

John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from *Contact, Variation, and Change in the History of English*.
Edited by Simone E. Pfenninger, Olga Timofeeva, Anne-Christine Gardner, Alpo
Honkapohja, Marianne Hundt and Daniel Schreier.
© 2014. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.

The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible to members (students and staff) only of the author's/s' institute, it is not permitted to post this PDF on the open internet.

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

Please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website: www.benjamins.com

Tables of Contents, abstracts and guidelines are available at www.benjamins.com

Knitting and splitting information

Medial placement of linking adverbials in the history of English*

Ursula Lenker

University of Munich

After the fixation of English word order to SVO, adverbials have come to be the only flexible sentence constituent in unmarked sentences. So far, however, there has only been little research into the specific discourse functions of the different positions of adverbials. In an earlier study on the diachrony of English adverbial connectors (Lenker 2010), it emerged that medial instead of initial placement of connectors such as *however* or *therefore* is a relatively recent phenomenon, becoming more frequent in the Late Modern English period. In a pilot study on the discourse functions of linking and stance adverbials, the present chapter suggests that two different medial positions should be distinguished: in “post-initial position”, these adverbials focus attention on the preceding elements (a frame-setting adverbial or a subject), similar to focus adverbs such as *only* or *particularly*. In the other medial positions, they function as discourse partitioners, highlighting the partition of topic and comment/focus material. This variation will here be seen as a response to the loss of verb-second in English, similar to other syntactic innovations such as unusual passives and stressed-focus clefts.

1. Information structure and syntactic change: Introductory remarks

In Present-day English, the only flexible sentence constituent is the adverbial. In spite of many uncertainties of speakers and in particular writers, most grammars and the otherwise often very self-confident style guides remain conspicuously vague about the exact placement rules for (at least some kinds of) adverbials. Some style guides refer to the authors’ choices and, in particular, their “purposes”,

* I would like to thank Peter Jitschin for his contributions to this chapter (see Jitschin 2012) and Anneli Meurman-Solin, an anonymous reviewer and the editors of this volume for their many most helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

without, however, specifying these “purposes” in much detail. *Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary of English Usage*, for example, states that

[t]he only point that needs to be made is that there is no absolute rule for the placement of *however*; each writer must decide each instance on its own merits, and place the word where **it accomplishes its purpose**.

(s.v. *however*; my emphasis, UL)

Similarly, Mitchell cites Quirk & Wrenn’s *Grammar* stating that “the free variation available to Ælfric in the position of the adverbs is available today likewise” (Quirk & Wrenn 1977, 91) and adds: “So much **depends on the writer’s purpose**” (Mitchell 1985, §§ 1592–1593; my emphasis, UL).

Both of these findings, namely that different adverbial positions have been available since the Old English period and, more importantly, that language users employ these different positions for different purposes, are not as trivial as they may appear at first glance. The history of English has seen substantial changes in word order, resulting in the fact that different word order patterns may only be employed very restrictedly for different “purposes” today: word order has almost invariably been fixed to SV(O) since the end of the Early Modern English period (Denison 1998, 92; Pérez-Guerra 2005, 242–243). This is in striking contrast to Old English and also to the present-day versions of other Germanic languages, which allow speakers and writers to signal particular kinds of information structure by, for example, a fronted object (OVS).

Even though there is a general consensus among linguists that there has not been much change in word order patterns since the end of the Middle English period, this “does not mean ... that the situation was completely static” (Pérez-Guerra 2005, 342). Many of the examples for such dynamism in syntax are, however, characterized as “statistical” and “stylistic” rather than “syntactic” in nature. Change is said to be reflected in varying general frequencies of a particular construction or in a given feature becoming more/less frequent in particular registers only (cf. Denison 1998, 93). Some of these “stylistic” features are elicited by deliberate choices made by an author/speaker in information packaging (cf. Pérez-Guerra 2005). Even though such features might indeed often only be noticeable in varying frequencies, they ought not to be neglected since it has repeatedly been shown that decisions at the level of information structure condition grammaticalization processes at the level of syntax (cf. Lehmann 2008, 207).¹

1. For a case exemplifying grammaticalization of an original adverb, see the grammaticalization of *denn* as an obligatory clitic *n* (on the finite verb) in *wh*-questions in Bavarian German, as in *Wen hostn troffen?* ‘Who [then] did you meet?’ or *Was isn los?* ‘What [then] is the matter?’ (cf. Lahiri & Plank 2010, 383).

Information-structural choices may thus signal a subsequent, more profound syntactic change (cf. one of the central slogans of research into grammaticalization – “from discourse to syntax”). Similar processes have, for example, been proposed as the central motivations for the establishment of V2 from SOV in the Germanic languages. It has been argued that there was a twofold motivation for finite verb movement to V2, namely, firstly, to “demarcate given information (given and background) from new, accounting for first-position constituents as unmarked discourse links” and, secondly, “to demarcate focused constituents (...) from non-focused material” (Los 2012, 29). Thus the motivation for V2 is described as being stylistic at the beginning: it was optionally employed to draw attention to the special information-structural status of the first constituent (cf. Los 2009 and Los 2012, 22).

The present investigation will suggest a similar functional interpretation of word order preferences for linking adverbials in Late Modern English and Present-day English. It is partly based on findings of my earlier research into changes in the morphological make-up, semantics and positional flexibility of adverbial connectors in the history of English (Lenker 2010). With respect to adverbials and information packaging, the study ties in with research on the discourse functions of Old English *þa/þonne* ‘then, when’ by van Kemenade, Los, Milicev (and others), who consider these particular adverbs to serve as “discourse partitioners” (separating topic from focus material) or “focus markers” (e.g. van Kemenade & Los 2006; van Kemenade, Milicev & Baayen 2008). A similar function is here suggested for stance and linking adverbials in medial positions after the verb (below labelled positions M5, M7 and M8).

The suggestion for a second function of medially placed stance and linking adverbials in the position after the first sentence constituent (a pre-posed adverbial or the subject; below labelled positions M1 and M2)² – and thus the differentiation of two different functions for medial placement of adverbials – was inspired by recent studies on the alleged topic emphasizing or topic shifting functions of Present-day German adverbial connectors in so-called *Nacherstposition* (‘post-first-position’, ‘post-initial position’; cf. Pasch et al. 2003; Breindl 2008; Onea & Volodina 2009; Onea & von Heusinger 2009).

The present chapter will first summarize research on medial placement of adverbials in the history of English (Section 2), in particular the findings for changing positions of adverbial connectors after the Early Modern English period (Sections 2.2 and 2.3). Different medial positions of adverbials will then be introduced

2. For an overview of the medial positions distinguished here, see below Section 3.1 and the examples in the Appendix.

in more detail in Section 3. Section 4, the centre of the present study, will introduce and discuss discourse functions which have been proposed by earlier research for initial vs. final adverbials and those suggested for medial adverbials here.

2. Medial placement of adverbials in the history of English

2.1 Positions of adverbs in Present-day English

In Present-day English, adverbials are the only sentence constituents which are comparatively free as to their position in the sentence. Also in contrast to the other sentence constituents (subject, objects and complements), adverbials are optional and more than one adverbial can occur in a sentence. While subject, verb and object(s) are sequentially fixed in Present-day English, adverbials can take three major positions: initial, medial (after the subject but before any object/predicative; for details on the positions, see Section 3.1 below) and final.

