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Connectives in the History of English

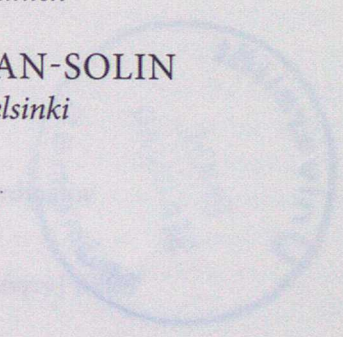Edited by Ursula Lenker and Anneli Meurman-Solin

CONNECTIVES IN
THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Edited by

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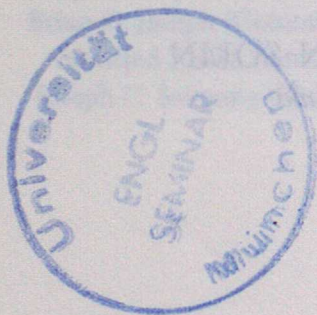## ANNELI MEURMAN-SOLIN
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Forhwi 'because':
Shifting deictics in the history of English causal connection

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1.   Aims of the study

In contrast to most other relations in clause linkage, expressions for causality have already been examined quantitatively in a number of corpus studies, both synchronic (see Altenberg 1984; Biber et al. 1999) and diachronic ones (see Liggins 1955 for Old English; Rissanen 1997 for the history of causal connectors in English; Markus 2000 for Middle English and Claridge & Walker 2002 for Early Modern English). The present study therefore chooses another focus and sets out to illustrate that a detailed investigation of the instabilities in the systems of Middle English and Early Modern English causal connectors allows for a better understanding of general tendencies in the restructuring in the system of causal connectors in the history of English. The focus will thus not be on individual connectors or on aspects of morphology (Liggins 1955; Kivimaa 1966; Rissanen 1997) or genre (Claridge & Walker 2002), but on systematic changes in the forms of causal connectors after the Old and Early Middle period.

The study will describe the polyfunctionality of Old English all-purpose – causal and resultive – *forþæm/forþy* 'because; therefore', a so-called pronominal connector consisting of a preposition (OE *for* 'for; because of') and an inflected form of the demonstrative (OE dative *þæm* or instrumental *þy*). In Raible's contrastive classification of connectors in various Romance languages, pronominal connectors form a separate group (phase II; Raible 1992: insert), and it is there-

fore crucial to the restructuring of the system of connectors in general that English speakers do no longer coin new, lexicalized items of this formation pattern after the Early Middle English period. A closer inspection of why some of the forms emerging in Early Middle English (such as *forwhi* or *for as much as*) were rejected while others (such as *hence* or *because*) have survived, suggests that these developments are related to concerns of overtly expressing deictic relations in connectors by other means than pronominal connectors. This becomes particularly evident when we compare the various systems of causal connectors in the history of English with Present-Day German and consider the implications of Modern German and Old English, but not Old English and Modern English, being typologically close to one another. In the present study, issues of discourse deixis, textual information and information processing are thus seen to be essential for an understanding of the developments of causal connectors in English.

Such an approach requires the close examination of causal connectors and their various textual functions in comparable texts. The study thus investigates causal relations in the single highly argumentative text extant for all periods of English, the adaptations and translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by King Alfred (OE; ed. Sedgefield 1899), Chaucer (ME; ed. Benson 1987), Colville (EModE; ed. Bax 1897), Queen Elizabeth I (EModE; ed. Pemberton 1899), Preston (EModE) and modern English and German translations (Watts 1969 and Neitzke in Grasmück 1997), in the representative prose selections of the *Helsinki Corpus* (HC). These findings are cross-checked and supplemented by an analysis of causal connection in Byrhtferth's Old English *Enchiridion* (ed. Baker & Lapidge 1995), a text relatively independent from Latin, as well as by information elicited from dictionaries (DOE, MED) and machine-readable corpora, in particular the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC) and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CME).

2.   Causal connectors

2.1   The relation CAUSE: CAUSE – RESULT VS. RESULT – CAUSE

Conjunctions and other connective relations are an explicit means of marking the connection of states of affairs on the surface. With respect to their semantic functions, the central categories commonly distinguished are ADDITION/TRANSITION and the so-called CCCC-relations, CONDITION, CONCESSION/CONTRAST and CAUSE (for the cognitive basicness of these relations, see the summary in Kortmann 1997: 341–343). The category of CAUSE can be further split into CAUSAL RELATION on the one hand (PDE *because*, *since*) and the RELATION OF RESULT (PDE *therefore*, *so*) on the other hand.

It is important to note that all connectors form complex propositions. Thus a sequence of two propositions – (1) proposition A: *John is ill* and proposition B: *John won't come tonight* – becomes a complex proposition 'if a sequence of two propositions A and B expresses a new thought on a level other than that of the isolated propositions' (Rudolph 1989: 176). In contrast to asyndetic sequences which need not, but only may express a causal relation, such as (1a) *John won't come tonight. He is ill* or (1b) *John is ill. He won't come tonight*, causal connectors hence commonly have a two-fold function: they a) connect two states of affairs, and at the same time, b) convey the speaker's opinion on the configuration of these state of affairs, as in

(2)   John won't come tonight **because** he is ill.   CAUSE

(3)   John is ill **so that** he won't come tonight.   RESULT

While the first complex sentence (2) marks a CAUSAL relation, (3) reverses the sequence of information and relates the same state 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. **Therefore** he won't come tonight.   RESULT

In Present-Day English (and also in Old English, see below, Tables 5 and 6), there is a (slight) preference for the non-linear sequence CAUSE – RESULT by both speakers (55 per cent) and writers (52 per cent; see Altenberg 1984: 52).

2.2   Present-Day English causal connectors: Corpus findings

In Present-Day English, *because* (with its reduced forms *cos/coz*) is the most common causal connective, marking over a third of all relations of CAUSE/RESULT (see Altenberg 1984: 40–45 on the basis of the LOB and the LLC, and also Biber et al. 1999: 836, 887). Specifying 45 per cent of all causal relations in the LLC (Altenberg 1984: 45), *because* is by far the most frequent connective in the spoken medium.

In contrast to this stereotyped coding in today's spoken English, the relation CAUSE is marked in a lexically and grammatically much more varied way in the written medium, ranging from asyndesis (*Sue won't come tonight. She is ill*) to syndesis by a variety of explicit linkers. In addition to conjunctions (PDE *because/for/since/as*), we find adverbial links in the form of prepositional phrases (PDE *for that reason*) or adverbial connectors (PDE *therefore*, *hence*), and a number of clause-integrated expressions such as PDE *the reason is* or *the result is*. Of the altogether 98 lexical, grammatical and positional subtypes recorded in LOB and LLC (Altenberg 1984: 39), only subordination by conjunctions (53 per cent) and adverbial connectors (31 per cent) are highly frequent (in contrast to 8 per

cent each for prepositional phrases and clause-integration; ibid.: 40–44; see also Biber et al. 1999: 842, 887). For this reason, the present study will concentrate on the two central connectives, i.e. conjunctions and adverbial connectors, and will not further consider lexical means or non-univerbated prepositional phrases.

2.3 Causal connectors: Word classes and topology

The major means of expressing the relation CAUSE → RESULT (examples a.) and RESULT → CAUSE (examples b.) are illustrated in Table 1 not only by Present-Day English but also by Present-Day German examples for (A) Parataxis, (B) Hypotaxis and (C) Correlative Constructions. The German example sentences illustrate that German is typologically much more similar to Old English than Present-Day English and, more importantly, that German employs means which are no longer used or common in Present-Day English. German uses adverbial connectors coding the relation RESULT (R) – CAUSE (C) (PDG *nämlich*; see A.b) and correlative constructions (see C. a. and b.) which are not generally common on the sentential level in Present-Day English (*Because she is stronger, she will/is* **therefore** *going to win*; *She will/is* **therefore** *going to win,* **because** *she is stronger*). Since all of these patterns were possible in Old English (see below, Table 3), Table 1 also attests to changes and subsequent gaps in the system of causal connection in the history of English.

