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Pathways of Change
Grammaticalization in English

PATHWAYS OF CHANGE

GRAMMATICALIZATION IN ENGLISH

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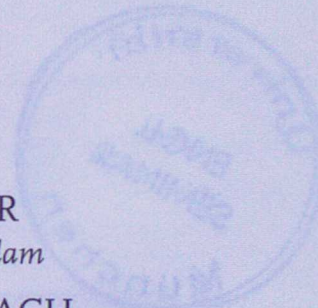### DIETER STEIN
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1. Introduction

Those who study grammaticalization processes from a semantic-pragmatic perspective widely agree that the early stages of grammaticalization are characterised not only by semantic weakening but, more importantly, by pragmatic strengthening and increased subjectification (Hopper and Traugott 1993; Traugott 1995; Brinton 1996). In an application of this approach Traugott (1995b) has recently examined the role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization. She argues — on the basis of an analysis of the development of Modern English *indeed*, *in fact* and *besides* — that the cline "clause-internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse particle" should be added to the inventory of clines that are the subject of grammaticalization.

In this paper I want to show that the Old English adverbs *soplice* and *witodlice* can serve as examples for such a cline. In Old English we find these adverbs used in several coexisting functions: from original manner adverbs and sentential adverbs (disjuncts) they develop to boundary markers, i.e. discourse particles marking thematic discontinuity. Such a 'layering' of functions is a characteristic of all language change and in particular a property of the early stages of grammaticalization processes (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 124–126).[1]

2. *Soplice* and *witodlice*: The traditional approach

Adverbs such as *soplice* and *witodlice* are notoriously difficult for linguists:

(1)   The lexicographers have much work to do with *eornostlice, soðlice,
       witodlice*, and the like. When I consider the great variety of Latin
       words they translate (see *BT(S)*, s.vv.) and when I read Ælfric *De
       Coniunctione* (…), I do not envy them (Mitchell 1985: § 3168).

The validity of Mitchell's statement can be illustrated by the entry for *eornostlice*
in the most recent of the dictionaries of Old English, the *Dictionary of Old
English* (*DOE*; Cameron *et al.* 1987):[2]

(2)   *eornostlice* (ca. 325 occ.)
       A.1   strictly, solemnly
       A.2   steadfastly, stalwartly, resolutely
       B.   used as an introductory or conjunctive adverb, especially
                to render a variety of Latin conjunctions; when used in
                this way, the word is usually placed initially in the sen-
                tence or clause, but is sometimes postponed (often, but not
                always, reflecting the position of the Lat. conjunction
                translated)
       B.1   therefore, then, so, accordingly (without any definite
                expression of consequence or result)
       B.1a   rendering *ergo* 'therefore, then, so, accordingly'
       B.1a.i   rendering *ergo*, used in interrogative constructions
       B.1b   rendering *igitur* 'then, therefore, accordingly, consequently'
       B.1c   rendering *itaque* 'and thus, accordingly, therefore'
       B.2   indeed, in fact, truly; for in fact
       B.2a   rendering *quippe* 'indeed, for, for in fact'
       B.2b   rendering *enim* 'since in fact, inasmuch as, for, because'
       B.2c   rendering *etenim* 'and indeed, in fact, for'
       B.2d   rendering *autem* 'but, yet, but indeed'
       B.2e   glossing *dumtaxat* 'to this extent; at least, at any rate'

Eornostlice's propositional meaning as a manner adverb 'strictly, solemnly' (cf.
its etymology 'in an earnest way') obviously presents little problem (cf. "A").
Much more important for the present issue are the meanings collected under "B":
after a somewhat general introduction, the lexicographer seeks help in the Latin
words which *eornostlice* commonly renders, and their Modern English transla-
tions. The Latin and Modern English lexemes used are, however, so polysemous
and multifunctional that *eornostlice* likewise appears to be strangely polysemous
and multifunctional.

This lexicographical procedure is not unique to the *DOE* but is applied in
most other dictionaries as well; as examples cf. the entries for *soþlice* and
witodlice in one of the standard dictionaries of Old English, Bosworth-Toller's
Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (*BT*; 1882–98):[3]

(3)   soþlice: I.   *as adv. Truly, really, certainly, verily*
                     II.   *as conj. Now, then, for*; representing Latin *autem,
                           ecce, enim, ergo, nam, vero*
       witodlice: *adv.* I. *Certainly*
                     II.   with a somewhat indefinite sense, translating
                           many Latin words, *indeed, surely, truly*

The lexicographers of the *DOE* are actually the less to be 'envied' in the cases
of *soþlice* and *witodlice* when the 325 occurrences of *eornostlice* are set against
1633 of *witodlice* and 4801 of *soþlice*.[4] The Latin words these particles translate
are even more numerous, polysemous and also more varied in their semantic-
syntactic properties. As an example, cf. the evidence from the Gospels according
to Matthew and John in the *West-Saxon Gospels* (= *WSG*):[5]

(4)   Matthew: eornostlice   autem (1 *occ.*), ergo
                   soþlice   autem, ecce, enim, ergo (1 *occ.*), nam,
                                  vero
                   witodlice   autem, ecce, enim, ergo, etiam, igitur,
                                  itaque, nam, quidem, siquidem, utique,
                                  vero, et factum est
       John: eornostlice   –
                   soþlice   autem, enim, ergo, vero
                   witodlice   autem, enim, ergo, igitur, itaque,
                                  quidem, utique

