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URSULA LENKER (MUNICH)

Forwhi *hence*: Shifting Deictics in Early English Causal Connection

In their *Call for papers*, the conveners of the workshop *English in the Middle Ages* asked papers to "show that modern approaches can fruitfully be applied to interpret the older stages of English language and literature, and conversely, that the historical dimension is indispensable for modern linguistic, literary and cultural studies".[1] This paper tries to consider both issues and sets out to demonstrate that the characteristics of clausal connection specific to Present Day English are much better understood when we scrutinize the instabilities in the system of connectives in Earlier English and in particular the considerable variety of forms of adverbial connectors in Middle English. A closer inspection of why some of the forms emerging in early Middle English (such as *forwhi*) were rejecte[illegible] others (such as *hence*) have survived, suggests that this development was initially ca[illegible] the collapse of the Old English system of demonstratives. The fully-fledged para[illegible] Old English demonstratives allowed explicit deictic causal connectors, so-called "p[illegible] nal connectors", being formed by means of a preposition and a demonstrative (c[illegible] *þǣm (þe)* 'after', *for þǣm (þe)* 'because; therefore' etc.). When these forms lost the [illegible] parency, English had to express deictic relations in connectors by other means. In t[illegible] ent paper, issues of discourse deixis are thus seen to be essential for an understandin[illegible] developments of connectors in English. This becomes particularly evident when [illegible] pare the various systems of connectors in the history of English with Present Day [illegible] and consider the implications of Modern German and Old English, but not Old English and Modern English, the former being typologically close to one another. As a prototypical test case, the paper chooses clauses of REASON or CAUSE.

1 Connectors: Word Classes and Topology

Connectors, though one of the key elements of language in use, used to be a neglected field in linguistics, and have only recently become more popular in linguistic research.[2] In 2003, a project group at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* at Mannheim published the 800-page first part of the *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren*[3] which – in accordance with most of the research on the issue – defines "connectors" according to five properties (M = 'Merkmal'):

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1 Cf. above p. 3.

2 Collected papers of the workshop *Clausal Connection in the History of English* held at 13 *ICEHL* [International Conference on English Historical Linguistics] in Vienna will be published in 2005 (ed. Ursula Lenker and Anneli Meurman-Solin).

3 The guidelines of the project group together with a dictionary of German connectors are found at <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/gra/konnektoren>.

M1 x ist nicht flektierbar
M2 x vergibt keine Kasusmerkmale an seine syntaktische Umgebung
M3 die Bedeutung von x ist eine zweistellige Relation
M4 die Argumente der Bedeutung von x sind propositionale Strukturen
M5 die Relate der Bedeutung von x müssen Satzstrukturen sein können (Pasch et al. 1-6)

These properties are commonly agreed on in contemporary linguistics, and so are the various word classes which may serve as connectors: coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (coordinators and subordinators) and adverbial connectors, as shown in Table 1:[4]

Table 1: Connectors in Present Day German

A.	**Parataxis**	
	denn[5]	
	Wir werden siegen, <u>denn</u> wir sind stärker.	[V2; post-position; fixed order of connects]
	Adverbial Connectors	
	Wir werden siegen. Wir sind <u>nämlich</u> stärker.	[V2; fixed order of connects]
	Wir sind stärker. <u>Deswegen</u> werden wir siegen.	[V2; fixed order of connects]
B.	**Hypotaxis – Subordinators**	
	Wir werden siegen, <u>weil</u> wir stärker sind.	[V-final; post-position or
	<u>Weil</u> wir stärker sind, werden wir siegen.	pre-position]
C.	**Correlatives**	
	Wir werden <u>deswegen</u> siegen, <u>weil</u> wir stärker sind.	
	<u>Weil</u> wir stärker sind, <u>deswegen</u> werden wir siegen.	