The acknowledged traditional criteria for distinguishing these different types of connectors are topological: the position of the connector, the sequence and position of the respective connected elements, the possibility of collocates of connectors and, in German, word order. While (coordinating and subordinating) conjunctions (PDG *weil*; PDE *because*; category B) are only found clause-initially,

Table 1. Causal connectors in Present-Day English and Present-Day German

A Parataxis

a. *Sie ist stärker.* **Deswegen** *wird sie gewinnen.*	[V2; postposed]	C→R
a. *She is stronger.* **Therefore** *she is going to win.*	[postposed]	C→R
b. *Sie wird gewinnen. Sie ist* **nämlich** *stärker.*	[V2; postposed]	R→C

B Hypotaxis

a. *Weil sie stärker ist, wird sie gewinnen.*	[V-final; preposed]	C→R
a. *Because she is stronger she is going to win.*	[preposed]	C→R
or		
b. *Sie wird siegen,* **weil** *sie stärker ist.*	[V-final; postposed]	R→C
b. *She is going to win* **because** *she is stronger.*	[postposed]	R→C

C Correlatives

a. *Weil sie stärker ist,* **deswegen** *wird sie gewinnen.*	[V-final + V2]	C→R
b. *Sie wird* **deswegen** *gewinnen,* **weil** *sie stärker ist.*	[V2 + V-final]	R→C

adverbial connectors (PDG *nämlich*, PDG *deswegen*; PDE *therefore*; category 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 clauses (see category A) – be placed before or after their superordinate clause and may thus be used both in the sequence CAUSE – RESULT (type B.a) and RESULT – CAUSE (type B.b). Only co-ordinators, such as the additive *and*, may collocate with conjuncts (cf. PDG *und deswegen* ... – PDE *and therefore* ...) and subordinators (cf. PDG *und weil* ... or PDE *and because* ...). In contrast to Modern English, Present-Day German also differentiates main clauses from subordinate ones by employing verb-second for the former and verb-final word order for the latter. Further, the morphological make-up of German connectors also allows for the so-called 'correlative constructions' (C), which mark the relation of the clauses by an adverbial connector (PDE *deswegen*) in one of the clauses and a subordinating conjunction (PDG *weil*) in the other, thus reinforcing and clarifying their conjoining function.

This focus on topological criteria such as word order, sequence and collocates is still persistent in most grammars and publications on the subject, as, for instance, in the *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren* (Pasch et al. 2003), which considers topological criteria only (see the terms *Postponierer* 'postponers' or *Verbzweitsatzeinbetter* 'V2-embedders', etc.). For Present-Day English, Quirk et al. establish six, predominantly topological parameters similar to the ones illustrated above which yield a 'coordination – subordination' gradient (1985: § 13.18). In addition to three discrete poles – coordinators (such as *and* and *or*), conjuncts (adverbial connectors such as *however* and *therefore*) and subordinators (such as *if* or *because*) – there are also forms, among them the connectors *for* and *so that*, which are situated in the middle of this gradient, sharing three parameters with paratactic and three parameters with hypotactic connectives. This has led to much uncertainty or even confusion in particular as to the status of PDE *for* which is classified as a subordinator rather than a coordinator but is said to be 'more coordinator-like than the more typical subordinators *if* and *because*' (Quirk et al. 1985: § 13.19), mainly on the grounds that it is – unlike *because* and *since* – restricted to post-position in Present-Day standard English.[1]

These questions of coordination vs. subordination turn out to be rather elusive (see also Section 3.1) and do not really get to the heart of the matter. Accordingly, a number of recent publications on causal connection have shown that an ana-

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1. Thus Altenberg (1984: 41, Footnote 3) says he follows Quirk et al. in classifying *for* as a subordinator. Kortmann (1997: 331), on the other hand, says that *for* 'qualifies as a coordinator in current English'. For such a highly frequent element as *for*, these differences in classification obviously cause major problems for the comparative value of quantitative data for coordination and subordination (see also Rissanen 1997; Claridge & Walker 2002; and Kohnen in this volume).

lysis of connectors should choose a wider perspective and should, in addition to typological and syntactic criteria, also consider more detailed aspects of semantics, pragmatics and text linguistics (see, for example, Thompson 1985; Ford 1993; Diessel 2005 and in particular the studies collected in Lefèvre 2000).

2.4 Semantic and pragmatic parameters

For the distinction of sub-groups of causal clauses, a number of semantic and pragmatic parameters are employed. One set of distinctions differentiates three major semantic-pragmatic sub-groups, separating external (cause based in the external reality) from internal (cause based in the speaker's world of reasoning) and rhetorical (cause based in the speech-act) reason clauses (see, e.g., Quirk et al. 1985: §§ 15.20, 15.45–15.47; Sweetser 1990: 76–84; Traugott 1992: 252; Ford 1993: 85–101).

Because, the central causal connector of Present-Day English, may be employed for all three subtypes: First, *because* may give an inherent objective connection in the real world, e.g., physical causes and their effects ('external reason clauses' marking real-world causality), as in

(5) The flowers are growing so well **because** I sprayed them.

Secondly, *because* may also – like PDE *since*, *for*, *as* and *now that* – give the speakers' inference of a connection and signal their way of presenting arguments ('internal reason clauses'; epistemic *because*), as in

(6) He must be here **because** his bicycle is outside (meaning 'The reason I think he is here is that his bicycle is outside').

Thirdly, the reason given need not be related to the situation in the matrix clause but is a motivation for the implicit speech act of the utterance (rhetorical/speech-act *because*), as in

(7) Percy is in Washington, **because** he phoned me from there.

While *because* may be employed in all three functions in today's English, other conjunctions are more restricted in their use: PDE *since* and *as* are internal 'explanation causals', as can be seen from the fact that they do not allow *Why*-questions or cleft-sentence constructions (for this terminology and the criteria, see cf. Quirk et al. 1985: §§ 15.20–15.22, 15.45–15.47). Similarly, *for* also functions internally as explanation and ground rather than assertion of a true causal relation in the external reality (ibid.: 15.45).

Many languages are more rigid in specifying these different functions obligatorily by distinctive connectors (see, e.g., Kroon 1995: 10–17). For the present study of causal connectors in translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, the

data for Latin and French (one of Chaucer's exemplars by Jean de Meun) are of particular interest.

Table 2. Cross-linguistic taxonomy of causal relations

	external (sociophysical) explanation	internal (epistemic, conversational)
		explanation	justification
Latin	*quia/quod*	*quoniam*	*nam/enim*
Present-Day French	*parce que*	*puisque*	*car*
Present-Day German	*weil*	*da*	*denn; nämlich*
Present-Day English	*because*	*because* since; as; for*	*because*

2.5 Information processing

With respect to the states of affairs, there is no difference whether the relation of causality is expressed by a CAUSAL relation (2) or a relation of RESULT as in examples (3) and (4), which are repeated here for the sake of clarity.

(2) John won't come tonight **because** he is ill. CAUSE

(3) John is ill **so that** he won't come tonight. RESULT

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

While the causal constant A→B remains the same in all cases, the differences between the various means of marking causal connection are triggered by 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 clause *John won't come tonight*, reflecting the main information and single focus of this sentence. This information is thus presented in the main clause. As for the relation of RESULT (3), the speaker's interest is focussed on *John is ill*. Therefore this information is presented in the main clause, from which the speaker looks forward to the result B (*He won't come tonight*).

These differences are highly important to the interpretation of complex sentences, but even more so for the general organization of the text. Since both these complex sentences only have one focus, subordinate clauses are not only syntactically but also semantically subordinate (see Quirk et al. 1985: § 13.3). They thus work on a local level of textual connection, though with different functions for pre- and postposed subordinate clauses. Initial clauses present 'given information' – an interpretation which is often strengthened by the lexical marking of cohesion; cf.

in *hillsides* and *hilly* in (8) – and state a problem within the context of expectations raised by the preceding discourse:

(8) The houses were perched precariously up the *hillsides* <...> **Because** it was so *hilly* the area seemed constantly to be in a dark blue haze. (example from Biber et al. 1999:835, FICT).

Final adverbial clauses (cf. example (3)), on the other hand, play an even more local role and state the cause for the action named in the immediately preceding clause. In a recent study, Diessel (2005) shows that with regard to parsing or utterance planning, complex sentences are easier to process and thus preferred if the adverbial clause follows the main clause. Only rarely do discourse pragmatic impulses override this processing preference for final position. In his corpus, only scientific articles exhibit a substantial number of preposed causal clauses, causal clauses in this genre being often used to provide a common ground for a subsequent conclusion (Diessel 2005:465). Across all genres, however, most of the causal clauses follow the main clause: only 1 per cent of all causal clauses in conversation are initial, 10.2 per cent in fiction, and 27.1 per cent in scientific writing (Diessel 2005:454).

As we might have expected from this general cognitive explanation, the numbers are very similar for Old English: if we include correlative constructions, the Old English adaptation of Boethius' *Consolatio* attests ca. 12 per cent preposed clauses (13 out of 109 instances; see Table 5 below). The text chosen as an example for scientific writing, Byrhtferth's handbook on astronomy, has about 21 per cent preposed clauses (15 out of 71 instances; see Table 6 below).