More importantly, the Modern English translations given for the Latin adverbs in
the Old English dictionaries are contestable themselves as they merely reflect the
general sense or adverbial categories to which the words are commonly allocat-
ed: 'causal' for *enim* and *nam*, 'consecutive' for *ergo* and 'adversative' for
autem, at and *vero*.[6] That this is a far too simplistic treatment of these particles
can be illustrated by the entry for *autem* in the *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*,
which shows that the lexicographers of Latin are confronted with exactly the
same problems and that they react to them in a similar way, namely by referring
to the Greek lemmata translated or to the supposed Latin synonyms:[7]

(5)   I)   c. sensu continuationis, i.q. [*idem quod*] δέ, *tunc* — *nun, aber, dann*

      II) c. sensu contrarietatis vel diversitatis, i.q. *at, vero, sed* — *jedoch, dagegen, aber*

      III) c. sensu anaphorae, i.q. *ergo* — *also*

      IV) c. sensu causae, i.q. *enim* — *nämlich*

      V)   c. sensu adiunctionis, i.q. *etiam* — *auch*

      VI) c. sensu concessionis — *attamen, nihilominus* — *dennoch, trotzdem*; *quidem* — *zwar*

The evidence from the Latin and Old English dictionaries shows that a full entry for *soþlice* or *witodlice* is likely to go on for pages. It would provide a great many Modern English translations, but it would still — or therefore — not be very helpful.

3.   The discourse-level approach

This paper argues that *soþlice* and *witodlice* should be investigated on a different level of language analysis since their purely semantic analysis is not only difficult but in some cases even misleading.[8] *Soþlice* and *witodlice* will be shown to function as text-structuring discourse markers in Old English narrative discourse, where they are employed as highlighting devices and, more importantly, markers of episode boundaries or shifts in the narrative.

This will be demonstrated by an account of the discourse functions of their Latin counterparts, in particular *autem*, and by an analysis of different Old English texts from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.[9] The restriction to prose texts is not coincidental, but corresponds to the textual distribution and thus one of the important properties of *soþlice* and *witodlice*. Of the about 4800 occurrences of *soþlice* only 25 are found in poetry (most of them manner adverbs in direct speech); *witodlice* is only attested once in poetry. This evidence suggests that the discourse functions of *soþlice* and *witodlice* are restricted to prose texts as well.

4.   Morpho-syntactic analysis

Both *soþlice* and *witodlice* are adverbs derived from adjectives by means of the adverbial suffix *-e*. The bases *soþlic* and *witodlic* are themselves derivations

from *soþ* 'true; (truth)' and *witod* 'certain; appointed, ordained',[10] so that both adverbs have a basic semantic meaning 'verily, truly, assuredly, knowingly'. Modifying verbs, they can e.g. be employed as manner adjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 8.79):[11]

(6)   *Nacode he scrydde, and* **swa ic soðlice secge**,[12] *ealle nyd-behæfnysse he wæs dælende þam þe þæs behofodon*   (*Eustace* 9)

      'The naked he clothed; and, as I truly tell, he distributed to every necessity of them that had need thereof'

                                             (transl. Skeat 1900: 191)[13]

More frequently they function as 'emphasizers', expressing the semantic role of modality since they have a "reinforcing effect on the truth value of the clause or part of the clause to which they apply" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 8.99):

(7)   *Ic eom* **soðlice romanisc**. *and ic on hæftnyd hider gelæd wæs*

                                             (*Eustace* 344)

      'I am truly a Roman, and I was brought hither in captivity'

                                             (transl. Skeat 1900: 211)

(8)   *Apolloni, ic* **oncnawe soðlice** *þæt þu eart on eallum þingum wel gelæred*   (*Apollonius* 16,24)

      'Apollonius, I know truly that you are well taught in all things' (transl. Swanton 1975: 166; cf. Latin "Apolloni, intelligo te in omnibus esse locupletem")

In these cases *soþlice* serves as a truth-intensifier and fulfils a highly subjective and speaker-oriented function which adds a strong illocutionary force to the speech acts; cf. in particular performative speech acts such as Apollonius' promise

(9)   *Ic* **sille eow soðlice** *hundteontig þusenda mittan hwætes to ðam wurðe þe ic hit gebohte on minum lande*   (*Apollonius* 10,7)

      'Truly, I will supply you with a hundred thousand measures of wheat for the price I bought it in my country' (transl. Swanton 1975: 163; cf. the Latin "Dabo **itaque** vobis C milia frumenti modios eo precio quo in patria mea mercatus sum")

or the (10) consistent translation of Latin *Amen, (amen) dico vobis* in the *West Saxon Gospels* by *Soþlice ic eow secge* (Matthew 6,16, 10,15, 11,11 etc.; Mark 3,28, 8,12 etc.; Luke 4,24, 12,37, 13,16 etc.; John 8,51, 12,24, 13,16). These formulaic expressions are used when Jesus reinterprets the Old Testament by virtue of his authority as the Son of God.

In the functions described so far — manner adjunct and emphasizer — *soþlice* is primarily found in direct speech with a first person (singular) subject,[14] which means that in these cases the subject of the sentence is identical with the speaker. This constraint is a consequence of the propositional meaning of the lexeme, in particular the denotative and connotative features of 'truth' which demand a human agent with high trustworthiness, most likely the speaker himself.

