., while expressing exclusive meaning by means of prototypical Old English constructions: numeral an(ne) (one), demonstrative pronoun þæt an and prepositional phrase for an [38: 253]. While the pre-modifying placement is typical for all three constructions, the post-

modification is characteristic of an *per se*. Moreover, constructions with numeral or demonstrative pronoun + numeral characterize other Germanic languages, i.e., Gothic, Old Icelandic and Old High German [38]. The same is true for Latin and Old Greek where these constructions are evidenced [14; 34]. Taking into account a wide range of literature on the question, the investigation mainly focuses on the exclusive constructions from the perspective of scope and regularities of positional variation as a result of information-structural effect.

**Methodology. The scope of pre-position.** In line with Sudhoff [40], it can be noted that an exclusive adverb always C-commands with the element it pertains to, which is exemplified in Figures 1-2.



**Fig. 1.** Adverb *only* in the pre-position to subject



**Fig. 2.** Adverb *only* in the pre-position to the verb.

It's important to note that adverb *only* positioned before DP *Fred*, c-commands only with DP and cannot leave its scope. With relation to the phase principle [11] it means impossibility for focusing *only* to associate with VP in Fig. 1, while in Fig. 2 it c-commands with internal constituents within VP, i.e., V, DP or PP. Therefore, based on Fig. 2 all the mentioned constituents potentially function as sentence Focus with the exception of DP *Fred*. In such cases in PDE Focus scope can be determined by means of prosody [24], which is hard to identify in early written English records. However, methods of wide contextual analysis help investigate the clause to overcome this issue. This approach is associated with QUD (question under discussion) method [37] and presupposes establishing the discourse function, presupposition and descriptive content of the sentences.

In accordance with this approach focusing exclusive adverbs provide a comment on the current question (CQ) weakening a salient or natural expectation. Thus, the antecedent should be weaker than the presupposed answer to the CQ. The presupposition for the exclusive *only* assumes its expression of one of the most likely true alternatives to the current question, which is "at least"

as strong as its antecedent as long as the latter is the minimally expected true answer. Schematically, this looks as follows:  $\text{MIN}(\pi)$  (where  $\pi$  represents an antecedent) [6]. The descriptive value conveys the most likely true alternative for the CQ, which is "at most" as strong as its antecedent and can be displayed as  $\text{MAX}(\pi)$  [13]. Based on this, the operators for upper and lower scale are defined in (3a)–(3b) [6: 251].

$$(3a) \text{MIN}_{\sigma}(\pi) = \lambda w \forall p \in \text{CQ}_{\sigma} [p(w) \rightarrow p \geq \sigma \pi]$$

$$(3b) \text{MAX}_{\sigma}(\pi) = \lambda w \forall p \in \text{CQ}_{\sigma} [p(w) \rightarrow \pi \geq \sigma p], \text{ where } \geq \sigma \text{ is a pragmatically given pre-order on the propositions that constitute all the potential answers to the CQ.}$$

**The scope of post-position.** Unlike Old English the placement of exclusive *only* after the word it modifies in PDE can be characterized as obsolete. Referring back to instance (2) it can be noted that the exclusive in post-position is placed as close as possible to the element it refers to. According to Ross & Cooper [39: 370] focusing adverbs in PDE in their post-position are stressed, which is also true for the German language [30]. While studying such examples in the Hungarian language, Kiss [29] indicates that the focusing adverb mostly refers to

identificational Focus, this hypothesis requires further verification in Old English records.

**Information-structural analysis.** Apart from the prototypical association with Focus, other configurations have been described. Several studies indicate that some focusing adverbs and the constituent they operate on can be found in backgrounded part of the sentence (on Italian, see 1: 47; 17; 36) or refer to Topic

information function [see 41]. However, with the later studies one has to be careful taking into account the fact that Topic and Focus belong to different information structural layers that can overlap in some instances [see: 2; 4; 5]. The current study adheres to Discourse Representation Theory [15] that singles out different types of given-new information summarized in Table 2 [2; 4].