In contrast to the single focus of complex clauses comprising a subordinate causal clause, the RESULT construction by means of an adverbial connector in (4) consists of two main clauses (*John is ill. Therefore he won't come tonight*) and hence two *foci*, i.e., two separate information blocks. In this view, adverbial connectors are – in contrast to subordinators – strong indicators of a great illocutionary weight of the second clause, whose proposition may then be pursued in the following discourse. This independent focus may be signalled by syntactic means, such as V2 (main clause) word order in Present-Day German and, more generally, by prosodic means. The intonation pattern requires a pause indicating that the second clause, which also carries main stress, is not integrated in the first one. Subordinate clauses, on the other hand, are syntactically and prosodically integrated: the whole complex sentence only has one intonation contour for only one thematic structure (see Wegener 2000:36 and Givón 2001:327 for English). Because of its local character, the information of these postposed subordinate clauses is commonly not pursued in the following discourse (see, e.g., Wegener 2000 and Diessel 2005).

To avoid ambiguities, the connection by means of an adverb marks the relation most prominently on the surface level, and is thus highlighted by transparent lexical adverbial connectors such as PDE *consequently* or PDG *nämlich* or, even more effectively, by means of transparent deictic pronominal adverbial connectors such as PDG *deshalb* 'DEM (Gen.) – for; therefore'. Because of this strong independent illocutionary weight, adverbial connectors may not only be used to link clauses but also whole chunks of discourse.

This summary shows that a change from subordinator to adverbial connector (or the other way round) is by no means a superficial transition of marking a causal relation in just another way, but has important consequences for the planning and processing of discourse. Changes in the system of English causal connectors will here be shown to have been induced by exactly these factors of information structure (see the emergence of *for as moche as*, *since* and *because*) and may, on the other hand, also lead to changes in the options of information processing (see the restricted use of *for* in Present-Day English).

3. Old English *forþæm*, *forþon*, *forþy*

3.1 Forms and functions of *forþæm*, *forþon*, *forþy*

When we compare this Present-Day English system of causal connectors with the system in Old English, it becomes evident that all Present-Day English connectors are new coinages or developments in the history of English. Old English has only one central, highly polysemous and polyfunctional connector marking the semantic relation CAUSE or REASON, namely the forms *forþæm* and *forþy*.

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 (see DOE, s.v. *for-þæm*, *for-þon*, *for-þy*). The item *for-þæm*, *for-þy* (*þe*) etc.[2] is in all these orthographic variants found in slots which in Present-Day English are filled by adverbs ('therefore'; A) or conjunctions (B), but which could also be realized by so-called 'correlative constructions' (C). Table 3 (structured in A, B, C for comparison with Table 1) gives a first survey with prototypical examples taken from Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* (ed. Baker & Lapidge 1995; ByrM).

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2. Rissanen (1997:393) speaks of 'at least eight different forms'. Since he does not really find consistent chronological or dialectal criteria for their distinction, I here follow the DOE, Mitchell (1985:§§ 3010–3051) and Traugott (1992:252–254) in regarding these forms as variants of one single connector.

Table 3. Functions of OE *forþæm*

A.   CAUSE – RESULT (cf. PDE Adverbial Connector *therefore*)

• (CAUSE) forþon VSA (= RESULT)

(9)   (Se soþlice … byð niwe … geendað xxix on v kalendas Septembris). **Forþon** byð niwe mona on IIII kalendas September … (ByrM 2.2.137)
'Therefore is new moon on 29 August …'

• (CAUSE) forþan SVA (= RESULT)

(10)   þas þing we gemetton on Ramesige þurh Godes miltsigendan gife. **Forþan** ic ne swigie for ðæra bocre getingnyssum ne for þæra gelæredra manna þingum þe … (ByrM 1.1.158)
'We found these things at 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 …'

B.   RESULT – CAUSE (cf. PDE Conjunction use *because/for/since/as*)

• (RESULT) forðan SOV (= CAUSE)

(11)   as þing we swa hwonlice her hrepiað on foreweardum worce **forðan** we hig þenceað oftor to hrepian and to gemunanne. (ByrM 1.2.250)
'We discuss these things so briefly at the beginning of this work **because** we intend to discuss and recall them more often.'

• (RESULT) forðon þe SVA (= CAUSE)

(12)   on þam feorðan geare he hæfð nigon and twentig, **forðon þe** an dæg awyxst binnan feower wintrum … (ByrM 2.1.17)
'in the fourth year it has twenty-nine, **because** one day grows over four years …'

(13)   **forþon** þu us þus dydest, we hit þe forgyldað (DOEC *LS* 1.1 (Andrew Bright, 201)

C.   Correlative Construction: RESULT – CAUSE, CAUSE – RESULT

• forþon SOVA (=RESULT) forþam SVC (= CAUSE)

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

• forþon SVC (= CAUSE) forþon SVO (= RESULT)

(15)   … and Februarius, **forðon** he ys se læsta and he hæfð twegra daga læs þonne þa oðre, **forþon** he forlæt <eahta> and feowertig tida. (ByrM 2.1.372)
'… and February, **since** it is the shortest and has two days fewer than the others, loses forty-eight hours.'

These instances illustrate one of the most striking features of causal connection in Old English: the syntactic distinctions between coordination and subordination as well as the semantic distinctions between internal and external reason clauses are difficult, if not impossible, to establish on morphological or syntactic grounds (Mitchell 1985: §§ 3007–3051; Traugott 1992: 252). There are a number of studies which have tried to establish different criteria for coordination and subordination on a large textual basis (see, e.g., Liggins 1955, who analyses all Old English prose texts), but all of these finally had to conclude that, apart from a few

tendencies observable in certain authors, Old English did not draw a distinction between coordinate and subordinate causal clauses (Liggins 1955: 205; Mitchell 1985: §§ 3013–3015; Stockwell & Minkova 1991; Donoghue & Mitchell 1992), neither by a consistent use of different connectors or different forms of only one connector, nor by differences in word order (V2 vs. V-final), nor by the appended particle *þe* (see, in particular, Kivimaa 1966: 157).[3] Further, Anglo-Saxon grammarians themselves do not seem to have felt a strong need to differentiate between coordination and subordination. In his grammar, Ælfric makes no attempt to distinguish coordination from subordination and thus draws no distinction between coordinators, subordinators and adverbial connectors in his section 'De Coniunctione' (Zupitza 1880: 257-266). Traugott thus rightly summarizes this dilemma of anachronistic classification of causal connectors by pointing out that 'it is usually assumed that the 'because'-clause is subordinate in OE, largely because the equivalent clause-type in PDE is subordinate' (1992: 253).

Forþæm and its variants thus belong to those Old English items which are traditionally called 'ambiguous adverbs/conjunctions' (for causal connectors, see Mitchell 1985: § 3010). Except in a few cases (such as answers to questions), there is no way of distinguishing the various functions on formal grounds on the basis of our extant Anglo-Saxon material, because this does – in contrast to material from later periods – not provide orthographic clues such as capitalization or punctuation or indications of the prosodic differences mentioned above (though these were most certainly similar in spoken Old English; see Mitchell 1985: § 3015). In sum, no distinction can be made by criteria such as individual forms of the connector or word order: *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 causal relations.[4]

Table 4. *Forþæm* in Old English

Result – Cause	Cause – Result
R *for þæm (þe)* C	(C) *forþæm* R
for þæm R *þe* C	*forþæm þe* C R
(… *for* R *þæm* …) *þe* C	C (… *for* R *þæm*)
for þæm R *for þæm (þe)* C	

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3. The number of instances of *forþæm þe* (i.e., with addition of the particle *þe*) increases towards the end of the Old English period, also showing a higher correlation of *forþæm þe* with subordination (particularly in the writings of Ælfric). This could be seen as 'a developing consciousness of subordination' (Rissanen 1997: 394), but there is still such a wide functional variety that word order cannot be said to be a decisive Old English in general.

4. The following table is compiled from Mitchell (1985: §§ 3010–3051), Traugott (1992: 252–255), Wiegand (1982) and my own material.

3.2 Expressions for causal relations in Early and Late West Saxon

For a survey of quantitative relations showing the central status of the pronominal *forþæm* and its variant forms, I will shortly summarize the findings for all items marking causal relations in two Old English texts which are comparatively independent from Latin originals, the Early West Saxon adaptation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (OEBo), thought to be written in the circle around King Alfred (end of ninth century; for serious doubts about King Alfred as the translator, see now the 'Alfredian Boethius Project'[5]) and Byrhtferth's Late West Saxon *Enchiridion* (ByrM), a handbook mainly on astronomy (around 1000, after 996; see Baker & Lapidge 1995:xxvi).