Yet, in the majority of their occurrences the scope of the adverbs *soþlice* and *witodlice* is not restricted to the phrase level, but extends to the whole sentence.[15] *Soþlice* and *witodlice* function as disjuncts, expressing either the comment that what is being said is true ('content disjuncts'; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 8.127) or conveying the speaker's assertion that his words are the unvarnished truth ('style disjuncts'; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 8.124).[16] So in examples (11) and (12), *soþlice* is used instead of the full phrases "soþ is þæt ic secge" or "soþlice ic eow secge" (cf. examples 6 and 10).[17]

This change in perspective involves increased syntactic freedom and scope.[18] As sentence adverbials *soþlice* and *witodlice* are not part of the core syntactic structure and are thus optional from a syntactic point of view. More importantly, there is no longer any constraint on the subject of the sentence, which may even be inanimate (cf. example 18). When used as a style disjunct, *soþlice* introduces the voice of the speaker — in addition to the proposition of the sentence. It functions as a speaker comment which conveys the speaker's assertion that his words (the proposition of the sentence) are true, e.g. the assertion that Eustace (subject) is a righteous man in (11) and (12):

(11) **Wæs he soðlice**[19] *on rihtwisnysse weorcum ... swiðe gefrætwod*

(*Eustace* 4)

  'Truly he was greatly adorned ... with works of righteousness'

(transl. Skeat 1900: 191)

(12) **Wæs he witodlice** *swiðe æpele on rihtwisnysse and strang on gefeohte ...*

(*Eustace* 14)

  'He was indeed very noble in righteousness, and strong in fight ...'

(transl. Skeat 1900: 191)

This development from manner adverb to style disjunct corresponds to the Modern English situation where " ... a manner adverb that may co-occur with the verb *tell* (when *tell* is being used performatively) can also function as a style disjunct" (Schreiber 1972: 323).[20]

5. Discourse particles in Latin

The usefulness of a discourse-level approach in historical linguistics has recently been demonstrated by Brinton's (1996) account of pragmatic markers in the history of English and Kroon's (1995) investigation of the discourse functions of a number of Latin coordinating conjunctions, in particular those which above have been shown to be the Latin counterparts of *soþlice* and *witodlice*. Kroon finds that adverbs and conjunctions which in the traditional approach are regarded as carrying a causal or consecutive meaning (*nam, enim, igitur* and *ergo*) and those with a supposedly adversative sense (*autem, vero* and *at*) actually work on very different levels of discourse, which she calls the representational, presentational and interactional level.[21] While *vero, ergo* and *at* function on the interactional level of communicative acts and moves, *autem, nam* and *igitur* are connectives on the level of textual organization (Kroon 1995: 371–375).

Autem, the most common Latin counterpart of *soþlice* and *witodlice* should, according to this analysis (Kroon 1995: 226–280), no longer be classified as an adversative conjunction but as a boundary marker functioning on the textual level:

(13) *Autem* is a presentational particle which marks the *discrete status* of a piece of information with regard to its verbal or non-verbal context. Depending on whether the particle is applied locally (on the level of the sentence) or more globally (on the level of the text) it can be characterized as a "highlighting" or "focusing" device, or as a marker of the organization of the text (viz. of thematic discontinuity) (Kroon 1995: 226).

6. Visual clues: Old English initials in MS Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 11

My investigation of the discourse functions of *soþlice* and *witodlice* was, however, not sparked off by textual but rather by visual clues. In a main witness for the Gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England (cf. Lenker 1997), a mid-eleventh century manuscript of the *West Saxon Gospels* (Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 11), the Old English Gospel text is subdivided into about 200 sections by rubrics. These Old English and Latin rubrics indicate on which day of the liturgical year the following text is commonly read during the performance of the mass. While the first words of the Latin Gospel lection are cited in the rubric, its beginning in the Old English text is highlighted by an initial; cf. the rubric for the lection beginning with Matthew 4,12 (for the Friday after Epiphany):

(14) *se deofol hine and englas genealæhton and him þenodon* (Mt 4,11)
Ðis sceal on frigedæg ofer twelfta dæg.
Cum audisset Iesus quod iohannes traditus esset.
Soþlice þa se hælend gehirde þæt iohannes belæwed wæs …
(Mt 4,12)
'[left] the devil him and angels came towards him and served him. / This shall (be read) on Friday after Epiphany. / When Jesus heard that John had been betrayed. /Truly, when the saviour heard that John was betrayed …'

Discourse-analytically, it is important that lections have to be complete episodes with a coherent structure. At their beginnings the participants, time, location etc. have to be mentioned as otherwise the congregation would not be able to understand the lection. These characteristics of the beginning of Gospel lections are strikingly similar to the characteristics of episode boundaries, which are indicated by a change in time, location, participants, the action sequence etc.[22] In the texts, these changes are commonly denoted by a number of concrete linguistic clues, e.g. syntactic markers such as 'frame-shifting' spatial and temporal adverbials, the use of full noun phrases where anaphoric pronouns are expected, certain conjunctions or explicit metacomments and discourse particles (Brinton 1996: 44).[23]

Examples (15) to (18) show the text division of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Luke ("Birth and childhood of John the Baptist and Jesus"):

(15) Lk 1,26 **Soþlice** *on þam syxtan monðe wæs asend gabriel se engel fram drihtne on galilea ceastre …* (Lk 1,27–38)
'Truly, in the sixth month was sent Gabriel the angel by the Lord to a Galilean town …'

(16) Lk 1,39 **Soþlice** *on þam dagum aras maria and ferde on muntland mid ofste. on iudeisce ceastre.* … (Lk 1,40–55)
'Truly, in these days Mary got ready and went to the hill-country with haste to a Judaean town …'