The corpus studies of the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* demonstrate that all three positions are common (Biber et al. 1999, 770–774). There are, however, strong word order preferences for different kinds of adverbials, namely “circumstance adverbials” (Quirk et al. 1985, “adjuncts”), “stance adverbials” (Quirk et al. 1985, “style/content disjuncts”) and “linking adverbials” (Quirk et al. 1985, “conjuncts”).³ Each class of adverbial shows a strong positional preference: the most frequently attested position for circumstance adverbials is the final position (see also Hasselgård 2010, 291). Stance adverbials are most commonly found in medial position. Linking adverbials favour – in all modes – initial position (for details see below Section 2.3).⁴

These basic distributional preferences are obviously related to the meanings and functions and thus different scopes of these adverbials. Circumstance adverbials commonly have a scope over the phrase, often completing the meaning of the verb and thus follow the verb (and therefore, in Present-day English,

3. This tri-partite classification is commonly agreed on and also used in research on other languages. The *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, however, now suggests another system which mainly affects the boundary between adverb and preposition (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 264).

4. Another factor which has to be taken into account is the weight/length of the adverbial itself (in particular when realized by a clause) or of one of the other sentence constituents: Circumstance adverbials, for example, may be found in medial instead of end position because of a long and/or heavy argument of the verb, typically a direct object (cf. Hasselgård 2010, 290; on these factors, see also Quirk et al. 1985, 492–493).

also the subject). Only when circumstance adverbs (of frequency, manner, place, time, etc.) need to be stressed or when they are employed for scene-setting functions (see below 4.2) are they placed in initial position. Further, more than two adverbials in end-position are usually avoided; in this case, one of them is usually placed in front or medial position. Stance adverbials (“attitudinal and style disjuncts” in Quirk et al. 1985), which typically have an extended scope over the proposition of the entire clause, may be placed rather freely. Linking adverbials are most often positioned initially, so that the connection between two clauses or sentences is clearly signalled as the reader or hearer moves from the first to the second element.

As concerns stance and linking adverbials (on circumstance adverbials in Present-day English, see now Hasselgård 2010), there has been very little research on differences and similarities of these typical distributions in the history of English (see Chrmbach in the same volume and the pilot study in Lenker 2011). For the history of stance adverbials, the only exhaustive study by Swan unearthed two tendencies: while sentence adverbials generally tend towards initial position, well-established stance adverbials which are not in danger of being mistaken for circumstance adverbials may also appear in post-verbal position (Swan 1988, 234–240). As concerns linking adverbials, my own research on adverbial connectors (i.e. linking adverbials realized by single adverbs) revealed that there have been significant changes in written prose texts of the text type *ACADEMIC PROSE* in the last centuries (cf. Lenker 2010).

2.2 Collocations (initial position) vs. medial position of adverbial connectors

In this summary account, I will concentrate on the changes in distributional preferences of conjunctions and adverbial connectors after the Middle English period.⁵ The crucial changes in the placement of adverbial connectors will first be illustrated by sample passages from texts of a comparable text type, i.e. treatises, by renowned, mature authors of their respective periods. Passage (1) is taken from the *Tale of Melibee* by Geoffrey Chaucer (1343?–1400):

- (1) “... **but certes** (a) what ende that shal therof bifalle, it is nat light to knowe.
For soothly (b), whan that werre is ones bigonne, ther is ful many a child

5. The situation in Old English and early Middle English is much more complicated, mainly because of the word order flexibility in these periods, but also because of the frequency and special character of OE *þa* ‘then, when’, the shibboleth of Old English narrative style (see e.g. van Kemenade & Los 2006; van Kemenade, Milicev & Baayen 2008; Lenker 2010, 64–66; Wärvik 2011).

unborn of his mooder that shal sterue yong by cause of thilke werre, or elles lyve in sorwe and dye in wrecchednesse. **And therefore** (c), er that any werre bigynne, men moste have greet conseil and greet deliberacion.” **And when** this olde man wende to enforchen his tale by resons, wel ny alle atones bigonne they to rise for to breken his tale, and beden hym ful ofte his wordes for to abregge. **For soothly** (d), he that precheth to hem that listen nat heeren his wordes, his sermon hem anoieþ (CMCTPROS, Chaucer, *Tale of Melibee*, p. 219.C2 [1390]).⁶

This passage is typical of Middle English prose in that all of the sentences start with explicit markers of textual cohesion. In all cases, these explicit markers are not just conjunctions or adverbial connectors, but collocations of a conjunction such as *and*, *but* or *for* (which function as rather loose connectives) and an adverbial;⁷ the linking adverbials commonly express an additional semantic relation such as CAUSE (*and therefore* in 1c) or TRANSITION (*but certes* in 1a or *for soothly* in 1b and 1d).⁸ Since most of Chaucer’s prose works are translations from Latin or French (*Tale of Melibee*; *Parson’s Tale*; *Boece*), we unfortunately cannot rule out loan influence in these collocations. Yet, the preference for collocations of conjunction and adverbial connector (see 2c, 2d and 2b, an instance of the linking adverbial *thenne* followed by a subordinator) is also widely attested in more independent prose texts originally composed in Middle English, such as Caxton’s *Prologues*:

- (2) **For** (a) in the sayd boke they may see what this transitorie & mutable worlde is **And** wherto euery mann liuyng in hit/ought to entende. **Thenne**

6. For details on the sigla, texts and editions/corpora they were taken from, see Lenker 2010, Appendix C.

7. Coordinating conjunctions *and*, *but* (OE *ac*), *or* and *for* (on the status of *for* as a “loose connective from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century”, see Lenker 2010, 161–164 and Meurman-Solin 2012) may – in contrast to other types of connectives such as adverbial connectors or subordinating conjunctions – collocate with subordinators and also with adverbial connectors (see, for example, *and yet*, *or if*, etc.). Generally, a differentiation of three different kinds of connectors is commonly agreed on: “coordinating conjunctions” (working on the clausal/textual level, not on the phrasal level), “subordinating conjunctions” (“subordinators”) and “linking adverbials” (Quirk et al. 1985 “conjuncts”, Lenker 2010 “adverbial connectors”).

8. The semantic relations distinguished here are ENUMERATION and ADDITION (cf., e.g. *first*(ly); *correspondingly*, *likewise*, *again*, *also*, *further*, *furthermore*; see Lenker 2010, 214–226 and Appendix B.1), SUMMATION (cf., e.g. PDE *in sum*, *to conclude*, *all in all*; see Lenker 2010, Appendix B.2), RESULT/INFERENCE/CAUSE (cf., e.g. *therefore*, *consequently*, *thus*, *so*; *hence*, *in consequence*; see Lenker 2010, 131–167 and Appendix B.3), CONTRAST/CONCESSION (cf., e.g. PDE *on the other hand*, *in contrast*, *alternatively*; *though*, *anyway*, see Lenker 2010, 168–213 and Appendix B.4) and TRANSITION (cf. PDE *now*, *meanwhile*; *incidentally*, *by the way*; see Lenker 2010, 227–232 and Appendix B.5).

for as moche as (b) this sayd boke so translated is rare & not spred ne knowen as it is digne and worthy For the erudicion and lernyng of suche as ben Ignoraunt & not knowyng of it ... **And furthermore** (c) I desire & require you ... **and therefore** (d) he ought eternelly to be remembrid. of whom the body and corps lieth buried ... (CMCAXPRO, Caxton, *The Prologues and Epilogues*, p. 63).

