CHAPTER FIVE: CLASSES 1 AND 2 (THE PHRASAL VERB)

PRELIMINARIES

This chapter is concerned with group-verbs of classes 1 and 2—those which have one particle and which do not govern a prep0. Class 1 group-verbs occur without any object, class 2 group-verbs take a direct object. I propose to treat both types together in this chapter, except where the presence or absence of a dir0 affects the point under discussion. My justification is that the syntactic function of the particle is very similar in both types, being an adverbial one. Furthermore, the semantic roles of particles are mostly very similar in class 1 and class 2, as for example the compleive value of up in heal up and use up. More specifically, it is often possible to pair a class 1 and a class 2 group-verb which have different verbal formatives, on the basis of a common particle with an identical semantic role in each. Examples include go off/set off (a bomb), come on/turn on (a light), come round/bring round (sb.).

Another point of contact between the classes is the existence of group-verbs which have the option of taking a direct object and so may function either as class 1 or as class 2: thus e.g. Jim broke off (what he was saying). Don't rev up (the engine), The cats stretched (themselves) out in the sun.¹ For these reasons it is desirable to discuss both

¹In such examples the presence or absence of an object does not alter the role of the subject or the essential meaning of the group-verb. A different phenomenon is the use of a phrasal verb both intransitively and transitively, but such that the subject NP of the intr. use corresponds to the object NP of the trans. use, as in The night-club closed down beside Police closed the night-club down. This is very common indeed and closely analogous to the behaviour of many single-word verbs (for which see Jespersen, MEH, iii, 332-55 and Gustav Kirchner, 'Zur transitiven und intransitiven Verwendung des englischen Verbum', ZAA, 7 (1959), 342-99; the relationship between syntactic and semantic function for a NP varies according to the transitivity of the (group-)verb.)
classes together, in order to bring out the many aspects of their history which they have in common. What would be wrong would be to confuse or to ignore the distinction.  

Idiomaticity

In Chapter 2 group-verbs in OE are set apart from other co-occurrences of verb and particle by various tests, most of which depend in essence on there being a degree of idiomatic meaning in the particle. Historically, though, there has often been a subtle movement between literal and idiomatic meaning, and the precise degree of idiomaticity in a given example may be hard to determine. Here are four widely-spaced examples in illustration of this point:

Swa swyðe nearwelicca he hit lett ut aspyrian (ChronB 216.26 (1085)).

In more recent group-verbs like find out, inquire out, pry out, search out, the particle may contribute a complective element to the meaning of the whole, or else the slightly figurative sense 'out of concealment or obscurity, into the open'—the latter not far removed from the literal spatial meaning of out. Indeed out may combine both effects in some indefinable proportion. The particle ut in the quoted example seems to show much the same sort of ambivalent function.

For I schal waken vp a water to wasch alle be worlde (Cleanness 323).

In modern use, wake(n) up (a person) sometimes suggests a kind of spatial meaning of up—to be 'up' is to be not lying down—although the predominant

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2Quirk et al., *Grammar Contemp. Eng.*, pp.811-16 give a number of criteria for identifying phrasal verbs, which with one minor exception apply only to transitive collocations, whilst the examples cited include several intransitives. In the abridged text, Quirk and Greenbaum, *Univ. Grammar*, transitive and intransitive phrasal verbs are explicitly distinguished (pp.347-49).
effect of up is completive or even semantically empty.³ OED does not record waken up until c.1400 (s.v. waken v. 3). The present example might therefore be an early appearance of the modern use, the whole combination being used figuratively with an inanimate object. However, the primary reason for the use of up is likely to be the literal, spatial notion of raising floodwaters to cover and cleanse the earth.

As when the potent Rod / Of Amras son ... up calld a pitchy cloud / Of Locusts ... (Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 338). The literal meaning of up would be appropriate in the context, especially as the locusts are symbols of Hell. (A similar notion may have contributed originally to the formation of conjure up.) The locusts reappear in wholly literal motion in Book XII, line 185, ‘a darksom Cloud of Locusts swarming down’. But Milton’s up calld might be a poetic inversion of the group-verb call up ‘summon’, recorded from 1389 (MED s.v. callen v. 3.(b)), in which the meaning of up does not involve upward movement. And the picture is complicated by a secondary, spatial meaning of up, ‘to or towards a person or place ...’ (OED s.v. up adv¹ 22), known from 1362 if not earlier,⁴ which may well play a part in the origin and current use of call up, summon up, etc.

... in order that five or six very ancient Whigs might be wearied out and shrink to their beds (Trollope, Phineas Finn, Ch. VIII [World’s

³Simeon Potter claims that in the exhortation Wake up! the particle ‘expresses instantaneous aspect’ (‘English Phrasal Verbs’, PhD, 8 (1965), 285-89 (p.285)), whilst Dimitar Spasov, English Phrasal Verbs (Sofia, 1966), p.31 lists the particle in wake up as expressing ‘the momentary character of an action’. I find this hard to reconcile with the fact that wake up is perfectly compatible with such adverbs as slowly, gradually, half.

⁴The following examples appear to predate OED’s first citation: Het up of hirse baird mouch as he walde (SK 156); He stöfen bome up to the kneue (Hav 599); A3 a whom he sholde ganngeinn inn Upp to batt obehrr allterr (Orm 1076, sm. 1083).
Classics ed., i, 72]). Here we have a reversal of the usual development. *Weary out* 'fatigue completely' is clearly established as an idiomatic group-verb in the nineteenth century—recorded from 1647 in *OED* s.v. *weary* v. 4c—and this is clearly the principal meaning here; cf. *FE* *tire out*. But Trollope may well have been playing on the literal sense of *out*: 'driven out (of Westminster Hall) by weariness'. We cannot tell.

In the early part of this chapter, therefore, and again in the section on *OED*, it will be helpful to suspend the criterion of idiomaticity in discussing verb-adverb combinations. Rather than limiting discussion to phrasal verbs, I shall consider classes 1 and 2 more widely and include co-occurrences of verb and particle without idiomatic development of meaning. The original classification based on number of particles and presence or absence of dir0 and prep0 is retained. Later in the chapter I shall consider the development of idiomatic collocations within classes 1 and 2—the true phrasal verbs—and the relationship between idiomaticity and word-order. In this way we can distinguish the syntactic history of verb-adverb combinations from the rise of the idiomatic phrasal verb, without losing sight of the connection between the two.
OLD ENGLISH

Previous work

I do not intend to pursue the phrasal verb any further back than the historic period of OE. No single account of OE verb-adverb behaviour is wholly adequate, although the essentials can mostly be found published somewhere. Harrison, *Sep. Prefixes*, limits his attention to four early OE prose works translated from Latin and is most concerned with the question of separability. Hilliard claims to widen the scope of Harrison's investigation in his 'Reexamination', but his analysis of word-order ignores clause type, finiteness of the verb, phonological/syntactic 'weight', and date of text (cf. p.53 note 12 above), which vitiates any conclusions he draws. Campbell, *OE Grammar*, pp.30-37, is concerned with word- and sentence-accent, on which he is terse but illuminating, but he has little to say about word-order and makes no distinction between different phases of OE. Mitchell ('Prepositions etc') likewise makes no attempt to detect

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6 But his comment on the function of a prefix (p.30 note 1) is rightly criticised by Mitchell, 'Prepositions etc', p.244.
or describe any tendency to change during the OE period,\(^7\) and the bulk of his article is devoted to transitive and potentially transitive particles. Roberts has little OE material and some of that is poorly classified.\(^8\) I shall make use of his terms for describing the position of the particle relative to the verb, 'pre-contiguous', 'post-contiguous', 'pre-removed' and 'post-removed' (p.467), which ought to be self-explanatory. Visser has little to add to other accounts apart from some examples of class 2 combinations (Hist. Syntax, 1, 597-600).

At first sight the article by Curme looks promising (see note 5 above). It systematically distinguishes between adverbial and prepositional particles,\(^9\) and it traces the history of compounds and other combinations from Gmc through to modern English, German and Scandinavian, over some forty pages. But various defects reduce it to little more than informed speculation. There are many unverifiable assertions, such as that 'in oldest Germanic the verb was felt as a more important element than the adverb and hence stood after it in the important end position' ('Development', p.324). Distribution of stress is the basis of the account, and again many of the claims are impossible to verify and some at least are difficult to believe, for example those in the following passage:

"Sif þu be sylf for God god bist, þet ne forlest þu nefre unbances" (Twelfth-Century Homilies, E.T.S. 137, p. 134), "If you really are yourself good before God you shall never lose this against your will." Notis that altho we hav

\(^7\) The only references to change are brief quotations from other scholars on pp.247 and 251.

\(^8\) He quotes Sceo eorbe bifode, and stænas to burston (Matt (W3) 27.51) as an example of an 'independent', i.e. non-compounded particle-verb string (p. 476), when it is clearly the inseparable compound tobristen. He also regards any particle not literally in pre-position as being an adverb, which allows him to cite Se uncīment gast him of eode (Mark (W3) 1.26) as an example of a verb-adverb combination (p.476). (OE as printed by Roberts.)

\(^9\) A minor lapse occurs on p.338, where a quotation involving the preposition abuton turns up in the section on adverbial particles, though without damage to the argument.
lost this word-order we have preserved the old accent. Again: "Christ scowie, þæ hwile be hit dæg big, for þæm ðæ beo doomed nihte cymlæ," etc. (ib. p. 66), "We shood work while it is actually day, for the dark night will come." 10

No distinction is drawn between a non-literal particle modifying a verb in its usual sense, as in cool off, dry off (p.328) and the figurative use of a whole combination, within which a particle has a literal, spatial meaning, as in Ge in ne eodon and ge forbudon ða ðe in-eodon (Luke (WS) 11.52, quoted p.326). The possibility, even likelihood, that the West Saxon Gospels sometimes imitate Latin syntax is not mentioned, nor is there any consideration of the possibility that English syntax in general may have been influenced from outside, e.g. by Scandinavian patterns. There is scant citation of actual OE usage—and what there is is mostly from WS Gosp and Beo—and practically no reference to detailed studies.

The dissertation by von Schon (see note 5 above) is concerned exclusively with the relative position of verb and particle, in order to trace a transition from 'separable verbs' to phrasal verbs. To this limitation of scope must be added a poor understanding of OE, 11 some ludicrous analogies with PE and ModG, 12 and other errors of method and judgement. 13

10 The quotation is taken without change from 'Development', p.346; the Simplified Spelling and the use of emphasis and accent-marking are Curme's.

11 For example, she reads forty be is an, ðæt micle ðara be ladlesan beo, folie awilcum hlæfordie awilcum he wille (Law V As 1.1) as if he in the first clause is a verb and an a variant of the particle on ('Origin', p.100). She translates on bisoden as 'sodden away' (p.178).

12 Atfealle 'falls away' (Law Inc 76.2) is said to be separable because 'the closest modern reflex [!] I can think of is German abfallen or fortfallen, both separable ('Origin', p.78); ne onbite (Law Inc 57) is separable, because 'we can invent a modern German reflex Abbenissen ... which would be separable' (pp.78-79); wibredde is evaluated by comparison with ModG besprech mit (p.96); atregton (ChronB (Thorpe) i, 180.26(905)) 'is, I believe, an embryo phrasal verb, translatable by "sit by" or the like' (p.116); stitlege 'appears to be separable on the analogy of "lie down", "stand by"' (p.159); and so on.

13 No attention is paid to degree of literal meaning except for a brief sortie into PE phrasal verb types and an arbitrary use of meaning to decide whether an OE particle is separable or not. She ignores the information in B2(3) for OE, despite listing the work in her bibliography, and relies
The ambitious title is not lived up to. Yet the work is not entirely useless: its very simplicity and its focus on a single aspect of the problem introduce some clarity into a complicated subject. In particular, von Schon describes the origin of the phrasal verb as a two-stage process of particle shifting, an approach which I shall explore below. And her analysis of texts from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, however faulty in detail, provides approximate chronological information and the occasional valuable example. She is one of the few writers not to treat OE as a single état de langue.

A good starting-point for the description of classes 1 and 2 in OE is Harrison's five general rules of verb and particle position, already quoted above, p.54, which were of course meant to apply to any 'separable verb'. Mitchell quotes Harrison with approval in the course of his own discussion of OE verb-adverb collocations ('Prepositions etc', pp.245-46). The propriety of extending Harrison's conclusions to the whole of OE—they were formulated on the basis of four Alfredian texts—is a question which must be considered. Support for doing so is provided indirectly by the work of Paul Bacquet, also founded on Alfredian texts but carried out in the structuralist tradition of linguistics.\^{14} His work is too diffuse to permit brief summary and in any case does not contain much information on particles, but two points are worth noting here. Having made his detailed study of Alfredian OE, Bacquet adds appendices on non-WS dialects of OE, and on tenth and eleventh century OE syntax. He is unable to find any dialect differentiation in the matter of positional syntax, and his conclusion

\^{14} La structure de la phrase verbale à l'époque alfrédienne (Paris, 1962).
on the later OE is that the rules of word-order prevailing are the same in essentials as for the ninth-century material.\textsuperscript{15}

If the tendencies which Harrison describes are valid for OE as a whole, there are numerous exceptions to his third and fourth points, that the particle tends to precede the verb when the clause has transposed order or when the verb is non-finite. Many of the exceptions are covered by the observation that if an adverb does not precede the verb immediately in such circumstances, it is usually next to (and most commonly in front of) a prepositional phrase which completes or specifies its meaning. This is Meroney's main contribution to the subject, though his thesis largely ignores the meaning of adverb and prepositional phrase and confines itself to positional relationships.\textsuperscript{16} I shall return to the influence of prepositional phrases later in this chapter.

Mitchell mentions class 1 only in passing ('Prepositions etc.', pp. 243-44, 247-48) and hardly discusses word-order at all. Class 2 is dealt with a little more fully and the following patterns are identified:\textsuperscript{17}

(1) S-V-O-p and V-S-O-p, more common in principal than in subordinate clauses.
(2) S-V-p-O and S-O-V-p and V-(S-)p-O, principal and subordinate clauses.
(3) x-p-V(-x), principal and subordinate clauses, and the preferred order when the other elements have the relative order S-O-V (wrongly printed 'S.V.0') and when V is a participle or infinitive.
(4) S-p-O-V, only once, in verse, in a subordinate clause.

\textsuperscript{15}On dialectal variation see \textit{Structure}, pp. 743-47, esp. 745; on chronological variation see pp. 749-53.

\textsuperscript{16}Meroney's OE '\textit{upp}' is mentioned above, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{17}'Prepositions etc.', pp. 244-45. I have adapted the presentation slightly and for the sake of clarity confined the formulas of (1) and (2) to S, subject; V, lexical verb; O, direct object; and p, particle. Other elements may in fact intervene, except where specifically excluded.
The first type, with *p* immediately following *V* which itself follows *V*, belongs in Roberts's post-removed pattern. The second, with *p* 'immediately' following the finite verb, is basically Roberts's post-contiguous pattern, except that Mitchell groups the data so that intervention of the subject, another adverb, or a dative between *V* and *p* is ignored. The third type, with *p* 'immediately before the verb', corresponds to Roberts's pre-contiguous pattern. Both implicitly include the cases where *ne* or *to* intervenes between *p* and *V*; I shall for the sake of consistency call such examples pre-removed, though I recognise that they bear a close structural relationship to pre-contiguous examples. The fourth type is rare and appears to be confined to subordinate and coordinate clauses.

Another recent survey has been published by de la Cruz, in general accord with the observations of Harrison, McRae and Mitchell. His approach is structural, although the idiosyncratic terminology is more like that of TG syntax. Some sensible observations on the factors which constrain word-order are almost lost in a tortuous maze of language and alpha-numeric symbols. Classes 1 and 2 (in my terms) are generally discussed together, with occasional citation of classes 3 and 6 as well, and OE as a whole is contrasted with ME. Abstracting with some difficulty the comments on OE, one finds the following; again I adapt the nomenclature.

Post-contiguous order is the unmarked type, employed unless 'prevented by the specific circumstances determining the other patterns' ('Context', p.27).

The most common reason for the use of pre-contiguous order is 'the syntactic structure of the Old English verb' ('Context', p.3), which often

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18 I have come across a handful of further examples, mainly in *end*-clauses which lack a subject: *and of orce ut shta landan* (*SenA* 14.35); *a sec ut micre ecel servymon* (*CP* 3.7); *Bearm ic afedde, he omde, and up hy worthy* (*EthMon* 11.108); *bat hec eft up hyre leoman stywe* (*EyrM* 112.23).

19 J. H de la Cruz, 'Context-Sensitivity in Old and Middle English', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 8 (1976), 3-43.
causes it to appear in final position when it is a participle or infinitive complementing another verb, and in subordinate clauses. When both factors are simultaneously present—i.e. the lexical verb is non-finite and the clause is subordinate—then it is the finite verb which is frequently final, immediately preceded by the non-finite form. Another possibility has the non-finite verb at the end, with the particle immediately preceding it and the finite form before that. Both of these arrangements give p-V order. Other circumstances promoting verb-final clauses—and hence often p-V order—include coordination with and and imitation of Latin word-order. The latter may also promote p-V order even when V is medial.

Pre-removed order is seen by de la Cruz as a variant of pre-contiguous order. Not many kinds of element can intervene between p and V. The pattern occurs when V is negated by no or when it is an inflected infinitive. It can also occur when prepositional phrases—what he calls 'prepositional objects' ('Context', p.22)—intervene between p and V, 'in particular those which complement or specify the directional notion' of p (p.22), and with 'generic locative modifiers' like bonam (p.23). He has one example of a compound tense in a subordinate clause where the finite verb comes between p and V (p.23), and an isolated example where p and V are separated by a pronominal subject (p.24). He argues that this last example demonstrates stylistic emphasis on the particle—cf. my discussion of it below in the section on initial placement of the particle. He concurs with Mitchell's observation in claiming that intervention of a direct object between p and V is rare: 'missing ... except for a poetical or otherwise isolated instance' (p.22, but cf. my note 19 above).

Post-removed order may be found when the clause has 'normal' order (S-V-..); a direct object may intervene between V and p—and must do if

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20 Emphasis added as 'non-finite' ('Context', p.10).
it is pronominal ("Context", p.34)—and other elements may also do so, such as the adverbs be and byr. Another source is 'inverted' clause order provoked by initial adverbs be, bonne, byr, etc., by the negator ne, and in direct questions: these often lead to the order V-S-p (pp.34-35).

I have summarised the views of Mitchell and de la Cruz on the behaviour of classes 1 and 2 in OE, omitting the examples they give in illustration. A more detailed survey of OE prose currently being carried out by Risto Hiltunen is unlikely to modify greatly the generalisations given here for OE as a whole—the overall tendencies are clear enough—but it may well clarify our knowledge of changes occurring during the period.

**Change during Old English: 'particle shifts'**

A provisional account of changes in OE may be constructed on the basis of von Schon's work (mentioned above, pp.113-114). Her thesis is that the modern phrasal verb has come about as the result of a two-stage shifting of the position of particles relative to verbs. In pre-historic OE, she argues, the regular position of adverbial particles was pre-contiguous. By c.690, the date of her earliest text, the 'First Particle Shift' is already well under way—namely the movement of adverbial particles to a position following verbs which are finite. This shift continues throughout the OE period. The appearance of adverbial particles after NON-finite verbs is a later phenomenon, called by her the 'Second Particle Shift'. It occurs first at the end of the ninth century and is not frequent until c.1000 ('Origin', pp.230-31 and passim).