(17) Lk 1,56 **Soþlice** *maria wunude mid hyre swylce þry monþas. and gewende þa to hyre huse. Lk 1,57 Ða wæs gefylled elizabethe cenningtid. and heo sunu cende …* (Lk 1,58–80)
'Truly, Mary lived with her such three months and went then (back) to her house. Then came the time for Elizabeth to give birth and she gave birth to a son …'

(18) Lk 2,1 **Soþlice** *on þam dagum wæs geworden gebod fram þam casere augusto. þæt eall ymbehwyrft wære tomearcod …* (Lk 2,2)
'Truly, in these days an order was given by the Emperor Augustus that all the world should be described …'

In each of the lection-initial sentences the participants, the location and the time of the action are explicitly mentioned, while the beginning of the lection itself is denoted by sentence-initial *soþlice*.[24]

It is obvious that the sentence adverbial *soþlice* is semantically bleached in these cases, as its main function is no longer to convey the speaker's assertion or comment that what is being said is true. Augustus' order (18) to have a census taken is not a matter of the speaker's subjective belief, but a historical fact. *Soþlice* is no longer a style disjunct which replaces a full phrase such as 'soþlice ic eow secge'. Its function here is to indicate the beginning of a new lection. *Soþlice* thus works on the (meta)textual level, as a boundary marker with demarcating force. This use as a discourse marker obviously develops from its function as a style disjunct: by explicitly stating that what is being said is true, the speaker manages to catch the listener's or reader's attention at the beginning of a new episode.

This use of *soþlice* as a boundary marker[25] is not unique to the first chapters of Luke, as can be shown by an inventory of the lection-initial words which are highlighted as initials:[26]

(19)

	þa	*soþlice*	*witodlice*	*eornostlice*	*and*	(others)
Mt	27	13	2	1	7	21
Mk	13	2	—	—	5	3
Lk	17	12	1	1	2	12
John	9	2	5	—	1	38
	66	29	8	2	15	(74)

With a total of 37 instances *soþlice* and *witodlice* are the second most common of the boundary markers employed and are only outnumbered by the particle *þa* whose function as a discourse marker is undisputed (cf. e.g. Enkvist and Wårvik 1987; Kim 1992). For the *WSG*, Kim's thorough discourse-level analysis (1992) provides convincing evidence that *þa*-clauses in this text signal some kind of discourse discontinuity, indicating a shift of topic, ground, time-line, scene, listener or content.[27] The fact that more than half of the lections begin with *þa*, *soþlice*, *witodlice* or — in two instances — *eornostlice* thus suggests that not

only *þa*, but also *soþlice* and *witodlice* should be regarded as explicit markers of discourse discontinuity.[28]

7.   *Soþlice* and *witodlice* in Old English narratives

In a next step the analysis will now concentrate on the discourse functions of *soþlice* and *witodlice* in selected passages from texts which are comparatively independent of their Latin exemplars, the Old English translation of the Greek-Latin romance *Apollonius of Tyre* (ed. Goolden 1958) and the "Life of Saint Eustace" by Ælfric (ed. Skeat 1900: 190–218).

The Old English *Apollonius* is a narrative text whose plot of various, sometimes unrelated adventures is structured by means of short chapters. A number of chapter beginnings (Chapters 3, 4, 6, 16, 17, 49, 50 and 51) are denoted by the boundary marker *soþlice* which only rarely has a Latin adverb as its counterpart in the exemplar (most probably[29] *vero* in 6,1, 16,1 and 51,1). *Soþlice* here signals an interruption of a thematic chain by a change in time, aspect, participants or action sequence. At the beginning of Chapter 3 Antioch continues[30] to abuse his daughter (3,1 "On þisum þingum **soþlice** þurhwunode …") and then asks her admirers a riddle — a definite turn in the sequence of events which brings about the misfortune of the young men who fail to solve the riddle: their heads are set up over the town gate.

> (20)   3,1 *On þisum þingum* **soðlice** *þurhwunode se arleasesta cyngc Antiochus … he asette ða rædels þus cweðende: " …". … And þa heafda ealle wurdon gesette on ufeweardan þam geate.*
> '3,1 In fact the infamous king Antiochus persisted in this state of affairs … he set them a riddle, saying: '…'. … And their heads were all set up over the gate'   (transl. Swanton 1975: 159)

Antioch persists in this cruelty (4,1 "Mid þi **soðlice** … þurhwunode") until a new protagonist, Apollonius, enters the scene. In his greeting Apollonius maintains his right to marry the king's daughter because "ic eom **soðlice** of cynelicum cynne cumen" (4,8), employing in his speech alliteration and an emphasizer, the truth-intensifier *soðlice*. As a next break in the thematic chain, indicated to the reader by *þa soþlice* (4,19), Apollonius receives the riddle, the precondition for the next turn of events, his successful solving of the riddle:

> (21)   4,1 *Mid þi* **soðlice** *Antiochus se wælreowa cyningc on þysse wælreownesse þurhwunode, ða wæs Apollonius gehaten sum iung man se wæs swiðe welig … 4,6 Eode þa into þam cyninge and cwæð: "Wes gesund, cyningc … Ic eom* **soðlice** *of cynelicum cynne cumen and ic bidde þinre dohtor me to gemæccan" … 4,19 Apollonius þa* **soðlice** *onfangenum rædelse hine bewænde hwon fram ðam cyninge, and mid þy þe he smeade ymbe þæt ingehyd, he hit gewan mid wisdome and mid Godes fultume he þæt soð arædde.*
> '4,1 While the cruel king Antiochus in fact persisted in this cruelty, there was a certain young man called Apollonius who was very wealthy …. 4,8 He went to the king and said: "All hail, King … I come in fact from a regal family, and I ask for your daughter as my wife" … 4,15 Then, truly, having received the riddle, Apollonius turned himself a little away from the king, and when he had considered the sense he solved it with wisdom, and with God's help he guessed the truth'   (transl. Swanton 1975: 159–60)

The transition from Chapter 50 to 51 finally demonstrates that *(þa) soþlice* can also, though much less frequently, mark the termination of an episode, the end of a sequence of actions involving certain participants. With *þa soþlice* in 51,1 Apollonius is reintroduced as the protagonist.

