

## The landscape of Middle English focusing on the adverb even

Olena Andrushenko

### Angaben zur Veröffentlichung / Publication details:

Andrushenko, Olena. 2022. "The landscape of Middle English focusing on the adverb even." *Litera: Journal of Language, Literature and Culture Studies* 32 (2): 861–83.  
<https://doi.org/10.26650/litera2021-919486>.

### Nutzungsbedingungen / Terms of use:

CC BY-NC 4.0





# The Landscape of Middle English Focusing on the Adverb *Even*

Olena ANDRUSHENKO<sup>1</sup> 



<sup>1</sup>Post-Doctoral Researcher, Kyiv National Linguistic University, Department of Germanic, Finnish and Hungarian Philology, Kyiv-Ukraine

ORCID: O.A. 0000-0002-7699-9733

**Corresponding author:**

Olena ANDRUSHENKO,  
Kyiv National Linguistic University,  
Department of Germanic, Finnish and  
Hungarian Philology, 73 Velyka Vasylykivska  
str., Kyiv, 03150, Ukraine

**E-mail:** and.olenka@gmail.com

**Submitted:** 19.04.2021

**Accepted:** 22.02.2022

**Citation:** Andrushenko, O. (2022). The landscape of middle English focusing on the adverb *even*. *Litera*, 32(2), 861-883.  
<https://doi.org/10.26650/LITERA2021-919486>

## ABSTRACT

The study is aimed at exploring adverb *even* as the information structural component, viz., a Focus marker in Middle English records based on the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. Functioning as an adverb already in Old English (OE), Middle English (ME) provides evidence to gradual transformation of *even* into an additive marker according to the following pattern: OE degree/manner adverb→ME restrictive particularizer→ME restrictive exclusive→ME scalar additive. The latter meaning in Present-Day English can be singled out on the ground of such semantic criteria of the Focus phrase as [+likelihood], [+additivity], [+scalar], [+givenness] and [+surprise]. The three types of focusing *even* registered in Middle English texts are analyzed in terms of information novelty and various Foci types marked by the adverb, as well as, syntactic arrangement of sentence constituents. Corpus studies revealed that depending on the sense, *even* pertains to a specific Focus type and may cause word order to change. Specifically, when the adverb is used in its Present-Day English meaning, it highlights predominantly mirative Focus, and the analysis of word order patterns indicates the fronting of X-element in the clause, which may be put down to the fact that this scalar additive stresses surprising or unusual context for the reader. Therefore, inverted arrangement of elements may be used for stylistic purposes.

**Keywords:** Focusing adverbs, scalar additive, information structure, Focus, Topic, word-order

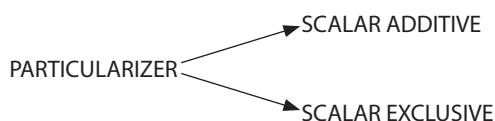


## Introduction

The paper addresses adverb *even* in the Middle English (ME) language. This linguistic item, termed a scalar additive in Present-Day English (PDE), is commonly referred to as a Focus sensitive operator (Forker 2016). While the studies of additives center mostly around their synchronic representation in a single language (see among others Sudhoff 2010; König&Gast 2006), a lot of latest works investigate more than one language so as to examine convergent and divergent characteristics of this linguistic form (cf. König 1991; De Cesare 2017). Sophisticated semantic research on *even* in PDE is found inter alia in Giannakidou (2007) and in Gast&Auwera (2011). The analysis throughout the English language development is mostly based on the mechanisms of grammaticalization of various focusing adverbs (Brinton 2017; Nevalainen 1991), however, the pattern of *even* transition to a class of focusing adverbs still requires further elaboration. Moreover, its correlation with information-structural components (novelty, topicality, focality), as well as, word-order arrangement has not been thoroughly investigated.

Studies specify the regular scheme for additive emergence in various languages, viz., non-scalar exclusive→scalar exclusive→scalar in non-factual contexts→scalar additive→non scalar additive (Ricca 2017: 50). Nevalainen (1994) claims that it was Early Modern English rather than Middle English period when such semantic shifts were highly productive. The scheme for *even* reanalysis is given in (1).

(1)



**Figure 1.** Adverb *even* reanalysis in English (Nevalainen 1994: 25-26).

The initial assumption in this paper was that ME *even* gradually developed from a particularizer with the meaning ‘*just*’ into scalar additive with its Present-Day English meaning. The premises of this transition are evident already in XIII-XIV century English, cf. (2)-(3).

(2) Till it befell vpon a tyme, the ladie thoght, that she wold goo into a forest, to hunt & play hire, and there she made ordan in a parc a grete huntyng and a grete fest and

[line 45] made all the lordes of the contree to be therat. And so among all  
 othre Ipomedon was there and happened, that all the day he made the  
 ladie to have the best game of all othre men, so at the last he slough a  
 grete hertt even  
 before the ladie (The epistle of Othea to Hector, ME Corpus 2019)  
 (3) Thanne with his sporys, he tok his hors anone, That to beholde it was  
 a noble sight,  
 How lyk a man he to the kyng is gone, Right well cheryd of herte, glad,  
 and light; Obeience to hym, as hym ought of right:  
 And after that he cunningly abraid,  
 And to the kyng even thus he sayd. (A chronicle of London, ME Corpus  
 2019)

Adverb *even* in sentence (2) is used in PDE sense of ‘just’, whilst in illustration (3) it can be interpreted as PDE ‘exactly’ (one of the connotations outlined in ME dictionary). Nevertheless, the contextual analysis of sentence (3) testifies that it most probably renders the meaning of a PDE scalar-additive that marks the NP represented by the constituent that introduces the least likely element on the likelihood scale.