**Table 2.**

**Assignment of tags in the extended annotation scheme for IS**

Layer	Tags	Short description
Information status	giv	given (underspecified)
	giv-active	active
	giv-inactive	inactive
	acc	accessible (underspecified)
	acc-sit	situationally accessible
	acc-inf	inferrable
	acc-gen	general
	new	non-specific

The analysis above is enriched with identification of Topic and Focus in the sentence specified in line with Krifka [31] and Reinhart [35]. Therefore, Topic represents the information the sentence is about (subdivided into aboutness, given, familiar and contrastive subtypes), whereas Focus is associated with salient or the most important information in the sentence [20: 143]. It is further partitioned into informational (a sentence element that stands for a great level of novelty) [25], identificational (refers to the presence of alternatives prior available in the discourse) [29],

emphatic (represents the elements that demonstrate the extreme value on the scale of values) [22], exhaustive (renders the exclusion by identification with respect to the alternative propositions), contrastive (the components of the common ground that contain a proposition the sentence can be contrasted against) [32], verum (the truth value of the sentence) [15] and mirative (surprising or unexpected information) [24] Foci. Table 3 summarizes the tags applied to the analysis the second type of dichotomy, viz. Topic/Focus.

**Table 3.**

**Assignment of tags in the extended annotation scheme for Topic/Focus**

Layer	Tags	Short description
Topic	ab	aboutness topic
	gt	given topic
	ft	familiar topic
	ct	contrastive topic
Focus	inf	informational focus
	idf	identificational focus
	cf	contrastive focus
	emph	emphatic focus
	exhf	exhaustive focus
	vf	verum focus
	mirf	mirative focus

### Results and Discussion

Based on the assumption that numeral *an(e)* is a prototypical form that laid the foundation for an exclusive adverb formation in OE [10; 32; 33]

Corpus analysis focuses mainly on its spelling varieties in the records and declensional types with reference to gender and case, which are represented in Table 4.

Table 4.

#### Numeral *an(e)* declension in Old English

Ān - "one"			
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nominative	ān	ān	ān
Genitive	ānes	ānre	ānes
Accusative	āne	āne	ān
Dative	ānum	ānre	ānum
Instrumental	āne	ānre	āne

The distribution of graphic variations of *an(e)* in the Corpus is as follows:

Table 5.

#### Graphic representation of *an*-forms in Helsinki Corpus

Form	Occurrences	Relative Frequency per 10K.	Adverbial <i>an(e)</i> (%)
a(a)n	604	11.84	8.28%
anes	56	1.11	8.93%
anne	54	1.07	5.56%
ane	111	2.19	14.41%
anum	182	3.59	23.85%
anre	79	1.56	6.33%
<b>Overall</b>	1086	3.06	11.23%

The collocation report from LancoBox shows the collocation network for different forms given in Figure 3.

In Figure 3, 173 collocates of *an*, 0 collocates of *aan*, 18 collocates of *anes*, 9 collocates of *anne*, 35 collocates of *ane*, 52 collocates of *anum* and 30 collocates of *anre* have been displayed. There are no collocates shared among all nodes and additional 58 collocates that at least two nodes have in common (&, ær, æt,