The passage chosen to illustrate the character of ACADEMIC PROSE about 250 to 300 years later is taken from Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1766). Here, by contrast, we do not find a single instance of the collocations of conjunction and adverbial connector which had been so typical of Middle English prose:

- (3) This portion, **however** (a), may still be considered as the natural rent of land, or the rent at which it is naturally meant that land should, for the most part, be let. The rent of land, **it may be thought** (b), is frequently no more than a reasonable profit or interest for the stock laid out by the landlord upon its improvement. This, **no doubt** (c), may be partly the case upon some occasions; **for** (d) it can scarce ever be more than partly the case. The landlord demands a rent even for unimproved land, and the supposed interest or profit upon the expense of improvement is generally an addition to this original rent. Those improvements, **besides** (e), are not always made by the stock of the landlord, but sometimes by that of the tenant. When the lease comes to be renewed, **however** (f), the landlord commonly demands the same augmentation of rent ... **Hence** (g) a greater rent becomes due to the landlord. It requires, **too** (h), a more attentive and skilful management. **Hence** (i) a greater profit becomes due to the farmer. The crop, **too** (j), at least in the hop and fruit garden, is more precarious. Its price, **therefore** (k), besides compensating all occasional losses, must afford something like the profit of insurance (CLSMI1, *The Wealth of Nations*, Chapter XI, Part 1; [1766]).

While we also find sentence-initial connectors, such as CAUSAL/TRANSITIONAL *for* (3d) and two instances of RESULTIVE *hence* (3g, 3i), all of the other adverbial connectors are placed sentence-medially, such as REINFORCING *besides* (3e) and *too* (3h, 3j), CONTRASTIVE *however* (3a, 3f), and RESULTIVE *therefore* (3k). Conspicuously, most of the items in question (chiefly linking adverbials, but also the stance adverbial *no doubt* in 3c) are placed in the position after the first constituent, i.e. after the subject (position M2; 3a, 3b, 3c, 3e, 3j, 3k) or after an adverbial clause (position M1; 3f); both of these positions (M1 und M2) will be singled out below as "post-initial positions".

In (3h), the adverbial connector ADDITIVE *too* is placed in another medial position, namely between verb and object (position M8). If we have a closer look at this example, we also see that this sentence is the single case of medial placement

of adverbials where the subject is realized by an anaphoric pronoun (*it*).⁹ In all of the instances of an adverbial after the first constituent (i.e. “post-initial position”), by contrast, we find definite noun phrases with determiners such as an article (*the* in 3j), *the* plus post-modification in 3b) or demonstrative (*this* in 3a, *those* in 3e; simple *this* in 3c) and possessive determiners (*its* in 3k).¹⁰

2.3 Placement of adverbial connectors in the history of English

The examples above seem to indicate that the medial positioning of adverbial connectors has become more frequent after the Middle English period. This assertion was put to the test in a corpus study, using one of the corpora compiled for my earlier diachronic studies of adverbial connectors, viz. a balanced corpus of “treatises” and “sermons/homilies” (for details, see Lenker 2010, Appendix C.2). This corpus consists of samples of either four or five texts, each comprising about 5,000 words (i.e. altogether about 20,000 to 25,000 words per sub-period). If possible, complete texts were chosen.

The basic selection of texts for both of the corpora used in Lenker 2010 was based on quantitative findings for Present-day English. The data of the *Longman Grammar* (Biber et al. 1999, 765–776 and 880–892) demonstrate that – as concerns the core registers CONVERSATION, FICTION, NEWSPAPER LANGUAGE and ACADEMIC PROSE – linking adverbials are most common in ACADEMIC PROSE (for corresponding findings on a smaller data set, see Greenbaum 1969, 79–80). The relatively high frequency of adverbial connectors in ACADEMIC PROSE is, of course, not a coincidence. The main communicative purpose of these texts is information, argumentation and explanation for a specialist audience, i.e. emphasis is put on conveying logical and, most importantly, unambiguous coherence. The text types chosen for the diachronic corpus were thus those whose situational properties are comparable to the *Longman Grammar*’s category ACADEMIC PROSE: academic or scientific language, i.e. homilies or religious, philosophical, educational and literary treatises (on the exclusion of poetry and narratives and test analyses of the use of adverbial connectors in these genres see Lenker 2010, 12–16).

9. Pronominal subjects are, of course, also used with sentence-initial connectors (e.g. *it* in 3d).

10. For a discussion of these constructions with respect to the “givenness hierarchy”, i.e. the different cognitive statuses which are signalled by these determiners and pronominal forms, see below 4.1 and Figure 5.

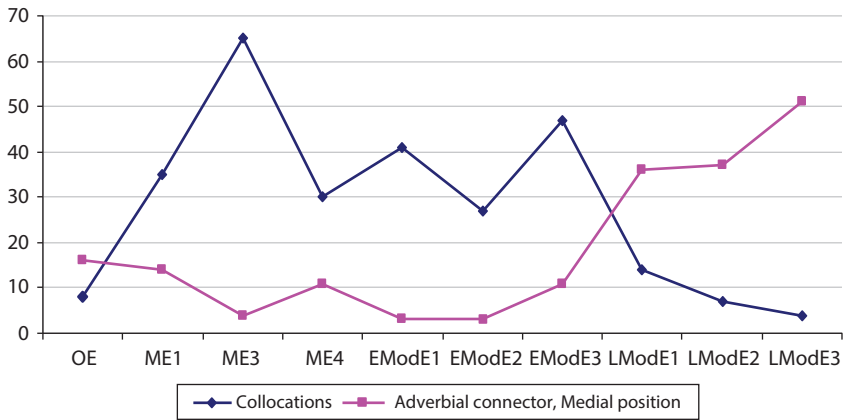


Figure 1. Mean frequencies (/10,000 words) of collocations (conjunction + adverb in initial position) vs. adverbial connectors in medial position (without OE *þa*) in the corpus of “treatises” and “sermons/homilies” (Lenker 2010, Appendix C)¹¹

Figure 1 illustrates that the impression we gained from examples (1) to (3) above is supported by a quantitative analysis of corpus texts. Indeed, we see two periods emerge as decisive. First, the beginning of Middle English saw a rapid increase in the number of sentences which are introduced by a conjunction (*and*, *but* or *for*) in a collocation together with an adverbial connector (see Examples 1 and 2 above). This again reveals the difference of connector use in Old English in contrast to the later periods, even if we exclude OE *þa* ‘then, when’, the shibboleth of Old English narrative style (cf. Footnote 5 above). ME3 (1350–1420) shows the highest frequencies of such collocations. This process can be explained by attempts at the evolution of a new English prose style in the genres of “treatises” and “sermons/homilies”, a style eventually replacing the specific Old English prose style during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, i.e. the time when English became the High Variety again, gradually ousting French and Latin in the written medium in formal registers (see, e.g. Mueller 1984; Meurman-Solin 2012).

The language of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (LModE2 from 1780–1850) emerges as a second crucial period. In texts of this period, medially placed adverbial connectors become much more frequent, while

11. The periods distinguished are: OE: –1150, ME1: 1150–1250, ME3: 1350–1420, ME4: 1420–1500, EModE1: 1500–1570, EModE2: 1570–1640, EModE3: 1640–1710, LModE1: 1710–1780, LModE2: 1780–1850, LModE3: 1850–1920.

rhetorical handbooks of the period by the Scottish rhetorician George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776), warns writers not to (over-)use collocations of connectives:

Though certain circumstances require that **one connexive be immediately followed by another, the accumulating of these without necessity ought always to be avoided.** (Campbell [1776] 1963, 411; my emphasis, UL)

Furthermore, Campbell suggests variation in the placement of connectives as “[a]nother useful expedient for answering the same end”:

to vary the situation of the conjunction, wherever the idiom of the tongue and the harmony of the sentence will permit the variation ... (Campbell [1776] 1963, 411; my emphasis, UL)

While I still think that the promotion of the new positions of adverbial connectors is related to these rhetorical ideas, I would now like to argue that there are language-internal factors which may have initially guided the rhetoricians to these suggestions.

This view is crucially based on the finding that variation in initial vs. medial placement of adverbials is found in the written medium only (while in the spoken mode a small set of final linking adverbials is becoming more common). The written mode is specific in that prosodic marking by stress, rhythm, etc. is not available. In order to test the particular discourse functions of medially placed sentence adverbials, a closer look at placement options is necessary.