Presumably, the change in the meaning in ME also correlates with difference in Foci types, i.e., the element marked by *even* in its Present-Day sense can be interpreted as a mirative Focus, while when functioning as a restrictive adverb in the constructions, the elements which it highlights represents informational, identificational and other Foci types. Cf., the NP in (2) exemplifies identificational Focus, whilst in (3) the NP renders emphatic (mirative) Focus (for definitions of Focus in the current study see Methods).

## Literature review

Making reference to Introduction, adverb *even* in the current investigation is regarded as a focusing adverb, which is largely aimed at regulating data procession by emphasizing the most crucial parts in the discourse (König 2017). This class is traditionally subdivided into additives and restrictives (with further distribution into exclusives and particularizers) (De Cesare 2015). The former expresses the idea of reinforcing information that has previously been mentioned (Forker 2016). An additive discourse relation takes place when there is cooperation between two or more propositions that are a part of one or two utterances in order to convey the same logical relations with regard to the third

proposition (Ferrari et al. 2008: 125). The propositions in question designate the same conclusion, e.g.:

(4)  $r: p - \text{addition} - q$  (Ricca 2017: 61).

Based on their semantic features, additives are subdivided into *also*-group and *even*-group (De Cesare 2015). The latter group in PDE instructs to align the alternative values in the domain of application of the adverb on a scale and in attributing the added value a high or low position on the scale (König 1991; Andorno 2000; Gast & van der Auwera 2011). They comprise such features as [+additive] and [+scalar] (König 2017).

The status of English *even* has been debatable since Karttunen and Peters (1979). The initial assumption in literature is that it reflects alternatives, which contribute to a ‘likelihood’ scale denoting the least likely element in the proposition (Fălăuș 2020: 340). E.g.

(5) Even [John]<sub>F</sub> came to the party.

Sentence (5) has two main contributions: firstly, it asserts that “John came to the party”; secondly, it provides two presuppositions: i) “there are other x-s apart from John at the party”; ii) the scalar presupposition that “for all x-s under consideration John is the least likely person to appear at the party”. Therefore, adverb *even* triggers a “scalar implicature” in which the value encompassed by this adverb is described as ranking lower in possibility than the one presented in the sentence. In their semantic representation, the focusing adverb combines with a structured proposition and is analyzed in relation to Focus and scope sketched in (6).

(6)  $\text{ADD } (\lambda x [P(x)], a]$ .

However, when *even* is used in a negative context (7), the scalar presupposition turns reverse (8), i.e., the element marked by *even* is interpreted as the most likely one (Rooth 1985; Wilkinson 1996). E.g.

(7) Mary did not invite even [John]<sub>F</sub>

(8) Scalar presupposition:  $\forall x [x \neq \text{John} \rightarrow \text{likelihood}(\text{Mary inviting John}) > (\text{likelihood Mary inviting } x)]$

Kay (1990) argues that the elements with *even* are pragmatically presupposed, i.e., they are a part of shared background of the speaker and the hearer (Clark 1992: 3; Giannakidou 2007: 40). Thus, the current study suggests that they are more likely to represent discourse given information. Linguists also point out to the unexpectedness of the situation marked by the X-element of the sentence that comprises *even* (Leroux 2012). In view of that, the focus value in sentences (5) and (7) may be interpreted either as unexpected or surprising turning the adverb into a mirative marker.

The meaning of surprise is occasionally registered in ME records. However, at the earlier stages of the language development *even* by all appearance did not function as a Focus marker. It primarily meant 'equal', 'like', and 'level' in Old English, which is documented in Oxford English Dictionary (OED 2021). The entries identify the following polysemies for OE *even* (NB: the data presented do not take adjectival uses of *even* into consideration): i) exactly, just – similarly in constructions with *swa* (Met 20.243: *wunedon ætsomne efne swa lange swa him lyfed wæs from þæm ælmihtigan, þe hi æror gio gesomnade, þæt is soð cining*); ii) manner or degree – *evenly* (LS 35 (VitPatr) 380: *and me wæs efne þan gelicost þe ic þa eft gehyrde minne hlaford cegan, nis hit gyt forðun, þæt ic þwastrian durre*); iii) reference to time (Ælfric Old Eng. Hexateuch: *Ælc cwæð to oðrum: Vton us gesettan efne nu heretogan & uton gecyrran to Egypta lande*). From this perspective, the adverb is devoid of its scalar sense in VII-XII cen. English, which is another reason to think of this as a later development, assumably arising from the meaning of 'just, exactly'.

During the Middle English period (MED 2021), *even* already functioned to represent: i) position in space (straight, directly, etc.) (c1300 SLeg.Brendan (Hrl 2277:Horst.) 177 : *Forth hi rue in þe see euene west wel faste.*); ii) an emphatic: in fact, indeed (c1400(?c1390) Gawain (Nero A.10) 2464 : *Ho is euen þyn aunt, Arþurez half-suster.*); iii) smoothly, evenly (a1398) \*Trev.Barth.(Add 27944) 250a/b : *Many maner..planynge, þat suche tables and bordes may be euene [L equaliter] and wele y ioyned.*); iv) horizontally (c1400 \*Chaucer Astr.(Brussels 4869) 2.29.92a : *Late thyn astrelabie kowche adown euene vpon a smothe grownde*); v) equal in size (c1300 SLeg.Jas.(LdMisc 108)137 : *þe ston bi-gan to wexe a-brod and holu3 bi-cam a-midde, Ase euene i-maud to þe holie bodi as ani man wolde bidde.*) 6) fully, completely (c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)26/3 : *þe feond, þe wende to fordo me, tofeol efne atwa.*), etc.