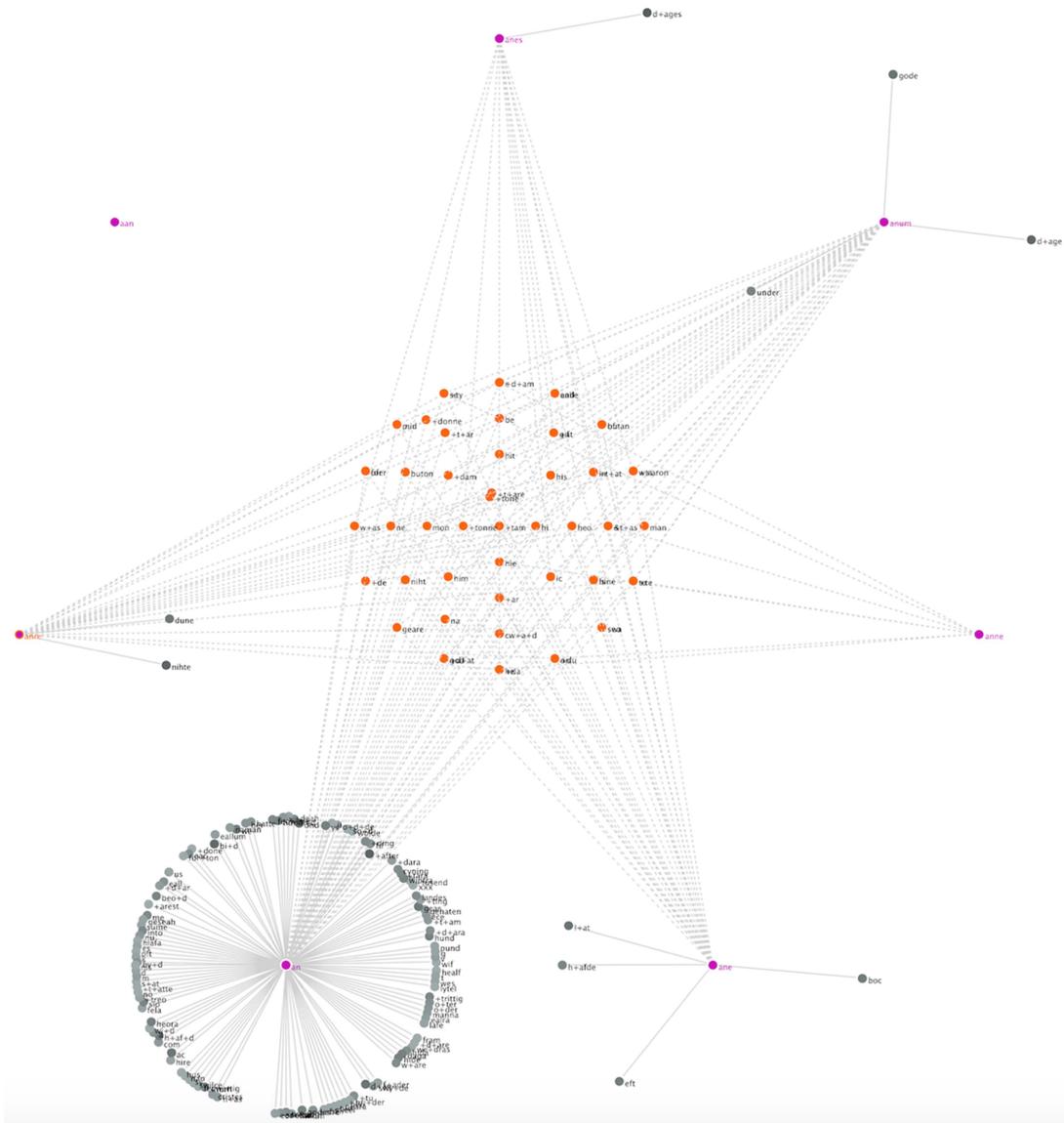
*ðæm, ðæt, ða, ðam, ðe, ðonne, ðu, þær, þære, þæs, þæt, þa, þam, þe, þone, þonne, þy, and, be, butan, buton, cwæð, ealle, for, geare, gif, god, he, heo, hi, hie, him, hine, his, hit, ic, in, is, man, mid, mon, na, ne, niht, of, ofer, on, p, r, se, seo, swa, to, wæron and wæs*).

Tables 6-7 indicates Pearson's correlations between search terms and P-values associated with them.

Table 6.

#### Pearson's correlations (*r*) between the search terms

Variables	an	aan	anes	anne	ane	anum	anre
an	1.00	-0.07	0.11	0.10	0.09	0.16	-0.04
aan	-0.07	1.00	-0.02	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05	0.01
anes	0.11	-0.02	1.00	-0.04	-0.02	0.26	0.03
anne	0.10	-0.05	-0.04	1.00	0.15	0.00	-0.08
ane	0.09	-0.03	-0.02	0.15	1.00	0.17	-0.04
anum	0.16	-0.05	0.26	0.00	0.17	1.00	0.09
anre	-0.04	0.01	0.03	-0.08	-0.04	0.09	1.00



**Fig. 3.** Collocation network: *an*, *aan*, *anes*, *anne*, *ane*, *anum* and *anre* in Helsinki Corpus (Old English) (01 – Freq (5.0), L5-R5, C: 5.0-NC: 5.0)

The correlation analysis is based on individual files in the corpus ( $n = 70$ ). p-

values associated with the  $r$  coefficients are available below.