3. Medial placement of adverbials

3.1 Distinct positions

For Present-day English, medial or mid-position of adverbials is distinguished from initial and final position.¹³ In his seminal and exhaustive study on Present-day English conjuncts, Greenbaum (1969, 78) in fact distinguishes seventeen different positions for linking adverbials, among them eight medial ones (see Figure 3). The

13. Most of the studies and grammars follow a common practice and distinguish three main adverbial positions, defined in relation to the verb and obligatory sentence constituents (see Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Hasselgård 2010). There are differences, however, in the terminology and, in particular, in the numbers of subdivisions which are marked as being relevant. Biber et al. (1999, 771) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002, 779) observe that there are different medial positions, but do not subdivide them. Quirk et al. (1985, 490, 493–496) differentiate three medial and two final positions; for a similar distinction, see Hasselgård (2010, 41–45).

positions adopted for the present study (M1, M2, M5, M7 and M8) are illustrated by one example each from the Corpus Texts (further examples are given in the Appendix).¹⁴

Pattern	Position	Example from Corpus Texts
M1	between adjunct and subject	(4) At that time he connected himself with the earl of Bute, and entered with warmth into the opposition to Mr. secretary Pitt. <u>In this system of conduct</u> , however , he (did not long persist); he speedily broke with the favourite, ... (CLGOD2; Godwin, William; 1783/84)
M2	between subject and verb where no auxiliary is present	(5) To-morrow I shall be just like Camilla in Mr. Dubster's summer-house; for my Lionel will have taken away the ladder by which I came here, or at least by which I intended to get away, and here I must stay till his return. <u>My situation</u> , however , is (somewhat preferable to hers, for I am very happy here, ...). (CLPRIV2A; Austen, Jane; 1796)
M3	between subject and auxiliary	included in category M2
M4	between auxiliary and another auxiliary	included in category M5 (very rare)
M5	between auxiliary and verb	(6) But the kindness of his nature might have been painted at having his name connected with structures, perhaps too severely just. I shall, therefore , (abstain from mentioning the name of one who will feel that he has commanded my esteem and respect). (CLBAB2; Babbage, Charles; 1830)
M6	between auxiliary <i>be</i> and <i>-ed</i> form of verb	included in category M5
M7	between verb <i>be</i> and complement	(7) With a variety of models thus before him, he will avoid that narrowness and poverty of conception which attends a bigoted admiration of a single master, and will cease to follow any favourite where he ceases to excel. This period is, however , (still a time of subjection and discipline). (CLMET; Reynolds, Joshua; 1769)
M8	between transitive verb and complement	(8) I know the names, but I do not know the nature of some of the most considerable offices there; such as the Avoyers, the Seizeniers, the Banderets, and the Gros Sautier. I desire, therefore , (that you will let me know what is the particular business, department, or province of these several magistrates). (CLMET; Chesterfield, Philip; 1746–69).

Figure 3. Medial positions of conjuncts (adapted from Greenbaum 1969, 78)

14. Both here and in the appendix, the following conventions are used: the linking or stance adverbial investigated is printed in bold; underlining marks the part of the sentence on which the writer focuses attention, i.e. often contrastive topics or highlighted frame-adverbials; (...) indicates focus/comment material; for the terminology, see below Section 4.1.

As has been shown above (cf. Figure 1), medial placement of adverbial connectors of only became more frequent in the Late Modern English period. In view of the number of options available (cf. Figure 3), it is of course interesting to investigate whether there are any differences between the relative frequencies of adverbial connectors in different positions. This has been tested in another corpus study based on a different selection of texts than those examined for Figure 1, comprising not only treatises and homilies, but also letters and other prose genres (see Lenker 2010, Appendix B).

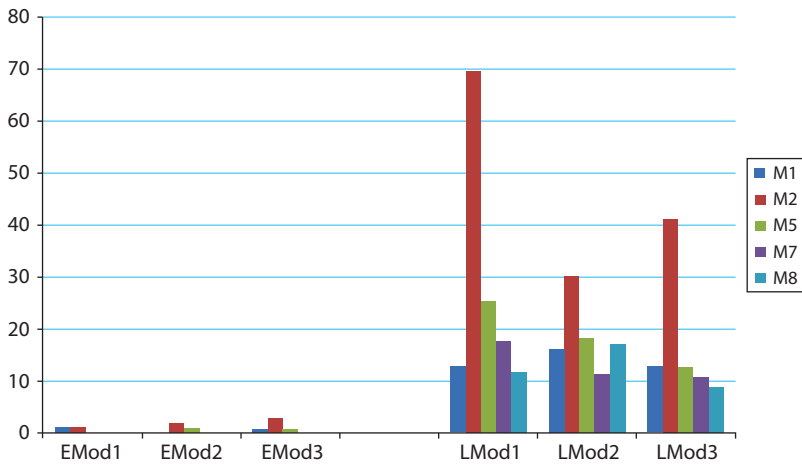


Figure 4. Mean frequencies (/10,000 words) of adverbial connectors in the various medial positions in the corpus for Lenker 2010, Appendix B)

Figure 4 can only provide a first survey, but its findings again corroborate the results displayed in Figure 1 above. The Late Modern English period saw a drastic rise of the number of medial connectors in ACADEMIC PROSE (EMoDE: 3/100,000 words; LMoDE 105/100,000 words). While these numbers seem to be highly significant, I refrain from placing final statistical significance onto them. A closer look at the corpus texts shows that there is a large degree of variation among different authors: The numbers for LMoDE1, for example, are mainly due to Adam Smith's predilection for adverbials in M2 position (see above, Example 3). The same applies, for instance, to letters of the nineteenth century: while Austen uses medial adverbials recurrently (25 instances/ 5,000 words), there is no attestation in Byron's letters.¹⁵

15. It has been pointed out to me by Eric Stanley that the lack of adverbial connectors in Byron might also be attributable to interventions by the editors of these letters, who might

Yet, the overall picture is clear enough: All of the Late Modern English authors make use of different adverbial connectors in different medial positions, though with varying frequencies among the various items – the most frequently used items are *however* (49), *therefore* (39) *indeed* (15) and *then* (9) – as well as among the various positions. Position M2, i.e. the position between the subject and the verb, is by far the most frequent one in all periods (57 per cent of all medial connectors in Early Modern English and 48 per cent in Late Modern English).¹⁶

3.2 Different placement options: Contemporary accounts

There are, as we have seen, a number of different options for placing stance and linking adverbials in English. As concerns details about their distribution, however, we find surprisingly little substantial information on their respective functions in grammars.

The *Cambridge Grammar*, for example, basically only singles out their placement after the subject (i.e. position M2):

In writing, it is common to find them in immediate post-subject position (as in *The plan, however, had one serious flaw*) but this is markedly formal, and less common in speech. (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 580)

The *Longman Grammar*, similarly, merely states that

the common linking adverbials in ACAD [ACADEMIC PROSE] – and *however* tend to occur in medial positions (when not in initial position). In particular, these forms often occur immediately following the subject.

The then continues that “these forms also occur in other medial positions” and lists as positions: “immediately following an operator” and “between a verb and a complement clause” (Biber et al. 1999, 892).

Such a list of positional variants without specifying any reasons for the different positions and their functions arouses suspicion: The main function of adverbial connectors is that they – explicitly and unambiguously – signal the connection between two sentences or chunks of discourse. Information processing

have interfered with the original letters, in particular with transitional linking adverbials such as *so* or *indeed*, since these might have seemed too “colloquial” to the editors.