She makes the implicit assumption that other elements, notably the verb, are fixed points in clause structure and that the development consists essentially of particle shifts only. But there is clear evidence of a general change in the principles of word-order in sentences which do not involve particles. To take a clear-cut example, it is well known that the verb in, say, Elfrician texts is clause-final in a high proportion of
subordinate and coordinate clauses ('conjunctive order'), but that the tendency has dwindled away by the end of the ME period. Now it seems prima facie different in kind for a particle to follow a verb which would otherwise have been clause-final, than for it to follow one which would have been medial anyway. The latter might more easily be regarded as a change within a minor sub-system (consisting of V and p) only; the former seems to involve the basic pattern of the whole clause. Yet no distinction is drawn. Confining the discussion to 'Particle Shifts', therefore, runs the risk of being incomplete at best and misleading at worst.

Von Schon's earliest example of the 'Second Particle Shift' applying to an infinitive is & be wolden ferian norb weardes ofer Tenea in on EastSceax ongean be scimp (Chrona 85.17 (834); 'Origin', p.115). She notices only the particle norbweardes, which is printed as one word in the edition she cites.21 It could be argued that norb weardes is a prepositional phrase, with weardes a postposition, but even if taken as an adverb it is only on the margins of the particle system, as von Schon herself later recognises ('Origin', p.147). Her first example of the 'Second Particle Shift' affecting a participle is & [spelwold] hofde ealle be gat forworhte inn to him (Chronb (Thorpe) 1, 178.28 (901); 'Origin', p.119).

It seems to me that we are dealing here not with the adverb inn but with the preposition into; words for looking (e.g. helucan, betyman, fortyman) are used with particles in one of two ways, either + acc. of person and + in, ut, etc; or + acc. of door, gate, etc and + prep. phrase, the preposition being into, ongean, or to.22 The passage in question fits perfectly.


22 I have been unable to find a comparable example of forwyrca 'barricade' + particle in OE. Examples with other verbs can be found in BR(3) and in W. A. Craigie, 'A Rare Use of the Preposition "To", MNB. 20 (1925), 184-85. The space between inn and to is not significant and in any case the editors disagree: Thorpe prints a gap between inn(n) and to for all MSs, whilst Plummer has a small gap in MS A (92.3) and no gap in MS B (93.12).
into the latter category; thus also Craige (see note 22).

However, even if von Schon's own first examples are somewhat dubious, others are easily found; and if poetry is considered—her corpus does not include any—the date of the start of the 'Second Particle Shift' is earlier than she allows. The following selection of examples is based on a cursory search of Alfredian prose and of poetry thought to be pre-tenth century in composition.

**Particle following an infinitive**

Hept þe ecrla hleo eahta meares / fiæbedcleores on flet tean, / in under eoderas (Bero 1035)
wutun gongan to, / helpan biihfruman (Bero 2648)
Hept þe þet headweorc to hagan biodan / up ofer eocgclif (Bero 2892)
and habben his hyldo forþ (CanA 657, 625)
lyc on andwihten / nu ofer secofen niht sigan lœte / wælregea ufan widre
eordan (CanA 1546)

Willflod ongan / lytyllan eft (CanA 1412)
Let þa . . . sunu Lameches sweartne fleogan / hrofn ofer heashflod of huse
ut (CanA 1438)
Hæo . . . gewat fleogan eft / mid lœum hire (CanA 1471)
Cewiton him . . . secan suð dan Sæoman and Sonorun (CanA 1964)
Let me free ðesan / eft on ælæ ædelæinga bearn . . . (CanA 2130)
Gewit þu ferian nu / ham hyrsted gold and healsængæ, / ðæodo iesæa
(CanA 2155)

Neton ðesan ut / of þem hean hofe halige aras (CanA 2457)
ac gedulafæœ reducing in ðone deopan wæl / niðer under nessas in ðone
næwlan grund (Sat 70)
naegna dream agan / uppe mid ænglum (Sat 121)
Ongan ic þa steppan forð / ana wið ænglum (Sat 246)
geawian us toegenes / grene strete / up to ænglum (Sat 286)\(^23\)
woles manna rínum, / fela þusendæ, forð geðleðan / up to ædle (Sat 399)
and bonne on ðæm gewinne þurhunnian forð (Net 25.70)

sibþæ ðan yalan eft ongimeæ / after ligoræce lucan toðære, / geclungæ
to cleoweræ (Pehom 224)

þæt ealle Romane woldan ym xii monæ bringen toðære þone selestan dal
hiðra gode gegeard to heora geblote (Or 144.2)
het þeh sendon æfter, þær he naegna libbenæ wiste (Or 153.12)
& þohte him self on scripum to farene east ymbutan & þonne bestalan on
Theodosius bindan (Or 154.11)

For ðæm æwealdæ ge eow woldon shæbban up ðæ heafen (Bo 34.17)
þæt hi megen ealle pas good gegeardian toðære (Bo 55.24)
& nið hire þæm bonne ætre to feallanne ofðene bonne up (Bo 81.13)
Ac ic wolde giet mid suare bisme þe behwerfan utan þæt þu ne mihtst nemne
weg fædan ofer (Bo 85.22)

færum he meg cuman eðæ ðider ðæ he wile bonne se ætter (Bo 107.19; sim.
107.22)

\(^{23}\) Example noticed in Meroney, OE 'wpp!', p.8.
Particle following a present participle

& ney ne hie eft flo wede of bæs andæs (Or 11.7)
& bonda nôr bub end uñ pone Wændelæ (Or 11.16)
& wæs byrmande fyr up of þære eorðan (G: U6).29)25
& wæs from þæm heofone bædcende niper oþ þæ eorðan (Or 123.21)
& he gefonnde mode sumum hing mid him spreccende etgadere & glewenende wæs (Bede 346.33)

Particle following a past participle

þæ me þærwed wæs, / nealles sweslice sið ályfæd / inn under eordeñeall (Bœo 3088)
and we æsc æworpæne hider / on þæs deopen dalæ (SænB 420)
oð þæs folcgestræne gefænne hefæn / sëd tosommen suðan an norðan, /
heldæm þæte (SænB 1987)
þæ wa wulðres weard wolcnum bifungen, / heahengla cyning, oðer hrofes upp, / hæliga healæ (ChristR 527)26
bet æhæfen wæren halge gynnæs, / hædre heofontungol, healice upp, / sunne
and mona (ChristR 692).v
ponne fromlics / þurh bridges had gebrædæd weorðæd / eft of ascan (Phœn 371)/
Heofonæls sinðan / ðagre gefyllæd, feder slæhteæg, / sælra þænas þyræ,
Mæs wulðres, / uppe mid ðægælæm ond on eorden somod (Phœn 626)/
ponne on þæm wintregæm tidun wyrþ se ðæs fordrefen færon from þæm norþærnum wynænum (Or 11.17)
forþæ wyrþ of godes monnes lof ælegen inne on þære ilcan þeode (Bo 43.31)
as bic hæð geðæde eft to þæm ilcan ryne (Bo 49.8)
þæt þæ fordrefen on an gilond ut on þære Wændelæ (Bo 115.22)

The early examples of the 'Second Particle Shift' gathered above are
no more than a sample. A certain number are of doubtful validity for one
reason or another: the particle is locative and not perhaps as closely
linked to the verb as a directional particle, e.g. unæ; or it is not

24. Examples noticed in Hilliard, 'Reexamination', p.44.
25. Heroney writes of this example: 'unæ should perhaps not be taken with
   the participle' (OE 'unæ', p.4).
26. This example and the next noticed in Heroney, OE 'unæ', p.5.
wholly spatial at all and verges on being a manner adverb, e.g. *eft*, *tome
dere*, or a time adverb, e.g. *ford*, or its position ought perhaps to be
referred to a finite verb instead of the infinitive, e.g. *swat fleogan
eft*; or it is arguably part of a compound preposition, e.g. *ut* before of.
Even discounting such cases leaves enough to show that von Schon was wrong
to think her own first two examples isolated, the rest all occurring after
1000 AD ('Origin', p.222). More could easily be added from the early OE
period. The sample is sufficient to illustrate the main trends.

In a few cases the particle seems to follow the verb because it is
modified by a relative clause and/or because it takes part in a structure
of comparison: the former factor is present in *fordwm he nyw ouman ed dider
he he wile bonne se oðer* (Bo 107.19), for instance.

Adverbs and prepositional phrases

In most cases, though, when one of the basic particles like *afet*,
*inn*, *opp* follows a non-finite verb in these early OE examples, it is either
an elliptical preposition and so legitimately to be regarded as an incom-
plete prepositional phrase, or else its sense is modified or completed by
a prepositional phrase of source, direction, or goal (or, equivalently, by
a generalised adverb such as *bonan*). Furthermore, some of the marginal
particles, such as *tome
dere*, are themselves prepositional phrases in ori-
gin. In other words most of the adverbial particles which first undergo
the 'Second Particle Shift' are similar to, or closely associated with,
prepositional phrases.

Now even in the very earliest OE records prepositional phrases are
able to follow a non-finite verb. It is a reasonable inference, therefore,

27 Von Schon discounts *to farene bider ic wille* (Law V As Pro 1) 'because
we have a juncture after *farene*' and *bider* is a conjunction ('Origin',
p.102).
that the first spatial adverbs to move from pre-verbal to post-verbal positions, at least with respect to non-finite verbs, are those which are somehow associated with prepositional phrases, and that they do so, so to speak, in the wake of the prepositional phrases. Only later, if my sample is at all representative, is the usage extended to adverbial particles which have no particular link with a prepositional phrase.

Von Schon notices that post-removed position in *Orosius* commonly involves double adverbs or adv + prep ('Origin', p.151), but she does not follow the observation up. De la Cruz notes the part that a 'cohesive string' formed between an adverb and a prepositional phrase may play in bringing about post-contiguous order with non-finite verbs, or pre-removed order ('Context', pp.28, 22). Hilliard, on the other hand, decides against any attraction of the adverb *at* by prepositional phrases, apparently for the rather flimsy reason that 'both types of usage [vis., *at* next to verb and next to prep. phrase] occur in both early and late texts' ('Reexamination', p.81). No figures are given to show whether or not there is a change in distribution.

The best evidence on the question of a link between adverbs and prep. phrases is given by Meroney. He records the following proportions of collocations in which *ump* has pre-contiguous position: in Alfred, 77% when there is no prep. phrase in the clause, 67% when there is; in Alfric, 61% and 17% respectively (OE *ump*, p.42, Table 3). He argues from this that 'it appears that the movement of *ump* away from the front of the verb [though not necessarily to a position after it] took place more rapidly in sentences which contained a prepositional phrase' (ibid., p.40). The First and Second Particle Shifts are not here distinguished. More generally, we may observe that the claim is consonant with Marchand's view, made from the standpoint of Modx:

To judge by the results now long reached, I think that the rise of the [phrasal verb] is tied up with the normalizing of the position of locative subjuncts in general: he rent
out (in, under, etc.) is parallel to he went out of the room, he went home, he went there, etc. Adverbs of indefinite time (never, often, etc.), of manner (quietly, slowly, etc.), of degree (almost, entirely, etc.), of modality (hardly, certainly, etc.) may immediately precede the verb, but adverbs of place always follow the verb (except for such sentences as I here give a few examples where the locative sense of the pronominal adverb is considerably weakened). 28

Points of compass

Von Schon assumes that the points of the compass are the least prefix-like of the particles and that they therefore led the way to post-verbal position in both particle shifts ('Origin', p.147). This is her explanation of the example, already quoted, & be woldon ferien norh weardes ofer Temese in on EastSeane oncean be aciu (ChronA 85.17 (894)). The explanation is not adequate. It cannot explain the many other early examples of the shift; it does not account for the post-removed position of in (which von Schon fails to notice); and there are examples where a compass direction appears in pre-contiguous position whilst another particle, supposedly more 'prefix-like', is placed elsewhere, e.g. & bonne forb bonan west irnende heo tolip on twe (Or 11.15), & bonan norb busende ut on bone Mendesam (Or 11.16).

'Echo particle'

Von Schon brings in the concept of the 'Echo particle', where a prefix is reinforced by a free particle. The phenomenon was noticed by J. R. Hendrickson: 'The frequency with which [the OE translator of ChronA] felt it necessary to strengthen a prefix with an additional adverb of the same meaning, e.g. e-grifan, . . . ut, indicates at the very least that [he]

feared that the prefix would be meaningless to the reader. Von Schon argues that the echo particle, introduced first as a reinforcement for the weakened prefix, comes in the end to be the essential expression of the directional idea, so that the prefix becomes redundant and is dropped ('Origin', pp. 33-34 and 230-31). She goes on to argue that echo particles may be one mechanism involved in her two particle shifts.

Now the phenomenon may well be a source of an increased frequency of adverbial particles. What her argument fails to explain is why such particles should tend to follow the verb—if indeed they do. It is easy to cite echo particles which come before the verb, e.g. be heretogen be hine sw ut adrifon hi wolden oft ut adrifan for hiore ofexmatum (Bo 35.3).

The argument only makes sense if echo particles follow the verb more often than do other adverbial particles, which in turn is likely only if post-verbal positions are associated with emphatic use. She does not make these points. A lesser and unexceptionable claim would be that the use of echo particles ultimately reduces the frequency of prefixes in favour of movable adverbs.

**Stress**

The influence of stress on the particle shifts is difficult to assess.

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29 Old English Prepositional Compounds in Relationship to their Latin Originals, Language Dissertations, 43 (Baltimore, 1948), p. 73.

30 'Directional idea' is too narrow: the phenomenon can occur with prefixes of Aktionssart meaning, as in til hi aiauen up here castles (Pet. Chron. 1140/52).

31 My example is chosen to illustrate echo particles preceding both a finite and non-finite verb.

32 My impression is that echo particles behave no differently from other adverbial particles, and that furthermore they are frequently not especially emphatic, the collocation of (compound) verb and particle having become habitual. Koroney comments on the high frequency of ut + adrifan, for example (OE 'unp', p. 48), and unp + aheban is another familiar collocation (cf. Hilliard, 'Reexamination', p. 30).
Cursore certainly believed it to be crucial:

Now, as only strongly stress adverbs past by the verb and assumed a position after it and only moderately or weakly stress adverbs remained before it, it seems self-evident that the reason for the transfer of any modifier of the verb from a position before the verb to a place after it was an increase in stress and a relative decrease of the importance of the verb ('Development', p.324).

However, his evidence is slender (see p.112-13 above), and he seems to equate stress with semantic prominence. Marchand is sceptical too, because of 'the strong middle stress which particles have as first elements of compounds today' (MNF, p.109)—but there are few finite verbs with spatial prefix.

Most analyses of 'separable prefixes', amongst which would fall the majority of adverbial particles, assume that they are fully stressed in all positions, including pre-contiguous position (see the references on p.56 note 17), this being a matter of word-stress rather than sentence accent. Metrical analysis does not give exactly the same result, for by Kuhn's Law the degree of stress on a Satzpartikel depends on its position relative to other Satzpartikeln and to the first stressed element of the clause (and adverbial particles are, metrically, Satzpartikeln). In Beowulf, if we leave out the generalised adverbs (hidey, bogan, etc) and those adverbs which are marginal to the set of spatial particles (oft, tosea, etc), then we find maybe a dozen examples of post-verbal particles in classes 1 and 2: code . . . ford (612), maeth oncean (747), (?) teon in (1036), orran . . . tosea (1501), sardon ford (1632), fahb . . . to (1755), fleut . . . ford (1909), gosen to (2648), (? biodan un (2892), sprong ford (2966), (?) sarymed . . . salifed im (3088), and also possibly wolde ut (1292), swat . . . hem (1601) maern ford (136). Taking Bliss's convenient 'Index to the Scansion of Beowulf' (Metre of Beowulf, pp.139-61), we

35 See F. Kuhn, 'Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altsächsischen', FSB, 57 (1933), 1-109 (p.9); also Bliss, Metre, pp.6-16.
find that he assigns full stress to the particle (or to one syllable of the particle) in every case. Pre-removed position is somewhat rarer:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{sticon} (224), (?) \textit{neddon} (537), (?) \textit{ime} \ldots \textit{sprecen} (642), \textit{ford} \ldots \textit{atdon} (745), \textit{ut} \ldots \textit{soncen} (2031), (?) \textit{utan} \ldots \textit{forgrundon} (2334), \textit{forem} \ldots \textit{baron} (2364), \textit{ut} \ldots \textit{brecan} (2545) from \textit{\ldots cwen} (2556). Again, all are assigned full stress apart from \textit{ut} (2545).\textsuperscript{35} By far the commonest particle position is pre-contiguous, and here both full and secondary stresses are found, for example full stress in \textit{ford onscndon} (45) and \textit{up setiged} (1373), secondary stress in \textit{ut scufon} (215) and \textit{up astea} (782).
\end{itemize}

If Elissa's analysis is correct, the only conclusion which can be drawn is that adverbial particles in positions other than pre-contiguous will usually be stressed, and that pre-contiguous particles will often be stressed too. Even these tentative and inconclusive results must be treated with caution in extrapolating from verse to prose and speech.

Examples in which a particle belongs to a structure of comparison are of interest here, for such particles might well be subject to contrastive stress. As was noted on pp.112-122 above, there are a couple amongst the early examples of the 'Second Particle Shift': \textit{&nis hire beah bonne sære to seallanne ofdume bonne un} (Bo 81.13); \textit{bat taened hut he sasei ma bencan un bonne ryder} (Bo 147.9). One explanation for the word-order, then, is that contrastive emphasis inherent in a comparison requires the particle to take a stressed position after the verb. The argument would have to conclude that this position was marked and that the normal, unmarked position for an adverbial particle at the time would have been before the verb—which appears to be true. (An alternative, though related

\textsuperscript{34} The more marginal particles also take full stress in post-verbal positions, except for \textit{bonon} (1532) and \textit{art} (2356) which are assigned secondary stress.

\textsuperscript{35} This is assigned secondary stress, whilst \textit{bonon} (520) and \textit{bonon} (853) are given as unstressed.
explanation would be that the string \( p_1 - \text{bonne} - p_2 \) is treated as a constituent and therefore, being a 'heavy' sentence element, gravitates towards the end of the clause.) The word-order in the two examples quoted is at least consistent with Curee's belief that at first only stressed adverbs were shifted beyond the verb, and that 'the end of the sentence has always been in normal speech an emphatic position' ('Development', p.324). Certainly in OE it is possible to use final position for end-focus, i.e. complex or contrastively stressed items can be shifted further beyond the verb than they might otherwise have been.

Another clue to the stressing of particles in OE is the marking of syllables by an acute accent in manuscripts. The consensus of opinion seems to be that although such accents may sometimes indicate sentence stress, they may often be signs of vowel length or may serve some other, unknown purpose.\(^36\) Because this aspect is of uncertain value and would require a detailed investigation of OE manuscripts, I have ignored the evidence of accents.