> (22)   50,2 *For ða* **soðlice** *þanon to Tharsum mid his wife and mid his dohtor … 50,29 Heo ræhte þa* **soðlice** *hire handa him to and het hine gesund faran, and Philothemian, þare forscildgodan dohtor, Thasia nam to hyre.*
> '50,2 Then afterwards he went to Tharsus with his wife and his daughter. … 50,29 Then indeed, she extended her hand to him and bade him go in safety; and Thasia took to herself Philothemia, the daughter of the guilty woman'.

> (23)   51,1 *Apollonius þa* **soðlice** *forgeaf þam folce micele gifa to blisse, and heora weallas wurdon geedstaðelode. He wunode þa þar six monðas …*
> '51,1 Apollonius then, indeed, gave the people great gifts to rejoice them; and their walls were restored. Then he stayed there six months …'   (transl. Swanton 1975: 172)

The information given in the *soþlice*-clauses is not the most salient for these episodes. The clauses do commonly not contain the core events of the episode, but provide the background information for the events to follow. With respect to grounding, Brinton (1996: 116–143) has lucidly analyzed this for the functions of the different parts of the Old English '*gelamp*-construction' (*þa hit gelamp þæt; þa hit gewearð þæt*),[31] a much more obvious episode boundary marker in Old

English, which "grounds episodes in the narrative ... and guides the reader through the episodic structure of the text" (143). She suggests that events which are temporally or causally prior to the core events of the episode are "backgrounded in this fashion if they constitute the initiating or instigating event of the episode" (133). While the main clause serves as a metacomment upon the narrative structure, the complement clause establishes the necessary conditions for the episode to occur. *Soþlice* is functionally synonymous[32] with the main clause of the '*gelamp*-construction' and thus serves as a metacomment upon the narrative.

Ælfric's "Life of Saint Eustace" shows that the demarcating force of *witodlice* and *soþlice* is also found in texts which were not translated but composed in Old English. The first episode after the introduction, which is marked by means of a '*gelamp*-construction' ("Hit gelamp sume dæge"), relates the events which lead to Placidas' conversion (24). Placidas, who goes out hunting hart, departs from his companions and has a vision of a hart between whose horns the likeness of Christ's holy rood glitters. In this core section of not only the episode but the whole homily, *witodlice* is used three times to guide the reader by explicitly indicating the most important events (cf. Skeat's more and more emphatic translations 'verily', 'indeed' and finally 'behold'):

(24) *Hit gelamp sume dæge þæt he ferde ut on huntað mid eallum his*
      werode and his wuldre. ... þa hi ealle ymb þone huntað abysgode
      wæron þa æteowode him-sylfum an ormæte heort ... Þa æt nixtan
      wurdon hi ealle geteorode and he ana unwerig him æfter fyligde.
      Witodlice þurh godes fore-stihtunge ne hors ne he sylf gewergod wæs
      ... and feor fram his geferum gewat. Se heort þa witodlice astah on
      anne heahne clud and þær gestod ... Him þa god geswutelode þæt he
      him swilcne dom ne gedrede ne his mægnes micelnesse ne wundrode.
      Witodlice betwux þæs heortes hornum glitenode gelicnys þære halgan
      cristes rode breohtre þonne sunnan leoma (24–43)

      'It happened one day that he went out hunting with all his company
      and array ... When they were all busied about the hunting, then
      there appeared to himself an immense hart, ... then at last they were
      all tired and he alone, unweary, followed after it ... **Verily** through
      God's predestination neither his horse nor himself was wearied ...
      and he departed far from his companions. Then **indeed** the hart
      mounted up on a high rock and there stood. ... Then God revealed
      to him that he should not fear such power, nor wonder at the
      greatness of his might. **Behold**, between the hart's horns glittered
      the likeness of Christ's holy rood, brighter than the sun's beam'
                                                    (transl. Skeat 1900: 193)

Witodlice's use as a highlighting device here is functionally similar to its employment as an episode boundary marker, which is also a highlighting device on the more global level of textual organization (cf. Kroon's description of the functions of *autem* in [13]).

For (*þa*) *soþlice*, the findings agree even more closely with those for the other texts.[33] In example (25), the *soþlice*-clause indicates a change in the action sequence and an orientation toward a new central event when, after a lengthy dialogue, Eustace and his wife leave their home to find a priest who will baptize them.