The current study explores only the examples where ME *even* functions as a focusing adverb, i.e., when it stresses on the most crucial parts of the discourse,

investigating the syntax and information structure of such sentences. Moreover, to trace the PDE meaning of *even* in Middle English, I have distinguished the following parameters for the adverb in question [+likelihood], [+additivity], [+scalar], [+givenness] and [+surprise].

## Methodology

The research is based on *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (ME Corpus 2019), which comprises a collection of around 300 Middle English texts. The simple search allows retrieving 2,454 examples of *even* (also *eve*, *efne*, *emne*, *em-*, *geven*). Since the Corpus does not offer lemmatization and part of speech tagging, the instances were further analyzed manually taking into account semantic criteria to avoid the coincidental occurrence of identical forms among ME adjectives, nouns, and verbs. Moreover, due to the abundance of adverbial meaning, the examples where *even* functions as a focusing adverb were separated from other instances; thus, only 7.8 per cent of clauses have been selected for the analysis. Taking into account that focusing adverbs are specifically used as Focus markers in PDE, the examples are tested taking into account peculiarities of word order and the information structure of the sentence.

## Middle English word order (highlights)

Middle English emerges as the language that has fewer inflections to highlight the words functioning in the sentence, compared with Old English. It is often identified as the language with verb-medial order already in Early Middle English. What should be taken into account is that there is a robust competition between OV and VO patterns, whilst South-East Midlands texts are largely OV (Pinzuk 2014). However, different researchers indicate that the underlying word order is still VO (see among others Tripps 2002; Haeberli 2002). Consequently, there is no unanimous opinion on the basic syntactic arrangement in Early Middle English texts.

The Late Middle English is more heterogeneous, viz., 86.1% of the clauses demonstrate either SVO, OSV, or OVS word order (Bech 2001: 92). It is noteworthy that SVO and OVS clauses are distinctive of verb-medial syntax. It is particularly interesting that XSV pattern reaches 33.3%, which is once again characteristic of verb-medial syntax (Bech 2012). Hence, the evidence allows us to conclude that verb-medial word-order, to a

great extent, has become established in the XV-century English. The inverted order of sentence components might frequently be used either for stylistic purposes or underlying the constituents of information structure of the sentence.

## Information structure (overview)

The information structure involves the analysis of aspects of natural language that help the speaker to take into account the hearer's current information state, thereby favoring the communication flow (Krifka & Müssan 2012). The sentences retrieved are tested based on two oppositions: given vs. new information and Topic vs. Focus (See among others Brunetti 2004; Cinque 2006; Krifka 2007; Speyer 2010).

Given information has been either mentioned or taken up again, whereas new information has not been activated in the discourse (Krifka 2007). To annotate givenness in the Corpus, the research refers to Discourse Representation Theory (DRT), which presupposes building a file that contains the records of events, subjects, objects, etc., that have been previously introduced in the text. The same methodology is used to annotate givenness in PROIEL Corpus (Haug et al. 2009; Lavidas et al. 2020), as well as, in Tatian Corpus of Deviating Examples (T-CODEX Petrova et al. 2009). The tags proposed are given in Table 1.

<b>Table 1.</b> Assigning the Tags in the Extended Annotation Scheme of Information Structure		
Layer	Tags	Short description
Information status	giv giv-active giv-inactive acc acc-sit acc-inf acc-gen new	given (underspecified) active inactive accessible (underspecified) situationally accessible inferred general non-specific

The second layer of annotation presupposes tagging of sentence as Topic and Focus. Topic is defined pragmatically in the current investigation, viz., is "the subject of predication, what the sentence is about" (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). The further subdivision implies singling out two types, i.e., aboutness and contrastive Topic. Focus presents salient information in the sentence (Gómez-González 2001: 143). The Foci types fall into informational, identificational, emphatic, mirative, exhaustive,



contrastive, and *verum*. The definitions and illustrations of some Foci types given below only represent those types, which are relevant for the present study.

Informational focus (9) is defined as part of the sentence, which expresses a great level of novelty; according to Jackendoff, it presents information not shared by a speaker and a reader (Jackendoff 1972).

(9) LOrde Thomas of Norffolke, duke moste gracious, Of noble auncestrie and blood descended,  
A captain right woorthie and auenturous, And frō Scotlād euen newly retended, Wher Englandes querele ye haue reuenged, In the behalf of our noble kyng Henry,  
I wyshe you all health, honour, and victorie. (The chronicle of Iohn Hardyng, ME Corpus 2019).

Despite various interpretations of contrast, the present research regards it as the Focus used for purely contrastive purposes (Neeleman&Vermeulen 2012), i.e., the common ground contains a proposition which the sentence can be contrasted against (10).

(10) not at þe fulle comprehende, what merveile were it þouȝ it so falle by me, whiche entende not forto euen me to hem, but forto be a profitable procutoure to lay men... (The donet, ME Corpus 2019).