Similarly, the criteria for distinguishing these word classes are also agreed on: While coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (*denn*, *weil*) are only found clause-initially, adverbial connectors (*deswegen*; A) are more free in their position in the sentence. Subordinate clauses may – in contrast to paratactic structures which require a fixed order of the connects[6] – be placed before or after their superordinate clause (B). Only coordinators, such as the additive *and*, may collocate with conjuncts (cf. *<u>Und deswegen</u> werden wir siegen*) and subordinators (*<u>und weil</u> wir stärker sind ...*). In contrast to Modern English, Present Day German also differentiates main from subordinate clauses by employing verb-second or verb-final word order. The morphological make-up of German connectors, however, also allows for the so-called "correlative constructions" (C), which mark the relation of the sentences by an adverbial connector (*deswegen*) in one of the connects and a subordinating conjunction (*weil*) in the other one, thus reinforcing and clarifying their conjoining function.

4 The different means are here illustrated by Present Day German examples, because they correspond to the Old English situation as exemplified in the Appendix.

5 *Denn* is classified as an "Einzelgänger" in the *Handbuch* (Pasch et al. 706 and C 3.1). More prototypical coordinators are the additive *und* or the adversative *aber*.

6 Following the *Handbuch* (Pasch et al.), I here use the term "connect" for the two clauses or textual elements containing the propositions which are linked by the connector.

This persistent focus on syntax or even word order is most evident in the first part of the *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren* (Pasch et al.) which, in particular in its terminology, considers topological criteria only (cf. the terms *Postponierer* 'postponers' or *Verbzweitsatzeinbetter* 'V2-embedders'). Yet, another fairly recent publication mainly concerned with German connectors, the volume *Subordination in Syntax, Semantik und Textlinguistik* (Lefèvre), demonstrates that an analysis of connectors should choose a wider perspective and in addition also consider not only aspects of semantics (which is commonly done), but in particular those of text linguistics. In the following chapter, I will summarize the main aspects of these issues – concerning mainly functional sentence perspective and information structure – with respect to English causal connectors.

2 Present Day English (PDE) Coordinators: CAUSE – RESULT

Conjunctions and other connective expressions are an explicit means of marking the connection of states of affairs on the surface. With respect to their semantic functions, three broad categories are generally distinguished, namely ADDITION, CONTRAST/CONCESSION and CAUSE.[7] The category of CAUSE can be further split into CAUSAL RELATION on the one hand (PDE *since, because*) and the RELATION OF RESULT (PDE *therefore, so that*) on the other.

It is important to note that all connectors form complex propositions (cf. M3 – M5 above). Thus a sequence of two propositions – (1) proposition A: *John is ill* and proposition B: *John won't come tonight* – becomes a complex proposition "[i]f a sequence of two propositions A and B expresses a new thought on a level other than that of the isolated propositions", cf. Rudolph (176).[8] Hence connectors commonly have a two-fold function: they connect two states of affairs, and at the same time convey the speaker's opinion on the configuration of these states of affairs, as in

(2) *John won't come tonight <u>because</u> he is ill.* CAUSE
(3) *John is ill <u>so (that)</u> he won't come tonight.* RESULT

While the complex sentence (2) marks a CAUSAL relation, (3) reverses the sequence of information and relates the same states of affairs by marking the relation as RESULT. The same relation of RESULT can also be expressed by the employment of an adverbial connector, as in

(4) *John is ill. <u>Therefore</u> he won't come tonight.* RESULT

With respect to the states of affairs there is no difference whether the relation of causality is expressed by a CAUSAL relation as in (2) or a relation of RESULT as in (3) and (4). While the

7 Other, minor categories are transition (PDE *incidentally*), summation (PDE *overall, all in all*), and apposition, the last of which, however, mainly works on the phrase level (PDE *i.e., in other words*, etc.); cf. Quirk et al. (634) and Biber et al. (875-79).

8 Compare sequences which need not but only may (by means of asyndetic connection) express a causal connection, such as (1a) *John won't come tonight. He is ill* or (1b) *John is ill. He won't come tonight.* Cf. also Rudolph (176).

causal constant A→B remains the same in all cases, the differences between the various means of marking causal connection are to be found in the speaker's choice of information structure and therefore in the intended and/or highlighted 'aim of the message'.