(25) *Þa cwæð Placidas to hire: "þæt ylce me sæde se þe ic geseah". Þa*
      soþlice to middre nihte hi ferdon swa heora menn nyston to cristenra
      manna sacerda ... and halsodon hine þæt he hi gefullode (88–91)
      'Then said Placidas to her: "He whom I saw said the same to me".
      Then verily at midnight they went, so that their servants should not
      know it, to the Christian men's priest ... and entreated him to
      baptize them'   (transl. Skeat 1900: 197)

A change in time, location, participants and action sequence is denoted by *þa soþlice* in (26). After the baptism and the last words of the priest, Placidas, who is now called Eustace, gathers a few companions in order to return to the place of his vision.

(26) *"... and gemunað me iohannis ic bidde eow". Þa soþlice eft on ærne*
      mergen genam eustachius feawa geferan. and ferde to ðære stowe þær
      he ær þa ge-syhðe geseah (103–5)
      '" ... and remember me, John, I pray you". Then verily again in the
      early morning Eustace took a few companions and went to the place
      where he had before seen the vision'   (transl. Skeat 1900: 197)

In this homily, *soþlice*'s demarcating force is, however, restricted to marking sub-episodes. Major shifts in the narrative are indicated by '*gelamp*-constructions', such as *Hit gelamp sume dæge* (24) or *Æfter þissum wæs geworden* (27).[34]

(27) *Æfter þissum wæs ge-worden micel hergung on þam lande þe*
      eustachius ær on wæs ... (222) ... Þa ferdon soðlice twegen cempan
      þa wæron genemde antiochus and achaius .... (230)
      'After this there was made a great invasion of the country wherein
      Eustachius had been first ... Then went two soldiers who were
      named Antiochus and Achaius ...'   (transl. Skeat 1900: 205)

8. The two versions of Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*

The pragmatic functions of *soþlice* and *witodlice* can be confirmed by a comparison of chapter-initial examples taken from a text which has come down to us in two Old English versions. Gregory the Great's *Dialogues on the Lives and Miracles of the Italian Fathers* (ed. Hecht 1900) is an extremely clearly structured text which in short episodes (*capitula*) relates miracles of holy men. It was first translated by Bishop Wærferth of Worcester in 890 and was revised anonymously about a century later. The modifications found in chapter-initial sentences from the First Book which are not caused by the Latin text[35] indicate substitution possibilities and can therefore serve as a kind of historical test-frame. Cf. the following selection of examples:

Wærferth of Worcester (890)   anonymous reviser (950–1050)

(28)
a.   b.
***Soðlice sume dæge hit gelamp**, þæt*   ***Soðlice sumon dæge hit gelamp**, þæt*
an nunne of þam ylcan mynstre …   *an nunne of þam ilcan mynstre … eode*
*eode … **þa** geseah heo ænne leahtric*   *… **þa** geseah heo ænne leahtric and …*
(1900: 30)
'Truly, one day it happened, that a nun of the same monastery … went; then she saw a lettuce … '

(29)
a.   b.
***þa** æt nextan becom þisses ylcan weres*   ***Witodlice þa** æt necstan se hlisa þyses*
hlisa to cyþnysse Romana bisceope …   *ylcan weres bodunge becom to*
(1900: 34)   *cyðnysse Romanebyri.*
'Then at next the fame of the same man became known to the Roman bishop …'

(30)
a.   b.
***Eac** hit gelamp on sume tid, þæt him*   ***Soðlice** on oðrum timan him **comon** to*
*comon twegen men to … and **þa** sealde*   *twegen men … **þa** sealde he him …*
he heom … (1900: 66)
'It also happened some time, that two men came to him … and then he gave them …'

(31)
a.   b.
***Eac** þeos ylce his modur gewunode,*   ***Witodlice** þeos ilce his modor*
þæt heo hæfde hire henna and fedde …   *gewunode to fedenne henna …*
c.   d.
***þa** sume dæge stod Bonefacius se cniht*   ***soðlice** sume dæge, þa þa se cniht*
*in þam ilcan ingange; **þa** com se fox …*   *Bonefatius stod on þam ylcan ingange,*
(1900: 69)   *þa com se fox …*
'Also, the mother of the same (one) had hens and fed them … then one day when the boy Boniface was standing in the same entrance, the fox came …'

Already the original translator employs a number of the particles and phrases which have above been shown to serve as episode boundary markers: the text is structured by the use of *þa* (29a, 31c), *soþlice* (28a), and '*gelamp*-constructions' (28a, 30a), either alone or in combination. The most striking result of the comparison of the two versions is, however, that the reviser explicitly marks the beginning of the chapter by *witodlice* (31b) or uses sentence-initial *soþlice* and *witodlice* (29b, 30b, 31d) to replace *þa* or a '*gelamp*-construction'. This is a clear indication that *soþlice* and *witodlice* are functionally equal to discourse markers with a more obvious demarcating force, such as the '*gelamp*-construction', and that they indeed functioned as episode boundary markers for a 'native speaker' of Old English.

9. Conclusions

A comparison of the morpho-syntactic and functional characteristics of *soþlice* and *witodlice* with the properties of other Old and Middle English discourse particles as established by Brinton (1996: 265–267) shows that these Old English words fit well into the pattern.[36] They are high-frequency words which often occur in sentence-initial position. As sentence adverbials, they exist outside the core syntactic structure and are syntactically detachable from the sentence. They show an apparent lack of semantic content and are therefore able to work at both local and global levels of discourse. More importantly, the discourse-level analysis of their functions shows them to belong to the linguistic devices which denote the textual structure of Old English narratives: from original manner adjuncts, truth-intensifying emphasizers and sentence adverbs (style disjuncts) *soþlice* and *witodlice* develop into semantically bleached[37] and pragmatically enriched indicators of thematic discontinuity and are consequently employed as

episode boundary markers. They thus follow exactly the stages of grammatical-
ization Traugott proposes for the adverbial cline "manner adverb > sentence
adverbial > discourse marker" (Traugott 1995b).[38]

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. For the later development of *soþlice* see Lenker (1999); *witodlice* is not attested after the Old
    English period.