Identificational focus (11) expresses identity statement referring to the presence of alternatives mentioned previously in the discourse; therefore, it may not have a contrastive reading (Kiss 1998).

(11) And then come Ipomedon in his fole wise & said:  
“Thou shalt haue hire, as thy fellow had yisterday!” & there they faght to gedre wonder-long, bot at the last Ipomedon  
[line 10] discomfit him & toke fro him his stede & send the giaunt agayn to Leonyn & bad him say, on the same maner, as he  
has served him & Maugys, so shuld he serve him euen before his ladie. (Ipomedon in drei englischen bearbeitungen, ME Corpus 2019).

Emphatic focus (12) is applied to specify a scale of values, as well as, to point at the extreme value on the scale, signaling that the predication is either exceptional or surprising (Hill&Alboiu 2016: 554).

(12) The wardeyn of þe yates gan to calle. [ 1177] The folk which þat with-  
oute þe yates were.  
And bad hym dryuen In here bestes alle.  
Or al þe nyght þey most b[il] euen þere. [ 1180]  
And fer with-Inne þe nyght with many a tere. (A parallel-text print of  
Chaucer’s Troilus and Criseyde, ME Corpus 2019).

Some scholars posit the existence of mirativity when the language codes the expression of surprise. De Haan characterizes it “as the marking of unexpected information, information that somehow shocks or surprises the speaker” (2012: 1038). The semantics of adverb *even* in PDE presupposes that the information marked by it presents something unexpected (13); therefore, it seems relevant for this study to single out this Focus type.

(13) From the beginning of Henry y<sup>e</sup> fourth, kyng Of this realme of Englande,  
after the conquest, Euen to Edwarde the fourthes reigning,  
Whiche was thre score yeres and one at the leste, He leaueth nothing  
vnwriten at the largest,  
That was, or semed to bee, of importaunce,  
Touchyng peace and warre wyth Scotlande or Fraunce. (The chronicle of  
Iohn Hardyng, ME Corpus 2019).

Table 2 presents the overview of the tags applied to the analysis of the second dichotomy, viz. Topic/Focus.

Table 2. Assigning tags in the Extended Annotation Scheme for Topic and Focus		
Layer	Tags	Short description
Topic	ab ct inf idf cf emph mirf	aboutness topic contrastive topic informational focus identificational focus contrastive focus emphatic focus mirative focus

The methodology above allows investigating components of the sentence in the Corpus in terms of information givenness, as well as, identifying a Topic and Focus of the sentence and their variations.

## Results and Discussion

### Patterns for *even* reanalysis

Corpus studies demonstrate that the meaning of adverb *even* as a Focus marker can fall into such subcategories: restrictive and additive. It may be interpreted as PDE exclusive restrictive adverb 'just' in 59.26% of instances (14), in 5.55% of examples, it renders the meaning of PDE restrictive-particularizer 'exactly/straight' (15), and the rest 35.19% reveals its PDE scalar additive meaning (16).

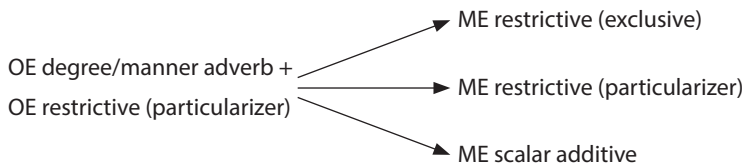
- (14) Thus he went with noble aray,  
Thurgh holth and heth he toke the way [ 3636] . Euen streight toward his  
Enmyes,  
With al thes folk of mych price In feire armes, and helmes shene,  
With rich sheldes pourtrayed clene, [ 3640] And feire launces *with* wynd  
shakand, With feire stedes walopand,  
With trompes, pipes, and taboures,  
And grete hornes of straunge coloures. (The myroure of Oure Ladye, ME  
Corpus 2019).
- (15) Than come the good knight Sir Lucas \*. [Sir Lucas] That lord of al ynde  
was;  
He made a noble Justing  
Ageyn Manassen the goode king, [ 4200] That thurgh shelde, hauberk,  
and doublet,  
The launce perced ouer the soket, \*. [drives his lance right through  
Ma|nassen,] Euen thurghout the bodie  
That the ende shewed al bloodie; [ 4204] Right befor the king of kinges  
Manassen fel deid douñ sidelinges. (The myroure of Oure Ladye, ME Corpus  
2019).
- (16) "Thou fals traitour and thou feloñ , \*. [calls him traitor, and says he  
will take vengeance for all Amalek's wrongs to his fa|ther and himself.]  
Thou betraied my fadre from his lond,

And me thou smotest *with* thin hond [ 3988] Euen befor my faders sight;  
To quite it, than I the behight. (The myroure of Oure Ladye, ME Corpus 2019).

Examples (14)-(16) have been deliberately taken from "*The myroure of Oure Ladye...*" to demonstrate that adverb *even* may convey different meanings within the same ME manuscript.