In the sentence highlighting the CAUSAL relation (2), the speaker's interest is focussed on the first connect B (*John won't come tonight*) reflecting the main information. This information is thus presented in the main clause. From B the speaker mentally looks back to A (*John is ill*), which gives the reason why B has occurred. B, however, continues to be the aim of the message.

As for the relation of RESULT in (3), the speaker's interest is focussed on A (*John is ill*). Therefore this information is presented in the main clause, here again the first connect. From A the speaker looks forward to the result B (*He won't come tonight*), but the main aim of the message remains the fact denoted by A. These differences are highly important for the general organization of the text: Since these complex sentences have only one focus, the information given by the speaker in the subordinate clause is commonly not pursued in the following discourse.

This becomes even more evident when we compare these complex sentences with the RESULT construction by means of an adverbial connector in (4): Here we have two main clauses (*John is ill. Therefore he won't come tonight*) and hence two *foci*, i.e. two separate information blocks, which might be pursued in the following discourse. To avoid ambiguities, the connection by means of an adverbial connector has to mark the deictic relation most prominently on the surface level. Consequently, it can not only be used to link clauses but also whole chunks of discourse, so that adverbial connectors may also serve to structure textual organization on the surface level.

In Present Day English conjunctions and adverbial connectors as well as the differences between the various modes are mainly marked by **lexical** means. The same is true for the difference between external "true reason clauses" and internal "explanation clauses" (cf. Quirk et al. 12.10). Thus the conjunction *because* signals external "true reason clauses", such as *He likes them because they are always helpful. Since* and *as* are so-called internal "explanation causals" as can be seen from the fact that they do not allow *Why*-questions or cleft-sentence constructions.[9] Similarly, *for* also functions internally as explanation rather than assertion of a true causal relation; in Present Day English, it is restricted to post-position. Adverbial connectors in all cases mark RESULT in a separate main clause.

9 The criteria for distinguishing these are answers to *Why*-questions (*Why does he like them? Because they are always helpful*) and the possibility of cleft-sentence constructions (*It's because they are helpful that he likes them*). Compare *Why are you late? *Since/*as I missed the bus* or **It's since/as they are always helpful that he likes them.*

Table 2: PDE CAUSE/RESULT Connectors

Conjunctions CAUSE:	external true reason clauses:	*because*
	internal explanation clauses:	*since, as; for*
Conjunction RESULT:		*so that*
Adverbial connectors RESULT:		*accordingly, consequently, hence, so, then, therefore, thus*[10]

3 Old English *forþæm, forþon, forþȳ*

When we compare this Present Day English system of causal connection with the system in Old English, we find that all of these PDE connectors are new coinages or developments in the history of English. Old English has only one central connector marking the semantic relation CAUSE or REASON, namely the forms *for þæm, for þon* and *for þȳ*. The *Dictionary of Old English* lists these forms in one single entry and counts altogether about 15,500 occurrences in a wide variety of spellings, which do, however, not carry distinguishing force (cf. *DOE*, s.v. *for-þæm, for-þon, for-þȳ*).[11]

Since these forms are found in slots which in Present Day English are filled by adverbs ('therefore'; cf. Appendix, A) or conjunctions ('because'; cf. Appendix, B),[12] they are traditionally called "ambiguous adverbs/conjunctions" (for causal connectors, cf. Mitchell § 3010).[13] This terminology does not convey, however, that these uses have to be kept apart, because they either mark CAUSE or RESULT and also because they structure the information presented in a very different way (cf. above examples (2) – (4)).

Forþæm and its variants may be employed in all kinds of sequences for a number of different relations. In contrast to the wide variety of forms of Present Day English, Old English thus virtually only employs one form to mark the various relations of CAUSE (C) and RESULT (R).[14]

10 In addition to these, there are lexicalised forms such as *after all, indeed, in fact* or *of course* which may serve the same function but can also be used in a weaker form as discourse particles. For a full discussion of this issue, cf. Lenker (forthc.).

11 For a survey of the different functions fulfilled by *forþæm* etc. in Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, cf. Appendix. For the selection of texts and a detailed analysis of their connectors cf. Lenker (forthc.).