16. The special character of this position is also suggested by the fact that adverbial connectors are already – at least similarly – attested in this position in the Old English period (see Lenker 2010, 70–71). They are also found in the Middle English period, which usually avoids medial position of adverbial connectors; yet, Middle English attestations are rare and virtually restricted to inferential *thane/then*, which often seems to have been triggered by Old French *dunc*.

would thus be much easier if speakers chose to stick to one and the same position, most likely the initial position so that the relations – in particular more complex relations such as CONTRAST and in particular CONCESSION – are clearly signalled at the beginning of the second element. For this reason the initial position is, as we have seen above, also the most common and unmarked position for adverbial connectors. In online-production and processing of speech in the spoken mode, speakers indeed stick to one position, the initial one, with the exception of some adverbials (e.g. *then*, *though* or *however*), which may be placed finally (see above p. 20 and Footnote 12). It is only in written ACADEMIC PROSE that linking adverbials are almost as frequently placed in various medial positions (40 per cent) as in the default position, the initial position (ca. 50 per cent). This distribution, which has – as has been shown above (cf. Section 2.3) – only been common since the Late Modern English period, thus asks for an explanation. This, as I would like to suggest in the following chapter, lies in different functions marking different kinds of information structure.

4. Information structure and adverbial positions

4.1 Terminology

Since there has been much terminological confusion on the subject “information structure” (IS) and “information packaging”, as concerns, for example, the distinctions and overlap between term pairs for the three IS dimensions topic/comment (or theme/rheme according to the original distinction by the Prague School), given/new and background/focus (also known as topic/focus or background/contrast), I will here shortly summarize my understanding of IS and my use of terms.

The study of IS concerns the way in which speakers/writers pack the content of the propositions in discourse, depending on their assessment of the current state of the discourse universe. This packaging is shaped by the linguistic possibilities and constraints of the respective languages (see below p. 31) and managed by structural and functional decisions relating to aspects such as presupposition vs. the assertion of propositions, the identificability and activation of referents and the topic vs. comment status of elements of propositions (see the summary in Lehmann 2008, 207–219, based on the conceptualization of IS by Lambrecht 1994).

Generally, there are two ways of specifying the concept of “topic”: topic can be seen as expressions that code given/known information (“familiarity-concept”) or it can be seen as those expressions/referents the proposition is about (“aboutness-topic”). For our purposes, both approaches are relevant: the “aboutness-topic” or

“theme” and the familiarity distinction between given/known¹⁷ and new. If an item is “given”, the speaker/writer can refer to it anaphorically, most typically by a personal or a demonstrative pronoun or by a definite noun phrase. This has been captured in a “givenness hierarchy” such as the one in Figure 5, which may serve as a guideline, even though the stages are certainly not as discrete as suggested by this hierarchy (see Chafe 1976 and Gundel et al. 1993):

in focus > ¹⁸	activated >	familiar >	uniquely identifiable >	referential >	type identifiable
<i>it</i>	<i>this, that;</i> <i>this N</i>	<i>that N</i>	<i>the N</i>	indefinite <i>this N</i>	<i>a N</i>

Figure 5. Givenness hierarchy (following Gundel et al. 1993)

The givenness of a referent is a precondition for the anaphoricity of an expression, but it does not necessarily mean that the respective referent is topical (it may also be a comment element). Yet, there is a certain correlation: The topic must be accessible in the universe of discourse. Therefore it must be high on what has been called the “topic accessibility scale”, which suggests that a referent is better suited as a topic the more active it is in the awareness of speaker/listener or writer/reader (see Lambrecht 1994, 262). Thus, (clitic) personal pronouns are typically the most acceptable topic expressions.

For the present subject, it is particularly important that both topic and focus may be contrastive (Krifka 2007, 44–45). A construction with contrastive topic may be paraphrased by *whereas*, whereas a construction with contrastive focus may be paraphrased by *by*; this illustrates that the most explicit strategy of testing not only (contrastive) focus status are cleft sentences (for the interpretation of the rise of cleft sentences as a response to the loss of V2, see Los 2012, 26).¹⁹ Commonly, however, the means employed to mark information structure are more subtle: lexical means, for example, are very rarely used. The exact methods are

17. Note that *given* is not identical to *known* since the given referents are only a part of the known familiar background referents.

18. Focus, in particular, is an ambiguous term for the present issue, as it can be used to specify “focus” in a “topic-focus” approach, but also *focus* in a more general sense, i.e. similar to *emphasis*, *focal point*, *centre of attention*.

19. These criteria and paraphrases are used in the analysis of my corpus examples; for illustration, see the examples in Figure 3 and in the Appendix.

language-specific, but the means most often employed for marking information structure are prosody and the order of components.

4.2 Adverbial placement and information structure:

Initial position of adverbials

IS functions of the order of adverbials are an as yet under-researched topic. Only for adverbial clauses, there has been, starting with Thompson's analysis of initial versus final purpose clauses (Thompson 1985), an increasing and continuing interest in the discourse factors determining the position of subordinate clauses (see, for instance, Virtanen 1992; Ford 1993; Diessel 2005, etc.). There is wide agreement that initial adverbial clauses state a problem within the context of expectations raised by the preceding discourse, to which the ensuing material (often many clauses) provides a solution (cf. *To cool, place the loaf on a wire rack*). Final purpose clauses, on the other hand, play the much more local role of stating the purpose for the action named in the immediately preceding clause (cf. *Place the loaf on a wire rack to cool*). While the topic-forming capacity of pre-posed adverbial clauses is now widely agreed on (see the discussion in Lenker 2010, 28–34), there has only been some scattered research into the information-structural functions of the placement of non-clausal realizations of adverbials, viz. adverbs or nominal or prepositional phrases (see, for instance, Jacobson 1964; Horová 1976; Taglicht 1984 and, in particular, Ungerer 1988 and Ungerer et al. 1984).²⁰

Let me exemplify some of the different IS functions of the placement of adverbials by the examples of the circumstance adverbial *in Torremolinos* and the linking adverbial *however* in (9a) and (9b) (taken from Ungerer et al. 1984, 10–11):

- (9) a. Spanish food is different from English food. **In Torremolinos**, however, some restaurants serve fish and chips.

When the place adverbial *in Torremolinos* is placed initially as in (9a), it serves a “scene-setting effect” (Ungerer et al. 1984, 10) and indicates that the proposition in the rest of the sentence pertains particularly or exclusively to this place (cf. the similar function of pre-posed adverbial clauses described above). The

20. This paucity of studies is most probably due to the heterogeneity of the word class of adverbs and the varieties of functions they can fulfil on the phrase and clause level (for surveys, see Hasselgård 2010, 14–39 and Lenker 2010, 33–57) and, for practical reasons, to the high number of adverbials in all kinds of texts: Hasselgård (2010, 6), for example, counts 110,970 adverbials distributed over about 46,000 sentences in the one-million words of the British Component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-GB). Both of these factors make corpus studies of adverbials extremely difficult.

initial placement of *in Torremolinos* highlights a definite contrast between *Spain* in general and a particular town, *Torremolinos*. This restriction on the validity of the proposition of the preceding sentence is here further emphasized by the linking adverbial *however*, placed between the scene-setting adverbial and the following subject.

In (9b), on the other hand, where the place adverbial is in final position, the focus of the statement is on the place adverbial itself. Here, the place adverbial is focal and presents new information.

- (9) b. You needn't do without your fish and chips completely. You can get them **in Torremolinos**.