In the passages of the Old English *Consolatio* selected by the *Helsinki Corpus* (ca. 10,000 words), we find altogether 109 forms of causal connectors. In addition, there are 5 instances of lexical expressions and 8 of ambiguous temporal-causal *þonne* 'then'.[6] These results are comparable to the findings for Present-Day English (see Section 2.2): the relation of CAUSE is only very rarely expressed by full lexical phrases or prepositional phrases such as *be þæm þinge* 'for this reason' (Table 5).

Table 5. Causal connection the Old English adaptation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*

CAUSE → RESULT (21 variants)			Total
simple forms	*forþy*	4	
	forþæm	14	
	(preposed) *forþæm*	1	19
	þe	1	1
correlatives	*forþæmþe ... forþæm*	1	1
RESULT → CAUSE (88 forms/variants)			
simple forms	*forþæm*	44	
	forþæm þe	23	
	forþon þe	1	
	forþy	1	69
	nu	4	4

Table 5. (*continued*)

correlatives	*forþy ... forþæm*	2	
	forþy ... forþy	1	
	forþy ... þe	2	
	forþy ... þy	1	
	forþy ... for þy þe	1	
	forþæm ... þe	1	
	forþæm ... forþæm	1	
	forþæmþe ... forþæm	1	
	forþæmþe ... forþyþe	12	
	nu ... nu	2	2
	þy ... þy	1	
	þy ... þe	1	2
Other means (5 forms/variants)			
	be þy 'for this; hence'	4	
	for þæm þinge	1	5
	þonne	8	8

This survey shows that all of the various forms of *forþæm* (*þe*) may indeed be employed for the various subtypes of the sequences CAUSE – RESULT and RESULT – CAUSE.[7] With altogether 100 of the 109 instances, variants of simple or correlative *forþæm* amount to ca. 92 per cent of all causal connectors (if we include the ambiguous cases of temporal-causal *þonne* and the lexical/prepositional means of clausal connection, we still get ca. 82 per cent). The only other construction which is used more than once (in ca. 5.5 per cent of all cases), is *nu*, also either in simple (16) or correlative constructions (17):

(16) Se ilca God is, swa swa we ær sædon, þæt hehste good & þa selestan gesælða, **nu** hit is openlice cuð þæt ða selestan gesælða on nanum oðrum gesceaftum ne sint buton on Gode. (OEBo 34.84.3)

'The same God is, as we before said, the highest good, and the best happiness **since** it is evidently known that the best felicities are in no other things but in God.'

In the correlative construction (17), the causal interpretation of *nu* is strengthened by the incongruity of temporal *nu* 'now' and *þonne* 'then'. The givenness of the preposed causal clause is highlighted by the deictic reference to the preceding text by a verb of communication (*witan* 'know' in *ðu ... wast*):

(17) ða cwæð he: **Nu** ðu **þonne** wast hwæt ða leasan gesælða sint & hwæt þa soþan gesælða sint, **nu** ic wolde þæt þu leornodest hu þu mihtest becuman to þam soþum gesælðum. (OEBo 33.78.27)

'**Now** (that) you know what the false goods are, and what the true goods are, I would like that you should learn how you could come to the true felicities.'

Other causal connectors which are commonly also listed in surveys compiled by a 'dictionary-cum-grammar method' (see Kortmann 1997: 331) turn out to be extremely infrequent. For one out of three examples using the instrumental *þy*, see the correlative construction in (18):

(18) þy hi secað anwald & eac eall oðru good þe we ær ymb spræcon, ðy hi wenaþ þæt hit sie þæt hehste good. (OEBo 34.88.4)
  '**Therefore** they seek power, and also the other goods, which we before mentioned, **because** they think that it is the highest good.'

These findings for Early West Saxon basically converge with the results for causal connectors in an – also rather independent – Old English text from the Late West Saxon period, Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* (altogether 71 causal connectors in the complete Old English text consisting of ca. 20,000 words).

Table 6. Causal connectors in Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* (ed. Baker & Lapidge 1995)

Cause → Result (30 forms/variants)			Total
Simple forms	forþon/forþan	15	
	(preposed) forþon	1	16
	(preposed) nu	3	3
Correlatives	forþon … forþan	2	2
	nu … nu	9	9
Result → Cause (41 forms/variants)			
Simple forms	forþon/forþan	35	35
Correlatives	forþon/forþan	6	6

The forms *forþon/forþan*, which are here the orthographical forms of *forþæm*, are as predominant in this text as they are in the Early West Saxon adaptation of the *Consolatio* (59 occurrences), amounting to ca. 83 per cent of all expressions of the causal relation. The rest (12 instances) are expressed by the time deictic *nu*, either in the simple form or in correlative expressions. In contrast to the translation of the *Consolatio*, however, Byrhtferth only employs *nu* for the relation CAUSE – RESULT, most often in preposed topic-forming causal clauses:

(19) **Nu** ic ealles ymbe þas þing *spræce* hæbbe, me þingð behefe þing þæt ic swa mycel ymbe þissum getæle preostum gecyðe … (ByrM 3.3.275)
  '**Now that** I have spoken about these things in detail, it seems to me necessary to make known to priests enough about this numbering system …'

(20) **Nu** we habbað sceortlice *amearcod* þæra hiwa gefeg þe boceras gymað, **nu** þingð hyt us gedafenlic þæt we heom gecyðon þæt we ær geheton … (ByrM 3.3.234)
  '**Now that** we have briefly written the series of figures the writers use, [**now**] it seems fitting to us to tell them what we promised before …'

In most of these cases, the temporal textual deixis and givenness of the preposed causal clause is, as in (17) above, further highlighted by a verb of communication, *sprecan* in (19) and *amearcian* in (20).

Marking 80 to 90 per cent of all instances of causal connection, *forþæm* and its variant forms can certainly be called the central causal connector in Old English. In spite of the wide variety of its possible functions, however, there are only few instances of problematic ambiguity. In most of the instances, the semantics and pragmatics are clear. In fact, the instances which cause problems for the understanding of a text may be listed individually (Mitchell 1985: §§ 3011–3014). This astonishing fact – and also the later development of causal connectors in English – will now be shown to have its roots in the morphological make-up of the pronominal connectors central in Old English and in the deictic reference they inherently contain (for similar approaches, see Wiegand 1982; Traugott 1992; Markus 2000).

4. Discourse deixis

4.1 *Forþæm*: Morphological make-up and discourse deixis

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 (*þæm*) or instrumental (*þy*). In all functions, they may, but need not, be followed by the particle *þe* (see Mitchell 1985: §§ 3011–3051):

preposition	+	distal demonstrative pronoun	[+ *þe*]
for	+	dative *þæm* – instrumental *þy*	[+ *þe*]
for	+	*þæm/þy*	[+ *þe*]

Traditional accounts of the history of the 'for-causals' state that the original prepositional phrase was re-analysed as a conjunction in (pre-)Old English. A prototypical use of one of the common forms of *for þæm* in an external reason clause is example (21a), where the form *forþon* – traditionally, but anachronistically classified as a subordinating conjunction – points anaphorically to the preceding clause.

(21) a. Do þærto fife **forþon** þunresdæg hæfð fif regulares (ByrM 1.2.236)
  'Add thereto five, **because** [CONJ.] Thursday has five regulares.'

This construction is commonly seen as a re-analysis of

(21) b. *Do þærto fife **for þon**: þunresdæg hæfð fif regulares.
  'Add thereto five **for that** [reason] [PP AS A]: Thursday has five regulares.'

In construction (21b) assumed to be underlying (21a), 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 indexes, i.e., points cataphorically, to the second causal clause identifying the adverbial relation CAUSE which must necessarily follow here.

Since demonstratives are by definition deictic (Brugmann 1904), the noun phrase *þæm* of the construction necessarily needs a point of reference which it points to. Theoretically, the point of reference required by *for þæm* could be found in the extra-linguistic reality and the speaker could identify the cause indexed by *þæm* ('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 rather frequent in the Old English texts examined (OEBo ca. 12 per cent, ByrM ca. 25 per cent). 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.

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

These constructions are therefore employed for stressing RESULT – CAUSE sequences as in (22), but can also be used for stressing the topic-forming quality of preposed causal clauses:

(23) Aprelis, Iunius, September, and Nouember habbað feower and twentig læs, and Februarius, **forðon** he ys se læsta and he hæfð twegra daga læs þonne þa oðre, **forþon** he forlæt eahta and feowertig tida. (ByrM 2.1.372)
     'April, June, September, and November have twenty-four fewer, and February, **since** it is the shortest and has two days fewer than the others, [**therefore**] loses forty-eight hours.'