**Compound tenses**

Non-finite parts of the verb tend in OE to come late in the clause, frequently at the end, though with nothing like the regularity of written ModE. Towards the end of the period the tendency begins to be superseded by a new tendency to put finite and non-finite verbs in a single group in the clause. It is tempting to associate this change of word-order practice with the rise of the various compound tenses of English. For example, the same overall process would seem to underlie the well-known change by

\(^{36}\)Hilliard, 'Reexamination', p.32, explores the use of an acute accent on \( \ddot{u} \) and concludes that it cannot be relied on, as in some manuscripts it also appears on inseparable prefixes, articles, etc. References to more general and authoritative statements are given by Helmut Caeser, 'Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts for the Dictionary of Old English', in Frank and Cameron, *Plan*, pp.11-24 (p.18 note 16).
which *habban* (trans. verb) + NP (object of *habban*) + participle (adjective in agreement with NP) comes to be re-analysed as *habban* (aux. verb) + NP (object of lexical verb) + participle (trans. lexical verb). Loss of inflection in the participle, however, is generally earlier than the word-order change. In addition to the formation of a perfect, OE witnesses the formation of a periphrastic passive and the first signs of modal auxiliary verbs. (The expanded form, 'be' + present participle, is in most texts of the OE period not of great importance.)

The rise of complex verbal groups in English is familiar ground and it is not part of this thesis to go over it again.\(^{37}\) What is worth stating here is that the rise of various complex verbal groups is closely related, probably as both cause and effect, to the movement away from clause-final position of participles and infinitives.

**Weight principle**

Another factor which plays some part throughout the OE period and which is dominant in the tenth century is that of 'weight'—a concept which seems to combine rhythmical, syntactic and semantic factors. It appears that unmarked order within a sentence apart from verb and perhaps subject is in order of increasing weight of sentence element.\(^{38}\) This principle helps to explain the early OE tendency for prepositional phrases to follow a verb when a single particle might not. It also contributes to the erosion of clause-final position of the verb, for example of a finite verb in a subordinate clause. De la Cruz refers to 'various non-absolutely final positions' ('Context', p.8), where, for example, an infinitive is preceded by most of the nominal determinants but is followed by

\(^{37}\)See, for example, Visser, Hist. Syntax, iii-1 and iii-2, passim.

one NP or prepositional phrase.\textsuperscript{39} This is an apt term for the position of the non-finite verb in a number of my examples of the 'Second Particle Shift' (pp.120-21 above).

\textbf{MIDDLE ENGLISH}

\textbf{Verb shifts}

Von Schon bases her account on the movement of particles and simply distinguishes between finite and non-finite parts of the verb. Lindelöf argues the same way, with the extra specification that the shift for participles used predicatively comes earlier than that for participles used attributively.\textsuperscript{40} Both seem to miss the point that some of the shifts are really in verbal position. To put it in terms of Harrison's five rules (see p.54 above), rules (1) and (2) on 'normal' and 'inverted' order retain their validity; rule (3) becomes redundant as a result of the disappearance of 'transposed' order; rule (4) loses its validity as non-finite verbs cease to be clause-final; and consequently the second part of rule (5) becomes irrelevant. Eventually, then, pre-contiguous position for the particle becomes abnormal, although instances persist until the early ModE period and occasionally to the present day. Visser gives a cogent summary of the nature of these survivals:

\begin{quote}
It is difficult to ascertain about what time [the OE type with movable adverb before the verb] fell into disuse, since from the thirteenth century onwards combinations of the type \texttt{out(-)ban}, \texttt{out(-)blot}, \texttt{out(-)cast}, \texttt{out(-)pour}, \texttt{up(-)build}, \texttt{up(-)cast}, \texttt{up(-)lift} were introduced in great
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{39} This type of word-order is extremely common in both Alfredian and later prose. Often the post-verbal element is in apposition to something before the verb. See Alfred Reskiewicz, 'Split Constructions in Old English', in Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret Schlauch (Warsaw, 1966), pp.313-26.

\textsuperscript{40} Uno Lindelöf, 'English Agent-Nouns with a Suffixed Adverb', \textit{NM}, 36 (1935), 257-52 (p.281).
numbers, partly (especially in poetry) as a result of prosodic inversion . . . ; partly, as OSD puts it, "as habitual nonce-words made up each time from their elements", and partly as translations or adaptations of Latin verbs with prefixes . . . . (Hist. Syntax, i, 599-600) 41

Date of change

In general, though, post-verbal position becomes the norm. Scholars disagree about the dating of the process. Smithers writes: 'the momentous further step by which the separated form of all such verbs [viz. classes 1, 2 and 3] came to be the only possible one in English appears to be substantially complete by the time of Shakespeare' (ENVP, p.xxxiv). De la Cruz says that the change is fully accomplished by the end of the fifteenth century ('Origins' (thesis), p.371). Spasov makes it 'especially after the 15th century' that post-verbal positions for the particle are established ('Phrasal Verbs', p.17). Marchand writes that 'the stage where locative particles regularly followed the verb' was reached by the fifteenth century, 42 though he goes on to give a careful qualification:

This assumption is probably safe if we allow a certain amount of fluctuation. That the postpositional verbal type go out was pretty well established as far back as the 14th century (see Curme ['Development', p.329]) is proved by the existence of such agent nouns as corner about, maker up, finder up, looker on, which Langenfeld has traced to that century. On the other hand, prepositional usage must have lingered on considerably longer, as the prefixal type outgrow is not attested before the second half of the 15th century whereas, if postposition of the particle had been a fixed pattern in the 14th century no inseparable verbal prefix out- could have arisen later. In point of fact, we find new formations with

41 On ME imitations of Latin word-order see also J. M. de la Cruz, 'The Latin Influence on the Germanic Development of the English Phrasal Verb', EPSh, 13 (1972), 1-42 (pp.18-21).

42 Hans Marchand, 'Compounds with Locative Particles as First Elements in Present-Day-English', Word, 12 (1956), 391-8 (p.392). In an earlier article, 'Notes on English Prefixation', NM, 55 (1954), 294-304, he had written that the tendency to form post-particle verbs was achieved by the fourteenth century (p.296; repeated ENVP, p.131).
prepositive *out-* in a locative meaning as late as the 16th century though we cannot now say whether they represent a more than literary type. For *outbreathe* 'breathe out, exhale' 1559, and *outhold* 'hold out (as hold out one's hand)' 1512, OE D has prose examples up to 1600 while in PE . . . the verbs would be poetic only. *Outcry* 'cry out publicly' does not seem to be recorded before the 15th century (1430-40) and is last instanced for 1688. 43

And von Schon reckons the change to have 'substantially taken place by 1300' (*Origin*, p.213), although *Confessio Amantis* is an admittedly exceptional and retrograde text from her point of view.

The disagreement is not on the whole serious: much will depend on the interpretation of 'substantially' and 'fully' accomplished, and on the attention paid to poetic language and other peculiarities. The points of interest in the transitional period are to describe usage in 'mixed' texts which show some 'OE' and some 'modern' traits in their treatment of classes 1 and 2, and to explore the relationship between the survival of pre-verbal positions and the development of idiomatic phrasal verbs. I shall use the *Final Continuation* of the *Peterborough Chronicle* to show that the OE system had broken down by the mid-twelfth century in the East Midlands. I shall then briefly consider later ME prose texts to see how far their examples of pre-verbal particles show vestigial survival of the OE 'rules'. Finally I shall examine the *Ormulum* to check and to fill out the findings, placing the material at the end of the chapter in conformity with the general plan of this dissertation.

**Verbal nouns**

Marchand refers to the evidence of agent-nouns of the type *maker up* for the change from p-V to V-p order in the verb phrase. We should perhaps

43 'Compounds', p.392. A footnote gives the following reference: G. Langenfeld, *Select Studies in Colloquial English of the Late Middle Ages* (Lund, 1973). In fact there is fuller information on such agent nouns in Lindelöf, 'English Agent-Nouns'—see note 40 above.
add the similar introduction of verbal nouns of the type coming down, also
dated by OE to the fourteenth century (s.v. -ing suffix 2). Examples
from Chaucer include thy pouring in (Tr III.1460), youre pouring hom aven
to Troie (Tr V.1380), of buyldyng up of chirches (SumT, III, 1979), the
knyttynge tondre of . . . (ParT, X, 842). There are in fact examples at
least as early as the first quarter of the thirteenth century: licenliche
locunyes after (AW 2a.4), 44 the fehtunges again (AW 62a.6), muche tilung to
(?) (AW 80b.14), his ledunge forð (Hofa 17.47). Such patterns co-exist
with the older (though infrequent in OE) p-V order, as in vid ut tetunge
(AW 26b.10), be uprowenge (AW 29b.3), his in-convynge (Chaucer, Tr II.1308).

The Peterborough Chronicle

The Final Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle is one of the
first examples of original English prose to appear after the Conquest. It
is written in one hand and is thought to have been composed by one man at
one time, probably in the period 1154-60. It shows fair independence of
the West Saxon Schriftsprache which had dominated previous English writing,
and the style is relatively free of mannerisms. 45 The whole text is only
some 2,600 words long.

First we can eliminate those particle-verb strings which constitute
compound verbs, such as forstode (1135/23), todeld (1137/4), undergatun
(1137/10), baelmp (1137/76), and so on. To this list may be added forð-
forgorde in Bereafter forðforgorde Willelm ercibiscope of Cantwarburi (1140/6):
in OE, as Harrison says, forð makes a stereotyped formula with feran. 46

44 This phrase is explained by Roger Babood as a nonce-compound, a calque of
L. ob-sequantia, to be translated 'observances'; see 'A Lexical Puzzle in

45 See The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154, edited by Cecily Clark, second
dition (Oxford, 1970), pp.xvii, xxv, lxiii, lxxvi, lxxxvii. All citations
are from this edition.

46 Harrison, Sep. Prefixes, p.57, echoed by de la Cruz, 'Gmc Phrasal Verb',
p.92 and Hilliard, 'Reexamination', p.35.
and the whole string time adverbial - *forrferde* - subject is a formula of the *Chronicle*, whereas a free particle in inverted clause order would normally follow rather than precede the verb.  

47 This is as true of early ME as of OE.

Five more problem cases must be briefly considered in turn, before the behaviour of classes 1 and 2 can be described. *Me henged up bi the fet & smoked heem mid ful smoke* (1177/21). *Henged up* is best regarded as an example of class 2 with the object understood from the next clause. A reading in which *Me henged up bi the fet* means 'people hung there by the feet' (with *henged up* fully intransitive) gives clumsier syntax than the assumption that *henged up* is notionally transitive, its object omitted or shared with the verb *smoked*. The early history of ME forms derived from ON hengja is in favour of the transitive reading. 48 It makes little difference whether the example is classified under class 1 or class 2; I choose to call it class 2.

*Dat weron recheentees dat twa ober thre men hadden ongh to heron onne* (1177/29). It is hard to make sense here of a group-verb *bear on*, with *onne* treated as a disyllabic form of the particle, and the conventional reading in which *onne* is a form of the numeral 'one' is preferable, despite certain difficulties. 49

*He hi ne forberen biscopes land ne abbotes ne preostes, ac raeden muskees & clerkes, & music man other be ouervyte* (1177/48). There is no

49 The difficulties are the use of a historically masc. inflexion on the numeral when the noun is historically fem., and the early appearance of *<a>* for *<o>* to represent the long vowel. On the total abandonment of the OE gender system in the *Final Continuation*, see Clark, *Pat. Chron.* p.lxi, and on the change *[aː]* > *[ɔː]*, see her p.lxv. There is, however, hardly any other evidence in *Pat. Chron.* of the change having taken place in a stressed syllable.
doubt that *quer* is a free particle; other instances in OE and ME show clearly that it is separable.\(^5^0\) If the relative *he* is object of *quer*, with omission of subject *he*, then *ouermhte* is class 3; if *he* is subject of its clause, then *ouermhte* is class 1. In the latter case, which seems the better supposition, the class 1 use would be developed from class 3 by ellipsis of the prepositional object. Compare also an earlier line, *for seoric pen aleone ouermut he mihte* (1135/8), where the relative pronoun is clearly subject.

& He becomt in landes bat rie man hefden mid strengthe (1177/68).

All the major editions have the spacing *becomt in landes*,\(^5^1\) a reading reflected in the translation 'And he got back lands ...' (SHP, ii, 200).

Miss Clark includes *beysten in* in a list of verbal constructions perhaps influenced by Norse usage (Pet. Chron., p.lxix). Yet the dictionaries have no examples of *bivisten/beyste in*, and none of transitive *get in* earlier than Towneley Plays (MED) or Shakespeare (OED)—and then in a different, literal sense. A different reading is adopted by MED, which quotes this line s.v. *inland* n. 'land belonging to a manorial lord ... usually cultivated by himself or his steward'. The manuscript spacing, never reliable anyway, is quite unhelpful here, and short of checking whether the named districts were in fact technically 'inlands', it seems to me that the interpretation in MED is better supported and more natural. There is therefore no group-verb here.

*Bot me lihtede candles to sten bi* (1140/4). Although there is no overt object for *bi* in the infinitive clause, it will be recalled that such constructions are treated in this work as exemplifying class 3.

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\(^{50}\) See the references and discussion in B. Dicksin, 'The Peterborough Annal for 1137', RES, 2 (1926), 341-3 (p.342); Clark, *Pet. Chron.*, pp.107-108; EHMVP, p.xxxiii; ERS s.v. *ofer*-wase; OED s.v. *may* v1 B.1.

\(^{51}\) Plummer, *EBE*, *EMST*, *EHVY*, Clark.
Adverbial particles take the following positions in the Final Continuation. There are no examples of pre-removed position. In class 1 there are two examples of pre-contiguous position: tosegere cumen (1135/23), overmyhte (1137/50); up to five of post-contiguous position: *faren ut* (1132/10), *fluuen ut* (1137/44), *stal ut* (1140/14), *cumen ut* (1140/45), *stal ut* (1140/49); and one of post-removed position: stalen...

...ut (1140/29). In class 2 there are seven examples of post-contiguous position: *cruen up* (1132/9), *iafen up* (1137/9), *henget up* (1137/21), *leten ut* (1140/34), *iuen up* (1140/41), *iæf up* (1140/41), *aiguen up* (1140/52); and four of post-removed position: *iuen...

...up* (1140/26), *let...

...ut* (1140/39), *let...

...dun* (1140/48), *leide...

...on* (1140/58). In seventeen cases out of nineteen, then, the particle follows the verb. In both of the cases where it precedes the verb, the verb is finite and clause-final and the clause is a coordinate or subordinate one. This is a remnant of the conjunctive order typical of OE.

Conjunctive order is still fairly common in this text—Mitchell counts ten examples of the order S—...V in subordinate clauses—and an auxiliary invariably precedes an infinitive. The combination of both factors produces an example like *suor heom astae dat he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde halden* (1140/24). In such circumstances typical OE practice would be for any particle associated with the lexical verb to precede it, directly or otherwise (cf. p.117 above). Two crucial examples show that OE practice no longer obtains: in class 1 *bat he neure mare sculd e cumen*...

52 In this example and the next one *ut* is followed immediately by an of-phrase, so that one might prefer to read *ut of* prep. and classify as class 3.

53 Here an of-phrase follows the adverb, but not immediately.

54 As note 53.

55 Bruce Mitchell, "Syntax and Word-Order in the Peterborough Chronicle 1122-1154", *NE*, 65 (1964), 113-44 (Table 11, p.136, and p.137, respectively).
ut (1140/45), and in class 2 he suor... but he alle his castles sculde iuen up (1140/40). The latter is especially interesting, as but for the light particle up, all the other and major sentence elements clearly show transposed (conjunctive) order. If the lexical verb is regarded as the group iuen up (and there are other reasons for doing so), then the clause does indeed have transposed order. Here at least there would be some justification for von Schon's conception of 'particle shifts' isolable from changes in overall clause order, though we should observe that this particular particle cannot be regarded as having been 'shifted', since upp is not used idiomatically with *giefan* in OE. Note too that up has no conceivable relationship or affinity with a prepositional phrase.

I shall return to some of the examples listed here when considering idiomatic meaning and, in a later chapter, Scandinavian influence. For the present it is sufficient to note that pre-verbal particle positions appear to be in a clear minority even as early as the mid-twelfth century, and that in this short text the only instances occur with finite verbs in clauses which retain the OE pattern of conjunctive order. I shall now examine the prose of Richard Rolle and of the Pastons for later instances of adverbial particles in pre-verbal positions.

Richard Rolle

I use the selections of Rolle's work printed by H. E. Allen, the prose portions of which add up to about ten times the length of the Final Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle, and which belong to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The number of instances of pre-verbal

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56 The consistent position of up after the verbal formative in this and all other examples of the group-verb in *Pet. Chron.* shows that the combination does not behave like an OE 'separable verb'.

position is proportionately fewer, and their nature is different. I regard 
overtake (21.74) and agayne-sey (117.21, upper) as full compounds: the 
latter would anyway probably have to come under class 3 if it were not a 
compound. In Pou ben sayde thynge hat after fel (22.93), after is not a 
spatial adverb.

This leaves the following instances to be discussed, all in class 2 
and all with pre-contiguous order. 58 Vytokæ (9.47) explicitly translates 
the Latin suasæpit, and oway turning (10.3) similarly renders L. suertis, 
(Cf. also the compound wymifand (9.57) = L. circumdantis.) The verb ov-take 
(101.157) does not occur in a passage of translation, but in its origins 
in English it is said by OED to render L. eripere, excipere. 59 There are 
only five examples, of four different combinations, which cannot safely 
be put down to Latin syntactic influence (although any of them might in 
fact be a calque): *get a man ... thenk hymself ov-taysynge and rebukynge 
and rewylyng (25.211), I wyl not upward castyn an ey to se hat gloriouse 
synt (26.222), hat it may lufe hym verrayly ... : outkaesteynge worlde 
thoche and il blysynce (76.95), On his manner sal bi lufe he insuperable, 
bet na thynge may downe bryne, bet apryncand on heght (105.13), and er nocht 
shorte remand (116.258). Little can be made of these examples beyond 
noting that all the lexical verbs are non-finite and that only the last 
two are in clause-final position, and then not in a peculiarly OE pattern. 
The combination ov-take v., with pre-contiguous order, is recorded by OED 
between a1300 and 1355, whilst the order cast out is actually found else-
where in Rolle's text, e.g. castand owt al syn (77.122).

58 There are instances in the verse of class 1 combinations in pre-
contiguous and pre-removed order, pp.40-52, 68.

59 There is no need to consider here outaken prep. 'except' (e.g. 105.22).
The Paston Letters

By taking those letters written by or for members of the Paston family in the five-year period 1460–64,60 we have approximately 32,000 words of mid-fifteenth century prose to compare with the earlier material, some 20% more than the Rolle selections. It turns out that pre-verbal position for adverbial particles has almost entirely died out. The only examples found in the letters under consideration are formulas of document writing in which a particle like *above* or *afore* is placed immediately in front of a past participle. Thus we find the following used predicatively after 'to be': *a-bayn wretyn* (55.9), *afore specifid* (70B.42). Wrinne wretyn (64.95) is attributive and in pre-nominal position.61 The following are used attributively, but following the head noun: *aboveasayd* (60.81, 64.93, 199),62 *aforesaid* (70B.31, 40), *before specifid* (70B.41), *vndir wretyn* (64.106), *wrinne wretyn* (64.94, 98, 100, 102, 104).63 Then we have as *aforesaid* (117.28), predating the examples in Visser, *Hist. Syntax*, ii, 1256.