12 Old English does also not make use of – as the typologically similar Modern German does – different forms of the connectors or differences in word order (V2 vs. V-final), though there are tendencies to one or the other in certain authors. Cf. Mitchell §§ 3011-51.

13 Other "ambiguous adverbs/conjunctions" are, for instance, OE *æfter* (PDE 'afterwards' vs. 'after') or OE *þa/þonne* (PDE 'then' vs. 'when'). Present Day English differentiates these by morphologically distinct forms.

14 The following table is compiled from Mitchell §§ 3010-51, Traugott 252-55, Wiegand and my own material.

Table 3: *for þǣm* in Old English

RESULT – CAUSE	CAUSE – RESULT
R *for þǣm (þe)* C *for þǣm* R *þe* C (… *for* R *þǣm* …) *þe* C *for þǣm* R *for þǣm (þe)* C	(C) *forþǣm* R *forþǣm þe* C R C (… *for* R *þǣm*)

Yet, in spite of this wide variety of possible functions, there are very few instances of ambiguity, despite the lack of formal help or a consistent punctuation in Old English. In fact, the instances of cases which allow different interpretations can be listed individually (Mitchell §§ 3011-14). This astonishing fact – and also the later development of causal connectors in English – are in the present paper seen to have their roots in the morphological make-up of the Old English connectors and in the deictic reference they inherently contain.

The morphological make-up of all of the forms listed above is unproblematic. They are prepositional phrases consisting of the preposition *for* governing the distal demonstrative pronoun in the dative (*þǣm*) or instrumental (*þȳ*). In all functions, they may, but need not, be followed by the particle *þe* (cf. Mitchell §§ 3011-51):

Table 4: Morphological Make-up of *forþǣm/þȳ*

preposition	+	distal demonstrative pronoun	[+ *þe*]
for	+	dative *þǣm* – instrumental *þȳ*	[+ *þe*]
for	+	*þǣm/þȳ*	[+ *þe*]

4 Discourse Deixis

Traditional accounts of the history of this construction state that the original prepositional phrase was re-analysed as a conjunction. A prototypical use of one of the common forms of *for þǣm* in a true reason clause is illustrated in example (5), where the form *forþon* – traditionally classified as a conjunction – points anaphorically to the preceding clause.

(5) *Do þærto fife* ***forþon*** *Þunresdæg hæfð fif regulares.*
'Add five to that, **because** [CONJ.] Thursday has five regulars' (ByrM 1.2.236-37).

This construction is commonly seen as a re-analysis of

(6) ***Do þærto fife for þon**: Þunresdæg hæfð fif regulares.*
'Add five to thaz **for that [reason]** [PP AS A]: Thursday has five regulars'.

In construction (6) assumed to be underlying (5), the prepositional phrase *for þon* functions as an adverbial in the first clause, and cataphorically refers to the following clause. The demonstrative *þon* (< *þæm*) has a dual function: with respect to the first clause, it is the noun phrase in the prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial. At the same time, it points cataphorically to the second, causal clause identifying the adverbial relation CAUSE which must necessarily follow here.

Since demonstratives are by definition deictic (Brugmann), the noun phrase *þǣm* of the construction necessarily needs a point of reference which it points to. Theoretically, the point of reference required by *for þǣm* could be found in the extra-linguistic reality and the speaker could identify the cause indexed by *þǣm* ('this one') by the "pointing" of his finger. Commonly, however, the point of reference is present in the co-text, i.e. the following discourse. This is most clearly seen in the so-called "correlative constructions" which are frequently employed in Old English (cf. Appendix, C). They are the most explicit surface markers of causal connection because they index one another and thus reinforce the conjoining force of the respective connectors.