Based on the data, it can be assumed that OE sense of 'just/exactly', which was characteristic of a restrictive particularizer, splits into three distinctive senses, with the prevalence of exclusive function. Therefore, it seems problematic to single out a regular pattern of grammaticalization as it was previously referred to in literature (Nevalainen 1994; Traugott 2009). Moreover, the investigation of the English records of 1150-1400 in terms of dominant sense for *even* in a certain century shows that all the highlighted meanings are simultaneously represented in the manuscripts pertaining to the same century. Thus, the pattern for reanalysis presumably looks as follows:

(17)



Considering the percentage rate of the meaning expressed by focusing *even*, it can be suggested that its ME functioning as a particularizer gradually bleaches giving way to its operating as an exclusive. The scalar additive meaning though may have developed from the latter sense taking into account that some of the sentences in the Corpus demonstrate ambiguous reading (18).

(18) And bi the teching the wey he nam Euen to [Generides] tent,  
Or he into the Castel went [ 8644] Al his treason to fulfill,  
Forto folow Serenydes wiþ Into the tent he him wond,  
And [Generides] therin he fond [ 8648] \*. (The myroure of Oure Ladye, ME Corpus 2019).

In sentence (18) *even* can be interpreted as ‘straight/exactly’, whilst it can be also comprehended in this context as ‘just’. The proposed hypothetic pattern for grammaticalization, viz., OE degree/manner adverb → ME restrictive particularizer → ME restrictive exclusive → ME scalar additive, though not obvious due to the fact that different meanings coincide in the same century, seems quite relevant due to high percentage of examples, in which focusing *even* functions as an exclusive.

Adverb *even* simultaneously rendering the meaning of three different focusing adverbs has stimulated the investigation of every pattern separately in terms of peculiar features of sentence information structure and word-order patterns.

### XPs with *even* as a restrictive particularizer

As mentioned above, this function of *even* is registered with 5.55% of instances. The study of IS of XP shows that the element marked by *even* renders mostly discourse given information and is tagged as identificational Focus (19). E.g.

(19) Madame said launcelot I shall not fayle yow but I shall be redy at your commaundemēt / this bargayn was soone done & made bitwene them / but dame Brysen knewe it by her craftes / & told hit to her lady dame Elayne /  
 Allas said she how shall I [leaf 291v] doo / lete me dele said dame Brysen / for I shalle brynge hym by the hand euen to your bedde / and he shalle wene that I am Quene Gueneuers messenger. (Le Morte Darthur, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (19) annotated IS structure: [CP [for] [I]<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [shalle brynge]<sub>[new]</sub> [hym]<sub>[giv-active]</sub> [by the hand]<sub>[new]</sub> [euen to your bedde]<sub>[giv-inactive, idf]</sub>]].

Sentence (19) notation: [CP<sub>[for]</sub> [NP<sub>[I]</sub>] [TP [T<sub>[shalle]</sub>] [VP<sub>[brynge]</sub> NP<sub>[hym]</sub>] [PP<sub>[by the hand]</sub> AdvP<sub>[euen]</sub> PP<sub>[to your bedde]</sub>]]]]].

The word order in sentence (19) can be outlined as SVO X [even → X], where X is an adverbial modifier of place. Other instances with *even* as a restrictive particularizer also demonstrate verb medial word order with SVX pattern prevailing. Subject is identified as aboutness Topic, the verb introduces new information, and the XP exemplifies

different types of adverbial modifiers that represent either given-active or given-inactive information and identificational Focus. In all the tokens under analysis, *even* pre-modifies the elements it pertains to, which is non-characteristic of other focusing adverbs in ME, since under these conditions a postmodifying position for adverbs is more preferable (Andrushenko 2017; Andrushenko 2021).

## XPs with *even* as a restrictive exclusive

This meaning of *even* amounting to 59.26% shows a great variety of Foci types marked by the adverb interpreted as PDE 'just' in the investigation. Hence, the XP in 57.8% denotes informational Focus (20), while only 21.02 % elements with the adverb convey identificational Focus (21).

(20) Blanchardyn thanked the messenger, and prayed hym curtaysly that he wold haue hym for humbly recomended to the goode grace of the noble pucelle, that so fayre a present had sent to hym, *ibid.* 82/6; the paynem knyght, that was full curteys, made a token to hym that his request he dyde graunte, *ibid.* 90/26; and for thys werke to conducte and brynge to an ende, I graunte you euen now, and chose you, for to be in oure behalue Conestable and hed captayne of oure present armye ... (Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (20) annotated IS structure: [[<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [[<sub>[new]</sub> [you] <sub>[giv-active]</sub> [euen now] <sub>[new, inf]</sub> ]]].

(21) & so þei glosen þe wordis of holi writt euen to þe contrarie, & þei leuen þe wordis of holi writt, & chesen hem newe founden termes of hem-silf... (The English works of Wyclif, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (21) annotated IS structure: [CP [& so] [<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [<sub>[new]</sub> [þe wordis of holi writt] <sub>[giv-active]</sub> [euen to þe contrarie] <sub>[giv-active, idf]</sub> ]]].

Other Foci types registered with the model *even*+XP are contrastive Focus represented by 17.21% of instances (22) and emphatic Focus traced among 4.68% of tokens (23).