All the examples are thus in pre-contiguous order. OED’s note a.v. before E.1 makes clear that the particle combines only with participles and in a sense which is as much temporal as spatial, and specialised to the context of a discourse or document; cf. also similar evidence in OED a.vv. *aboveasaid; afore, adv., prep. and conj., D.1.a; underwritten, ppl. a. 2; and within A.l.c. Strings like *aforesaid* appear to have

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60 I use the following edition: *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Norman Davis, Part i (Oxford, 1971). The letters from that period, including those whose dates are only 'probably' or 'possibly' within it, are numbers 29, 55–60, 62–70, 88–91, 114–19, 154–77, 231–34, 317–22. (No. 61 is entirely in Latin.)

61 See Visser, *Hist. Syntax*, ii, 1232–33, for examples from OE to ModE.

62 Minor differences of spelling are ignored.

solidified as inseparable compound adjectives, not corresponding to any
finite verbal form, whilst others, e.g. wythinne wrotyn, are probably
nonce formations of particle and participle conforming to the formulaic
order of the first type. Apart from the examples already given, the only
trace of pre-verbal order has the generalised adverb here preceding a
present participle: to me ..., here abydyn tyl the tyme ..., (234.4).

FURTHER WORD-ORDER CONSIDERATIONS

Initial placement of particle

The placement of a particle very early in its clause for emphatic,
exclamatory or vivid effect was mentioned on pp.24-25 above in relation to
PE. As pointed out there, 'initial' placement of the particle does not
preclude an introductory conjunction, vocative and/or other adverbial pre-
ceding the particle. Early examples need careful scrutiny. Initial
placement in pre-contiguous order (i.e. with the verb immediately following
the particle) may point to a compound or nonce compound, whilst even ini-
tial placement in pre-removed order may serve a purpose different from that
in PE: after all, the effect of vividness etc is achieved by displacement
from an unmarked position, and in OE the unmarked positions are not the
same as in PE.

Roberts writes as follows:

[Pre-removed] order does not appear in Old English, so
far as the writer can ascertain. The nearest approach
to it is pre-contiguous initial order: Ut eode se seidere
(Exxk (WJ) 4.3). Were an element inserted between ut and
eode the order would be pre-removed; but this tness does
not occur, for these forms are Latinisms: 'ut eode'
parallels 'exivit.' ('Antiquity', p.476)

Apart from such examples Roberts claims that the initial spatial adverb
does not occur in OE ('Antiquity', p.476), and Mitchell concurs
('Prepositions etc', pp.245-46 note 7). In early poetry there are such
pre-contiguous examples as odmet foro gewat / degrimes wom (Gen 974), and
pre-removed examples like No ðe ðer af ut ða gea idehende/ bona blodistod, bealewe remundig, / of ðam goldsele gonon wolde (Bede 2081), From wrec

kwam / oru ðelmecan ut of atone, /nat hildesaw (Bede 2556). It is a recurrent stylistic trait in the geographical opening section of Orosius for a clause to begin with a spatial adverbial, occasionally a directional adverbial particle, as & bonne eft nord bonan up espyngad neb bef elive with bone Readan Sw (Or 11.13), & bonne forb bonan west inrennd (Or 11.15).

Notice also the initial placement of generalised spatial adverbs in Hider eft fundeb / on byne middengeard mancyn secan / on dombere droyten sylfe (Dregm 103), Reanon ic cleonice to beoncwest / and to wealdendcwest, fe me

wel dyde (PPs 56.2), and & heanon of lande waron twagen rexende (ChronD 170.26 (1050)).

De la Cruz cites a very interesting example ('Context', p.24): & ða

ut he sam wolde, ða gwæd he... (Bede(2) 396.29). The example is suspicious, though, and not just because the context does not seem to require an emphatic or vivid ut (the Latin reads et agrediens): Schipper's edition shows that MS T is isolated here, all other manuscripts in both major groups having either utgæn or utvængæn if they contain the passage. It is not until the late OE period that examples appear which use initial placement in a way that is perhaps akin to its FE function. Meroney gives the following examples (OE 'upp', p.15): Nóðer he shrees, and underbæ he

seode fram friméhe his anginnes (MChom (Thorpe) i, 172.33), foras se ut ic
gæne (MChram 242.5, probably a word-for-word gloss), Un ic gænce (MCharm 6.9), Foræ ic sefære (MCharm 11.31).

In ME, as de la Cruz observes, the evidence for initial placement is

64 I discount & bonne in listing eft as 'initial'; more serious is the fact that eft is probably more temporal than spatial.

65 König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte, edited by J.
Schipper, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, 4 (Leipsig, 1899), p.571; cf. also Miller's collation, ii, 495.
abundant, but as it happens all his examples come from the latter part of the period ('Context', p.27). The usage is well established in early ME:

Vp heo duden heoare castilis geten' & coofliche vt wenden (Lay. Brut A 854)
awsi he warp his gode breond (ibid. 2535)
On heo duden heoare isweden (ibid. 4712)
To-somme heo comen (ibid. 7338)
forð mon brachte pat worten; bi-foren þan kings (ibid. 7458)
Adun ucol þe haili (ibid. 13996)
'Venditi' he sode, 'awsa þu flot!' (Owl & H., 33; sim. 297)
Hið þissse worde forð bi ferden (ibid. 1789)
He łep in, and ouer he wond (Fox & W., ENWVP V.22)
Adoun hi þe putte he sat (ibid. 117)
Adoun he lai vel soffteliche (St Kenelm, ENWVP, VII.79)
Forth wende þis lypere man and þis child also (ibid. 91)
aboute heo sende anon / Foro sai si alle his londes to hire (ibid. 123)
Vp she stirtse (Hew 566)
'Loiward, awsy he haueden al born / His þing' (Hew 2020)

The fact that my examples come from verse texts probably reflects the fact that most vivid action narrative at this time is in verse. Class 1 examples outnumber class 2, but in Layamon especially both are very common. The meaning of the particle is uniformly literal, often direction + goal, and the verb in class 1 examples is always one of motion. In all examples but the last the verb is a simple present or past tense. The modern tendency to discriminate between pronominal subjects, with S-V order, and heavier nominal subjects, with V-S order, is already apparent.

Initial placement in major clauses is perhaps related to initial placement in minor clauses lacking a verb. Common sense would suggest that such minor clauses have always been available to speakers. So far I have not come across many OE examples. There are several in the charm 'For a Sudden Stitch': Ut, lytel spere, cif her inne siciæ (RCharm 4.6; sim. 12, 15), and Ut, spere, nes in. spereæ (ibid. 17).66

66 This charm is printed in Sweet's Reader as XIXB. I owe the examples to Miss Joy Watkin.
'Nu ut! quod Stranœ, 'Farlac, ne schaltu na lengere leuen in ure ende.'

(Sc, BMVP XIX.387)

Up nu of scipen billius' mine beornes ohte (Lay. Brut A 14148)
'Berenc, berenc, hider forth alle!' (Hay 868)
Aven, treitors, aven, . . . (Robert of Gloucester, BMET V.54)

**Direct object**

In OE the range of possible positions for the dir0 has already been
alluded to in the classification of Mitchell; see p.115 above. In gen-
eral, light pronominal objects are placed earlier in a clause than other
NPs. By the end of the ME period the object tends to come after the verb,
this being a commonplace of all histories of English sentence structure.
The object may precede the verb if it has front position for reasons of
emphasis, if it is a relative or interrogative pronoun, or if the clause
retains a trace of the OE tendency to front-shift a light pronominal object.
Otherwise it will come after the verb and then either before or after the
particle. De la Cruz writes that V–O–p order is established already in OE
for pronominal objects ('Context', p.34) and gives further ME examples
('Context', p.36). For non-pronominal objects the choice between the
orders V–O–p and V–p–O seems to be determined by the same sorts of factors
which operate in PE, although individual examples may differ from PE idiom.
Citation of individual examples is hazardous here: I shall confine dis-
cussion to the material in *Orm*.

Fixed idioms with the object *it* and particle *out* would appear to date
from the sixteenth century (*face it out, fight it out*, etc), whilst similar
idioms with *up* are perhaps as recent as the twentieth century; see *OSD* s.vv.
*it* pron. 9, *out* adv. 7b, *live v.* 3f.(c) (Supp.), and *Visser, Hist. Syntax,
i, 449ff. The following is conceivably an early example: *when I axvd hym
hedyr . . . , he wold haue gotyn it awye by humwe and by haya* (Past.L.
332.7).
Indirect object

Under the heading of 'indirect object' I here include indirect objects (in OE, datives) of advantage and disadvantage and of interest, and reflexives which are not direct objects. It will be recalled that the OE dative of disadvantage + adv is sometimes hard to distinguish from prep0 + prep (see pp.63-65 above). I give a selection of examples from OE and ME of clauses containing a class 1 or 2 group-verb and an indirect object:

oppe wateres bat his mehten him burst of adringean (Or 46.16)  
ba sticode him mon ba eagan ut, & sibban him mon sleg ba handa of (Or 90.14)  
bet hi him agefan eft his wif (Bo 102.12)  
Ac gif him mon bonne swint of ba clapes (Bo 111.20)  
& sade heca dat he uuolde iiuen heca up Wincestre (Fat. Chron. 1140/26)  
his breasles . . . edbrenne his ut (AW 46a.24, sim. Hold 13.101)  
& sweden hire he meistrrie & te senke al up (SK 133)  
be lade helle-warmes, tadden ant froggen, be frectod ham ut te ehnen ant te  
mese-gristles (SK, ENET F XIX,168)  
Sir William Mautrauers . . . / Carf him of fet and honde, and is limes  
manion (Robert of Gloucester, ENET V,72)  
That tow Crisesye aysein me sende sone (Chaucer, T, V,595)  
The spices and the wyn men forth hem fette (ibid., V,552)  
Crisesye . . . touchynge al thi mateere, / Wrot hym ayseyen (ibid., V,567)

Visser briefly mentions the effect of an indirect object on the word-order of a clause containing a class 2 group-verb (Hist. Syntax, i, 603), and a number of further examples are listed incidentally in sections dealing with verbs taking more than one object (Hist. Syntax, i, 599-99, 603, 626-32). The following tendencies are apparent: (i) class 1 rarely co-occurs with an indO; (ii) the indO is very frequently a personal pronoun; (iii) an indO will generally precede a dirO, in OE sometimes even preceding the verb as well; (iv) when a dirO is pronominal then it may precede an indO (cf.  
Visser, Hist. Syntax, i, 623); (v) if the particle and the NP objects follow the verb, then the most common order is V-indO-p-dirO.

Prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases of directional meaning or (what is often the

67. I assume that hem is an indO and not an anaphoric repetition of the dirO.
same thing) which are an essential complement of the verb have a close relationship with the adverbial particles of classes 1 and 2. In the first place they play a semantic role similar to that of an adverbial particle; in fact some intransitive particles have been regarded as reduced prepositional phrases. In general it can be said that the prepositional phrase and the adverbial particle have similar positional tendencies. However, in the earliest OE texts prepositional phrases may be found in post-verbal position even when the verb is non-finite. This greater positional freedom can be put down to the fact that prepositional phrases are in general both more specific in meaning and more weighty phonetically than adverbial particles and so are better suited to marked, emphatic displacement. Also they are more varied rhythmically and so less prone to assume fixed positions.

A second link is that prepositional phrases may be used together with an adverbial particle, usually to complete or to specify the meaning of the adverb. In this case the most common position for the prepositional phrase has always been next to, often immediately following the adverb: I have already argued that the tendency for the two elements to go together may be seen as a factor contributing to the breakdown of OE positional syntax and the rise of post-verbal position for adverbial particles. The association of an adverbial particle with a prepositional phrase may well tend to favour V-O-p order as against V-p-O; see the discussion of Tables 6 and 7 in the section on ORM below.
FORMATION OF CLASS 1 AND 2 GROUP-VERBS

THE FORMATIVES

Meaning of particle and verb

Adverbial particles enter the language in literal meanings before being employed in other ways, for instance as Aktionsart modifiers. Such a statement embodies the convenient fiction that the meaning of a combination (or of a whole utterance) may be segmented and apportioned amongst the words which make it up.68

In OE the great majority of particle usages which are found are literal in meaning. Of these some are locative, for example lyft up geswearc (Ex 462), swæ swæ westmæst nu on igland ligð ut on garweor (Not 16.11), deaw, bonne bag bið man dead, but he lið inne unforburned (Or 17.6).

Certain monosyllabic particles have disyllabic variants which tend to be used in the locative meanings, e.g. inne, upne, uta. A particle in locative use is often not closely bound to the verb, being rather an optional modifier akin to a manner or time adverbial ('outside the verb phrase' in TG terms). However, there are locative uses which do appear to belong in an idiomatic unit with the verb, as lið inne in the third example above; cf. mid hæn langen legere bes deadan mannes inne (Or 17.29), where the same combination is nominalised.

Directional meanings are commoner and play a greater part in the subsequent history of the phrasal verb. A particle of directional meaning goes naturally with a verb of motion, and these make up the bulk of class 1

68 See, for example, Lipka, Semantic Structure, pp.72-73, on the inadmissibility of considering the meaning of a group-verb in isolation from the nominals which enter into collocation with it.
uses. As Hilliard observes, 'verbs with elementary concepts of coming, going and motion are the most prolific [in the formation of class 1 and 2 combinations]' ('Reexamination', p.29), and he gives frequencies for his corpus. There are some indications, however, that a directional particle may include motion in its own meaning (with the same apologies as above): particles may be used without a verb at all (see above, p.142), and particles may be used with finite auxiliary verbs without an explicit verb of motion. Hence we find directional particles used with lexical verbs which do not in themselves directly incorporate the idea of motion:

\[\text{þæt ge me of ðýssum earfeðum up forlætæn (Fl 700)}\]
\[\text{and hine mon annunca ut abanne ['summon'] (NSol 481)}\]
\[\text{obe wæteres þæt hie mehten his þurst of adronican (Ox 46.16)}\]
\[\text{& hie leoton hiera hrengl ofûne to fætum (Ox 59.10)}\]
\[\text{þæt hie mið þæm alocoden ['enticed!] ut þa þe þærbinnan wæron (Ox 109.22, sim. 117.7)}\]
\[\text{& sume þærh saille þa truman ut aflæhten (Ox 121.26)}\]
\[\text{& Almvr abbod hi letan avæg (ChronE 141.28 (1011)) /}\]
\[\text{Bolyng ouer, as pottis plawyng (Fr.Faryu. 4311; OEDE)}\]

Directional meaning is often associated with 'effective value', in that the meaning may combine direction of motion with arrival at a terminal state. Not every instance of a directional adverb has effective value—ford, for example, is rarely of that type—but the many that do display it will evidently contribute to the development of completive Aktionsart values.

**Shape of verb**

It has been observed that there are certain interesting restrictions on which verbal formatives can enter into idiomatic phrasal verbs in OE. Whorf discussed the 'cryptotypes', the covert categories, of verbs which could not combine with completive up, and his discussion is modified by Fraser. Fraser's conclusion is that it is the phonological shape of a

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verb which determines to a large extent whether or not it can combine with an adverbial particle in a 'verb-particle combination' (a category slightly less inclusive than the phrasal verb). He notes that the majority of verbs which appear in class 1 and 2 combinations are monosyllabic and that almost all of the rest are disyllabic with stress on the initial syllable (VPC, p.13), and he gives a mere dozen or so examples in which the verbal formative is disyllabic but not initially stressed or is trisyllabic (VPC, p.14). Although one can add a few more examples (e.g. crystallise out, deliver up, fractionate off, remain over) the tendency which he claims to observe is evidently a genuine property of PE. To trace the history of this tendency to monosyllabilism would involve an excursion into phonological theory, a wide sampling of ModE texts, and the making of a clear distinction between idiomatic and non-idiomatic combinations. I do not attempt it here, but I doubt that the phonological constraint predates the ModE period, given the occurrence in the Reston Letters of parfourme vp (210.44), reenvre vppe (266.19), acomplyshe vp (330.31), contynwe forth (506.3, 509.7), encrewe vp (625.3, 902.16), averse out (675.2), certified vp (737.2), deluuered vp (912.18), and other, possibly less idiomatic examples—too high a proportion for us to think that the modern tendency had anything like its present force.71

IDIONATIC MEANING

There are, broadly speaking, five ways in which an idiomatic class 1 or 2 group-verb can arise: (i) by semantic development of an existing,

70 Fraser acknowledges Kennedy, Verb-Adv Combination, p.29 as having pointed this out. Fraser goes on to claim that in generative phonology on the Chomsky-Halle model, most of the phonetically disyllabic verbs are phonologically monosyllabic (VPC, p.13).

71 I have chosen examples which violate the constraint even without the possible extra syllable of an inflectional ending. Minor spelling variations are ignored.
usually literal collocation, (ii) by foreign borrowing or calque, (iii) by reduction from other kinds of verb phrase, (iv) by syntactic re-analysis, (v) by direct formation. I shall treat each in turn. The routes are not mutually exclusive: more than one may contribute to the appearance of a new idiomatic group-verb use, and furthermore the reasons for the first use of a given group-verb are not necessarily the same as the reasons for its subsequent re-use and retention in the language, which may be owed to different associations.

Semantic development of a literal combination

Once a collocation is established, it may develop a specific meaning or contextual restriction not belonging to verb or particle in separate use. Lipka’s synchronic 'object transfer' (see p.38 above), if regarded as an actual historical process—a kind of metonymy—is one way in which highly idiomatic collocations may develop out of more nearly literal ones. In clean out (dirt), for example, the particle can plausibly be related to the spatial adverb with effective value, whereas in clean out (a desk), which is newer, the relationship is more opaque and indirect and the usage is more idiomatic. The majority of Lipka's PE examples can only be traced in OED back to the eighteenth century at the earliest, apart from wring out (wet fabric), ME, and spy out (lend), 1575; note also wring be wrt of (Lch ii 30.24).

De la Cruz deals with metaphorical developments, using the terms 'literal', 'transferred' and 'figurative'. The literal are the concrete uses, which have historical priority. The transferred are those which are not literally enacted but which could in principle be so. The figurative are based on a metaphorical comparison and do not imply a physical

Lipka deals only with out and up. He observes that object transfer 'seems to occur more frequently with [verb–particle collocations than with other verbs], in particular with the synonyms of remove' (Semantic Structure, p.175).

J. M. de la Cruz, 'Transference and Metaphor in Middle English Verbs Accompanied by a Locative Particle', Orbis, 21 (1972), 114-35.
enactment. To illustrate I borrow three of his citations from 'Transference', pp.113 and 123, shortening them and quoting from the editions used in this work, and all involving the combination put forth. A literal use is And sir Gvimer put forth his speare and ran to sir Launcelot (Malory, Works, 164.41). A transferred use is Then sir Trystramyse made Hebes a knyght and causd to put hymself forth ['thrust into prominence'] and dud ryght well that day (ibid., 240.36). And a figurative use is And putte forb ['showed'] presumpcioun to proue be sohe (PPL, A XI.42). De la Cruz also distinguishes 'close units', which cannot be analysed in terms of replacement of the particle by here/there, modification by closer, further or -wards, or completion by a prepositional phrase or by a noun phrase (which would make the particle a preposition) ('Transference', p.114).