The forms *forþæm*, *forþy*, etc. are intrinsically deictic, because their demonstratives *þæm* or *þy* 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.[8] Wiegand even goes as far as to maintain that the phrases *for þæm* with

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8. 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 in this case the co-text itself can be seen as an extra-linguistic point of reference. For definitions of deixis and anaphora, see Lenz (1997:7–108) and Consten (2004:4–58).

variants 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 univerbated use of *forþæm* which functions as a conjunction (Wiegand 1982:388).

4.2 Pronominal connectors

In his comparative classification of connective items in language, which is based on synchronic data of the Present-Day Romance languages but also takes the diachronic perspective from Latin to today's French-based creoles into account, Raible reserves a separate category for pronominal connectors such as OE *forþæm*. They are classified as phase II and are situated between asyndesis (I) and the explicit paratactic connection (III), which in turn is followed by explicit hypotactic connection by subordinators (IV). This phase II is described as 'Junktion durch Wiederaufnahme (eines Teils) der vorhergehenden Sätze' ('connection by anaphoric resumption of (a part of) the preceding sentences') and singles out anaphoric connectors which comprise an explicitly deictic, pronominal element (Raible 1992:insert). For a better understanding of the systemic losses in the diachrony of English causal connectors, it is beneficial to resort to this cross-linguistic hierarchy as a basic classification and to employ a contrastive approach by analysing the status of pronominal connectors in Present-Day German (Section 4.3) and, secondly, by following the developments of pronominal connectors in the Romance languages from Latin to French-based creoles (see Section 4.5).

4.3 Pronominal connectors in Present-Day German

The formation pattern of pronominal connectors is frequent in Old English and in all Germanic languages. In Old English, for example, we find *ær þæm* (*þe*) 'before', *æfter þæm* (*þe*) 'after', *mid þæm* (*þe*) 'during', *wið þæm þe* 'provided that', etc. In Present-Day German (Pasch et al. 2003:7), the pattern is not only extant but actually the predominant one for adverbial connectors marking RESULT (cf. *dem-* in *demnach* or *des-* in *deswegen*):

Table 7. Causal connectors in Present-Day German

Conjunctions CAUSE	DA, WEIL, *weshalb*, *weswegen*
Conjunctions RESULT	*so dass*
Adverbial Connectors RESULT	*also*, DAHER, DARUM, *dem*NACH, *demzufolge*, *deshalb*, *deswegen*, *folglich*, *infolge*dessen, SO, SOMIT
Adverbial Connectors CAUSE	DENN, *nämlich*

Virtually all of the causal connectors in Present-Day German, but predominantly adverbial connectors marking RESULT (apart from *folglich* which is purely lexical) contain a deictic element (see items in bold), most often a demonstrative pronoun in the dative (Dat. Sg. *dem*) or, in younger forms, the genitive (Gen. Sg. *des*), which allows its analysis as a prepositional phrase.

Another group of important deictic connectors – marked by capital letters – are those relating to time and space deixis, such as *weil* and *denn* (time) or *da*, *daher* and *darum* (space). Here, the point of reference for deixis 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 calls for a more sophisticated cognitive process on the part of the listener/reader (Consten 2004:26–37).

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

Table 8. Deictic expression in Present-Day German causal connectors

pronominal deixis	*dem*NACH, *dem*zu*folge*, *deshalb*, *deswegen*, *infolge*dessen, *weshalb*, *weswegen*
time/space deixis	DA, DAHER, DARUM, DENN, ?WEIL
other deixis[9]	*so* (*dass*), *somit*, ?*also*
lexical means	*folglich*
no longer transparent	?*also*, ?WEIL

? of uncertain status as to their transparency

4.4 Deictic elements in English causal connectors

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 *forþæm*.

With respect to the conjunctions, we find the lexical *because* (cf. *cause*) and the polyfunctional *since*, which is transparent in its time deixis because it still has its temporal meaning. *As* (< *eall swa* 'all so') is no longer transparent as a deictic; the

9. *So* is a very strong deictic indicator but is – in German as well as in English – notoriously difficult to analyse because of its polyfunctionality; see OED, s.v. *so* and – for a full account of the functions of *so* in Old English – Schleburg (2002).

Table 9. Deictic expression in Present-Day English causal connectors

pronominal deixis	–
time/space deixis	SINCE; NOW (*that*), HENCE, THEN, ?THEREfore
other deixis	*so, thus*
lexical means	*because*, *accordingly*, *consequently*, *for*
no longer transparent	?*as*, ?THEREfore

same is true for *for* which is no longer related to the prepositional phrase *for þæm*, but is only semantically transparent through the preposition *for* 'because of that'.

This is in stark contrast to Old English, where we only find – like in Present-Day German – expressions marked explicitly for deixis, either pronominal connectors such as *forþæm* with variants or originally instrumental *þy/þe* in the second elements of correlatives. Time deixis (which may originally also denote space) is attested in *nu* 'now', *þa* 'then' and *þonne* 'then' (and variant forms), either as simple forms or in correlatives. Like *forþæm*, these are ambiguous adverbs/conjunctions (marked by ° in Table 10).

Table 10. Deictic expression in Old English causal connectors

pronominal deixis	°*forþæm*, *forþy*, *forþon*
	þy, *þæs*; in correlatives: *þy* / *þe*
time/space deixis	°*NU*, °*þA*, °*þONNE*
other deixis	°*SWA*

This summary shows that Old English only employs explicitly deictic elements to mark causal relations, mainly – when the high token number of the variants of *forþæm* is taken into account – pronominal connectors.

4.5 Pronominal connectors in the history of the Romance Languages: From Latin to French-based creoles

The restructuring of the system of causal connectors in English has parallels in the Romance languages, in particular in the path from Latin to French-based creole languages. In Present-Day French, anaphoric connectors mostly comprise a form of the article or demonstrative in a full nominal phrase – so, for instance, *à cause de cela* 'because of this', *c'est pourquoi* 'this is why', *pour cette raison* 'for this reason', etc. Yet, Raible shows in his diachronic chapter (1992:154–190) that many originally transparent, anaphoric forms have developed into opaque conjunctions. In Latin, pronominal connectors appear in manifold forms which may mark – just as OE *forþæm* – anaphoric as well as cataphoric relations: for the semantic relation CAUSE – RESULT, there are, for example, anaphoric adverbial connectors such as *propterea, eapropter, propter **id**/hoc, quapropter, ob **id**/hoc, pro eo, ea gratia,*

hac gratia, etc. 'therefore' (for the full list, see Raible 1992: 163–164). These forms can also be used cataphorically in preposed clauses in collocates with *quod*, i.e., *propterea quod*, *eapropter quod*, etc. 'because'. The forms comprising *quod* eventually yield the conjunctions with a second element *que*, which are widely used in the Romance languages (e.g., French *puisque*, *parce que*, *avant que*, Spanish *pues que*, *porque*, etc.); there, *que* functions as a general subordinator similar to PDG *dass*, OE *þe* or ME and PDE *that* (cf. *now* vs. *now that*). Two subtypes are distinguished: (a) correlative constructions such as French *par ce que* (with demonstrative *ce* originally in the first connect), and (b) *pour que* without a correlative.

In view of the history of the English language, it is illuminating to follow the path of these transparent conjunctions, which are structurally identical to OE *for þæm þe* (cf. French *pour ce que*), in *français cadien* (Louisiana French), and in French-based creoles of the Caribbean. With respect to the subordinating particle, French has a tendency to the obligatory use of the subordinating particle *que*, whereas Louisiana French shows exactly the diverging tendency: the subordinating particle *que* is optionally deleted so that *parce que* appears as *parce* (Raible 1992: 167–169, 200–202). This tendency is taken even further in some Caribbean French-based creoles. In contrast to Louisiana French where the deletion is optional, *puisque* has there developed into non-transparent *pis*; similarly, *parce que* appears as non-transparent *pas* (Raible 1992: 201). This means that *parce que* has lost both of its deictic elements *ce* and *que*, a process which is parallel to the development of *forþæm þe* into *for* in the history of English. Yet, this does not mean that these creoles have only drastically simplified their inventory of connectors, since they at the same time coin new connectors from lexical material or from recurrent syntactic phrases (Raible 1992: 201–202).

5.   Causal connectors in the history of English

5.1   Causal connectors in English translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*

Most of the causal connectors used in Present-Day English testify to a similar restructuring in the system of causal connectors after the Old English period. For a first survey of the development see Table 11, which summarizes various causal connectors as attested in translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* after the Old English period (for Old English, see Tables 5 and 6). It lists the different connectors for the relations CAUSE – RESULT and RESULT – CAUSE ordered by diminishing frequency in the respective texts.