**Table 7.**

**P-values associated with Pearson's correlations ( $r$ )**

Variables	an	aan	anes	anne	ane	anum	anre
an	-	0.5567	0.3664	0.4075	0.4455	0.1962	0.7609
aan	0.5567	-	0.8793	0.6736	0.8320	0.6713	0.9621
anes	0.3664	0.8793	-	0.7426	0.8838	0.0279	0.7918
anne	0.4075	0.6736	0.7426	-	0.2059	0.9793	0.5166
ane	0.4455	0.8320	0.8838	0.2059	-	0.1669	0.7438
anum	0.1962	0.6713	0.0279	0.9793	0.1669	-	0.4775
anre	0.7609	0.9621	0.7918	0.5166	0.7438	0.4775	-

The form *an(e)* is used mostly in a pre-modifying position when it functions as an article (4) or numeral *one* (5).

(4) Þær wæs án forehūs æt þære cyrcan duru (COLEOFRI. 33).

(5) Ðæt bið se æresta geares monað mid Romwarum ond mid us. On ðæm monðe bið an ond þritig daga. (COMARTYR, JA00 A3-4)

The contextual analysis of the sentences shows that the mentioned above form may occasionally function as a preposition *on* (6), therefore such examples were excluded from the Corpus analysis.

(6) And alæd me of þysum grynnum, þe her gehydde synt beforan me, forðam þu eart min gescyldend, Drihten, an þine handa ic befæste mine sawle. (COPAEIPS, R 30.5)

Some instances demonstrate double reading of *an(e)*: it can be interpreted either as a numeral *one* or as an adverb *only* (7). Such sentences were also removed from the current analytics.

(7) Nu miht ðu understandan, þæt læssan ymbgang hæfð se man þe gæð onbuton an hus, þonne se þe ealle þa burh begæð. (COTEMPO, R 4.27-29).

Occasionally, *an(e)* functions as an adjective, which is specifically evident while pre-posing the sentence constituent it is associated with (8), however, its interpretation as a numeral *one* is also possible.

(8) He cwæp þa to him, ic hit eom, ne ondrædaþ eow. Hig woldon hyne niman on þæt scyp & sona þæt scyp wæs æt þam lande þe hig woldon to faran. Soþlice oþre dæg seo menigeo þe stod begeondan þam mere geseah þæt þær næs butan an scyp & þæt se. (COWSGOSP).

The excerpt in (8) an scyp can either be translated in PDE as *one ship* or the *only ship*, however, given that in the previous sentence PP *on þæt scyp* or DP *þæt scyp* refers to a definite ship, which is also evidenced by the preceding demonstrative *þæt* in DP, *an* in the construction *butan an scyp* most likely refers to the PDE adjective *only*. Similar examples of double interpretation are found in Borsworth&Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary [7]:

(9) Ic bydde ðe, ðæt ðu læ te me sprecaþ áne feawa worda I pray thee,

that thou let me speak only [once for all] few words (Nicod. 11; Thw. 5, 40).

(10) Cwep ðin án word (speak thy word only), Mt. Bos. 8, 8).

Interestingly, but in sentences (9)-(10) pre-posing *an(e)* relates to DP that represents new information and informational Focus. Hypothetically, this property of *an(e)* preposing DP might have an impact on the adverbial arrangement, which may precede the relevant sentence constituent or follow it. The analysis shows that adverbial *an(e)* in 65.4 % instances is placed after the word it modifies, while in the rest of the examples a pre-modification is more preferable, these data correlate with Rissanen [38] who states that ca. 82% of Old English records demonstrate a post-modifying *an*. The discrepancy in rate correlation between two studies though might be attributed to the fact that the current data considered pre-modifying instances of *an* in bulk, while in Rissanen [38: 258], as has already been mentioned, there are three separate forms in focus: *an* + DP per ce and *þæt an* construction and *for an* phrase (the latter is not represented in our Corpus search in its adverbial function).

The ratio of *an(e)* form per ce in its pre- and post-modifying position to DP-element in the data analyzed makes 15.64% to 84.36%, which is close to M. Rissanen's figures. To shed the new light and not to repeat the conclusions leaped at in the previous research the data were considered purely from information-structural perspective to find whether there is a specific interrelation between these two positional variations and information actualization or Foci types.