He illustrates the possibilities of semantic development by pairing a literal and a non-literal instance of the same verb-particle combination, or sometimes of different combinations of the same verb. First come fourteen pairs to exemplify literal vs. transferred use, then four pairs exemplifying literal vs. either transferred or figurative use according to one's world-view, and finally over forty pairs to show a contrast between literal and figurative use ('Transference', pp.117-30). Many of the non-literal citations, especially those which are not 'close units', exhibit very little cohesion or idiomaticity, being derived transparently in context from the literal use, e.g. I trove thou seesse to dryse away mode with habunuese of thynges (Chaucer, Bo II, pr.5, 114), And bidde be rode of bromholme bringe me out of dette (PPL, A V.145). Furthermore, despite the use of citation forms like puten for, all but fourteen of the non-literal examples come from late NE. Without wishing to duplicate de la Cruz's

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74 De la Cruz actually uses the term 'prepositional object' for the string preposition + NP.
work, therefore, I present a further selection of examples; this is intended merely to demonstrate the (unsurprising) fact that non-literal meanings are readily developed at an early date in combinations of frequent occurrence. For most common adverbial particles there are examples in Old English combinations with idiomatic non-literal meaning, and for particles established later the non-literal usages follow without great delay. For brevity's sake the following list does not contain straightforward literal examples of a given combination, nor have I distinguished transferred from metaphorical meanings.

**Abutan**

& eode swa abutan be heora gebyrdum (Judg. xx 415.19; BTS)
And so comest dobest aboute and bryngest adoun mody (PPl. B IX.208)

**Adune**

He leide a-dun bere burhge none' and nennede hire after him-seoluen
(Lay. Brut A 3539, sim. 1019)
and his scheswas welc pat he lufes God, when na score may bryng hym downe
(Rolle, Eng. Writings, 115.238)
Better is pat boote bale adoun bryng / Than bale be ybet and boote never
be better (PPl. B IV.92)
Ther contriccion doob but dryuep it down into a venial synne (PPl. B XIV.93)
then he spak, he was amon bore don / With hende Nicholus and Alisoun
(Chaucer, Mitt, I, 3631)

**Forö**

Peah nu hwele mon . . . wilnige but he scyle his hisan tobrodan ofer ealle
sorban, he ne mag bet fordringen (Bo 43.19)
Gif . . . se hund loige, sa ðeoe bet hwemowe forö (Lay. Af. 23.1; BTS)
gehyrenge bet heo þera haligra bosa oydes forbr-brohte [Skeat: 'utter']
(ALG. 238.587; Hiliard, 'Reexamination', p.43)
Pa hit sal com forö (Pet. Chron. 1129/15)
be mete forþ iwate for ber fengen feole to (Lay. Brut A 331)

**In**

Yre drihtnes halie passiun . . . is nu icumen in (Lamb. Hom. 119.24; MED)
Wit herd werokes þai heild þam in ['restrain, subdue'] (Cursor 5527; MED)

**Nyör**

submitto ic nyör alste (Æfram 172.14; BT)
donne siu lufu for mildheortnesse niederastiged (CP 103.16; BTS)
Pa Englisce over-comen pe Brutunef & brouhten heom þer neode. / þat
meorer seodde heo no arisen (Lay. Brut A 992; MED)
Of

3if we ha six sumen dagen of adop be we swesendo on habbe (Bod. Hom. 106.16; MED)
and some breke of (Rolle [Horstman] i, 107.28)

Ofer

ac rumeden manakes & clerokes, & maric man other pe ouernytte (Pat. Chron. 1137.49)

ga over to be pridd (AW 100a.24)

But now passe over, and lat us sake aboute, / Who shal now telle first of
al this route / Another tale (Chaucer, Shipm., VII, 443)

On

se now se de bispell seegn wolde, ne secolda son on to ungelic bispell
spece spece pe he donne sprecen wolde (Be 101.14)

& se on as to winkin (AW 78b.23)

higend-liche fo we onr for alle we scullen wel dom (Lay. Brut A 2935)

pliht com on usute (ibid., 4055)

Tennameus hine bi-doote' hu he faren mihte. / & hu he mihte gan on:

pat he hafde pisme kine-dom (ibid. 4492)

Oneman

be stod Grantabrycgesir fastlice ongean (ChronaL 140.9 (1010))

G Godwine soryl. & selle pe yldesest menn on WestSeason. lagon ongean

(ChronaL 159.18 (1036))

Onwege

gyt hu on weg cymest (Beo 1332)

Nu ic purs gehoren eam & aweg gewiten (Or 44.3)

Pees monsreali mea on Romanum full ii gear ofer ealle menn gelice, peh be
same deade wasen, same unsabe gedyrcrede aweg oman (Or 56.27)

noht tostecende dōpe onweg steonde peas heo wuldredon (Bede 312.23 ;
BT)

& se dal pe ber aweg com wurdon on flesse generating (ChronaL 87.30 (894))

it dose away and destroys moy and angere of saule (Rolle, Eng. Writings,
5.12)

Up

ongen him winn up ahebben / wiš . . . (Gen 259)
hafed crda gehwyle engles enytro, / ñera ñe wile anra hwylc uppe bringan

(NEol 273)

Nu Romane ongannon unsibbe him betweenum up ahebben (Or 6.8)

ðelit kines up (AW 78b.14, sim. 78a.17, 100b.5)

Ut

Hwilum [his] oft on daye utgaed & bonne lytlum: hwilum sone, & bonne nicel

(Ioch ii.230.21; BTS)

& pet man habe genom . . . & gan ut ha yldesest XII þegnas & se gerefa

mid (Law III Atr 3.1; BTS)

The semantic developments illustrated above and by de la Cruz

('Transference', pp.117-30) affect the whole of an existing collocation.
Another kind of change may leave the verbal notion more or less unaffected, whilst the particle loses its spatial sense and comes to be perceived as an Aktionsart modifier. For example, it is conceivable that drink up (a beverage) might develop from drink (usual sense) + up (marker of direction with effective value) to drink (usual sense) + up (marker of totality or completion). The overall import of a sentence containing the collocation would be little changed. Such a change would be metonymic and would qualify as a 'permutation' in Gustaf Stern's scheme.\(^75\) Examples are readily found in the dictionaries. The OED, for example, organizes its material so that the following senses can be seen to develop out of more literal, spatial (or temporal) meanings: on 'with onward movement or action; continuously': OE- (s.v. adv. 11); cut 'from being in existence or activity; from being in currency or in vogue; into extinction; as to die, give, go, kill out': 1523- (s.v. adv. 6b); away 'onward in time, on continuously, constantly; with idea of continuance of action or progress': 1562- (s.v. 7); down 'on paper or other surface used for writing; in writing: with write, note, set, put, take, lay, etc.': 1576- (s.v. adv. 13; 1574- s.v. set v. 1450); and so on.

Of course, a permutation from spatial to Aktionsart value may affect a particle within a combination that is already being used in a transferred or metaphorical sense as a whole. And although metonymic development of a spatial meaning may account for the origin of an Aktionsart value in one collocation and may reinforce its use in others, once the particle is established with an Aktionsart class meaning it may appear in new group-verbs by direct formation. Foreign influence also helps to explain certain

\(^{75}\) Permutations are unintentional sense-changes in which the subjective apprehension of a detail—denoted by a separate word—in a larger total changes, and the changed apprehension (the changed notion) is substituted for the previous meaning of the word: \[N.\] Gustaf Stern, Meaning and Change of Meaning: With Special Reference to the English Language (Gothenburg, 1931), p.361.
Aktionsart uses. Both are considered below. But I close this section with some early examples of class 1 and 2 collocations where the particle meaning is equivocal between spatial and Aktionsart value, supplementing and sometimes antedating the examples like *drink up*, *knock out*, collected and discussed by de la Cruz ('Origins', pp.424-25, 477-90).

Adune

ac he gefeol niwol ofdune on þa flor (Beo 8.3) and heo hnan adune to sebastianes fotum (ALS 5.92) & heo bigon on hire cneor for te cneolin adun (SN 46.14)

Forð

Ic sceal forð sprecean / gen yade Grendel (Beo 2069) swat æðrum spræng / forð under fæxe (Beo 2966)
þonne wrohtbora / in fæc godes forð onsended / of his bragdbogan biterne strel (Christ 763; ET)/ mæles micelre tide forðaurnenre (Bede 280.21; ET)

Of

swelice he plantige treum, & ceorde of þa wytrum (CG 449.32; BT5) & þonne hic geseden sie swing pa wyrt of (Loh ii 30.24; BT5; cf. swiring Loh ii 18.13 without of)
buton he him willie fæhæ ofaceapian (Lew Lin 74.2; ET)

On

[Hit] nyse butan hi sungon bone lof-sang forð on (ALS 21.236; OED)

Onwer

& hie sibban aweg flugon (Or 86.27)

Up

sibban ic up weox (Wife 3; Meroney, OE 'upp', p.11)
beama / para be of corðam up aweox (El 1224)
Gefraen ic ða Holofernes . . . eallum wundrum brymlic / girwan up sumendo (Jud 7)77

76 The temporal or Aktionsart use of *on* illustrated here is more common than spatial or equivocal uses with the sense 'onwards'.

77 Of this interesting and difficult example F. Klaeber writes: 'The expression *girwan up* has a curiously modern ring: "dress up" (Gordon; "serve up", Sweet). That is to say, *up* is used in a sort of perfective sense which is exceedingly common in modern verb combinations . . . ' ('Jottings on Old English Poems', Anglia, 53 (1929), 225-34 (pp.229-30)). *Up* as a pure Aktionsart particle at this date would be almost unique; it is possible to assign some spatial meaning to it. See Chapter 8.
Pe com felice mycel wynd and wearp upp pa duru (ALS 3.347)
and hi swton ealle up gesunde (ALS 23.435; Hilliard, 'Reexamination', p.68)
and gelogodon he [ge, pa haigan bun] upp (ALS 26.191)
Vp hec duden heora castles gretten (Lay. Brut A 854)
his houres dore he warp vp [At warp adun] (Lay. Brut B 12921)
Hi dore he broken up ful sket (Hay 1960)
Dikeres and Sylueres diged vp be balekes (PP 1 B VI.107)
For with a boor . . . / She made up frete hire corn and vynes alle
(Chaucer, Tr V.1469)
And rekken vp alle be resounq bat ho by rigt askeg (Cleanness 2)
I schal tolde vp my trone (ibid. 211)
Pe grete barrege of be abyme he barst vp at oneg (ibid. 965)
and repayre vppe my housse (Past. L. 266.19)

Ut

& manig mon his gebocht openum worum ut ne cyde (Alex 43.13, sim. 49.5; Hilliard, 'Reexamination', p.77)
& hast hi soecoldon him ofriem wic frumcennd byse-cild, obbe alysan hit ut
mid fif scyllum (AChom (Thorp) I 138.15)
and fond it [sc. a hidden body] out (St. Canelin, ENVP VII.208)

The following examples have no spatial sense to the particle and illustrate pure Aktionsart or other idiomatic modifications:

drine forp home drec feowertyme niht (Lch ii. 116.22; BLG)
Brooked on, for bismere, & bigimnè sum hwe! (SK 1294, sim. 2263)
to gyf noght entent till his prayers, bot rebbill on (Rolle, Eng. Writings 99.96)
Say on (Chaucer, Tr II.314)
Jet he rusched on pat burde (Gaw 2219)
& geit tak up his castel to his wierewynes (AW 63a.12, sim. 72b.18)
& cwezen hire þe meistrie & to menske al up (SK 133, sim. 866)
Be stede he grabed vp anon (Bevis 647)
the chartres up to make (Chaucer, Tr III.340)
I wol you telle a myrie tale in prose / To knytte up al this feaste
(Chaucer, ParaProl X, 46)
this gret emprise / Perfourse it out (Chaucer, Tr III.416)
that an extret or a copy myte shortly be wrytyn out (Past. L. 557.8)

Foreign influence

The two principal foreign contributions to the development of idiomatic phrasal verbs in English are those of Latin and the Scandinavian languages. Other languages have of course contributed words used as verbal formatives, either directly or via zero-derivation within English, e.g.
boil (over), launch (off), loiter (about), mantle (up), phase (out), sketch (out), split (up), whilst French in particular has contributed such particles as apart and round. There is, however, little evidence of structural influence or of the borrowing or calquing of whole phrasal verbs from
French, Low German, Celtic, or elsewhere. The influx of French *vocabulary* in the ME period has been seen as a factor inhibiting the growth in the use of phrasal verbs by providing competing alternatives: thus Kennedy, *Verb-Adv Combination*, p.13, and (with Latin and French treated together) de la Cruz, *'Latin'* , pp.27-36.

Hendrickson and de la Cruz each devote a publication to the question of Latin influence, and further examples of loan-translation are given in other works.\(^7\) De la Cruz writes:

> **We can reduce the Latin-Romance contribution to the following points:** (a) loan-constructions, (b) imitations of Latin word-order, (c) Latin and French loan-words in the structures of the Phrasal Verb, (d) inrush of Romance verbs which limit and co-exist with the development of the Phrasal Verb, to which we may add also the inrush of Romance prefixes. (*'Latin'* , p.2)

Later he expands his first point as follows:

> We should expect that the translation of Latin verbs—mainly locative compounds—contributed to the activation and development of Phrasal Verb constructions [in OE]. The Phrasal Verb could indeed be turned by the translator's use into an accurate tool for conveying in terms of his native tongue, locative expressions or other notions for which there was no direct equivalent. Therefore it is most probable that the work of the translators should have had some influence in the increasing use and subsequent development of the Phrasal Verb. (*'Latin'* , pp.6-7)

The contribution of Latin seems to be confined to the stimulation of OE translators to use verb-adverb collocations as translation-equivalents of Latin compounds, and secondly to a rather greater use of compounds, nonce compounds and collocations in pre-contiguous order than would have occurred without the example of Latin. This latter effect does not persist to any significant degree beyond the very early MedE period. The nature and extent of Latin influence has, I think, been adequately treated in the works

mentioned.

The Scandinavian influence is qualitatively of greater importance, in that it may have left a lasting impression on the nature of the phrasal verb. For example, the earliest reliable evidence that I know of of a group-verb whose particle has no spatial meaning at all, namely **jiuen up** in *Pet. Chron.*, is almost certainly a calque on **ON sefa upp**. Accordingly I have devoted Chapter 8 to the large question of Scandinavian influence and discuss it no further here.

It has also been suggested that the English language in America—and subsequently elsewhere too—has been affected by a substratum of German, Low German, or Yiddish in the speech of immigrants. The evidence is sparse and so far merely speculative. Good evidence would be a phrasal verb with an idiomatic meaning which first appears at the right time and in the right place, which shows clear affinities with German (or Yiddish, etc) idiom, and—more difficult—which cannot readily be explained as an indigenous English development. Krapp notes the similarity between the English imperative **Hold on** and G. **Halt an!** but is not prepared to endorse anything stronger than that the English idiom may be 'only indirectly Teutonic'.

Now the dictionaries make no mention of G. influence: **OED** gives **Hold on** 'Stop!' as an Americanism (s.v. **hold** v. 40e), and the first citation, dated 1860, describes it pleasibly enough as 'originally a sea phrase'; **OED** also compares the much older imperatives **Hold** and **Hold hard** (senses 27 and 37). Partridge says much the same, whilst Craigie traces **Hold on** back to 1835, without marking it as definitely originating in America. Krapp does not offer any other phrasal verbs as possible loan-

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translations from German, and Mencken never even touches on the question in his huge work. 81 Foster proposes three phrasal verbs as examples of German influence on AmE: iron out, used figuratively (G. ausbügeln), take in (a film) (G. in sich aufnehmen), fill out (a form) (G. ausfüllen). 82 Norwill comments on the American tendency to use iron out figuratively, 83 and OED traces the collocation used non-figuratively back to 1870 and figuratively to 1905 (s.v. iron v. 3 and in Supp. E–M). However, Spalding argues that the G. Schwierigkeiten ausbügeln is 'probably a loan-translation from English'. 84 As for take in (a film, etc), this is indeed an Americanism, but an old one: Craigie has a quotation from 1755 (Dict. AmE, s.v. take v. 9); the object is a garden, not of course a film. Fill out (a form) seems to be more recent: ORD has a lone, participial example from 1880 (s.v. fill v. 16d), but it is a commonplace that the British are supposed to fill their forms in—and earlier, up—whereas Americans prefer fill out. It is an attractive suggestion that the alleged American preference is partly due to G. substratal influence, but the prior existence of fill out in other senses and the analogy of write out, etc, makes the suggestion very difficult to prove. There is room for further research here.

Reduction

A number of idiomatic phrasal verbs appear to originate in the loss


from a verb phrase of a noun phrase or prepositional phrase; the omitted
element may be unique (part of an idiom) or simply something contextually
obvious. The change of meaning for the verb-particle collocation would
qualify as a 'shortening' in Stern's terminology. Reduction as an ana-
lytic tool for PF is discussed by, amongst others, Lipka (Semantic
Structure, passim) and Fraser (VFC, pp.46-51). As far as historical devel-
opment is concerned, a plausible case can be made for derivation by reduc-
tion if one can find a phrasal verb which occurs later than the first
appearance of a longer verb phrase of similar meaning, but during the cur-
rency of the longer form. Gaps in the lexicographic record are, as always,
a problem. For example, one would guess that make up (a quarrel) as a
class 2 collocation would antedate make up 'be reconciled', but the respec-
tive first citations in OED are 1699 and 1669. I give a selection of
examples for which the dates of first appearance support the suggestion
that a phrasal verb originates at least in part by means of reduction; in
all cases the longer form is still current at the date when the 'reduced'
form appears, and the citations and dates come mostly from BT(S), MED and
OED, without detailed attribution.

Ellipsis of a prepositional object from a class 3 pattern gives a
class 1 phrasal verb. Thus, for example, come to 'recover consciousness'
is class 3 from 1340 (Ayern. 128.4), class 1 from a1572; do without
'manage without' is class 3 from a1450 (c1410), now used elliptically as
class 1, though not in OED Supp.; for on 'take (matter for discourse), set

85 If, for some reason, a word is omitted from a compound expression, which
still retains its meaning, the remaining words or word have to carry the
total meaning that formerly belonged to the whole expression. If the omiss-
ion becomes habitual, the result may be a sense-change for the remaining
word or words (Meaning, p.167). Stern uses the expression 'typical ellip-
sis' for cases where what is omitted is not a specific item but something
varying with the context (Meaning, p.236).

86 Curme argues without evidence that a personal pronoun has been entirely
suppressed in order to permit sentences like The storm blew over ('Development', p.350); I have been unable to find any example of class 3 use.
to work (on) is class 3 from early OE (Bo 127.25), class 1 from later OE (see BTS); look on is class 3 from early OE (CP 183.7), class 1 from late OE (Whom 20(C).113).

Ellipsis of a prep0 from a class 6 pattern gives a class 2 phrasal verb. Examples include don of 'take off (clothing, armour, etc)', class 6 at Boq 2809, class 2 at Lay. Brut A 6364; lay on 'impose (a tax, etc)', class 6 at Pat. Chron. 1137/37, class 2 ibid. 1140/56—the date of writing is the same; put (sb.) out of the way 'disturb, inconvenience, trouble', found from 1673, put (sb.) out 'inconvenience' from 1880—although other, related senses are found earlier. In the last-mentioned case, the transitive and intransitive forms of the particle are different and so of is omitted together with the prep0. Conceivably we should relate help out, found from 1618, to some such phrase as help (sb.) out of danger (1465 Past.L. 689.19).