Table 11. Causal connectors in English translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*[10] (absolute numbers in brackets)

CAUSE → RESULT

Chaucer, ME *Boece*	*for whiche* (8), *forwhy* (3), *therefore* (3), *forthy* (2)[11]
	preposed: *for as moche as* (7), *for* (2), *syn* (1), *syn that* (1)
Colville 1556	*therefore* (21), *whereby* (7), *wherefore* (5), *so that* (6), *so* (3)
	preposed: *for by cause* (3), *synce that* (1)
Elizabeth 1593	*therefore* (17), *wherefore* (7), *so* (7)
	preposed: *because* (2), *since* (2)
	correlative: *because … now* (1), *now that … now* (1)
Preston 1695	*therefore* (17), *hence* (7), *wherefore* (4), *so* (1)
	preposed: *since* (3), *because* (2), *now that* (2)
Watts 1969	*therefore* (14), *so* (8), *indeed* (3), *consequently* (1)
	preposed: *since* (11), *because* (2)

RESULT → CAUSE

Chaucer, ME *Boece*	*for* (63)
	postposed: *for* (15), *syn* (2), *syn that* (1)
	correlative: *wherefore … for as moche as* (1)
Colville 1556	*for* (53)
	postposed: *for* (13), *for by cause* (2)
Elizabeth 1593	*for* (60)
	postposed: *for* (8)
Preston 1695	*for* (53)
	postposed: *because* (6), *since* (7)
Watts 1969	*for* (22)
	postposed: *because* (7), *for* (3), *since* (4)

This table attests a wide variety of forms which have been coined as replacements of the pronominal connector OE *forþæm* (and its variants), which, of course, cannot be discussed in detail here.[12] Essentially, it shows that the dramatic structural changes can best be illustrated by the changes affecting adverbial connectors in the (Early) Middle English period (see 5.2) and by the changes of connectors in preposed causal clauses (see 5.5).[13]

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10.   For the classification of *for*, see Section 5.4.

11.   In addition, there are 12 instances of temporal-causal *thanne* rendering OF *donques*.

12.   For a full discussion, see my forthcoming monograph *Argument and Rhetoric. Adverbial Connectors in the History of English* (Ms. 2006).

13.   There are some differences in the relative frequencies, but not in the forms of causal connectors between translations and comparatively independent texts. In Chaucer's *Astrolabe* (ed.

5.2 Adverbial connectors in the history of English

Adverbial connectors are – as has been shown above (see Section 2.5) – the kind of connectors which signal clausal linkage most clearly because they present the speaker's opinion of the relation of the states of affairs explicitly in two information blocks with independent illocutionary weight. Table 12 below provides a list of linguistic elements which have served the function of a causal adverbial connector in any period of the history of English. To allow a comparison, the layout of the table is modelled on the tables in Kortmann (1997: 342 for causal subordinators). It only lists the central single word or univerbated items (i.e., no borderline cases such as PDE *after all*).[14]

Table 12. Causal/Resultive adverbial connectors in the history of English[15]

OE	ME	EModE	PDE
þy	þi		
þæs			
nu	nu	now	now
swa	so	so	so
þonne	thenne	then	then
forþæm (forþon)	forthen, (for)	for	for
forþy	forthi		
	for that		
	for which		
	forhwi		
	therefore	therefore	therefore
	herefore	herefore	
	wherefore	wherefore	
	thus	thus	thus
		consequently	consequently
		hence	hence
		thence	
		whence	
		accordingly	accordingly

Benson 1987), for example, we find for the sequence CAUSE – RESULT: *therefore* (10), *wherefore* (3) *thanne* (2), *forwhy* (1), preposed: *for as much as* (2), *by cause that* (2), *for* (1), *sin that* (1). For the sequence RESULT – CAUSE, we find: *for* (20), *for* (8) and prepositional *by-cause that* (7).

14. For a fuller discussion of adverbial connectors in the history of English, see Lenker (forthc.; Chapter 9/Table 9.2 on causal/resultive connectives). Since connectors for the semantic relation CAUSE form a closed class, there are only very few other causal connectors which are not listed here because they are attested very infrequently (such as OE *cuþlice* 'therefore'; ME *ergo*; see OED, s.v. *ergo*). Similarly, connectors which may also be used for the relation ADDITION/TRANSITION, such as *indeed, in fact, of course* are not listed here (for these, see also Table 15 below). 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*).

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

The survey furthermore evinces an almost complete restructuring of the system of causal connectors in English. In contrast to German (see causal/resultive PDG *demnach, deswegen, infolgedessen*), speakers of English stopped forming connectors of the pronominal pattern after the Early Middle English period, although this had been a very productive pattern English for adverbial connectors of all kinds of semantic relations. Intriguingly, Present-Day English has not even kept a single lexicalized item of these pronominal connectors which had been so central in its earliest periods. The (Early) Middle English period in particular emerges as a 'period of experiment': only two of the many new connectors emerging in this period have survived, namely *therefore*[16] and *thus* (a late-comer first attested in this function in 1380 (see OED, s.v. *thus*) and not attested in this function in the material collected in Table 11). The range of new forms in Middle English together with their short lives illustrates the problems speakers of Early Middle English had to face. In view of the general history of the English language, it is certainly no coincidence that Middle English is the last period which ventures to employ pronominal connectors, since Early Middle English is the time when the nominal categories case and grammatical gender were lost in the demonstratives. The loss of pronominal connectors in English thus appears to be connected to more general typological changes, which affected both of the Old English demonstratives (the proto-article *se/þæt/seo* and the 'emphatic' demonstrative *þes/þis/þeos*). These forms, which were pronominal as much as they were adjective- or determiner-like, are no longer inflected for case and gender after the Old English period (see Lass 1992: 112–116). Consequently, these forms first lose their deictic value and are eventually given up altogether; in this process, phonologically weakened forms such as *forþan* (ME *forthen*) are given up much earlier than *forþi*, which survives as a univerbated form until the end of the Middle English period (see MED, s.v.). Already in Old English, *forþi* had probably become opaque before the gen-

15. Periodization was initially according to the OED but was modified when earlier attestations were found in dictionaries, grammars or texts of any kind. The date given refers to the first attested use of the element in question as an adverbial connector, i.e., the lexeme itself can be much older but did not have a linking function up to this date.

16. For the proliferation of *there*-compounds from the beginning of the Middle English period, see Österman 2001. The history of *therefore* is rather dark (cf. OED, s.v. *therefore*): I suggest a similar path as that which has led to Latin *propter-ea* (cf. OE *for-þæm*) vs. *ea-propter* (cf. ME *therefore*).

eral collapse of case, since the instrumental was only marginally a case category in Old English.

Studies examining the history of OE *forþæm* in detail find a very rapid simplification of the *for*-formulae, which is first attested as simple *for* around 1100 in manuscript F of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (see the tables in Kivimaa 1966:214 and 250). This rapid rate is particularly evident in the continuations in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, where the use of simple *for* increased from 27 per cent in Continuation I to 86 per cent in Continuation II (for the years 1132–1154). In the Early Middle English texts investigated by Kivimaa, *for* is almost universally the form used and in several texts the only one. Like its Old English precursor *forþæm*, this reduced form *for* was ambiguous as to its status as an adverb, a coordinating or subordinating conjunction (see also Jucker 1991).

At the very beginning of Middle English (around 1200), we do, however, not only see a collapse of the old system of demonstratives, but at the same time also the emergence of two distinct categories: the invariable article *the* and the demonstratives *this/that*. While there is – among the 19 different forms of the demonstratives – nowhere a reasonable ancestor for the Middle and Present-Day English article *the*, it is clear that the neuter nominative singular forms of the 'emphatic' (OE *þis*) and simple (OE *þæt*) demonstratives yielded the proximal/distal deictics *this* and *that*. Accordingly, speakers of Early Middle English started to use these new demonstratives to form new pronominal connectors such as *for that* (cf. MED s.v. *for-that*) or forms such as *for the which* as discussed in Meurman-Solin (this volume); cf., e.g., also additive *over this/that* 'furthermore, above all'. These innovations, however, have probably not survived because, at about almost the same time, *that* also developed into the general subordinator (instead of OE *þe*). *That* is used as a complementizer, a relativizer and – often pleonastically – as an indicator of a subordinate clause, as in *now that*, *(g)if that*, *when that*, etc. (see Kivimaa 1966; Fischer 1992:295). When placed sentence-initially, the pronominal connector *for that* is thus not only (as OE *forþæm* had been) ambiguous as to whether it is an adverb (MED, sense 2) or a conjunction (MED, sense 1) but misleading because hearers/readers of Middle English might expect a preposed subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction in collocation with (pleonastic) *that* and not a paratactic construction introduced by an adverbial connector. Accordingly, *for that* is much more regularly used as a conjunction and is only infrequently used as an adverb (see MED, s.v.).