**Post-modifying *an(e)*** pertains to DPs that in traditional grammar represent the subject of the sentence or its object (both direct and indirect) with the latter ratio amounting to 83.3%. The word order patterns vary in terms of their element positioning i.e., SVO←*an*, SO←*an*V, SXO←V. However, the study of the clause structure shows that *an(e)* seems to demonstrate little impact on word-order variations, if any. Mostly, the

arrangement of sentence constituents is affected either by metrical constrains or the syntax of the main and subordinate clauses [23; 26]. This fact differentiates prototypical focusing adverbs from other information-structural markers in OE, cf. *þa*, *þonne* [27; 28]. Nevertheless, *an(e)* post-modification of the sentence elements demonstrates a specific correspondence to Focus types and information givenness in the discourse. Therefore, 100% of instances indicate that the element in Focus represents given-active or accessible information and only three types of Foci: contrastive (11), reaching 53.3%, identificational (12) with 38.3% in total and emphatic (13) evidenced in the rest of the tokens selected. The Topic is either marked as given or aboutness.

(11) And hio þa seo eadiga Margareta hire fot up ahof and he hire sæde eall, þæt he wiste, and cwæð: Siððan Sathan gebunden wearð, siððan ic mid mannum æfre gewunode. and manega godes þeowas ic gehwearf fram gode and [næfre ne mihte me nan man ofercuman] <sub>[new, acc, ct]</sub> [buton þu ane] <sub>[given, ct, cf]</sub>. (COMARGA).

(12) ða he ðis eal dyde, ða he stod æfter us gewend, & cliopode æfter us, ðeah we from him gewende wæren; & ðeah he oferhogod wære, he us eft laðude to his hyldo. Ac swa swa we nu ðis reahon be eallum monnum, [swa [hit mæg] [æghwelc mon] <sub>[given-active, a-top]</sub> [be him anum] <sub>[given-active, idf]</sub> [geðencean] <sub>[new]</sub> (COCURA).

(13) [Nyle <sub>[given-active, ct]</sub> [he ængum anum] <sub>[given-active, emph]</sub> [ealle gesyllan gæstes snyttru] <sub>[accessible]</sub>, [þy læs him gielp sceþþe þurh his anes cræft ofer opre forð] <sub>[new]</sub>. (COCHRIST)

Interestingly, the element in Focus, specifically a contrastive one, oftentimes is featured by a personal or a demonstrative pronoun (cf. 12), becoming the major characteristic of post-modifying *an(e)*. The focused element is typically preceded by the negative conjunction *butan*. Such

constructions are observed in simple sentences or main clauses with two variations of placing the adverb: *SVO*, *butan S<sup>←</sup>an(e)* or *SVO butan O<sup>←</sup>an(e)*. It should be noted that the ratio in favour of *an(e)* marking the object is 1:5.

**Pre-modifying *ane*** is found in two different sentence environments: *ane* per ce and in the constructions with the demonstrative *þæt*. Adverb *ane* as an antecedent is placed as close as possible to the Focus constituent which in 91.67% is marked as informational Focus and new or inferred information (14). The rest of the instances pertain to emphatic Focus and given information (15). In the latter case the order of the constituents in the main clause seems untypical for Old English i.e., SXV, which may testify to the adverbial impact on word-order, however, due to scarcity of the data that remains only a hypothesis.

(14) Her ælle & Cissa ymbseton Andredescester, & ofslogon alle þa þe þærinne eardedon, [ne wearþ þær forþon an Bret to lafe] <sub>[new, inf]</sub> (COCHROA2, R.495.1-3).

(15) Forgif me to are, ælmihtig god, leoht on þissum life, þy læs ic lungre scyle, ablended in burgum, æfter billhete turh hearmcwide heorugrædigra, laðra leodsceaðena, leng þrowian edwitspræce. [Ic] <sub>[giv-top]</sub> [to anum þe] <sub>[given-active, emph]</sub>, [middangeardes weard]. <sub>[new]</sub>, mod stapolige, fæste fyrhðlufan, ond þe, fæder engla, beorht blædgifa, biddan wille ðæt ðu me ne gescyrige mid scyldhetum, werigum wrohtsmiðum, on þone wyrrestan, dugoða demend, deað ofer eorðan. (COANDREA, R.80-87)

The construction *þæt (a)an* and its spelling variant *ðæt an* occur 41 times in the Corpus, being registered in 21 texts out of 70 (0.75 per 10k tokens). Table 8 demonstrates its overall allotment throughout Old English records of Helsinki Corpus.