Ellipsis of a dir0 from a class 2 pattern leaves a class 1 phrasal verb. Thus we find speak out class 2 from 1382, class 1 from 1530; lay off your hondes in ?1467 Past.L. 122A.6, i.e. class 2, and class 1 lay off 'desist' from 1908; toss up as class 2 from 1588, class 1 from 1704; wind up 'conclude, sum up' as class 2 from 1583, class 1 from 1825.

Other ellipses are possible, for example the loss of a prepositional phrase such as before a court/justice from a class 5 pattern to give the class 2 phrasal verb have up (?1452 Past.L. 25.15), or the reduction of fall into (order, ranks, etc), found from 1632, to fall in, found from 1750—although the relation of into to in suggests that this is essentially a reduction from class 3, not 4, to class 1.

87 Antedates by over a century OED lay v. 54a.
88 Antedates by nearly three centuries OED have v. 16b.
Syntactic re-analysis

As has been noted on p.34 above, group-verbs like read through, talk over can behave in PE both as class 2 and as class 3. Certain strings are syntactically ambiguous (at least in written form, since intonation often helps to resolve the ambiguity): e.g., active patterns in which a non-pronominal object follows the particle, and passives. This ambiguity has been commented on by OED (e.g. a.v. pass v. 61c, 67e), Jespersen (MEG, iii, 273-77), and Visser (Hist. Syntax, i, 383-89), amongst others. The more idiomatic examples seem generally to be taken as class 2. The verbal formatives in ambiguous examples are usually ones which can behave either as transitives or intransitives in independent use, and the particles concerned are especially those whose directional meaning comes in the category of 'path': by, over, and through—less so about and round.

Given such ambiguous configurations, it is possible that some class 2 phrasal verbs have resulted from the structural re-analysis of a string containing an originally class 3 prepositional verb—and, of course, vice-versa. F. T. Wood has an interesting, if not wholly convincing, discussion of PE run over; 89 I adapt his terminology. He argues that run (intr.) and over (prep.) come together as the class 3 group-verb run over, because the prepO is seen as a patient, which leads to the possibility of a passive turn: The dog was run over. The analogies with knock over, [be] bound over then allow usage to hover between class 2 and class 3. In the active voice, he claims, the order V-p-O is normal if our interest is in the subject, but V-O-p if our interest is in the victim, hence run a child over but not run a bottle over. This last claim not only grossly oversimplifies the factors which play a part in 'news-value', it ignores the fact that run over (a bottle) is hardly lexicalised at all, whereas run over (a

child) is highly idiomatic: the car need not literally pass over the victim; there is (as he hints) a semantic implication in our ability to use the term 'victim'; and over has an implication of knocking down, as in blow/knock over, so that it resembles an effective adverb. (Here we see the wisdom of Lipke's comment, noticed above, note 68, that the meaning of a group-verb cannot be considered in isolation from the nominals in collocation with it.) However, that run over is now predominantly class 2 when used with an animate object NP, whereas the group-verb was originally class 3, run being primarily intransitive, is surely correct. Palmer also comments on the re-analysis of this group-verb (Eng. Verb, p.220). It is likely that pass by, pass over made similar transitions in the ME period.

Some examples of early passives which are theoretically ambiguous between classes 2 and 3 are:

Ant ich hit am bet makede ben muchele witti witege yealde. boon isahet purn & purn to deade (SJ 35.359)\textsuperscript{90}
Waltere Was saynten borghe wip a lance (Mannyng, Chron. ii, 2040)\textsuperscript{91}
And al ure wittes ben thowe-out souht (Sel. Rel. Lyr. 83.107)
if they be passed by (More N 196)\textsuperscript{92}

Another occasional ambiguity affects strings of the form V-NP-p: is the particle a constituent of the object noun or of a class 2 group-verb? Again there is likely to have been two-way traffic between the structures. For example, keep a look-out is historically keep + compound noun look-out, but there is a tendency to re-analyse as phrasal verb keep out + look (albeit one with word-order frozen in the V-NP-p pattern), as shown by such parallel formations as keep an eye out, keep a watch out, etc. Other candidates include get a look in, get a move on. But this can be no more than

\textsuperscript{90}Isahet is probably transitive and purn & purn adverbial—thus d'Ardenne (glossary) and OED s.v. saw v' 1. However, saw is also intr. from c1340 and through and through prepositional from Cursor (OED s.v. thorough prep. and adv. B.1.g.), so the other analysis is not inconceivable.

\textsuperscript{91}Cited by Visser, Hist. Syntax iii-2, 2123, as a class 3 passive; page-reference unintelligible.

\textsuperscript{92}Cited by Jespersen, NEG, iii, 314, as a class 3 passive; not seen by me.
a very minor source of class 2 group-verbs.

**Direct formation**

Idiomatic phrasal verbs which are not formed in one of the four ways already described are directly formed from their elements. Several general types may be distinguished, though I do not attempt a detailed classification.

Once a particle comes to be collocated with several verbs of similar or synonymous meaning such that the resulting group-verbs have something in common, then further verbs from the same word-field may come to form similar group-verbs with that particle. For example, **look out** is recorded from 1390 in literal sense and figuratively from 1602; later we find **mind out** (1886), **watch out** (1888), **listen out** (1910), also **keep an eye out** (1889), etc. In a similar fashion we have **haten up** (SK 156) (not in MED or OED), **clepe up** (c1325 (c1300)), **call up** (1389), **summon up** (1588), **conjure up** (1590), and so on. 93

Lipka attempts semantic analyses of PE phrasal verbs containing **out** and **up**, in which they are grouped together by semantic features. Thus, for example, a set containing the features CAUSE + BE + /-Exist/ includes, amongst others, **blow out**, **fade out**, **blot out**, **cancel out**, **iron out**, **knock out**, **root out**, **rub out** (Semantic Structure, p. 201). The common factors shared by these phrasal verbs are intuitively obvious, and it is plausible enough that the features mentioned—or something similar—play their part in the semantic structure of PE. What is not clear is the contribution of such features historically to the formation of the group-verbs. It is evident that the verbal formatives differ greatly: some appear to involve the same features even as simplex verbs (e.g. **cancel**), some retain in combination their usual meaning, literal or figurative (e.g. **rub**), some hardly

93 We may mention here the nonce use of verb + effective spatial adv with a dirv the verb would not normally govern, e.g. **I have aimed away your father, and he is gone** (Bunyan, Pilg.Prog. 178.7); the security guard who was off asking his brains out somewhere ('Ed McBain', Ghosts (London [Hamish Hamilton], 1960), p. 25).
occur at all by themselves (e.g. root). Whether a similarity of resultant (combinatory) meaning is sufficient to promote new direct formations, or whether the verbal formatives must themselves share semantic features, has not been demonstrated.

The freedom with which certain particles combine with verbal formatives implies that the particles have developed combinatorial meanings almost in their own right—a class meaning. It is especially evident in particles that can act as Aktionsart modifiers, the verbal formatives retaining more or less their usual meaning. Obvious examples are out in complective or exhaustive values, up with complective or intensive values, away and on with durative or iterative values.

Another kind of direct formation involves a verbal formative which is not normally a verb when used by itself—usually an adjective or noun. The high incidence of zero-derived verbs in English makes it hard to prove that a given word is never, or was never, used verbally when not in collocation. However, heavy around (like a bouncer or gangster), rough out (a sketch), white out (a typing error), are PE phrasal verbs whose verbal formative appears to be basically adjectival, whilst ink in, rabbit on, tart up seem to involve de-nominal derivation. Fraser devotes space to the transformational derivations of denominal phrasal verbs, for instance formations of down with nouns like batten, glue, rivet, tape; of in with box, fence, wall, etc; of over with board, cement, etc; of out with chalk, crayon, pencil, etc (VPC, pp.22-25). Lipka gives a more refined semantic analysis of PE de-nominal and de-adjectival phrasal verbs involving out and up (Semantic Structure, pp.63-114).

There is no work on the history of such formations. Marchand does not discuss them specifically, but I have found some early examples by looking for collocations of simple verbs he lists as being zero-derived from adjectives or nouns (EMP, pp.365-71): clear up (1588), loose away (a1425(a1400)), open up (1582-88), round up (1615), smooth up (1584); bed
together (c1300), heap together (c1384), hook on (1597), look up (a1438), mark out (a1450), speed out (c1350), weed away (1526). For all these early examples there is an even earlier occurrence of the zero-derived verb without particle. Derivation of phrasal verbs from nouns and adjectives without intervening stage is a more recent phenomenon.

The final sort of direct formation I wish to single out depends on the existence of antonymous pairs of particles in literal spatial meanings: off/on, in/out, up/down. The existence of an idiomatic phrasal verb involving one member of a pair sometimes leads to the formation of a complementary phrasal verb with the other particle providing a converse modification. Such formations are often coined for humorous effect, but some are of more lasting use. Thus we find off and on in such semi-figurative uses as switch off and switch on, and in wholly metaphorical pairs like turn on 'arouse, excite interest' and its converse turn off. Wind up (a watch) is recorded from 1601, joined 'occasionally' from a1648 by its reverse wind down (OED s.v. wind v' 20b). Particle antonymy plays a significant role mainly in phrasal verbs where the particle has effective value (often corresponding to a reduced prepositional phrase): thus vote (sh.) in/out/off/on, play (sth.) down/up, fade (sth.) in/out. However, as frequently pointed out, particles whose spatial meanings are antonymous may often contribute very similar Aktionsart values to phrasal verbs, thus close down/up (a shop), fill in/out (a form), slow down/up.

FUNCTIONAL PRESSURE

Decay of prefixal system

The meanings 'added' to verbs by particles in class 1 and 2 collocations range from the purely spatial through Aktionsart to idiomatic meanings in which the normal meaning of the verb is hidden. The range of grammatical and lexical meanings conveyed by the OE prefixal system is broadly
similar. The prefixes *od-* and *wic-* are at least partly spatial (‘away’, 'against’) in such compound verbs as *odfleona*, *widsacan*, for instance; Aktionsart modification is part of the semantic effect of certain prefixes with verb-stems of appropriate meaning, for example intensive (*a-*), perfective or completive (*e-, be-, ge-, of-, to-), totalitive / destructive (*for-, to-); and some compound verbs are opaque in meaning, e.g. *bernan* 'deprive', *understanadan* 'understand'. In the absence of rigorous semantic analysis there is room for disagreement as to the precise effect of modification by a given prefix; see for instance the forceful critique by Lindemann of previous attempts to characterise OE *ge-*, and subsequent criticism by Samuels. 94 McLintock argues that the 'meaning' of a given prefix is best considered within small, well-defined classes of compounds. 95 One cannot maintain a sharp distinction between, say, Aktionsart modification and wider lexical meanings. For example, the form of *forberman* imparts an Aktionsart modification of completion to the verb-stem *bernan*, tinged with a meaning which can be glossed 'to destruction', more lexical in character. Prefixation by *second-* or *burh-*, on the other hand, frequently imparts lexical senses akin to the related spatial prepositions, but tinged with intensive or completive or exhaustive senses which belong under the heading of Aktionsart modification. (For a similar indeterminacy in verb-particle collocations see the examples discussed on pp.108-110 above.)

These general observations are sufficient to make the point that the prefixal system of OE and the phrasal verb have overlapping functions. For more detailed descriptions of prefixes in OE see the works listed in

95 D. R. McLintock, "'To forget' in Germanic", *TPhS* (1972), 79-93 (pp.92-93, cited in Mitchell, 'Prepositions etc', p.257).
the bibliography of Lindemann, OE ˈgeː-, supplemented by Mitchell and Kingsmill. 96

Writing of OE word-formation in general, Quirk and Wrenn show due caution:

In OE, where we can observe a set of word-formation patterns of a complexity similar to that obtaining in Mod.E., it is often impossible for us to distinguish processes that were active and flourishing during the OE period from those that had ceased to be formative before the Anglo-Saxons left the continent of Europe but whose products were still very much in use. (OE Grammar, p.104)

For some prefixes, productivity survives (or is renewed) into ME and beyond: for- and to- are forming new compound verbs up to the early ModE period. But others lose their productivity earlier and their communicative effectiveness perhaps earlier still. From early OE there are prefixes with indistinct and overlapping meanings, and the prefix m-, for example, is frequently reinforced by an echo particle. By the end of the ME period the OE prefixes are largely defunct both as a systematic part of extant vocabulary and as a living means of word-formation. 97

It is natural to associate the decline of the prefixes as a system, albeit with sporadic survivals, with the more-or-less simultaneous rise of the phrasal (and prepositional) verbs. Marchand does so, as does Lindemann, citing Mossé, though Mossé gives less prominence to the rise of the group-verb than Lindemann implies. 98 There is a Russian dissertation which examines the prefixal system, the verb-adverb combination, and the


relationship between them, and which might possibly have a significant contribution to make, but I have only been able to see a fifteen-page summary. The author presents a number of pertinent observations, and the interesting assertion that, with the exception of intransitive and transitive verbs of movement, one peculiarity of verbs derived from OE is that those which combine most readily with adverbial particles in ME are those which combine infrequently or never with prefixes in OE. Verbs used with a series of prefixes [in OE] are said to be rarely used with adverbs in ME and only slowly to widen their circle of combination. (I test this claim on p.12.) Her conclusion from this is that the system of verb-adverb collocations at first existed on the periphery of the language, absorbing those elements which remained outside the prefixal system, and only later encroached on the territory of the prefixal system, forcing it into second place (Ershova, summary, p.12).

A succinct but important account of the relation between the two systems is given by Samuels in the course of a survey of punctual Aktionsart (Ling. Evolution, pp.163-65). He characteristically demonstrates the confluence of a number of factors: phonetic attrition of some prefixes, loss of information-content and grammaticisation, loss of regular and systematic simplex-compound relationship through the substitution of Norse and French verbs in the functions taken by (usually) the compound forms, the introduction of new verbs from various sources to express point-action, the introduction of phrasal verbs, and a noticeable increase in the use of fixed phrases as completives or intensives, as *how to pieces, burn to ashes, ...*

99I. A. Ershova, 'Towards a History of the Development of Combinations of a Verb with a Spatial Adverb in English: In connection with the Problem of Scandinavian Influence on the English Language' (unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Moscow State University, 1951). I owe the transliteration and translation to Dr Peter Gatrell. The original, Russian bibliographic details are given by Spasov, Phrasal Verba, p.14 note 1. The summary does not indicate what texts she used, though indirect evidence shows that the Final Continuation of Pet. Chron. was one of them.
as well as a more general increase in the use of adverbs like well, fast(e) (Ling. Evolution, p.165). The breakdown of the prefixal system and the rise of the phrasal verb are both seen, therefore, as parts of wider series of changes, and each tendency reinforces the other. As for specific correspondences between compound verbs and class 1 and 2 collocations, a number have been collected by de la Cruz, arranged by verbal notion, both in literal and in Aktionsart values ('Origins', pp.193-99 and 205-19, respectively). There is no need to duplicate his collection.

The shift from prefixes to free particles is partly due to inherent weaknesses in the prefixal system, mentioned in the summary of Samuel's argument above. In part it may be because adverbs, which can carry full stress, are better suited than the characteristically unstressed prefixes to carrying intonational information, including the emphasis often associated in everyday usage with both spatial and Aktionsart meanings, and the flexibility of semantic focus demonstrated by Bolinger for PE. There is also much plausibility in Marchand's suggestion, quoted on pp.123-24 above, that the rise of the phrasal verb is tied up with the normalising of the position of spatial adverbials in general: a tendency to place them after the verb, brought on by very general changes in the English word-order system, will favour the collocation, which can tolerate V-p order, at the expense of the compound, which cannot. Although such an argument applies most forcefully to spatial meanings, the Aktionsart values have always maintained a close association with them and developed out of them.

Other factors

Independent reasons for the phrasal verb to grow in importance are the example of Scandinavian idiom (see Chapter 8) and the expectation, once early examples are established, that the syntactic and rhythmic pattern of the phrasal verb can serve as a vehicle for Aktionsart modification.
IDIOMATICITY AND WORD-ORDER

From the beginning of the ME period it is rare for a particle of idiomatic meaning to be placed before the verb. As has been shown, it is less common for adverbial particles in general to precede than to follow the verb, but large numbers of examples continue to be found of spatial adverbial particles in pre-verbal positions; see Visser's summary, quoted on pp.130-31 above, on p-V order, and also the section on initial placement, pp.140-43. A few examples can be found of the placement before a verb of an idiomatic or Aktionsart particle, but they are rare. 100 I give some possible examples below, but few of the particles are completely devoid of literal, spatial meaning, and some of the p-V strings may have been regarded as nonce-compounds rather than collocations of two words.

All but a handful are from rhyming verse.

& be king up dronge & her pat attere he dronc (Lay. Brut A 5861)
Mercy es trow as any stele, when it es ryght up soght (Rolle, Eng. Writings, 40.7 [verse])
the chartres up to make (Chaucer, Tr, III.340)
al this heigh materere . . . were at the fulle up-bounde (ibid., III.516)
This tymber is al redy up to frame (ibid., III.530)
with a boor . . . She made up frete hire corn and wynes alle (ibid., V. 1469)
0 yonge, frese she folkes, he or she, / In which that love up groweth with
youre age (ibid., V.1835)
A sweete smal the ground anon up yaf (Chaucer, KnT, I, 2427)
Wham with honour up yolden is his breeth (Chaucer, ibid., I, 3052)
Of which the fame up sprang to moore and lesse (Chaucer, C. T., IV, 940)
And up he yaf a roryng and a cry (Chaucer, MerchT, IV, 2364)
Oure firste foc, the serpents Sathanas . . . Up swal (Chaucer, F. T., VII, 558)
The blood out crieth on youre cursed dede (Chaucer, ibid., VII, 578)
And from hir chadel up fostred in the feith / Of Crist (Chaucer, SecNT, VIII, 122)
For now one would by envy another up eat (Everyman 50)
Her huge long tale . . . was in knots and many boughtes vpwound (Spenser, F., I.1.15)

100 Thence the humour of Evelyn Waugh's CONSIDER ISHIAMSLITE STORY UP-CLEARED; . . . SUGGEST LEAVING AGENCIES COVER UP-FOLLOW (Scoop (London, 1958; Harmondsworth: Penguin), 1977, p.127)).