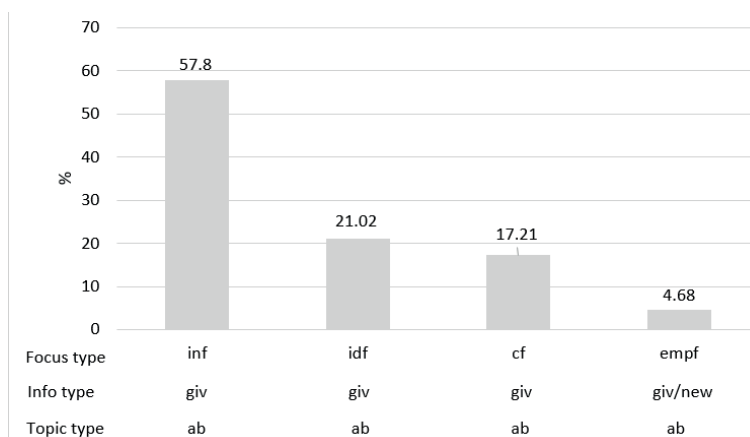
(22) And herfore seiþ Poul aftir, *Bi grace of God Y am þat Y am*. And þus he is not even worþi to be clepid a Cristene man, but nepeles, *þe grace of God was not ydil in Seint Poul*, for it movede him to profite to þe Chirche, which he harmede before (Select English works of John Wyclif, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (22) annotated IS structure: [CP [þus [he]<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [[is not]<sub>[infer]</sub> [even worþi to be clepid a Cristene man]<sub>[giv-active, cf]</sub> but...]]].

(23) And eer that these circumstauncis be knowe whiche thei ben, and eer than the preest (which wolde folewe ther yn Crist) knowe that tho same circumstauncis ben in him lijk myche as thei were in Crist, ellis he ouzte not folewe Crist in the same euen miche pouerte neither bi comaundement neither bi counseil, more than now eny preest ouzte folewe in euenlike|nes the crucifyng of Crist or the fasting of Crist as comaundement or as counseil; (The repressor of over much blaming of the clergy, ME Corpus 2019). Sentence (23) annotated IS structure: [CP [[ellis] [he]<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [[ouzte not folewe]<sub>[new]</sub>

[Crist]<sub>[giv-active]</sub> [in the same euen miche pouerte]<sub>[new, emph]</sub> [neither bi comaundement neither bi counseil]<sub>[new]</sub>]].

The ratio for each Foci type among elements with even functioning as an exclusive is given in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Ratio of information structural types marked by exclusive *even*

It should be noted that even mostly premodifies the focused element registered among 98.44 per cent of instances. The example of the adverb in a post-modifying position is given in (24).

(24) He þat es man *withouten* dred Als god son will him neuen, [ 388] He hetes to sytt, who takes hede, On ryght hand in heuen, To deme ilk man *after* his awen dede At his awen ordenance euen." [ 392]. (The Middle-English Harrowing of hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (24) annotated IS structure: [CP [who]<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [takes hede]<sub>[new]</sub> [On ryght hand in heuen]<sub>[new]</sub> [To deme ilk man]<sub>[new]</sub> [after his awen dede At his awen ordenance euen]<sub>[acc-sit, emph]</sub>]].

Sentence (24) notation: [CP<sub>[who]</sub> [TP [T [VP<sub>[takes hede]</sub> PP<sub>[On ryght hand in heuen]</sub> VP<sub>[To deme ilk man]</sub> AdvP<sub>[PP<sub>[after his awen dede]</sub> AdvP<sub>[PP<sub>[At his awen ordenance]</sub> [Adv<sub>[euen]</sub>]]]]]]]]].</sub></sub>

Investigation of elements in the sentence reveals that the most common word-order patterns are the following: SV(X) [even→X] (76.55%) with X element marking either informational (25) or identificational (26) Focus. E.g.

(25) Chronicles dooe recorde and testifie, Euen from the worldes first beginniges, And dooe kepe in continuall memorie, The course and processe of all maner thinges; The liues and maners of princes and kynges, Aswell Gentiles as Iudaicall, Aswell iuste and godly as tyrannicall. (The chronicle of Iohn Hardyng, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (25) notation: [CP [NP<sub>[Chronicles]</sub>] [TP [T<sub>[dooe]</sub> [VP<sub>[recorde and testifie]</sub> [AdvP<sub>[Adv<sub>[euen]</sub>]]] PP<sub>[from]</sub> NP<sub>[the worldes first beginniges] ...]]]]]]].</sub></sub>

Sentence (25) annotated IS structure: [[Chronicles]<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [[dooe recorde and testifie]<sub>[new]</sub> [Euen from the worldes first beginniges]<sub>[acc-sit, inf]</sub>]].

(26) & þus þei chesen hem a place to falsen crist in hijs visage, and ierom wiþ opur seyntis þat tellen þis wit of crist. ffreres seyn priueyly þat þei



spake here eresie, siþen anticrist þer mayster seiþ euen þe contrarie. (The English works of Wyclif, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (26) notation: [CP<sub>[siþen]</sub> [NP<sub>[anticrist þer mayster]</sub>]<sup>\*</sup> [TP [T [VP<sub>[seiþ]</sub> [AdvP [Adv<sub>[euen]</sub> [NP<sub>[þe contrarie]</sub>]]]]]]].

Sentence (26) annotated IS structure: [CP [siþen] [anticrist þer mayster]<sub>[giv-active, ab]</sub> [[seiþ]<sub>[new]</sub> [euen þe contrarie]<sub>[acc-sit, idf]</sub>]].

SVX order also prevails with other Foci types, i.e., contrastive (27) and emphatic (28) ones which render situationally accessible information or given activated information respectively. Topics in both cases are tagged as aboutness. E.g.