(7) *Forþon Romani hine gelogodon on þissum monðe (þæt ys on Februario) forþam he ys scyrtest ealra monða …*
'The Romans placed it [therefore] in this month (in February) because it is the shortest of all the months' (ByrM 2.1.36-38)

The forms *for þǣm*, *for þȳ* etc. are intrinsically deictic, because their demonstratives *þǣm* or *þȳ* require an element in the near co-text to which they relate: this can either be the clause or also a much larger piece of discourse. They are thus inherently phoric, either cataphoric or anaphoric, and point to a pragmatically governed use of deixis.[15] Wiegand even goes as far as to maintain that the phrases *for þǣm* etc. are not yet conjunctions in Old English because the prepositional phrase is still so transparent in its deictic reference – in its respective context – that we do not have to assume a "lexicalized" use of *forþǣm* etc. as a conjunction (Wiegand 388).[16]

This pattern of so-called "pronominal adverbs" (Pasch et al. 7) is frequent in Old English and in all Germanic languages. In Old English, for example, we find *ǣr þǣm (þe)* 'before', *æfter þǣm (þe)* 'after', *mid þǣm (þe)* 'during', *wið þǣm þe* 'provided that' etc. In Present Day German, the pattern is not only extant but actually the predominant one for adverbial connectors (cf. *dem-* in *demnach* or *des-* in *deswegen*):

Table 5: Causal Connectors in Present Day German

Conjunctions CAUSE	*DA, DENN, WEIL, weshalb, weswegen*
Conjunction RESULT	*so dass*
Adverbial Connectors	*also, DAHER, DARUM, demNACH, demzu**folge**, deshalb, deswegen, **folglich**, infolgedessen, so, somit*

15 The term 'deixis' is here used in its wider sense. With respect to discourse deixis, a clear distinction between 'deixis' and 'anaphora' as required by a narrow definition cannot be easily drawn, because the co-text itself can be seen as an extra-linguistic point of reference in this case. For definitions of deixis and anaphora, cf. Lenz (7-108) and now also Consten (4-58).

16 Cf. also Mitchell § 3012: "'… is occasionally difficult', says Liggins (1955, pp. 29-30), 'to decide whether an element such as *forþæm* should be taken as a conjunctive adverb or as a preposition + pronoun (= "because of that") … For me, this difficulty arises more than 'occasionally' in both prose and poetry...".

Virtually all of the causal connectors in Present Day German, but mainly the adverbial connectors, apart from *folglich* which is purely lexical,[17] contain a deictic element, most often a demonstrative pronoun (cf. underlined items), which allows their analysis as prepositional phrases.

Another group of important deictic connectors – highlighted in the list by capital letters – are those relating to time or space deixis, such as *weil* (time) and *da*, *denn*, *daher* and *darum* (space). The point of reference here is the text itself in its temporal and spatial extension. *Da* 'there' in *daher*, for instance, relates the following to the preceding element of discourse which is the cause for the result mentioned in the *daher*-clause (cf. *her* 'from there'). In contrast to the pronominal connectors, which explicitly require a point of reference in the co-text, this signalling of deictic reference is more subtle and thus asks for a more sophisticated cognitive process by the listener/reader (Consten 26-37).

Present Day German hence shows three different patterns for connectors: in addition to the pronominal connectors, such as *deshalb* or *deswegen*, it uses linguistic items which employ time and space deixis (cf. *daher*, *somit*); only rarely lexical elements, such as *folglich*, are found.

5 Connectors in the History of English

An examination of the system of causal connectors in Present Day English shows that there is not a single remnant of the principal pattern of Old English, i.e. pronominal connectors such as *forþǣm*.

Table 6: PDE CAUSE/RESULT Connectors

Conjunctions CAUSE	external true reason clauses:	***because***
	internal explanation clauses:	*SINCE, as; for*
Conjunction RESULT		*so that*
Adverbial Connectors		***accordingly, consequently,*** *HENCE, so, THEN, THEREfore, thus*

With respect to the conjunctions, we find the lexical *because* and the polyfunctional and the polyfunctional *since* (time deixis). *As* (< *eall swa* 'all so') is no longer transparent as a deictic; the same is true for *for*, which is no longer related to the prepositional phrase *for þǣm*, but is only semantically transparent through the preposition *for* 'because of that'.