101 Out is conceivably to be treated as direct speech, an exclamation.
Perhaps a better analysis is as class 4.
O how ... mote I that weel out finde (Spenser, Fa, I.ii.43)
A drearie corse, whose life away did pas (ibid., I.ix.36)
His belly was vp-blowne with luxury (ibid., I.iv.21)
and vp her eyes doth seele (ibid., II.i.38)
Shall he thy sins vp in his knowledge fold (ibid., I.ix.47)
Thus when Sir Guyon ... Had ... The end of their sad Tragedie vptyde
(ibid., II.i.i.1)102
his sweet up-locked treasure (Shakespeare, Sonnet 52.2)
thither they / Hasted with glad precipitance, uprowed / As drops on dust
conglobing from the drie (Milton, Paradise Lost, VII.290)

102 The glossary of the edition cited lists several more such p-V strings,
e.g. outlearne, vpcheard, vpfield, vpknit, vp-wound.
WORD-ORDER

Verb and particle

In order to assess the position of *ora with respect to the change from the OE word-order system to the modern, particle-after-verb norm, I present a table of the various particle positions, arranged by collocation:

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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standennn upp</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stigheunn upp</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collocation</td>
<td>pre-rem.</td>
<td>pre-contig.</td>
<td>post-contig.</td>
<td>post-rem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>waxenn upp</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turinn &amp; wharrfenn]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu upp nu dun</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drageinn uppwarrd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iochenn uppwarrd</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ristenn uppwarrd</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stichenn uppwarrd &amp; }</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunnwarrd bape</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*attrimmenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biggeinn ut ['buy']</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>bresstenn ut</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>cunenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drifenn ut</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eornenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*flemenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fleon ut</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ledenn ut</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leoseinn ut</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shadenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*schilenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takenn ut</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werppenn ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bitenn wipp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owmemenn wippball</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakenn wippball</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takenn wipp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brinngenn wibbutenn</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERCENTAGES:</strong></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Order of verb and particle in classes 1 and 2

It is impossible to draw up such a table on a blind, mechanical basis: subjective judgements are frequently necessary and some unavoidably arbitrary decisions must be taken if the information is to be made use of. The size of the sample and the relative simplicity of the analysis make it unlikely that any mistaken decisions will affect the validity of the conclusions. Before drawing any conclusions I shall briefly explain the basis of the table. Many of the arguments given here will apply elsewhere in the remainder of this chapter.
The table is intended to include all collocations of verb and spatial adverb in the WH text, apart from those in which a locative adverb is a clausal rather than a verb-modifier. It might have been desirable to reduce the weight given to multiple instances of the same clause. However, given the difficulty of allowing for similar but not identical phrasing, I have decided the only consistent policy is to count every instance. Where there is more than one adverbial particle I have usually counted the one more closely tied to the verb, but occasionally it has seemed prudent to list more than one. Minor spelling variants of the strenenn/streone, brinon恩/brinon恩 variety are ignored.

In Bezz ummabaseheuenn hegare shann ... A litoll off be fell awezz Biforenn all abutenn (4084) I have taken awezz to be the spatial adv in collocation, although arguably abutenn also qualifies. I have discounted all seven instances of sezenenn/shwennenn biforenn: biforenn consistently means 'earlier (in this work)' and in six cases is preceded by har/bar, in six cases is followed by o biss lare. Efft is treated by dictionaries and in the WH glossary as primarily an adverb of time, though there can be a spatial element: the gloss 'again, on another occasion' is usually appropriate, sometimes 'back' is better, often either will do. Of some 50 occurrences in Orm, 30 are with verbs of motion and might be spatial in meaning, 22 of them also co-occurring with at least one directional adverbial. Particularly difficult are cases where efft either co-occurs with, or commutes with, the spatial particle onzen in collocation with the verbs berenn, cumenn, turynenn and wendenn. Compare turynenn + efft (6596), + onzen (6498), + efft + onzen (6608), and note the primarily temporal meaning of PEs again. A majority of instances of efft can safely be assigned a temporal meaning, however: note the idiom efft sone/efftsoneas, and a particularly clear example, texx woldden cumenn efft & efft, & offte, & lome / Till hinn, whersumm he wore att inne (12924). I have made the somewhat arbitrary decision not to count any occurrences of
efft in my consideration of spatial particles in ORM.

When a spatial adv is followed by certain prepositions, one must examine the possibility that they form a compound preposition. The troublesome cases are forb + wibb, inn + till, upp + o(m), ut + off. In the case of ut + off I have reluctantly taken all uninterrupted ut off strings to be the compound preposition, as there is rarely any other ground for making a decision. The others I have taken on their merits. Thus I have counted cumenn forb at 4482, 6781, 8607, in the latter two cases finding parallel examples in the same contexts with forb not immediately followed by wibb (6656, 6600; 8711); but I have rejected both possible instances of cumenn forb in Acc cumebb babe forb wibb me, . . . Nu birrb cumec cumenn forb wibb me, Padi ise, forb wibb min halle / Till fullubht [etc] (13034), because of the repeated forb wibb and because of the earlier cumebb nu & lokebb where I biege (13009). Can forb is similar to cumenn forb, and it is even harder to make any systematic distinction between gan forb + wibb and gan + forb wibb. The following example occurs in the same context as the putative cumenn forb examples discussed and rejected just previously:

& texx be sendenn forb wibb Crist & didenn alla he segege, / To lokenn where he wasse att inn (13086). Accordingly, though with hesitation, I treat it as a case of forb wibb and omit it from the table, and likewise the examples at 8957, 12728 (though cf. 12726), 12790, and 13593. The distinction is a very fine one. All the examples, had they been counted, would have been post-contiguous, apart from & some enen Hateseal. Forb wibb Filippine rede/Till ure Lafferd Jesu Crist, Forr himu to sen & herenn (13592). There are two examples of eornenn forb + wibb-phrase which I do include: Forr all hiss middell derdes all Eornebb esq forb wibb aeress (11250, though eornenn in the same meaning occurs with a bi-phrase at 8831, 13182), and & let itt eornenn forb wibbull [WH: forb wibbull all] Ut imtill wilde wesate (1356). The latter sentence describes the release of the scapegoat bearing the sins of the Israelites: WH's forb wibbull is
implausible; the adverb forthwithal identified by MED and OED s.v. would be otiose; but forb wibball 'forth with them [i.e. the sins]' fits perfectly, cf. An buoc rann par awse all owic. Wib all be folke less amin (1564). (The manuscript spacing is inconclusive.)

In i batt hys... Par ba hreo kinness cymenn inn (6930) I have taken inn to be an adv, comparing he. He was nohht ta twiryna, / Pa batt unncube folke cymenn inn (6462). I have also taken inn as a separate particle in Codex annuell Gabriel. Cynn inn till [WH] inntill Sannte Marze (2161), comparing he was cymenn inn (2171) and 'came in unto her' (A.V. Luke 1.28). More doubtful is Patt whase wyle cymenn inn Till heofenn-richessa kirke (7793): I have counted it under cymenn inn. I am suspicious of giffen i in & giff man bruhhte hemm enig fe. Inntill he kingessa male. / He wolddenn hys; nohht takenn itt. Butt iff man bruhhte i mare (10179): Orm does not use i elsewhere as an adverb, nor does he put adversial inn on a metrical dip except in strac inn (14810), annp. (635, 8706), inn wibb (16373), and inntill (passim); and such a use of adv in would be unusually early. Holm suggests that imare is a minim error for mare,103 but there is a clear gap between i and mare in the MS. I have therefore counted this as a class 2 group-verb. On the treatment of stanndenn inn as verb + adv see pp.95-97 above.

Blinnenn off is omitted from the list; cf. pp.97-98 above. Its inclusion would have added two more post-contiguous examples. I have not treated wasshenn offe as a class 2 collocation, despite the fact that OED takes offe (14032) as an adv (s.v. ofe adv. and prep. A), whilst MED translates the other instance (15118) as 'wash (one's body) thoroughly' (s.v. of adv. 5(d)). The text reads feteless (...) / Swillke summ patt Judiaskenn follo. Was wunedd i batt time / To wasshenn offe bygare lic

103 Holm, Corrections, p.xxix.
(14029, 15114): the syntax can only be construed with offe a stranded preposition in a relative/comparative clause whose antecedent is fetless; cf. also tatt Judisskenn follo. Wass wuneadd it batt time / To wasshenn offte hegere lic. Wibh waterr all wibbutenn (15120).

The decision to treat brinnenn onn and draghenn (upp)onn as verb + adv is discussed above, p.99.

The collocation zifenn ann(d)sweare/sware onnann(ess) poses the problem that the other object NP, if there is one, may be either an indirect object of zifenn or a prepO of onnann. I have counted nearly every example as if onnann is adverbial, even where the 'indirect object' follows it directly (13570, 13806, although in both cases across the mid-line break), apart from the one example at 12015, already discussed at pp.87-88 above, in which onnann seems to connote refutation as well as reply. In rift batt mann wile Cristenndom & Cristess name dillshena. / Pa birrb be stanndenn per onnann & werenn Cristess heowwess [etc] (5302) I have hesitantly taken per to be prepO of onnann and excluded the collocation from the table.

On cumenn till, habbenn (lofe) till, takenn till, turroann till—two of which are included in the table—see above, pp.100-101. On the use of cumenn to with reference to time see above, p.88; cumenn to in other uses, without a point of time as (notional) subject, is always class 3.

The problems posed by upp are well illustrated by the two possible occurrences of biddenn upp: Pa bedes, balt te Leferrd Crist. Forr hise beowwess biddebb / Uppon hise faderr heofenking (1743), he tuurnde himm till. To biddenn hise benes / Upp till hiss faderr heoffness king (11156). The directional meaning of upp would not be inappropriate in either case, but I take the first to contain uppenn (thus OED s.v. upon prep. 20). The second could in truth be regarded as biddenn + upp till (prep), i.e. class 6, but I have chosen not to recognise a compound preposition upp till: upp and till may be separated without apparent change of meaning (though
so too ut and off!, upp + till is not very common, and in fact upp + imtill is far more common. Therefore my second example is entered as a class 2 collocation.

Elsewhere when upp is followed directly by o unn within the same half-line, I have generally regarded it as the preposition upp(unn) if sense and the evidence of dictionaries support such a reading. The only exceptions are as follows: those in which o has the prep o loft (i.e. 'aloft'); He sholde sone lokenn upp o bett brasene nedre (17423, cited by MED a.v. lokenn v.(2) 1d.(b) 'to look upward'), and therefore also & lokess upp o Cristees deb Wibb fulle trouwe o Criste (17461), which is rhetorically parallel; & Brithin har toolef be g... & sett itt upp oms ezaberr half. All allae twegenn walls (14798). In pett stammt ez still upp o be lifft (2137) and itt stod all stilles upp o be lifft (6436), I regard upp as a sentence-adverb: the examples are not therefore counted. I have tentatively counted as pre-contiguous allsa supp corn & cheff UprunzThing off an rote (10542), although OED regards it as a compound rather than a collocation; cf. p.85 above.

The figures for collocations of ut are distorted by the omission of all examples in which an off-phrase follows ut directly. For example, the nine examples of leosenn ut in pre-contiguous order appear to outnumber the post-contiguous and post-removed examples, but if the ut off examples had been counted in, the figures for that collocation would have been

| leosenn ut | 0 | 9 | 16 | 33 |

with a preponderance of post-verbal particles.

Draf all ut (16152), gan all ut (4352, 18891), warpp all ut (16082) are counted as post-removed, even though it is conceivable (if unlikely) that all modifies ut. The same goes for slippenn all averr (4248). And the vocatives in Ga, laffdz, forp (8659) and Ga, wiberr gas, o bacch fra me (11389) are likewise counted as an interruption between verb and particle, although the vocatives are parenthetic and the clauses resemble post-contiguous ones.
The major conclusion is that the position of adverbial particles is overwhelmingly post-verbal: 484 out of 512, 95% (to nearest integer). Factors associated with pre-verbal order in other ME texts include the lexical verb being non-finite, the clause-type having a tendency to transposed order, initial placement of the particle, metrical factors, and a tendency to behave like a compound verb, possibly under foreign influence. Some of these factors may help to account for the 28 examples in Ora.

Initial placement is discussed in the next section. Metrical factors are hard to assess, but it is interesting that the particle falls on the ninth syllable of the line—a metrical dip, first after the mid-line break—in 17 out of 22 cases involving a monosyllabic particle. As for compounding, the OED indicates a slight tendency towards compounding in some of the upp and ut collocations, especially *uppspringenn; I am not aware of any relevant Latin influence.

I tabulate some of the likely contributory factors below, indicating by '+' (A) whether the lexical verb is non-finite; (B) whether the clause is subordinate or infinitive—and showing a coordinate clause by '+(+)'; (C) whether the lexical verb is clause-final, with '('+) for a non-absolutely final position;\(^{104}\) (D) whether there is an adjacent prepositional phrase or generalised adverb of source or goal which completes the meaning of the particle, with '-' if such a phrase is on the other side of the lexical verb from the particle; and (E) whether a monosyllabic particle falls on a metrical dip. Irrelevant factors are indicated by 'O'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>collocation</th>
<th>line-ref.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lopenn dun</td>
<td>11792</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*towerrpenn dun</td>
<td>14861</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{104}\) By which I mean here a position other than first or second in the clause, and with a single element following (mostly an NP or prep. phrase).
Table 3: Particle before verb in classes 1 and 2

Every one of the pre-verbal particles is in a clause which might have had transposed order in OE, but there are weaker traces of Harrison's rule (3) for OE, on transposed order, than of his rule (4), on participles and infinitives; see p. 54 above.

Initial placement of particle

Initial placement is not a feature of Orm's style. The only

105. & hise onhhtees alle isen Forb weden wibb be hore: the wibb-phrase is closely associated with forb, though it is not one of source or goal.

106. In the example the monosyllabic particle efft falls on the ninth syllable between omgenn and wendenn.

107. To beon abuffen alle menn Wuhofenn hecshe: it is arguable whether or not the prep. phrase completes the meaning of upp.

108. Helysea be profete. / Patt upp of dabe risenn arrt To wirtkenn nicole tenes: this is the one example where the finite verb follows the lexical verb. In all but one of the other cases where the lexical verb has a final position, absolute or not, the finite verb is the first or second element in the clause.
sentences with anything resembling it are & till Herode king omann He began formbd to turunn (6493) and Ure allre land is Paradis. Forr boemen ut we comenn (7491). Initial placement in minor clauses is absent too.

**Direct object**

Information on some of the factors which condition the position of the dirO is condensed into the following tables. In Table 4, three kinds of dirO, personal pronouns, simple definite NPs, and others, 109 are plotted against three word-orders, O-V-p, V-O-p, and V-p-0 (intervening elements ignored). The examples counted are those listed in Table 2 which are class 2, which are active, which do not have the particle before the verb, and which do not have a relative or interrogative dirO (for then O-V-p/O-p-V order is invariably found).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O-V-p</th>
<th>V-O-p</th>
<th>V-p-0</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pers. pronoun</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple def. NP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: The direct object in class 2

The difficulty of making a principled distinction between ut adv. + off prep. and ut off prep. led me to exclude all ut off strings from consideration in Table 2. There are 90 which could otherwise have been included in class 2. Table 5 simply repeats Table 4 with the addition of those 90 examples.

109 Personal pronouns of course include itt, heann, heymn with inanimate referents; I also allow those with postmodification by alle (samenn) and babe samenn. The simple definite NP is defined by Bolinger as a single proper noun or an anaphoric definite article plus an unmodified common noun (Phrasal Verb, p.61); I allow anaphoric bätt as well as he and include the NPs Raphael behennpell (1861), be ladjig Sannte Warze (534), and be Laferrd Crist (5743).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-V-p</th>
<th>V-0-p</th>
<th>V-p-0</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pers. pronoun</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple def. NP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: The direct object in class 2, *ut off* included

From either table it is clear that personal pronouns retain the ability to appear before the verb to a greater extent than other NPs, a vestige of the principle of weight ordering; cf. also Palmatier’s figure of 51% of pronoun direct objects occurring before the finite verb as compared with a highest figure of 18% for other kinds of dirO (*Descrip. Syntax*, Table 5, p.51). 110 The other important conclusion to be drawn from my Tables 4 and 5 is that when a pronominal dirO follows the lexical verb, the normal order, as in OE, is V-0-p; there are no exceptions in Oya. There are interesting comparisons to be made between individual examples, e.g. *He somnde hiss aghenn Sune dun* (14328) vs. *he somnde dun Hiss aghenn Sune ankennad* (17034), where complexity of the NP seems to play a part in the choice between V-0-p and V-p-0, but there are not enough such pairs to draw safe conclusions. The distinction between simple definite NPs and 'others'—which range from demonstrative *happ* to long NPs with embedded clauses—does not reveal significant differences, except in the numbers in 0-V-p order.

I turn now from the direct object to the particle and confine discussion still further, to V-0-p and V-p-0 orders. There are indications in early OE that an adverbial particle may be attracted towards a prep. phrase or generalised adverb which completes or specifies its meaning; see pp.122-23 above. I tabulate V-0-p and V-p-0 order in class 2 against three possibilities: completion/specification by an adjacent prep. phrase or

110 Palmatier's category 'pronoun' includes demonstratives, relatives and interrogatives, and the table deals with finite rather than lexical verbs.
generalised adverb or a to-infinitive in equivalent function; or completion/specification by such an element, but non-adjacent; or lack of such completion/specification. Table 6 gives the figures for the appropriate collocations from Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-O-p</th>
<th>V-p-0</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjacent prep. phrase</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-adjacent prep. phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no prep. phrase</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Influence of prepositional phrase

In this case the exclusion of the ut off strings makes a great difference, for Table 6 incorporates 28 examples where ut is not adjacent to off (which may or may not be present in the clause) but excludes 70 examples where it is adjacent to off. If these are included the figures are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-O-p</th>
<th>V-p-0</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjacent prep. phrase</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-adjacent prep. phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no prep. phrase</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Influence of prepositional phrase, ut off included

When there is a completing or specifying element, the particle stands next to it in 44 out of 53 instances, 85%, or if we include the ut off examples, 114 out of 123, 93%. And when that happens, V-O-p order is selected in 30 out of 44 instances, 68%, or with ut off counted in, 88

111 In the tables I use 'prep. phrase' to stand for the generalised adv and tinf as well; the majority are actually prep. phrases, and of these nearly all stand after the adverbial particle when adjacent to it.
out of 114, 77%. When there is no completing element there is a smaller disparity between the numbers in V-0-p and V-p-0 order, with 46 out of 77 in the former, 60%.

Finally I consider the question of 'effective value', on which see the definition of Visser's quoted on p.64 above. I compare the frequencies of V-0-p and V-p-0 order according to whether the particle apparently has effective value. There are some doubtful cases, including most of the forð and onnwm collocations, and these I enter separately.\textsuperscript{112}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-0-p</th>
<th>V-p-0</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p has effective value</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p does not have</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
effective value       
| doubtful cases       | 32    | 16    | 48    |
| total                | 77    | 53    | 130   |

Table 8: Influence of effective value

\textit{Ut} can be regarded as having effective value when it co-occurs with off and a transitive verb. Addition of the \textit{ut off} examples modifies Table 8 to give the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-0-p</th>
<th>V-p-0</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p has effective value</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p does not have</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
effective value       
| doubtful cases       | 32    | 16    | 48    |
| total                | 135   | 65    | 200   |

Table 9: Influence of effective value, \textit{ut off} included

\textsuperscript{112}It is not clear whether forð or onnwm can collocate with 'to be' to express resultant state. However, it is clear that forð in \textit{vedemn heore vege forð} (8917) cannot have effective value. Another set of examples I have classed as doubtful have bigenn ut 'redeem' with object 'sins', etc; when the object is 'us', 'souls', etc then ut clearly has effective value.
The figures do not support the application to **Orm** of Visser's contention for PE that 'in some cases it is apparent that the adverb is given end-position when the speaker wishes to bring its effective connotation to the fore' (*Hist. Syntax*, i, 602). Even if we eliminate examples where there is a completive/specifying prep. phrase, or alternatively if we confine ourselves to examples where the object is a simple definite NP, there is in both cases a slight preponderance of V-p-O order when the particle has effective value; but the totals are too small to be of much value. The other side of the coin is the favouring of V-p-O order in PE 'when the original meaning of the particles off, out, in, up, etc. is obscured to such an extent that they no longer have any effective value' (Visser, *Hist. Syntax*, i, 602), but in **Orm** there are hardly any class 2 collocations where this is the case.