(27) For now is tyme of pees, and þo Chirche is olde, and none of þese casis fallen þat men schulden feght wiþ, bot even þo contrarie sueþ (Select English works of John Wyclif, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (27) notation: [CP<sub>[bat]</sub> [NP<sub>[men]</sub>]<sup>\*</sup> TP [T<sub>[schulden]</sub> [VP<sub>[feght wiþ]</sub> [bot [AdvP [Adv<sub>[even]</sub> NP<sub>[þo contrarie sueþ]</sub>]]]]]]].

Sentence (27) annotated IS structure: [[bat [men]<sub>[give-active, ab]</sub> [schulden feght wiþ]<sub>[new]</sub> bot [even þo contrarie sueþ]<sub>[acc-sit, cf]</sub>]<sup>\*</sup>

(28) Ne þe maner excede in swichë\*. [suche R, swich H.] case, Or quantite of þe gilt, or þe trespase. 2723

Euen as a soule is bodies lyflynesse 2724

And when þat it\*. is twyned from a wight\*. (Hoccleve's works, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (28) notation: [CP [NP [AdvP<sub>[Euen as]</sub> [NP<sub>[a soule]</sub>]]] [TP [T [VP<sub>[is]</sub> [NP<sub>[bodies lyflynesse]</sub>]]]]].

Sentence (28) annotated IS structure: [Euen as a soule]<sub>[give-active, emph]</sub> is<sub>[new]</sub> [bodies lyflynesse]<sub>[give-active, ab]</sub><sup>\*</sup>

The word order patterns for sentences where the elements introduce contrastive Focus are represented by such structures as SV NEG X BUT [even→X] (9.4%), SV NEG [even→X] BUT X (6.25%), whereas when *even* marks emphatic Focus, it is more frequently

used with the subject of the sentence. As a result, two patterns can be differentiated: [even→S] VX (3.12%) and SV[X←even] (1.56%). (See ex. 24).

Inverted arrangement of clause elements infrequently occurs and is traced only with the pattern X[even→X] SVO amounting to 3.12 per cent (29).

(29) And in the same or euen lijk wise y schal grounde or fynde bi witnessing ech of hem in Holi Scripture, as also thou schalt openli after in the ij<sup>e</sup>. parti of this book se. (The repressor of over much blaming of the clergy, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (29) notation: [CP<sub>[and]</sub> [AdvP<sub>[in the same]</sub> or AdvP<sub>[euen lijk wise]</sub>] [NP<sub>[y]</sub> [TP<sub>[schal]</sub> VP [[V<sub>[grounde]</sub> or [VP<sub>[fynde]</sub> [AdvP<sub>[bi witnessing]</sub> [NP<sub>[ech of hem]</sub> [PP<sub>[in Holi Scripture]</sub>]]]]]]]]].

The element marked by *even* is tagged as emphatic Focus and given activated information. As the study shows, when these elements represent emphatic Focus, the sentence word order becomes inverted by means of fronting the adverbial modifier.

Investigating the ratio of highlighting sentence elements, it was observed that most frequently *even* pertains to AdvP (90.62%). The instances with other sentence components are distributed as follows: O (either direct or indirect) – 6.25%; S – 3.13%. Verb tagging by the adverb is not registered in our data.

## XP<sub>s</sub> with *even* as scalar additive

Constructions, where *even* functions as a scalar additive, indicate that in all the instances under analysis, it marks the components, which introduce surprising information; therefore, focused element is tagged as a mirative Focus. It renders given information in 92.11 per cent of instances (30), the information in the rest of the examples can be deciphered as situationally accessible (31) with the dominance of aboutness Topic.

(30) Shewyng a cheer / in maner debonayre, To his entent / wonderly contrayre, [ 1960] Inward in hertē / wood and furious, Turnyng his facē / towarde Tydeus,  
he gan abraid / and at the last out-brak, And euen thus / vnto hym he

spak. [ 1964]

"I haue\* gret mervaille /" quod he, "in my thoght. (Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, ME Corpus)

Sentence (30) annotated IS structure: [CP [And] [euen thus] [<sub>give-active, mirf</sub>] [vnto hym] [<sub>give-active</sub>] [he] [<sub>give-active, ab</sub>] [spak] [<sub>new</sub>].

(31) And he þat sente me is wiþ me, and he hap not left me aloone; for Y do even þo þingis þat ben plesyng to him. (Select English works of John Wyclif, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (31) annotated IS structure: [CP [for] [Y] [<sub>give-active, ab</sub>] [do] [<sub>new</sub>] [even þo þingis] [<sub>acc-sit, mirf</sub>] ...]

This additive adverb occupies a pre-modifying position in 86.85 % of tokens under analysis, cf., (30)-(31). When a post-modifying placement of *even* is encountered the element, it marks is represented mostly by a pronoun in the surface structure (32).

(32) And so þo leuacioun þou be-halde, for þat is he þat iudas salde, and sithen was scourged & don on rode, [ 408] and for mankynde þere shad his blode, and dyed & ros & went to heuen, and 3it shal come to deme vs euen, Ilk mon aftur he has done. [ 412] (Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (31) annotated IS structure: [CP [and] [3it] [<sub>give-active, ab</sub>] [shal come] [<sub>infer</sub>] [to deme] [<sub>new</sub>] vs euen [<sub>give-active, mirf</sub>].

Sentence (31) notation: [CP [<sub>and</sub>] [NP [<sub>3it</sub>]] TP [T [<sub>shal</sub>] [VP [<sub>come</sub>]] [VP [<sub>to deme</sub>] [NP [Pro [<sub>vs</sub>] [Adv [<sub>euen</sub>]]]]]].