After the Middle English period, we do no longer find univerbated and lexicalized pronominal connectors, though non-univerbated, fully transparent PDE *for this*, *for that* etc. may, of course, be used to mark a resultive relation. No such items are coined after the Middle English period and none of the ones coined in the Middle English period have survived as transparent adverbial connectors. Instead of a single central causal/resultive adverbial connector, we increasingly find

tendencies for a better mapping of form and function by specifically marking preposed subordinate clauses (by *for as moche as*; see below, Section 5.5) and adverbial connectors.

5.3 Deixis in new adverbial connectors

With respect to the novel adverbial connectors in Early Middle English, it is obvious at first glance that there are not very many different patterns among the new coinages.

Table 13. Adverbial connectors: New coinages in Middle and Early Modern English

Deictics	– pronominal	ME *for that*, *for this*
	– relative (textual)	ME *forhwi*
	– relative: spatial	ME *wherefore*
		EModE *whence*
	– spatial	distal: ME *therefore*
		proximal: ME *herefore*
		EModE *hence*, *thence*
	– other deictics	ME *thus*
Non-Deictics	– no longer transparent	ME *for*
	– lexical	EModE *consequently*
		EModE *accordingly*

These early new coinages are rather similar to their Old English models (see Table 10 above), in that many of them are so-called 'ambiguous adverbs/conjunctions' which can be employed as adverbial connectors or conjunctions: see, e.g., *forhwi* 'forwhy', *for that*, and °*wherefore*. More importantly, these forms indicate deixis by explicitly (see *for-that*) or inherently pronominal forms, as in the functional extension of forms such as the relative and originally interrogative *forhwi*. From the thirteenth century onwards, *forhwi* is not only used as a relative but also employed as an adverbial connector signalling a new information unit, thus carrying the meaning 'therefore' (see OED, s.v. *forwhy*). This use is only attested as a conversational implicature in Old English (see DOE, s.v. *forhwæm*, *forhwon*, *forhwy* B.).[17] Pronominal patterns are attested until the end of the Middle English period – see the rather frequent *for whiche* which is found 8 times in Chaucer's *Boece* (see Table 11).

The other field of experiment are new connectors employing time or space deixis, similar to OE *nu*. 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

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17. For the importance of the difference between conversational implicature and coded meaning for a theory of regularities in semantic change, see Traugott and Dasher (2002).

here (cf. *therefore*, *herefore*; cf. also *wherefore*), 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 by reference to the text in its chronological and spatial extension (see Section 4). These forms become very frequent as adverbial connectors from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards (cf. Markus 2000 and Österman 2001), i.e., at exactly the time when the paradigm of the demonstrative was given up, yielding the indeclinable article *the* and the new demonstrative *that*.

For an example of this unstable situation at the beginning of the thirteenth century, see the following examples from the *Vices and Virtues* (ca. 1200; ed. Holthausen 1888, quoted from the CME):

(24) **Forðan** [24a] hie bieð godes wiðerwinen, alle ðo ðe willen hem seluen hei-gin. Godd seið him self ðat hie sculen bien ineðerede. **Hierfore** [24b] ic am neðer and unmihti, *forðan* [24c] ic habbe geben prud and modi ... (p. 2). 'Therefore [24a] they are God's enemies, even though they want to raise themselves. God says himself that they shall be lowered. Therefore [24b] am I low and powerless, **because** [24c] I was proud and conceited, ...'

(25) Hie is anginn of alle cristendome, hie mai michele eadinesse of-earnin at ure lauerde gode, **for ðan ðe** [25a] hie iliefð ðat hie næure niseih. **For ði** [25b] sade Crist: 'Eadi bieð ða menn ðe on me belieuen and næure me ne seigen!' (p. 25)
'He is the beginning of all Christianity, he may earn much blessing from our Lord, **because** [25a] he believes what he has never seen. **Therefore** [25b] Christ said: 'Blessed are those, who believe in me and have never seen me!''

The form *forðan* with phonological levelling of the original demonstrative *þæm* is still the most polyfunctional item: it is used as an adverbial connector marking result in (24a), as the second part of a correlative construction marking internal cause in (24c) and – with the particle *þe* – in an internal reason clause in (25a). In adverbial connector function, we however also find the spatial *hierfore* (24b) and the by then no longer transparent form *for ði* (25b).

Another text from the Early Middle English period, *Hali Meidenhad* (ca. 1225; ed. Furnivall 1920, quoted from CME) only differentiates the forms *for* denoting CAUSE (26a, c, d) as against *forr-þi* (26b) denoting RESULT.

(26) Meiðhad is þet an geoue igettet te of heouene: do þu hit eanes awei, ne schalt tu neauer nan oðer swuch acourin; **for** [26a] meiðhad is heouene cwen, & worldes alesendnesse, þurh hwam we beoð iborhen ... **forr-þi** [26b] þu Ah-est, meiden, se deorliche witen hit; **for** [26c] hit is se heh þing, & se swiðe leof godd, & se licwurðe. & þet an lure þet is wituten couerunge. gef hit is godd [leof], þet is, him seolf swa ilich, hit na wunder; **for** [26d] he is leofluk-est þing, & buten eauer-euch bruche ... (fol. 56r)

'Virginity is the one gift granted to you from heaven; if you once dispose of it, you will never regain it quite like it. **For** [26a] virginity is the queen of heaven, and the world's redemption through which we are saved ... **Therefore** [26b], maiden, you have to guard it carefully. **For** [26c] it is the high thing and so very dear to God and so acceptable, and one loss of it is without recovering. If what is so like God is dear to him, it is no wonder, **because/for** [26d] he is the loveliest thing and without any sin ...'

5.4 'Recursive' *for* – Latin *nam/enim*

Already this text *Hali Meidenhad* from the beginning of the thirteenth century shows a proliferation of *for* which has become non-deictic after it had lost its demonstrative. It is almost infinitely repeatable and may be used for postposed causal clauses working on the local level, providing an explanation for the first clause. In most cases, however, non-deictic *for* is ambiguous (26d) or employed on a more global level, sketching or justifying the line of argument of the author. *For* thus is a prototypical coordinator, because it signals that the second clause has an illocutionary weight of its own and, more importantly, explicitly marks the voice of the speaker who comments on his view of the relation of textual portions. It is thus comparable to the Latin adverbial connectors *nam* and *enim* (see Kroon 1995: 131–203), both of which mainly work on the global level of textual organization. Instead of being adverbial connectors in the strict sense, they are rather connective particles 'concerned primarily with the presentation and organization of the information conveyed in the discourse' (Kroon 1995: 203). They are thus situated at the interface between the clausal relations of ADDITION/TRANSITION and CAUSE/RESULT and are very similar to what present-day linguistic research calls 'discourse markers'. Accordingly, they are commonly not rendered by *forðæm* and its variants in Old English, but by discourse structuring particles such as *soþlice* or *witodlice* which have an etymological meaning 'truly' (see Lenker 2000). From the Middle English period, however, these particles are only rarely used and are replaced by *for*. This can be shown by a comparison of translations of Latin *enim* and *nam* in the various translations of the *Consolatio* in the history of English.

This comparison shows that *for* has indeed become a discourse structuring particle which may work on the local as well as on the global level of the text. In this discourse function, it is also called 'recursive *for*' (Mueller 1984: 135). It has lost much of its causal meaning denoting internal reason clauses and mainly works on the textual level, indicating 'This is my line of argument'. In Chaucer's translation

Table 14. Translations of Latin *enim* and *nam* in English translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*[18]

Translation	*for*	No translation	Particles TRUTH		Diverse	
Chaucer ME	50	4	*certe*	4	*but*	1
					forhwy	2
					and thus	1
Colville 1556	53	–	*certes*	3	*and so*	1
			surely	1	*for why*	1
			truly	1		
Queen Elizabeth 1593	49	11				
Preston 1695	45	9	–		*but*	1
					now	2
					so then	1
					thus	1
Watts 1969	25	21	*indeed*	1	*and*	1
					because	1
					but	1

of the *Consolatio*, this is evident in the many collocates with other connectors, such as *for so as* (27a), *for yif* (27b) and *for certes* (27c).