Table 8.

Distribution of the search terms *þæt an* and *ðæt an* in Helsinki Corpus (Old English)

File	Tokens	Frequency	Relative frequency per 10k
COBYRHTF	4913	4	8.142
COAELHOM	5677	3	5.284
COAELIVE	7858	3	3.818
COINSPOL	5619	2	3.559
COGREGD3	5732	2	3.489
COBOETH	11951	4	3.347
COAPOLLO	7237	2	2.764
COBENRUL	11035	3	2.719
COLAW3	7692	2	2.600
COGREGD4	5662	1	1.766
COMETBOE	5856	1	1.708
COBLICK	11837	2	1.690
COWULF3	7958	1	1.257
COCHROE4	19623	2	1.019
COBEDE	11116	2	0.900
COWSGOSP	11143	1	0.897
COAELET3	11367	1	0.880
COCHROA2	14877	1	0.672
COAELET4	15021	1	0.666
CODURHAM	21662	1	0.462
COOROSIU ( <i>ðæt an</i> )	9383	1	1.066
COBOETH ( <i>ðæt an</i> )	11951	1	0.837

Figure 4 displays the relationship between both constructions. The circles

in the figure represent individual texts in the Corpus.

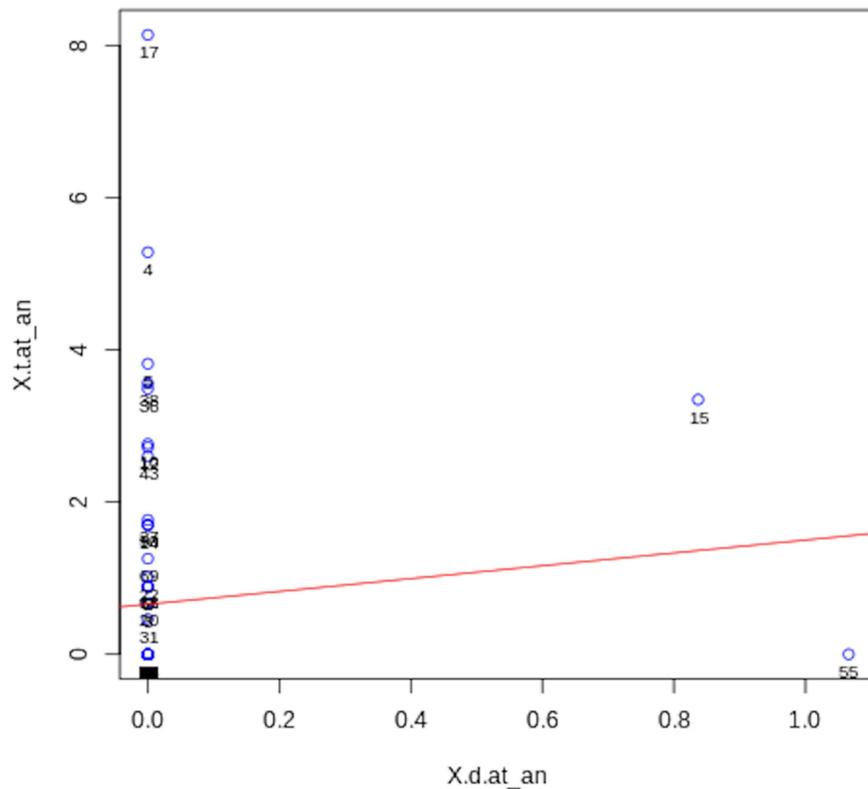
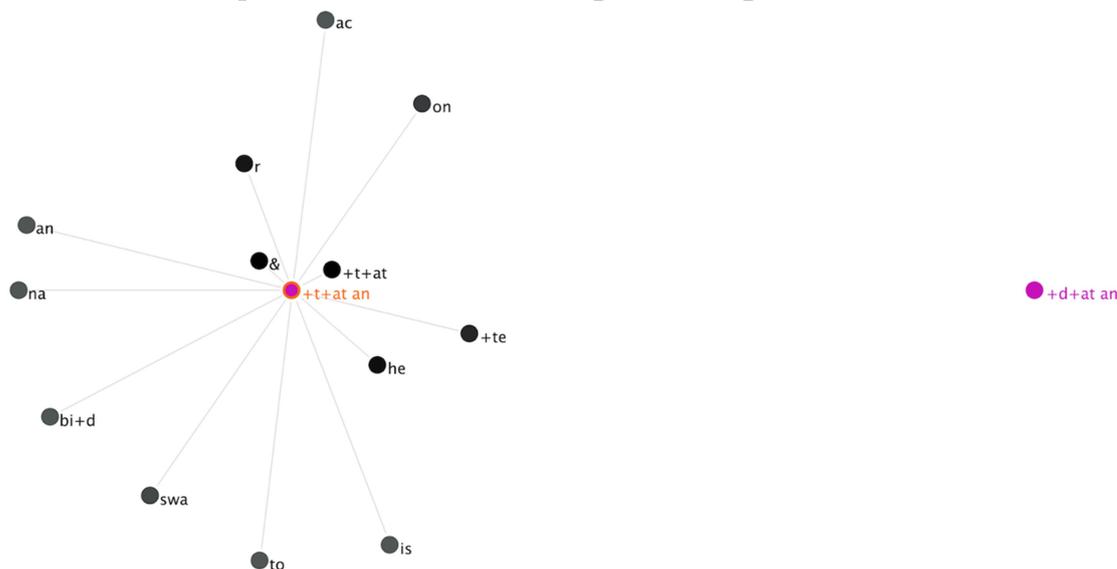