There are several forms which use time and space deixis. Kortmann (331), for example, lists the subordinator *now that*, which has existed in causal function since Old English (*nū þæt*) and which is also attested as an adverbial connector *nū* ('now'). Similarly, OE *þonne* 'then' is employed as a conjunction ('when … then') and as an adverbial connector marking RESULT in Old English.

17 Lexical elements are marked by bold letters.

6 Development of Adverbial Subordinators

Most of the causal connectors used in Present Day English testify to dramatic changes which have occurred in the English system after the Old English period. This can best be illustrated by the changes affecting adverbial connectors in the early Middle English period. Adverbial connectors are – as has been shown above (cf. (4)) – the kind of connectors which have to signal linkage most explicitly, because of their presentation of the states of affairs in two information blocks.

Table 7: Causal Adverbial Connectors in the history of English[18]

OE	ME	EModE	PDE
forþon, forþy, forþæm	forthi, forthen	–	–
°heonu (ono)	–	–	
°nu	now	now	now
°swa	so	so	so
°þa			
°þonne	thane	then	then
	°forhwi	forwhy	–
	°forwhan	–	–
	°whereby	whereby	–
	°wherefore	wherefore	–
	°wherethrough	–	–
	therefore	therefore	therefore
	hereby	–	–
	herefore	–	–
	herethrough	–	–
	thus	thus	thus
		accordingly	accordingly
		after all	after all
		consequently	consequently
		hence	hence

° so-called ambiguous adverb/conjunction (cf. above, p. 67 and footnote 13)

This Table evidences that there are very few adverbial connectors which have survived in a stable function from Old English to Present Day English. The ones which have survived –

18 For the layout of the tables cf. Kortmann on which it is modelled for reasons of comparison. For a detailed description of the sources used and also a comparison of the history of subordinators and adverbial connectors, cf. Lenker (forthc.). *Now* and *after all* are not included in Tables 2 and 6 because they are, if at all, only listed as peripheral causal connectors in the grammars of PDE.

now, *then*, *so*[19] – are extremely polyfunctional elements which have always played only a marginal role in the system of causal connection.

The early Middle English period in particular emerges as a "period of experiment": of the many new connectors emerging in this period, only two have survived, namely *therefore* and *thus* (a late-comer first attested in this function in 1380).

This range of new forms together with their short lives illustrates the problems English had to face after the collapse of grammatical categories in demonstratives at the end of the Old English period and thus the loss of the predominant and most explicit causal connector in the language, *for þǣm*. *Forþan* (< *for þǣm*) and especially the instrumental *forþi* (< *for þȳ*) lose their transparency when the article *the* is no longer inflected for case and gender and has finally become indeclinable (around 1200). Consequently, they also lose their deictic value: the original prepositional phrase eventually turns into a conjunction. These originally deictics, however, are soon lost whereby phonologically weakened forms such as *forþan* are given up much earlier than the stronger *forþi* which survives as a univerbated, lexicalized form until the end of the Middle English period (cf. *MED*, s.v.).

With respect to the new forms, it is obvious at first glance that there are not very many different patterns among the new coinages. They are – with the exception of *thus* – rather similar to their Old English models, in that they can be employed as adverbial connectors or conjunctions, i.e. they are so-called "ambiguous adverbs/conjunctions" (symbol ° in the Table above). More importantly, they also try to indicate deixis by inherently pronominal forms. This pattern can be exemplified by the functional extension of forms such as the relative, originally interrogative *forhwi* and *forhwan*. From the 13th century on, they are not only used as relatives but also employed as adverbial connectors signalling a new information unit, thus carrying the meaning 'therefore' (cf. *OED*, s.v. *forwhy*). This use is only attested as a conversational implicature in Old English (cf. the single entry in the *DOE* for *forhwǣm*, *forhwon*, *forhwȳ*). *Forhwi* and *forwhan* are, however, the last coinages which follow the Old English pattern of "pronominal connectors".