2. The *Dictionary of Old English* has, to this point, only been issued to the letter "E", so that the
    entries for *soþlice* and *witodlice* are not yet available.

3. See also the entry for *sothli* in the *Middle English Dictionary* (Kurath *et al.* 1954–): "… 3) as
    quasi-conj. a) used as a connective (often translating L *autem, enim, vero*): and, for; b) with
    adversative sense (often translating L *autem, vero*): but; c) with causal sense (often translating
    L *enim*): because, for since" or the entry for *soothly* in the *OED*: " … (2) Used to render L.
    autem, enim, ergo etc. Obs.". In *BT*, the introductory sentences to the entry for *witodlice* —
    "with a somewhat indefinite sense, translating many Latin words" — show that the editors
    were well aware of the problems connected with these particles.

4. Counts according to the frequency list of the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Healey
    and Venezky 1980; *MCOE*); *soþlice* is filed under the separately issued 'high-frequency
    words'.

5. The exact version of the Latin Vulgate text used as an exemplar for the translation of the *WSG*
    (ed. Liuzza 1994) is not known (Lenker 1997: 28–41). The Vulgate text used for the present
    purpose is Nestle-Aland's edition (Aland and Aland 1984).

6. For the treatment of these particles in traditional grammars and handbooks see Kroon (1995: 1,
    132–143 [*nam, enim*], 217–225 [*autem, vero, at*]).

7. Other dictionaries, such as the *Mittellateinisches Glossar* by Habel and Gröbel (1959), refer to
    autem and *enim* as "meaningless fillers". The only dictionary which includes discourse-
    pragmatic information is the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968), *s.v.* autem: "5) introducing a fresh
    idea or consideration …; 6) expr. indignation or surprise in questions and exclamations".

8. One of the more obvious problems is the rather clumsy Modern English translation 'verily'
    which is commonly used for both adverbs.

9. *Soþlice* and *witodlice* are attested in translated texts of the earlier periods of Old English (cf.
    MCOE and Swan 1988: 92). These texts do not lend themselves to a discourse-pragmatic
    investigation as most of them are too dependent on their Latin exemplars.

10. Cf. Modern English *soothsayer* and the archaic *in sooth*. *Witod* is the past participle of the verb
    witian 'to order, to decide', which is cognate to the verb *witan* 'to know'.

11. For the four broad categories of grammatical function of adverbials — adjuncts, subjuncts,
    disjuncts and conjuncts – see Quirk *et al.* (1985: 501–647).

12. On the level of the phrase, *soðlice* is a manner adjunct modifying *secgan*. On the level of the
    sentence the whole phrase *swa ic soðlice secge* serves as a style disjunct.

13. The passages from *Apollonius* are cited by chapter and line number, the passages from Ælfric's
    "Life of St Eustace" by line numbers only. The translations, which are taken from Swanton's
    Anglo-Saxon Prose (1975; *Apollonius*) and Skeat's edition of *Eustace* (1900), demonstrate the
    difficulties of translation.

14. As further examples cf. *Apollonius* 2,14, 4,8, 8,11, 14,30, 16,9, 21,20 etc. or *Eustace* 128, 137,
    202, 209, 369 etc.

15. For this functional shift see Swan (1988: 91–110) and Sato (1990). Other similar Old English
    introductory adverbs which may even be used as conjunctions are e.g. *ær, forðon, huru, nu,
    ono, þær, þanon, þider, þa, þeah, þonne, siþþan, swa* (Mitchell 1985: §§ 1101, 1862, 2418).

16. Likewise in Modern English, most of the common emphasizers (*certainly, indeed, surely, for
    certain, for sure*) can function as disjuncts (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 8.100).

17. For further attestations of the full phrases cf. Wulfstan's homilies (WHom 13,79 "And þæt is
    witodlice ful soþ …", Hom 17,65 "Eala, eala, soð is þæt ic eow secge …", WHom 20.1,1
    "Leofan men, gecnawað þæt soð is …"; cited from *MCOE*).

18. Traugott finds that "the proposed adverbial cline involves increased syntactic freedom and
    scope" (1995b: 1). This violates "the principles of bonding and reduced scope frequently
    associated with grammaticalization" (1995b: 1); for an accordingly modified definition of
    grammaticalization see Traugott (1995b: Chapter 5).

19. In Modern English, sentence adverbials are mostly placed sentence-initially. This is not in all
    cases true for Old English, though the examples from the *WSG* (10, 14–18) demonstrate that
    there is a tendency to front them. They are always found in the left periphery of the sentence.
    For a more detailed discussion of this syntactic slot see Traugott (1995b: 3.1).

20. The syntactic conditions are described as "$[I]_{NP}$ [[+V, +performative, +communication,
    +linguistic, +declarative] [you]$_{NP}$ (Adv$_{manner}$) S]$_{VP}$" (Schreiber 1972: 325).

21. Most of the research on discourse particles is, sometimes critically, based on Schiffrin (1986)
    (cf. Kroon 1995: 7–57 and Brinton 1996: 29–65 for the literature on discourse analysis and its
    terminology). Kroon's three levels more or less correspond to the more familiar distinction
    between the ideational or propositional, the textual and the interpersonal level. The ideational
    or propositional level considers the semantic content proper. On the textual level methods of
    organization which create a coherent discourse are investigated. The interpersonal level refers
    to the social and expressive functions of communicative acts and moves.