Fig. 4. Scatter plot with a regression line

The LancsBox analytics enables to check on the most frequent collocations

for the constructions under analysis, given in Figure 5.



**Fig. 5.** Collocation network: *þæt (ðæt) an* in Helsinki\_Old\_English (01 - Freq (5.0), L0-R5, C: 5.0-NC: 5.0).

The data reveal that *an* in the construction functions as an adverb in 32 sentences amounting to 78.05% of all the instances. In the rest of the tokens *an* is used in the sense of a cardinal numeral *one* (16), an indefinite article (17) or occasionally an ordinal numeral *the first* (18).

(16) Ac þonne þa fif þing, swa we ær cwædon, eall gegadorede biþ, þonne biþ hit eall an þing, & þæt an þing biþ God; (COBOETH, R 33.76.7).

(17) Betwyx oþrum þingum nis na to forgytane þæt gode friþ þe he macode on þisan lande. swa þæt an man þe him sylf aht wære. (R 1086.95, COCHROE4).

(18) Martha swanc. and maria sæt æmtig; On þisum twam geswustrum wæron getacnode twa lif. þis geswincfulle þe we on wuniaþ. and þæt ece þe we gewilniap; þæt an lif is wræcful. þæt oþer is eadig; (COAELHOM, R 256.38-40).

The analysis of the collocation *þæt (a)an* used adverbially allows to single out three typical constructions. In the first type, amounting to 12 instances, the phrase is followed by the conjunction *þæt*, with the focused element in the subordinate clause (19), in the second type the phrase precedes the focused element (20) amounting to 14 instances,

in the third type *an* aligns with the demonstrative *þæt* following the constituent it marks (21) evidenced in 6 examples. The latter ones were analysed as a post-modifying *an(e)* and were excluded from the data on *ane* as an antecedent. As long as *an* post-modification is concerned, the focused element in (21) refers to given-active information and identificational Focus, which corresponds to the information highlighted above and correlates with the data obtained for Modern Hungarian (Kiss 2001). So, the assumption on the stressed *an(e)* in post-position may be characteristic of Old English records.

(19) modum, & þær nan þing elles næs to ealles geares andlifene, buton þæt an, þæt he heafde ænne wingearð. (COGREGD3, P 57).

(20) An ðing bið geset. toforan eallum; Nis þæt an ðing fram manegum. ac manega ðing sind fram ðam anum (COAELIVE, R. 242-6).

(21) Nu þær ys an to lafe: nim þæt an & sete on foreweardum þam, & cwep. (COBYRHTF <R 48.21>).