In the most detailed corpus study of all types of realizations of one type of adverbials, namely adjuncts (cf. *in Torremolinos*), in Present-day English, Hasselgård finds – in agreement with Biber et al. (1999) – that the “end position can be considered the default position for most semantic types of adjuncts” (Hasselgård 2010, 115–151 and 290). In line with the default information structure, end position is used for adjuncts that contain focus/comment material and constitute the culmination point of the action or the informational peak of the clause. Initial adjuncts (cf. 9a), by contrast, are used to “set up an interpretational framework for the rest of the clause”: they give an interpretative background for the message or place a restriction on its truth or validity (cf. Hasselgård 2010, 67–95). In Krifka 2007, this is labelled “delimitation”, a notion which comprises frame-setting adverbials in M1 position and marked and contrastive topics in M2 position (on these, see below Section 5.).

4.3 Adverbial placement and information structure: Medial placement of adverbials

In his 1969 study on adverbial usage, Greenbaum gives a first indication that also the medial positions of attitudinal disjuncts, i.e. stance adverbials,²¹ may be triggered by differences in signalling information structure. Greenbaum's main argument is that disjuncts

are not normally the major information point of the clause to which they are related ... however, the attitudinal disjuncts may help to focus the major information points in the clause and this, to some extent at least, accounts for their placement in positions other than the initial position.

(Greenbaum 1969, 194)

21. Greenbaum (1969) does not discuss these patterns for linking adverbials.

Greenbaum illustrates his ideas by the example

- (10) In the synagogue at Nazareth He **significantly** read from Isaiah:

In his discussion of (10), Greenbaum argues that the disjunct is placed as near as possible to the major information point (in our terminology the “comment”), viz. “the reading from Isaiah” in order to focus attention on it (Greenbaum 1969, 195). He also stresses that “it would be possible to focus on this part of the clause in a reading even if the disjunct were in initial position” and contrasts the written form with its spoken counterpart: “the reading would achieve this focusing by positioning the nuclear tone on the item with the accompaniment of other prosodic features such as stress or a jump in pitch” (195).

In his analysis of (11), Greenbaum correspondingly argues that the stance adverbial *appropriately enough* draws attention to the new element (i.e. comment), viz. “the first sight by the discoverer of the islets in higher forms”, separating it from topic material (whose anchoring in the discourse is signposted by a definite noun phrase, viz. determiner *these* + N).

- (11) These “follies of Langerhans” were, **appropriately enough**, first seen by the discoverer of the islets in higher forms, ...

Most interestingly for our present concerns, Greenbaum continues his analysis with a discussion of a rephrasing of the sentence with the adverbial in a different position (in M2 instead of M5): “Had the disjunct preceded the auxiliary, the subject would have become a major information point” (195). In such a case of M2 placement, however (i.e. the sentence *These “follies of Langerhans”, appropriately enough, were first seen by the discoverer of the islets in higher forms, ...*), the kind of “information point” is different: it is definitely not focus/comment material, but rather what has above been introduced as a “marked” or “contrastive topic”, so that the sentence could be paraphrased *As to/as concerns these follies of Langerhans, they were first seen ...*

These analyses illustrate that the functions of adverbials in position M2 have to be distinguished from other, later medial positions (M5, M7, M8). Similar observations are found in a monograph on the scope of Present-day English adverbials by Ungerer. Ungerer contrasts the effects of initial placement of *however* in (12a) with its medial positioning after the subject, as in (12b). In initial position, i.e. the default position in (12a), *however* marks the semantic relation of CONTRAST of the two sentences connected; in this case, the topic is fully anchored in the preceding discourse and realized by the anaphoric pronoun *they* (referring to *the audience* in the preceding sentence).

- (12) a. The audience listened attentively all through the lecture. **However**, they didn't at all seem to approve of what they heard. (Ungerer 1988, 332)
- b. Most of the audience listened attentively. ⟨One YOUNGster⟩, **howéver**, yawned ostensibly.

In (12b), i.e. the M2 placement of *however* after the subject, there is a second contrastive effect in addition to the marking of a CONTRASTIVE semantic relation between the two sentences. As specified by the capitals (which are used to mark stress in spoken language), this position of *however* places contrast on the topic *youngster*, contrasting *most of the audience* with one of its parts *one youngster* (realized as a NP with numeral, which specifies the delimitation). This means that in addition to marking the semantic relation of two sentences, *however* here fulfils another function, namely that of drawing attention to the topic, designating its status as a contrastive topic. A similar test for the correct placement of *therefore* is, interestingly, also suggested in one of the few style guides of Present-day English dealing with the subject: “[t]o see the false emphasis in each of the following examples, read the word preceding *therefore* as if it were strongly stressed” (Garner 2000; Garner 2003 s.v. *therefore*).

These observations open up new perspectives and suggest a differentiation of two distinct medial positions: stance and linking adverbials in positions M5, M7 and M8 serve to highlight the already existing, inherent discourse structure of the sentence. They partition topic from comment/focus material, often marking a focus as a contrastive focus. In the spoken mode, this is usually effected by prosody. In their position after the subject, adverbials draw attention to the subject or even signal a contrastive topic. They thereby fulfil a function which is otherwise not coded in the sentence (or only by way of presupposition). In the spoken mode, this may also be achieved by prosodic marking.

An adverbial in medial position – in particular if set off from the rest of the text by commas – does thus not draw attention to the (unusually placed) adverbial itself, but to other parts of the sentence, i.e. either the immediately preceding element (A or S) or the following part of the sentence, commonly the focus/comment material. Since this is the default pattern of information structure, the placement of the adverbial here serves to underscore the information structure already present.²² With the help of the medial adverbial, comment/focus material is explicitly partitioned from the topical material and appears as marked, because it is delayed by an – in all cases – optional adverbial.

22. For similar contexts, Taglicht (1984, 22–25) explored the notion of “marked rheme”, i.e. a rheme which is given more attention than the usual amount of end focus. Horová (1976, 155) similarly associates this medial position with the transition part of the clause.

Both of these functions are connected to the general idea of focus if this is understood as a “choice from a set of alternatives” (Rooth 1985): “contrastive focus” (or identificational focus, operator focus, usually narrow focus), which denotes a constituent that identifies a subset within a set of contextually given alternatives, is relevant for positions M1 and M2 (i.e. the positions after initial adverbial or after the subject). In the other positions, M5, M7 and M8, stance and linking adverbials are used to highlight presentational focus (or information focus, focus of assertion, rheme, usually wide focus) by referring to a constituent which must be interpreted as presenting new, context-incrementing information (and thus to focus/comment material).

In order to understand why these functions are here viewed as a response to the loss of the V2-constraint and the fixation of word order patterns to SVO, it is necessary to have a look at the full range of markers of focus which have been established cross-linguistically (Büring 2009): prosodic prominence (pitch-accent), constituent ordering, special focus morphemes (such as, for example, the Japanese particle *wa*, which obligatorily follows the topic), focus particles, morphological markers and specific syntactic constructions. In written Present-day English, which has lost almost all of its inflectional morphemes and is very inflexible as concerns constituent order, the only options available are focus particles (e.g. *only*, *particularly*) and special syntactic constructions, such as cleft sentences or unusual passives and increasingly – as suggested here – different positions of adverbial connectors (since the eighteenth or nineteenth century).

5. Conclusions

In the present chapter it has been suggested that there are basically two different discourse functions which sentence adverbials may fulfil when placed medially. In both positions, these medial adverbials highlight the focus structure (contrastive or presentational focus) of other sentence constituents in addition to their stance marking or linking functions. In positions after the verb (M5, M7, M8), they are “rightward-pointing” and function as “discourse partitioners”, separating topic from comment/focus material and thus put a certain focus of attention on this material.