(27) Philosophie: "... that God, ..., is good. For [27a], <u>so as</u> nothyng mai ben thought betere than God, it mai nat ben douted thanne that he that no thinge nys betere, ... For [27b] <u>yif</u> God nys swyche, he ne mai nat be prince of alle thinges; for [27c] <u>certes</u> somthing possessyng in itself parfyt good schulde be more worthy than God.... For [27d] we han schewyd apertely that alle thinges that ben parfyt ben first er thynges that ben inparfit; and **forthy** [27e] ... we owe to graunte that the sovereyn God is ryght ful of sovereyn parfit good." (Benson 1987: 432, 42–59)

'[It is the universal understanding of the human mind] that God ... is good. **For** [27a], <u>since</u> nothing can be conceived better than God, then it may not be doubted that nothing is better ... **For** [27b], if God is not such, he cannot be the prince of all things; for [27c], certainly, <u>there</u> would have to be something else possessing perfect goodness over and above God .... **For** [27d] we have shown overtly that all things that are perfect are superior to things that are imperfect; and **therefore** [27e], ..., we must grant that the supreme God is very full of supreme and perfect goodness.'

18. The Old English *Consolatio* does not allow such a detailed analysis, because it is not a genuine translation, but a rather free adaptation with many divergences from and additions to the Latin text (see the reference in Note 5). The numbers for Chaucer do not fully agree to those of the translations because Chaucer only additionally uses the Latin text. Chaucer's main source is an Old French version by Jean de Meun (ed. Dedeck-Héry 1952), which renders Latin *nam* and *enim* by OF *car*.

This 'rhetorical/conversational' use of *for* highlighting the line of argument is the predominant one from the middle of the fourteenth century until the middle of the eighteenth century (see the high number of occurrences in Table 11). For Early Modern English, this interpretation is also supported by the by then more consistent punctuation: more than half (58 per cent) of the *for*-clauses analyzed by Claridge and Walker are preceded by heavy punctuation (2001: 42–44). It has to be stressed here again that *for* in these cases should be classified as a coordinator, though there is no way to confirm this by the syntactic or topological criteria summarized above in Table 1. Considering issues of pragmatics and text-linguistics, however, *for* has to be analyzed as a coordinator because it gives an independent illocutionary weight to the second clause, in many instances by explicitly indicating that the speaker thinks that the propositions of the two sentences are connected in some way or other.

Much of the uncertainty about the status of *for* in Present-Day English (see Note 1) is probably due to the fact that *for*, and in particular these rhetorical uses of *for*, have decreased rapidly since the end of the eighteenth century. In Present-Day English translations of the *Consolatio* (Watts 1969), the number of instances of *for* translating Latin *nam* and *enim* is halved. In the other half of the cases, *enim* and *nam* are not translated at all. These asyndetic constructions, however, are not complex and do not present the speakers' opinion on the state of affairs. This is entirely different in the Modern German translation (Neitzke 1959 in Grasmück 1997), which employs the regular connectors PDG *nämlich* (28 instances) and PDG *denn* (21 instances) in about equal numbers and only occasionally uses other forms such as *nun* (1), *jedenfalls* (1), *in der Tat* (1), *freilich* (2) and *wirklich* (1). In only three instances, *nam/enim* are not translated into German. These differences are not due to individual features or errors of the Modern English translation (the figures are almost identical for the translations by Green 1962 and Watts 1969) but to the fact that English has lost a regular adverbial connector for the sequence RESULT – CAUSE.

5.5 Subordinators: *for as much as, since, because*

The transition of the all-purpose causal connector OE *forþæm* to a text-structuring particle connector indicating the line of argument has also yielded changes in the system of the subordinators, i.e., the emergence of *for as much as, since (that)* and *because*, first mainly in preposed subordinate clauses (see Table 11). Because of the proliferation of instances of *for* as a rhetorical marker of the line of argument, non-deictic *for* was less frequently used in these – usually thematic – preposed clauses, since it no longer marked these contexts unambiguously. The comparison of the translations of the *Consolatio* in the various periods of English shows that *since, as* and *because* are never used as renderings of Latin adverbial connectors

such as *igitur* or *quare* (i.e., the sequence CAUSE – RESULT) or *nam* and *enim* (i.e. the sequence RESULT – CAUSE) before the Modern English period, but only for subordinators such as Latin *quoniam* and causal (not temporal) *cum*.

While *therefore* and *then* (rendering *igitur/quare*) and *for* (rendering *nam/enim*) are rather stable from the middle/end of the Middle English period until Modern English (in the case of *therefore* even until today), we find more variation for *quoniam* and causal *cum*.[19] The earliest expression coined to avoid ambiguities is ME *for as moche as* (see MED, s.v. *for as moche as*), which is attested throughout Middle and Early Modern English. It is most remarkable that *for as much as* is the only one of the subordinators coined in Middle English that has not survived into Present-Day English (see Kortmann 1997: 331–332). It is most likely that this form (probably modelled on OF causal *pourtant*) was given up because it was neither deictically nor lexically transparent and also because it starts in an identical way as the then proliferating sentence-initial rhetorical *for*.

The temporally deictic *since* is occasionally found from Middle English onwards, often rendering Latin temporal (with indicative) and causal (with subjunctive) *cum*. *Because* is first (in five instances in Colville 1556) mainly attested in the collocate *for because*, i.e., in a combination of the causal connector *for* and an original prepositional phrase (see also OED, s.v. *because* and MED, s.v. *because*), but is then also, though for some time rather sparingly, used on its own. Only after 1750, *because* finally replaces *for* and becomes the all-purpose connector of Present-Day English (for quantitative data, see Claridge & Walker 2001). A rather typical instance of the various renderings of a preposed causal clause introduced by Latin *quoniam* is

(28) **Quoniam** <u>igitur</u> agnovisti, quae vera illa sit, quae autem beatitudinem mentiantur, nunc superest, ut unde veram hanc petere possis agnoscas (Book III, Prose 9; Grasmück 1997: 154)

    a. <u>Thanne</u>, **for as moche as** thou hast knowen whiche … now byhoveth … (Chaucer, ME)

    b. <u>Now</u> **for bycause** thou hast knowen …, then now … (Colville 1556)

    c. **Because** thou knowest now, what … , now it followith … (Elizabeth 1593)

    d. **Seeing** <u>then</u> thou knowest already which … it remains … (Preston 1695)

    e. 'Now then, **since** you know what true happiness is, and the things that falsely seem to offer it, what remains now is that you have to look for true happiness'.

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19. Unfortunately, Latin *quia* is only once attested in the selected corpus. This, however, mirrors the relations in the full text fairly precisely. The numbers for the full text: *igitur* (157), *nam/namque* (162), *enim* (141), *quoniam* (49), *quare* (27), *quia* (9). This also shows the centrality of the adverbial connectors in Latin.

All in all, *because* is still very rare in the Early Modern English material investigated (18 instances including the collocate *for because*). While it turns up occasionally to render preposed Latin *quoniam* in Colville (1556), it is later increasingly used for marking postposed external causal connection (see the use in Preston 1695). It can become the central connector in Present-Day English because it is lexically transparent.

6. Conclusions

This analysis of causal/resultive connectors has revealed dramatic systematic changes in the forms of clausal connectors in the history of English: in the course of its history, English has lost one specific formation pattern of connectors, the so-called 'pronominal connectors' (Raible's phase II) which comprise an explicitly deictic, i.e., pronominal element, such as a form of the demonstrative. While Old English virtually only had one all-purpose connector – the pronominal connector *forþæm* (*þe*), speakers of Present-Day English use a range of different linguistic items to mark the various semantic relations of CAUSE and RESULT. In a development also attested in other languages with a similar typological history (cf., e.g., the loss of deictic elements of French *parce que* in the form *pas* in French-based creoles of the Caribbean), also the central Old English *forþæm* (*þe*) lost its deictic value and was – throughout the Middle and Early Modern English period – mainly used in a rhetorical sense as the text structuring connective *for*. This, however, also meant that *for* was no longer specific enough to code the various other semantic and pragmatic functions of causals, which, in particular in specific contexts such as preposed thematic causal clauses, necessitated the coinage of new causal connectors to avoid ambiguities and facilitate information processing.

These new connectors were, in a period of experiment in Early Middle English, first coined on the Old English model of pronominal connectors (cf. ME *for-that*), or by employing time or space deixis. Yet, of the connectors formed by this experimental pattern, only *therefore* has survived and in Present-Day English even *therefore* does not seem to be transparent in its space deixis for most speakers (see 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 *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 …').

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 explicitly – by pronominal connectors comprising demonstratives – or inherently – by time or space deixis – marked

deixis in connectors. English now mainly signals causal connection by lexical means: this is true for adverbial connectors such as *consequently* or *accordingly* but in particular for the high-frequency item *because* (and its reduced forms *cos/coz*; cf. *cause*). With this concentration on lexical means, English has again moved far away from the Germanic system which is still alive and well in Present-Day German.

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