22. According to Brinton, episode boundaries correspond to one of the following points of change:
    "a change in time", "a change in location", "a change in participants", "a change in the action
    sequence, with an orientation toward a new central event, or the activation of a new schema",
    "a change in 'possible world'", "a change from general to specific, or the reverse" and "a
    change in perspective or point of view" (Brinton 1996: 43–44).

23. The underlined words and phrases in the following examples show the correspondences to
    these linguistic clues.

24. *Witodlice* as a boundary marker is e.g. used in John 20,1: "Witodlice <u>on anon restedæge</u> <u>seo</u> <u>magdalenisce maria</u> com <u>on mergen</u> ær hit leoht wære to þære byrgenne ..."; 'Assuredly, early on the Sabbath Mary Magdalene, in the morning before it was light, went to the tomb ...'.

25. The evidence is not as clear when we consider the whole Gospel text, in particular Chapters 5–13 of the Gospel according to Matthew, where the translator, which may be a different one than in other parts of the translation, indiscriminately renders every *autem* and *enim* he or she can find in the Latin exemplar by *soþlice*. The textual distribution of *soþlice* and *witodlice* for Latin *autem* has been repeatedly used to prove that there were at least two translators involved — one for Mt and Joh and the other for Mk and Lk (cf. Lenker 1997: 50–4).

26. The importance of a manuscript's layout must not be underestimated from a text-semiotic point of view. As there is commonly no paragraph indentation in Old English manuscripts, the highlighting of the first letters was certainly an important and striking feature for both the copyists and readers of the text.

27. 92% of the about 1200 sentence-initial *þa*-clauses investigated by Kim show one or more of these discourse shifts (see the summary in Kim 1992: 152). For points of disagreement concerning the specific discourse functions of *þa* see Enkvist and Wårvik (1987); Kim (1992: 1–6) and Brinton (1996: 9–11).

28. This assumption is further supported by the differences between the four Gospels. In contrast to the predominance of *þa*, *soþlice* and *witodlice* in the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark and Luke, the Gospel according to John uses a much broader variety of lection-initial words, such as different temporal adverbials, determiners or pronouns (listed among "others" in [19]). This can be explained by the different textual structure of this Gospel which is not organized as a collection or sequence of episodes, but as long elaborated speeches in which the narrative parts are interwoven.

29. The exact exemplar of the translation is not known: for the relationship of the Old English translation, of which only Chapters 1–22 and 48–51 are extant, with the reconstructed Latin exemplar see Goolden (1958: xx–xxv).

30. Antiochus, the wicked king of Antioch, rapes and abuses his daughter and as he therefore does not want her to get married asks her admirers a supposedly insoluble riddle: whoever is successful in solving the riddle gets his daughter as a wife, whoever does not is beheaded. *Soþlice* here marks a change in aspect.

31. The syntactic construction "(þa) V$_{HAPPEN}$ (hit) (Adv) þæt *Complement Clause*" occurs most frequently with the verbs *(ge)limpan*, *(ge)weorþan*, *beon*, but also with *gebyrian*, *getimian*, *agan* and *gesælan* in poetic texts (Brinton 1996: 116).

32. As an interesting case of an explicit metacomment which shows that the '*gelamp*-construction' is also semantically similar to *soþlice* cf. *Eustace* 361: "Nu ic hæbbe eall þis gesæd swa hit gelamp ..."; 'Now I have said all this as it happened ...' (transl. Skeat 1900: 213).

33. For an example in which *eornostlice* marks a change in the action sequence cf. *Eustace* 419: "Eornostlice se casere geseah þas wundorlican wæfersyne, þæt se leo heora ne oðhran, þa het he gefeccan ænne ærenne oxan and þone onælan and þa halgan ðær-on don ..."; 'Earnestly the emperor saw this wonderful spectacle, that the lioness touched them not; then bade he fetch a brazen ox and heat it and put the saints therein' (transl. Skeat 1900: 217).

34. In line 153, an episode begins with "on þam dagum gelamp", the sub-episode (162) with "soðlice æfter þam þe hi ferdon twegen dagas". Other episodes with an initial '*gelamp*-construction' are e.g. *Eustace* 141, 316, 391.

35. Cf. Yerkes (1979: xvi): "The anonymous reviser changed thousands of words and phrases,

sometimes no doubt to render the Latin more closely, at other times apparently only to bring the diction of the translation up to date or into conformity with that of his own dialect". The examples selected for comparison most probably belong to the second group.

36. Cf. also Schiffrin's "tentative suggestions as to what specific conditions allow an expression to be used as a marker: ... it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence, it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance, it has to have a range of prosodic contours (e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction), it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse ... this means that it either has to have no meaning, a vague meaning ..." (1986: 328). — For their "range of prosodic contours" cf. Mitchell (1985: § 2423): "I believe that in Old English 'phonological differentiation' existed between adverbs ... and conjunctions of the same spelling"; for a similar case cf. the written and spoken form of Modern English "you know".

37. It is evident that the different meanings coexist for a certain period. Initially there is only a redistribution or shift, not a loss, of meaning. In the case of *soþlice* and *witodlice* the originally salient truth-intensifying meaning persists over time and also constrains the later uses of the grammaticalized form (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993: 87–93).

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