**Indirect object**

Of marginal significance is the subjectless verb **lancean** in very loose collocation with **upp**: *ac3 hemm/himm lancebhe hebennwarde & upp till heoffness blisse* (5490, 6046). A pronominal indO also precedes the verb in a class 1 example: *Patt time batt hemm babe / Wann heære kinde gan all ut To tidremm & to twenn (18930)*; cf. also *burrh be lamb uss cumebb mille. Ut off be lambess moder (12664)*. There are also class 1 verbs which optionally take a reflexive pronoun, conventionally regarded as a 'dative' because the verbs are not otherwise transitive: *sommen ... ut* (1710), *vas harm upp* (3136), also for *himm han* (229), *hem padem forb* (VS01); see Mustanoja, *ME Syntax*, p.100. I have not counted such pronouns as direct objects in the preceding discussion, but there is no formal distinction between them and such examples as *drohh himm upp* (18356), *ischedd himm ... upp* (3123), *Hemm turraem efft ... omzyn* (6609), *wennemenn hemm awezz* (16593), all of which involve verbs which can be intransitive. I have treated the reflexive pronouns as direct objects whenever the verb
is used transitively elsewhere in Orm.

The number of indirect objects co-occurring with class 2 is low:
& bræhtæ himm ut an kechall (8674), wæs recneabb swæ Habeou be 
Codëpellwrihtæ / Dunswaard te Lafford Cristæs him (11226). We can 
also for this purpose count as class 2 zifenn ann(d)sære/swære ompan(ass), 
though really the dir0 is part of the group-verb. Examples with an ind0 
yield the following orders:
V-ind0-(x-)dir0-p (2423, 8641, 13696, 15592, 16066, 16246 with pronominal 
ind0; 2403 with full nominal ind0)
ind0-(x-)V-(x-)dir0-(x-)p (10279, 12732, 12784, 16218, 17946, all with 
pronominal ind0)
V-x-dir0-p-ind0 (13570, 13806)

In the last pair of examples the ind0, a proper noun, follows ompan across 
the mid-line break and may have some of the character of a prep0; compare 
the example at 12015 discussed on pp.97–98, in which I do regard ompan as 
a preposition. The other examples are fully consonant with the general 
tendencies noted on p.144 above. See also Palmatier's account of the ind0, 

Prepositional phrase

I have not carried out a full survey of prep. phrases in Orm.
Palmatier provides useful data on the relative order of prep. phrases and 
the order of semantic succession among them and among adverbials (Descr. 
Syntax, pp.102-104). Most of the statistics do not discriminate between 
spatial and other meanings, however. From my Table 3 it can be seen that 
association with a completer prep. phrase does not explain occurrences of 
p before V: column D shows that a completer prep. phrase is more often 
on the other side of the verb from the particle than adjacent to it. On 
the other hand it does play a part in the choice between V-0-p and V-p-0 
order for class 2 actives; see Tables 6 and 7.
FORMATION OF CLASS 1 AND 2 GROUP-VERBS

Meaning of particle and verb

Naturally the majority of particles are spatial with directional meaning, the majority of verbal formatives in class 1 verbs of motion, in class 2 verbs of action involving motion. There are some collocations where the particle is locative rather than directional, e.g. gan biforenn (9563), herenn unn (7718, though not at 1792), haldenn unn (14634), nealeenn unn (6049), all of which I have included in Table 2. I have excluded locative particles which seem to be more closely associated with a locative prep. phrase than with the verb, e.g. To bormenn & to welleenn, / Wibb deoflees dun inn hellegrund (10507), Pett ledebb hemm be verse rihht till Brithhtin unn inn heoffne (6534), Itt atod all stille unn o be lifft (6436), Ne birtb be nohht . . . Ut i be straete oppenn bin hord (7362), To washeenn ofste beagre lic Wibb watterl all wibbutenn (15122; no locative prep. phrase in this case).

The majority of spatial particles in class 2 have effective meaning, being almost predicative adjuncts to the dir0. Amongst those to which this does not apply are redenn beore verse forb (8917), we motenn follheenn himm Upp imnill heaffnes blisse (17491).

Collocations in which it is clearly the particle that contributes all sense of direction or motion include bormenn, cippenn and ambeheenn + amug, recenn + dummarri, streen + forb, higenn and legeenn + ut.

IDIOMATIC MEANING

Idiomatic development of meaning in class 1 and 2 collocations in Orm is treated under the same headings adopted earlier in the chapter.
Semantic development of a literal combination

Amongst the collocations which show a figurative use or a degree of semantic unity are cumenn afterrwarrd (14795), gen biforenn (9563), fellenn dun (of law) (16838), tredenn dun (2248, etc), kerenn forb (witness) (16690), brimmenn forb (14062, etc), draghenn forb (3078, etc), draghenn o baech (refl.) (10656, 10692), don to (helippe) (6134), cumenn upp (of lot) (133), gen upp (of multiplied numbers) (11308), risenn upp (of total) (11262), waxenn upp (of numbers) (11276), bigenn ut (misedede) (7829, etc), gen ut (of time) (1912, etc). Collocations of dun and upp with a figurative ('spiritual') meaning are very common, though some may have been perceived as literal in meaning.

An indication of semantic unity is linking or commutation with a single-word verb, as for instance tredenn dun & cuennkenn (2248), beon vorpenn dun & lechedd all & nibbredd (9655), draghenn forb & avraddd (7413), draghenn forb pe shwenn (11954), wass hechedd / & hofenn upp (2648, cf. 14914).

A number of particles appear to contribute an Aktionsart meaning to a collocation, almost always intermingled with a spatial sense. The following collocations appear to differ from their simplexies by the presence of intensive Aktionsart: kibenn forb (19401, etc), stennenn upp (16138), shradenn ut (10905, etc), *skillenn ut (16860). Possible examples of intensive or completive Aktionsart are fellenn dun (1398, etc), tredenn dun (2571, etc), *tawerroomn dun (14861). Completive examples are: fellenn upp 113 (14040), bewenn upp (9285, etc), *hesenn upp (9204, etc), gen upp (11308), stichenn upp (19743, etc), waxenn upp (11276), leosenn ut (3619,

113 Whether this collocation really shows completive Aktionsart is doubtful: fell + upp is not recorded as a collocation by *MED* and not by *OED* in the sense 'fill to repletion' until Shakespeare (s.v. *fill* v. 17a). Even if wholly spatial in meaning, however, it illustrates the potential for metonymic change.
etc), and all the collocations of *awazg*. Punctual or punctual and com-
itive are cumenn to (701, etc), *ladenn upp* (14044, etc), *settenn upp*
(14600), and perhaps, if we count it as class 1, blimenn off (10047,
etc). Inceptive Aktionsart can be attributed to *gæn forg* (12906), *telenn*
forb (9123, etc) (or durative?), *gæn/gænngenn till* (8921, etc), *tækenn till*
(17232, etc), *tærnsenn till* (11156), *risenn upp* (3136, etc). Durative or
iterative Aktionsart is shown by *telenn forg* (11262).

If the simple verb is used in the same context as the collocation,
that may suggest that the particle in its spatial meaning is not essential
and therefore possibly an Aktionsart modifier, for example, *Patt muche

... tredden dun be deofless maht. Swa-- swan cho tradd wibe alle* (2569).
Other examples include *fallenn dun* (1398, cf. 1402), *hærenn forg* (16690,
cf. 17976), *cumenn forg* (6711, cf. 6713), *gæn forg* (8659, cf. 8673),
*ribenn forg* (19401, cf. 19405), *blimenn off* (10047, cf. 14565, not same
context), *brinnenn/dreghenn (upp) eom* (see p. 99 above), *gæn till* (9201,
cf. 9583), *risenn upp* (4341, cf. 4347), *bìggenn ut* (12830, cf. 711),
*drifenn ut* (15998, cf. 16002), *gæn ut* (18391, cf. 18306), *nhordenn ut*

Finally we may point to the frequent use of intensifying adverbs like
all, *beworr ut*, and so on, which are alternative indicators of Aktionsart
(when they are not mere padding) but which can occur together with collo-
cations. Thus we have *clippenn all awazg* (4248), *comm. . . . full wel
awazg* (1997), *all risenn upp* (2752), and so on.

**Foreign influence**

The indirect influence of Latin is part of the fabric of religious
writing in OE and ME, especially in a text like *Dum* which is based so
closely on the Gospels. It is entirely possible that collocations like
*bìggenn ut, ladenn ut, leoseenn ut* are used with Latin examples consciously
in mind, especially those which occur in pre-contiguous order. The one
specific instance of Latin influence that I am aware of is *stændera inn
'strive, continue insistently', for which *OE2 compares L. *instare (s.v.
*instar* v. 95a). In that sense the collocation is unique to *Orm*. Wyclif
 muchas on another sense of *instare*, 'be imminent', and cf. also Gothic
*instandan*.

For *Norse* influence, quantitatively more important, see Chapter 8.

**Reduction**

The following class 1 collocations can be regarded as formed by
reduction from class 3 by ellipsis of a prep0: *cumeann efterwærdr* (14793),
*gan biforen* (9563), *cumeann ofer* (10336), *cumeann till* (13206).
All, however, are literal in meaning or transparently developed from lit-
eral meanings.

Ellipsis of a prep0 can turn a class 6 collocation into class 2.
Here belong *setteann to* (9339) and possibly *driuenn ut* (8279, etc). There
is also the following passage, which I take to be an anachronism and
therefore not to be counted as class 2: *Batt lea min bodword, tatt ne
wau lufenn awa bitwenenn* (5272). The pronoun *wau* has to serve both as
reciprocal dir0 of *lufenn* and as prep0 of *bitwenenn*; cf. *hadd he bæga
Henn lufenn hemm bitwenenn* (5278).

Ellipsis of a NP lies behind the class 1 collocations *drageann forh*
(11940) and *ledeann upp* (14044). *Drageann duningærdr* (19053) and *drageann
uningærdr* (19057) involve an intransitive use of *drageann* which has paral-
lels in *Orm* and elsewhere.

**Syntactic re-analysis**

There is no syntactic ambiguity between classes 2 and 3, as preposit-
ion/adverb indeterminacy does not affect that boundary in *Orm*. The possi-
bility of syntactic re-analysis arises for the following collocations in
construction with a to-infinitive: *blinmenn off, lutenn off, brinmenn*
omm. drachenn (omom). In Chapter 4 I tentatively ascribed the first two
to class 3 (off as preposition) and the other pair to class 2 (om as
adverb); see pp.97-99 above. All, however, can be regarded as at differ-
ent stages in a process of transition from prepositional to adverbial pat-
terns. The strongest case can be made for blinnenn off, which may have
become an embryonic class 1 group-verb by re-analysis of an original
class 3; cf. p.97 note 103.

Direct formation

A number of adverbial particles used in Omm appear to have an idiom-
atic class meaning which would allow them to contribute to the direct for-
mation of idiomatic phrasal verbs. Abutenn 'in rotation, in succession'
is used with bennbett. Aveeg is used with a number of verbs with a sense
of removal or elimination. Forb has several meanings developed transpar-
ently from its directional meaning: with rifenn (15990) it may be 'for-
ward, into view', or 'onwards', or 'expressing continuity or progressiv-
eness of action' (OED's definition 3b); with bennn wittegg (16690),
dragenn (e.g. 3078, 7413), kibenn (3412), tellenn (e.g. 12927), perhaps
senndenn (12660) there is the sense 'forward, into view'; with libenn
(17213) and tellenn (11261) there is a durative or iterative sense, 'ex-
pressing continuity or progressiveness'. Omm seems to be associated with
inception of an action in collocation with binnenn, drachenn, takenn,
as does till with aumenn (13290), gan (e.g. 14043), kennenn (15170),
takenn (e.g. 17232), and perhaps turrnenn (11156). And ut is associated
with completion or exhaustion in collocation with gan (e.g. 4352), and
with separation in collocation with ahudenn and #akilenn.

FUNCTIONAL PRESSURE

Decay of prefixal system

I give here a brief survey of the prefixes found in compound verbs,
based partly on my own collection of examples and partly on the glossary
in WH. Many of the frequencies are based on the latter.

The prefix ag- occurs only in abidenn (x9, WH) and abiggenn (x1, WH),
the latter roughly synonymous with the more common biggenn ut. Thus a
major element of OE word-formation appears to be almost defunct. (Six of
the nine occurrences of abidenn are in repeated instances of the same one
sentence.)

Amd- occurs in annodwestenn (x6, WH) and ann(d)swereenn (x3, WH). The
verb swereenn occurs once without prefix, but by far the commonest form is
the group-verb gisenn annodswere (onn-wem) and its variants. Semantic weak-
ening of the prefix is suggested by onn-wem annodswereenn (2035).

Att- forms four compounds with a total of six occurrences, all with
the basic meaning 'escape'. *Attbrestenn has the near-synonym utbrestenn
(61), whilst for attrann (1424) we can compare eornenn forh (1336) and
renn . . . swez (1364), all three used in the story of the scapegoat.
The relation between simplex and compound is lost for *windenn 'wind,
wrap' and attwindenn 'escape'.

I do not list bi- as a pure prefix on p.105 above, since some overlap
of meaning with the homonymous preposition can be seen in compounds such
as *bilappenn, *bilukenn. It might perhaps be better to regard them as
synchronously unrelated. Bi- prefix forms thirty-one compounds, listed
on p.79 above, some of high frequency. They include one compound based on
a French loanword, bikschedd/bikahht. Functions of the prefix include
privation, e.g. *bidelemn, and transitivation, e.g. *bishinenn, and some-
times the compound and simplex appear to be interchangeable, e.g.
biteknenn/takenn.

The prefix forr- is very much alive, forming thirty-five compounds,
some of them past participles only; see the list on pp.79-80 above. Orm
has the first occurrences in OED and MED for forrblendidenn, forrdredd,
forrwarrt, forrwargpmed, *forrthorenn, forrrumredd, forrlangedd,
forrwarrædd, forrwumredd (missed by MED).
The prefix ge- has all but disappeared, surviving only in the participle gehatenn 'called, named', which slightly outnumbers hatenn. There is also one occurrence of istanedd as against two (WH) of stanedd. The loss as compared with OE is great, of course.

The non-spatial prefixes mis- and una- occur with two and four verbs, respectively, not counting past participles; see p. 79.

The prefixes oferr-, hurrh-, umme- and wibb- are all closely related to prepositions; I discuss them further in Chapter 6.

I do not list off- as a pure prefix on p. 105 in case there is some semantic overlap in Aktionsart function with adverbial off. The prefix occurs in four compounds. Offwellann is unique to Orm and occurs four times, three of them in the same context as the simplex cowelenn (for which WH give 29 page references). Comparison of cowelleth (8033) and offowalde (8037) in context suggests that off- confers intensive or punctual Aktionsart in this compound. The participle off rede dd(a) occurs six times, beside the more common for rrededd(a) (15 page refs. in WH) with which it is synonymous. The fact that off rede dd(a) only occurs when elision before it is needed suggests that it is not the normal form. *Offdrunn- cnenn is unique to Orm and occurs three times against six (WH) of the simplex. Offrede enn occurs only three times within a dozen lines (and nowhere else in MS), and there are many synonymous alternatives: treddenn dun, *oferrtreddenn, treddenn wibb/unnderr fot(a), cowennkenn. Prefixal off- is not therefore much used; some of its functions are taken over by oferr-.

The prefix onn- is not listed as a pure prefix on p. 105, because it shares with adverbial onn an association with inception. (They are homonymous in Orm, though of course they are etymologically unrelated.)

There is one important compound, onnfanncenn/onnfon (x21), sharing certain functions with takenn, unnderrfanncenn/unnderrfon, and its own simplex. The one occurrence in the main text of *onnginnenn (2601) probably replaces the normal biginnenn (e.g. 2809) for metrical reasons, though there is
another occurrence at V522. The simplex occurs only twice (2305, 3274), possibly synonymously but perhaps as an empty auxiliary.

The prefix to- forms fourteen compounds (see p.80), each with a maximum of three occurrences apart from todleenn (x16) and *toskezrenn (x6). *Toskezrenn and *toskilenenn are both ME formations, the latter at least with a Scandinavian stem; the prefix is therefore a living one. There are replacements available for it, though. *Toerrpenn, for example, is not recorded by OED after c.1200 (s.v. toarp), and though it occurs three times in Orm (once with dun) there are also werppenn dun (x7), werppenn ut (x4), *oferrwerrpenn (x2). For toshedenn (x3) compare shadenn (26 page-refs. in WE), shadenn ut (x2).

The prefix underr- has mostly lost all trace of the spatial meaning of the particle, but I have counted it as one item with the preposition underr because of a sentence like Ne birrb boon fullhtnadd att tin hund. Pin blettsinne tunnderrennenn (10660), where some locative meaning in the prefix is discernible. Underrfannenn/underrfenn (x26) is similar in meaning to the onn- compounds, though unlike them it cannot take a clausal or infinitival complement. Underrgen/underrrennenn (x3) is rather similar in distribution to the preceding. Underrstanndenn is very common, with at least two hundred occurrences; relationship with the simplex is obscured. Finally there is one occurrence of underrtakenn 'entrap', a formation first found in Orm; OED says it is formed after undern and also compares MSw. undertake (s.v. undertake v.).

In brief, the prefixes which appear to be most active in compound formation are bi-, for- (especially in participial formations), oferr-, and to a smaller extent to-, umbe- and underr-. Off- appears to be recessive, and the remainder are of minor importance, though a couple (onn-, hurh-) occur in compounds of high frequency.

In connection with discussion of the prefixal system it is appropriate to test Ershova's claim that, verbs of motion excepted, the verbs that
first combine with adverbs in ME are those which in OE combine with pre-
fixes infrequently or never; see above, p.168. The evidence of Orm
does not support it at all (although the exact basis of Ershova's state-
ment is not apparent from the summary of her thesis). I judge the verbal
formatives from Table 2 which have an OE etymon, which are not verbs of
motion, and which are not compounds, to be the following: bernenn,
biddenn, bigenn, *bittenn, fillenn, zifenn (three collocations), haldenn,
kibenn, lakenn, leosenn, libbenn, lokenn, naxlenn, shadenn, stanndenn
(two collocations), streonenn, tellenn, bewtenn (OE beow(i)an). Accord-
ing to BT(S), OE *leacian, streonan and beowian take the prefix ge-, the
rest take a number of prefixes. The two verbs which collocate with dif-
ferent adverbs in Orm each combine with an enormous number of prefixes in
OE.

IDIOMATICITY AND WORD-ORDER

The class 1 and 2 collocations with p-V order are listed in Table 3
above. All have literal or transferred spatial meanings, though the par-
ticle in hefenn upp, risenn upp, leosenn ut has perhaps some Aktionsart
value of completion. The more idiomatic collocations, bernenn augg,
stanndenn inn, brinnenn onn, bigenn ut, and so on, all have V-p order
throughout.