The other field of experiment are new connectors employing time or space deixis, similar to OE *nū* and *þonne*. From early Middle English onwards, deixis of space in particular is becoming more important. The co-text is taken as a point of reference in patterns using the relative *where* and the distal and proximal forms *there* and *here* (cf. *therefore*, *wherefore*, *wherethrough*, *herethrough*), which relate the following to the preceding discourse. Though this means of establishing cohesion is not as explicit as the linkage by a demonstrative, it is still comparatively transparent in signalling deixis. These forms become very frequent from the beginning of the 13th century onwards (cf. Österman and Markus), i.e. at exactly the time when the paradigm of the demonstrative was given up yielding the indeclinable article *the*. Yet, of the connectors formed by this experimental pattern, only *therefore* has survived. However, in Present Day English *therefore* does not seem to be transparent in its space deixis for most speakers (cf. *OED*, s.v. *therefore*). This is different with younger connectors used since the end of the Middle English period. Adverbial connectors such as *hence* and

19 *So* – in German as well as in English – is notoriously difficult to analyse because of its polyfunctionality; cf. Schleburg.

after all, for instance, are still transparent in their deixis, because they may still be used as adjuncts with their original spatial ("Go from hence"; *OED*, s.v. *hence*, I.) or temporal meanings ("After all this had happened ..."). [20]

Yet another group of connectors emerging from the end of the Middle English period onwards shows, however, that English has now almost completely abandoned its original structural pattern which inherently – by demonstratives or time or space deixis – marked deixis in connectors. English now mainly signals causal connection by lexical means: this is particularly true for the high-frequency item in the field of conjunctions (cf. Biber et. al. 842) – *because*, which lexically refers to the "cause" – but also for adverbial connectors such as *consequently* or *accordingly*. English has thus again moved far away from a Germanic system which is still well alive in Present Day German.

Appendix: *forþon* etc. in Old English: Byrhtferth's *Enchirdion* (Baker/Lapidge)

A. 'Adverbial Connector' *forþon*: CAUSE – RESULT

- **(CAUSE) Forþon VSA (= RESULT)**

  (Se soþlice ... byð niwe ... and geendað .xxix. on .v. kalendas Septembris). Forþon byð niwe mona on .iiii. kalendas September ...

  'Therefore the moon is new on 29 Aug. ... ' (ByrM 2.2.135-37)

- **(CAUSE) Forþan SVA (= RESULT)**

  þas þing we gemetton on Ramesige þurh Godes miltsigendan gife. Forþan ic ne swigie for ðæra bocra getingnyssum ne for þæra gelæredra manna þingum þe ...

  'We found these things in Ramsey through God's merciful grace. Therefore I shall not be silent either on account of the eloquence of the literate or for the sake of those learned men who ...' (ByrM 1.1.157-59)

B. 'Conjunction' *forþon*: RESULT – CAUSE [rare: CAUSE – RESULT]

- **(RESULT) forðan SOV (= CAUSE)**

  Ðas þing we swa hwonlice her hrepiað on foreweardum worce forðan we hig þenceað oftor to hrepian and to gemunanne.

  'We discuss these things so briefly at the beginning of this work because we intend to discuss and recall them more often' (ByrM 1.2.250-51)

- **(RESULT) forðon þe SVA (= CAUSE)**

  on þam feorðan geare he hæfð nigon and twentig, forðon þe an dæg awyxst binnan feower wintrum ....

20 The meanings and functions of *after all* are still only listed in the entry for the preposition/adverb *after* in the *OED* (s.v. *after*).

'in the fourth year it has twenty-nine, because one day grows over four years ...' (ByrM 2.1.18-20)

- **forþon SOAV(= CAUSE) RESULT**

  forþon þu us þus dydest, we hit þe forgyldað

  'because you did us so, we convict you for it' (LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) 201)

C. Correlative Construction: RESULT – CAUSE

- **forþon SOVA (=RESULT) forþam SVC (= CAUSE)**

  Forþon Romani hine gelogodon on þissum monðe (þæt ys on Februario) forþam he ys scyrtest ealra monða ...

  'The Romans placed it [therefore] in this month (in February) because it is the shortest of all the months' (ByrM 2.1.36-38)

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