Sentence adverbials in position M1 and M2, by contrast, put emphasis on their preceding element and thus underscore the topical function of the element in question. In M2 cases, only particular realizations of the subject, typically topics which are anchored in the co-text but still have a specific character (e.g. possessive + N or *this* + N in Examples 5 and 16) can usually be highlighted in this way. By contrast, anaphoric pronouns, which are typical topic material, are not found with M1 or M2, because they do not have enough contrastive potential. Just like with pre-posed

adverbials, this placement of adverbials has an effect of “delimitation” (Krifka 2007): the proposition is only applicable to the limited group of referents specified in this way (see the underlined elements in Examples 4, 5, 13, 14, 15 and 16).

I have termed these positions M1 and M2 “post-initial” positions here because of their structural and functional similarity to Present-day German adverbs in *Nacherstposition* (‘post-initial position’). This positioning is attested for, mainly CONTRASTIVE, adverbial connectors such as *jedoch* or *dagegen*: Cf. *Der Dieb wollte schnell fliehen. Das Tor jedoch war gut bewacht.* ‘The thief wanted to take a hasty flight. The door # was heavily guarded.’ vs. *Der Dieb wollte schnell fliehen. *Er jedoch schaffte es nicht.* ‘The thief wanted to take a hasty flight. *He # didn’t succeed’ (see Pasch et al. 2003; Breindl 2008). This placement of adverbials in the position after the first constituent poses serious problems for German V2 (which would then appear to be V3). In one of the most convincing attempts to solve this problem, Onea & van Heusinger (2009) suggest that the adverbial in this, and only this position, should be considered a particle which is part of the subject position (i.e. XP).

M1 and M2	M5–M8
leftward-pointing on focus of attention	rightward-pointing
contrastive focus	presentational focus
delimiters for frame-setting adverbials	discourse partitioners
marked or contrastive topic material	marked focus/comment material

Figure 6. Focus functions of medially placed sentence adverbials

Even if some details have neither been fully investigated nor are as yet fully understood, this view of different discourse functions of the different placement of sentence adverbials has been acknowledged – though very rarely – as a stylistic choice in style guides of English. While most of these guides comment on the initial placement of linking adverbials and the correct punctuation only, some still maintain that medial placement of linking adverbials is unfitting:

One other point remains, which is the use of *however* as a stuffy extra word to insert for no other reason than to sound self-important ... In most sentences where *however* has a comma on either side of it, it’s better to leave out the word.
(Howard 1994, s.v. *however*)

Yet, there is one guide, *Garner’s Modern American Usage*, which in their discussion of *however* (with cross-reference to *therefore*) come to the following conclusion about lapses in texts of good writers, a view which fully agrees with the discourse function suggested for these adverbial connectors in the present study:

Assuming that *however* isn’t put at the front of a sentence, the word has the effect of emphasizing whatever precedes it. If you say “Jane, however, wasn’t able to

make the trip” you are contrasting Jane with others who were able to go. But if the story is about Jane alone, and the fact that she had been hoping to make a trip, the sentence should be “Jane wasn’t able, however, to make the trip”. Some otherwise good writers don’t seem to understand this straightforward point of rhetoric. (Garner 2000 and 2003, s.v. *however*)

Medial placement of adverbials in Present-day English may as yet only be a stylistic option of a particular register, ACADEMIC PROSE, which in its correct use in higher frequencies marks the style of “good writers”. As has been illustrated above, however, such decisions made at the level of information packaging in certain registers often condition grammaticalization processes at the level of syntax. Accordingly, it has been suggested here to view these changes in the Late Modern English period – just like unusual passives or cleft sentences – as a response to the loss of V2 and the fixation of the English word order to SVO, which left adverbials as the only flexible sentence constituent in Modern English in unmarked contexts. Their central function in different medial positions, as employed by “good writers” of English (see preceding quote), is to highlight or mark different kinds of information structure in written modes.

References

- Biber, Douglas, Johansson, Stig, Leech, Geoffrey, Conrad, Susan & Finegan, Edward. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- Breindl, Eva. 2008. Die Brigitte nun kann der Hans nicht ausstehen. Gebundene Topiks im Deutschen. *Deutsche Sprache* 36: 27–49.
- Büring, Daniel. 2009. Towards a typology of focus realization. In *Information Structure*, Malte Zimmermann & Caroline Féry (eds), 177–205. Oxford: OUP. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199570959.003.0008
- Campbell, George. [1776] 1963. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Lloyd F. Bitzer (ed.). Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press. First published London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell and W. Creech at Edinburgh 1776.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In *Subject and Topic*, Charles Li (ed.), 127–155. New York NY: Academic Press.
- Denison, David. 1998. Syntax. In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 4: 1776–1997, Suzanne Romaine (ed.), 92–329. Cambridge: CUP.
- Diessel, Holger. 2005. Competing motivations for the ordering of main and adverbial clause. *Linguistics* 43(3): 449–470. DOI: 10.1515/ling.2005.43.3.449
- Ford, Cecilia E. 1993. *Grammar in Interaction: Adverbial Clauses in American English Conversations* [Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 9]. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511554278
- Garner, Bryan A. 2000. *The Oxford Dictionary of American Usage and Style*. Oxford: OUP. DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780195135084.001.0001
- Garner, Bryan A. 2003. *Garner’s Modern American Usage*. Oxford: OUP.
- Greenbaum, Sidney. 1969. *Studies in Adverbial Usage*. London: Longman.

- Gundel, Jeanette K., Hedberg, Nancy & Zacharski, Ron. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69: 274–307. DOI: 10.2307/416535
- Haselow, Alexander. 2011. Discourse marker and modal particle: The functions of utterance-final *then* in spoken English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(6): 3603–3623. DOI: 10.1016/j.pragma.2011.09.002
- Hasselgård, Hilde. 2010. *Adjunct Adverbials in English*. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511676253
- Horová, Eva. 1976. On position and function of English local and temporal adverbials. *Brno Studies in English* 12: 93–123.
- Howard, Godfrey. 1994. *The Good English Guide. English Usage in the 1990s*. London: Macmillan.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Pullum, Geoffrey K. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Jacobson, Sven. 1964. *Adverbial Positions in English*. Stockholm: Studentbok.
- Jitschin, Peter. 2012. Adverbial Connectors and Information Structure. Schriftliche Hausarbeit für die Erste Staatsprüfung für das Lehramt an Gymnasien, Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Ms.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2007. Basic notions of information structure. In *The Notions of Information Structure*, Caroline Féry, Gisbert Fanselow & Manfred Krifka (eds). *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure* 6: 13–55. (<http://opus.kobv.de/ubp/volltexte/2008/1960/>) (5 July 2013).
- Lahiri, Aditi & Plank, Frans. 2010. Phonological phrasing in Germanic: The judgment of history, confirmed through experiment. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 108: 370–398. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-968X.2010.01246.x
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form. Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents* [Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71]. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511620607
- Lehmann, Christian. 2008. Information structure and grammaticalization. In *Theoretical and Empirical Issues in Grammaticalization* [Typological Studies in Language 77], Elena Seoane & María José López-Couso (eds), 207–229. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lenker, Ursula. 2010. *Argument and Rhetoric – Adverbial Connectors in the History of English* [Topics in English Linguistics 64]. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110216066
- Lenker, Ursula. 2011. A focus on adverbial connectors: Connecting, partitioning, and focusing attention in the history of English. In *Connectives in Synchrony and Diachrony in European Languages* [Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 8], Anneli Meurman-Solin & Ursula Lenker (eds). Helsinki: VARIENG. (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/08/lenker/>)
- Los, Bettelou. 2009. The consequences of the loss of verb-second in English: Information structure and syntax in interaction. *English Language and Linguistics* 13: 97–125. DOI: 10.1017/S1360674308002876
- Los, Bettelou. 2012. The loss of verb-second and the switch from bounded to unbounded systems. In *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English* [Oxford Studies in the History of English 2], Anneli Meurman-Solin, María José López-Couso & Bettelou Los (eds), 21–46. Oxford: OUP.
- Merriam-Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*. 1998. Springfield MA: Merriam-Webster.
- Meurman-Solin, Anneli. 2012. The connectives *and*, *for*, *but*, and *only* as clause and discourse type indicators in 16th- and 17th-century epistolary prose. In *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English* [Oxford Studies in the History of English 2], Anneli Meurman-Solin, María José López-Couso & Bettelou Los (eds), 164–196. Oxford: OUP.

- Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*, 2 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198119357.001.0001
- Mueller, Janel L. 1984. *The Native Tongue and the Word. Developments in English Prose Style 1380–1580*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Onea, Edgar & Anna Volodina. 2009. Der Schein trägt nämlich. *Linguistische Berichte* 219: 291–321.
- Onea, Edgar & von Heusinger, Klaus. 2009. Topikwechsel im Diskurs. Handout SPSW, Stuttgart (<http://wwwuser.gwdg.de/~voneaga/OnKvHSPSW12009.pdf>) (5 July 2013).
- Pasch, Renate, Brauße, Ursula, Breindl, Eva & Waßner, Ulrich Hermann. 2003. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. Linguistische Grundlagen der Beschreibung und syntaktische Merkmale der deutschen Satzverknüpfen* (Konjunktionen, Satzadverbien und Partikeln). Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110201666
- Pérez-Guerra, Javier. 2005. Word order after the loss of verb-second constraint or the importance of early modern English in the fixation of syntactic and informative (un-)markedness. *English Studies* 86: 342–369. DOI: 10.1080/00138380500164083
- Quirk, Randolph & Wrenn, Charles. 1977. *An Old English Grammar* [Methuen's Old English Library]. London: Methuen.
- Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sidney, Leech, Geoffrey & Svartvik, Jan. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Rooth, Mats. 1985. Association with Focus. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Swan, Toril. 1988. *Sentence Adverbials in English: A Synchronic and Diachronic Investigation* [Tromsø-studier i Språkvitenskap 10]. Oslo: Novus.
- Taglicht, Josef. 1984. *Message and Emphasis*. London: Longman.
- Thompson, Sandra A. 1985. Grammar and written discourse: Initial vs. final purpose clauses in English. *Text* 5(1): 55–84.
- Ungerer, Friedrich, Meier, Gerhard E.H., Schäfer, Klaus & Lechler, Shirley B. 1984. *A Grammar of Present-day English*. Stuttgart: Klett.
- Ungerer, Friedrich. 1988. *Syntax der englischen Adverbialien*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. DOI: 10.1515/9783111354538
- van Kemenade, Ans & Bettelou Los. 2006. Discourse adverbs and clausal syntax in Old and Middle English. In *The Handbook of the History of English*, Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds), 224–248. Oxford: Blackwell. DOI: 10.1002/9780470757048.ch10
- van Kemenade, Ans, Milicev, Tanja & Baayen, R. Harald. 2008. The balance between syntax and discourse in Old English. In *English Historical Linguistics 2006. Selected Papers from the Fourteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL 14), Bergamo, 21–25 August 2006*, Vol. I: *Syntax and Morphology* [Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 295], Maurizio Gotti, Marina Dossena & Richard Dury (eds), 3–21. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Virtanen, Tuija. 1992. *Discourse Functions of Adverbial Placement in English. Clause-initial Adverbials of Time and Place in Narratives and Procedural Place Descriptions*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis förlag.
- Wärvik, Brita. 2011. Connective or 'disconnective' discourse marker? Old English *þa*, multifunctionality and narrative structuring. In *Connectives in Synchrony and Diachrony in European Languages* [Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 8], Anneli Meurman-Solin & Ursula Lenker (eds). Helsinki: VARIENG. (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/08/warvik/>) (5 July 2013).

Appendix

Positions (adapted from Greenbaum 1969, 78)²³

M1 between sentence-initial adverbial and subject		
M1	(13) How soon organizations arose for the care of the sick, and, in war-time, of the wounded, it would be difficult to say; for Buddhists and Hindus were of course earlier in the field than Muslims, inheriting as they did an older moral culture. <u>In the Muslim world</u> , however, (the twelfth century saw the rise of the Kadirite Order, with its philanthropic procedure). (CLMET; Cheyne, Thomas; 1914).	Delimitation: Frame-Setting Adverbial (Buddhists and Hindus ↔ The Muslim world) Paraphrase: As to / As concerns the Muslim world in contrast to the Buddhist and Hindu world ...
M1	(14) The <i>Shorter Oxford Dictionary</i> says that the word “empiric” means “based on observation or experiment, not theory”. 39 In general, empiricism is based on direct experience only and ignores statements based on anything other than experience. 40 <u>In its extreme form</u> , therefore, empiricism (limits itself to the results of direct observation and virtually denies the value of theory since this is generalization removed from first-hand observation). (BNCweb B25 40)	Delimitation: Frame-setting Adverbial (In general ↔ In its extreme form) Paraphrase: As to / As its extreme form in contrast to its general form
M2 between subject and verb (including Greenbaum’s position M3: between subject and auxiliary)		
M2	(15) Enough has been said to show that the Progress of humanity belongs to the same order of ideas as Providence or personal immortality. It is true or it is false, and like them it cannot be proved either true or false. Belief in it is an act of faith. (New paragraph) <u>The idea of human Progress then</u> is (a theory which involves a synthesis of the past and a prophecy of the future). (CLMET; Bury, J. B.; 1929)	Marked Topic Paraphrase: As to/As concerns this Progress of humanity, it is a theory ...
M2	(16) Sixty thousand years of historical time, when we survey the changes which have come to pass in six thousand, opens to the imagination a range vast enough to seem almost endless. <u>This psychological question</u> , however, (need not be decided) (CLMET; Bury, J. B.; 1929).	Marked Topic Paraphrase: As to/As concerns this range, it need not ...

(Continued)

23. For the use of ⟨⟩, underlining etc. see Footnote 14 above.

Appendix (Continued)

M5 between auxiliary and verb (including Greenbaum's M 6: between auxiliary <i>be</i> and <i>-ed</i> form of verb)	
M5	(17) Any group of people will, over time, develop common rules governing their behaviour, and these rules are often described as norms. 78 Examples of these unwritten rules are that parents should play with their children, or that one should respond in the appropriate manner to a "good morning" greeting. 79 Norms are, therefore , (ideal standards of behaviour). (BNCweb B17 79)
	Cleft: What norms therefore are, are ideal standards of behaviour.
M5	(18) I have said, that, in the Greek and Roman Languages, the most common arrangement is, to place that first which strikes the imagination of the speaker most. I do not, however , (pretend, that this holds without exception). (CLBLAI2; Blair, Hugh;1783)
	Cleft: What I do not do is to pretend that this holds without exception.
M7 between verb <i>be</i> and complement	
M7	(19) With a variety of models thus before him, he will avoid that narrowness and poverty of conception which attends a bigoted admiration of a single master, and will cease to follow any favourite where he ceases to excel. This period is, however , (still a time of subjection and discipline). (CLMET; Reynolds, Joshua; 1769)
	Cleft: What this period is, is a time of subjection and discipline ...
M8 between transitive verb and complement	
M8	(20) I know the names, but I do not know the nature of some of the most considerable offices there; such as the Avoyers, the Seizeniers, the Banderets, and the Gros Sautier. I desire, therefore , (that you will let me know what is the particular business, department, or province of these several magistrates). (CLMET; Chesterfield, Philip; 1746–69).
	Cleft: What I desire is that you will ...
M8	(21) We consider, first , (the recognition by revelation of sin. Sackcloth is the outward and visible sign of sin, guilt, and misery). (CLHOM3A; [1873])
	Cleft: What we consider first is the recognition ...