The analysis of the sentence structure shows that 11 out of 12 *þæt (a)an þæt* constructions are preceded by negative adverbs or conjunctions *na* (no) – 5,

nales – 4, nis hit – 1, buton – 1, while the DP in the following subordinate clause contains a personal pronoun, mostly *he* (8 instances). In all these cases the structure with the exclusive adverb forms a separate projection marking the next CP which is in focus. E.g.

(22) [TP [NEG [Nales [DP *þæt an* → [CP *þæt* [DP *he gemæne*] [vP [VP V[dyde] AdvP[*þære*]] DP [neowan cirican,]]]] [CP [*þe of Ongolcynne gesomnod wæs*], [CP [ac swilce eac *þara ealdra biggengena Bretta & Scotta*]]]]].

The sentence structure investigation suggests the following: *þæt an*, *þæt* does not affect the word order in the subordinate clause, which is mostly verb-final, with some exceptions that may be ascribed to metrical rules in poetic records [38: 257]. Element *an* can be translated into PDE as *not only that* and is aligned with the CP that presents given-active or situationally accessible information with the entire clause being in Focus domain, while its elements render contrastive Focus in 100% with the sentence topic being tagged as given, evidenced by the pronominal. E.g.

(23) Annotated IS of (9): [ForceP [Nales *þæt an* → [CP [*þæt* [*he* <sub>[gt]</sub> [*gemæne dyde þære neowan cirican*]]<sub>[giv-active, cf]</sub>] [CP [*þe of Ongolcynne gesomnod wæs*]]<sub>[giv-active]</sub>, [CP [ac swilce eac *þara ealdra biggengena Bretta & Scotta*]]<sub>[new, cf]</sub>].

The rest of the examples with pre-modifying *þæt an* may, at times, have double reading as in examples (24), where *an* is either interpreted as an adverb *only* “except that only kind (kindred), who...” or as the numeral except that one kind (kindred), who...”, however, the adverbial sense seems more pronounced here.

(24) Hy moston *þa wel wif habban, þæt ne wurde ateorad þæt mære bisceopcyn þe com of Aarone. For þan þe [nan cyn] <sub>[ab]</sub> <sub>[comment-new]</sub> [ne moste becuman to þam hade [butan þæt an cyn]] <sub>[given-active, cf]</sub>, [*þe com of Aarone*]] <sub>[given-active]</sub>. (COAELET3, R 132-133).*

The Topic in (24) is tagged as aboutness, while the Focus in Comment part is contrastive. The focused part

*butan þæt an* marks DP *cyn*, which indicates given-active information, since *Aarones cynne* was mentioned previously as *For þan þe nan ne moste of oþrum cynne becuman to þam hade, þæt he bisceop þare, butan of Aarones cynne* (COAELET3, R 129). The same tendency is evidenced in other examples with *þæt an* construction preceding the word or phrase it marks as Focus (25) (6 instances in total).

(25) *þa þa þis geban þus geset wæs, þa wæron mid gitsunge*

*beswicene na þæt an his find ac eac swilce his*

*frind, and him æfter foran and hine geond ealle eorþan*

*sohton ge on dunlandum ge on wudalandum*

*ge on diglum stowum, ac he ne wearþ nahwar* (COAPOLLO, R 7.26-30).

**Concluding remarks.** The investigation of *an(e)* used adverbially shows that it is dominantly placed after the word it modifies, which correlates with the peculiarities of information-structural elements allotment in the sentence. The structures show that *an(e)* refers to four Foci types: informational, identificational, contrastive and occasionally emphatic. Although having no effect on the order of the elements in the clause, *an(e)* in its post-position relates to the element marked as given-active information and identificational Focus, while pre-modifying placement of *an(e)* is observed in the DPs that represent new information and informational Focus. With DP that relate to contrastive Focus, both positions of *an(e)* are typical, however, they differ structurally in terms of information actualization and the preceding conjunction. Whilst post-modifying *an(e)* is evidenced in DPs relating to both contrastive Topic and Focus, which are preceded by conjunction *buton*, the preposing of *an(e)* is solely occurs with *þæt an* or *þæt an þæt* construction making a separate projection and introducing the entire clause as a contrastive Focus. The individual examples where *an(e)* marks DPs with emphatic Focus demonstrate

word-order rearrangement, though the number of overall constructions is not enough to prove this hypothesis in terms of frequency.

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