The scalar *even* registered in our data may be the cause of inverted word order with X element fronting due to the fact that the elements in the constructions render surprising and unexpected context, which is observed among 89.46 per cent of instances (32). This, supposedly, differentiates the scalar *even* from its other functioning as a focusing adverb.

(32) And euen on palme-sononday, When folk in kyrk bygan to pray: 295  
 A voyce was in þe mynster herde  
 þat made all þe folk full ferde: þe voyce sayd: "come al to me  
 þat suffers payne and pouerte! (Altenglische legenden, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (32) notation: [CP<sub>[and]</sub> [AdvP [Adv<sub>[euen]</sub> PP<sub>[on palme-sononday]</sub>] ... [NP<sub>[A voyce]</sub>] [TP [T [VP<sub>[was]</sub>] [PP<sub>[in þe mynster]</sub>] [V<sub>[herde]</sub>]]]]].

A single example with SXV order is registered in "*Altenglische legenden*", where *even* is encountered post-verbally (33). However, the question still remains debatable concerning the regularity of this pattern since a post-modifying placement could be just accounted for the rhythmic purposes. Therefore, this instance has to be treated with caution when it comes to interpretation of word-order regularities unless more data are available.

(33) þe folk ran fast abowte and soght, Bot Alixis fand þai noht.  
 Full gud and haly was he born: 310 He dyed on gud-fryday at morn.  
 þe pape of Rome and clergy þat day went to þe kyrke arely, And so dyd  
 two Emperoures,  
 And lered folk, tyll here þaire oures. 315 þai thought wele a-pon þat steuen  
 þat þai on palme-sononday herd euen. (Altenglische legenden, ME Corpus 2019).

Sentence (33) notation: [CP<sub>[þat]</sub> [NP<sub>[þai]</sub> [TP [T [VP [PP<sub>[on palme-sononday]</sub> VP [V<sub>[herd]</sub> Adv<sub>[euen]</sub>]]]]]]. The issue whether *euen* in (33) can be interpreted as an element of NP meaning '*on Palm Sunday evening*' is the matter of argument; however, the notation structure shows that the adverb rather modifies the VP than belongs to the NP since such NP splitting will cause the system to crash due to its ungrammaticality as much as Middle English is concerned. The only split NPs can be found with the genitive case (Börjars et al. 2013). The ratio of sentence components marked by the scalar additive is as follows: AdvP – 81.57%, O – 13.15 %, S – 2.64% and V – 2.64%.

## Concluding Remarks

The investigation of *even* reveals that ME can be considered the period of its formation as a focusing adverb. Functioning simultaneously as a restrictive (either exclusive or

particularizer) and as an additive in ME records, it is most frequently used in the sense of PDE exclusive 'just'. Considering the ratio of various adverbial meanings, the pattern for *even* reanalysis is as follows: OE degree/manner adverb → ME restrictive particularizer → ME restrictive exclusive → ME scalar additive. Taking into account the fact that all three focusing adverbial meanings are retained in the English records of XII-XV cen., it was proposed to consider each pattern with different meanings of *even* separately in order to trace regularities in information structure marking, when the focused constituent is concerned, along with word order patterns. As a restrictive particularizer *even* highlights the components that represent discourse given information and identificational Focus. The adverb premodifies the elements it pertains to and is registered with SVO order. The same dominant pre-modifying position and SVO arrangement of sentence components are typical for *even* functioning as a restrictive exclusive. The elements emphasized by *even* in the meaning of 'just' are tagged as informational and identificational Foci. To minor, Foci types belong contrastive and emphatic ones. The inverted word order (X *even* → XSVO) is typical when the adverb marks X element represented by the AdvP that renders emphatic Focus. The fronting of X-element is also observed with scalar *even*. This might be accounted by the fact that the adverb stresses surprising or unusual context for the reader; therefore, inverted word order is used for stylistic purposes. The sentence elements associated with *even* in all the instances represent mirative Focus and discourse given or accessible information.

---

**Peer-review:** Externally peer-reviewed.

**Conflict of Interest:** The author has no conflict of interest to declare.

**Grant Support:** The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

---

## References

- Andorno, C. (2000). *Focalizzatori fra connessione e messa a fuoco. Il punto di vista delle varietà di apprendimento*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Andrushenko, O. (2021). Corpus based studies of Middle English adverb largely: syntax and information-structure. *X-Linguae. European Scientific Language Journal*, 4(2), 60–75.
- Andrushenko, O. (2017). Information-structural impact on adverbial *only* evolution in the Middle English language. *Science and Education, a New Dimension. Philology*, 29 (116), 10–15.
- Bech, K. (2001). *Word order patterns in Old and Middle English: A syntactic and pragmatic study* (PhD dissertation, University of Bergen). Retrieved from <https://bora.uib.no/bora-xmlui/handle/1956/3850>.

- Bech, K. (2012). Word order, information structure and discourse relations: A study of Old and Middle English verb-final clauses. In A. Meurman-Solin, M. J. Lopess-Couso & B. Los (Eds.), *Information structure and syntactic change in the history of English* (pp. 66–86). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199860210.003.0004>.
- Börjars, K., Denison, D., & Krajewski, G., Scott, A. (2013). Expression of possession in English: The significance of the right edge. In K. Börjars, D. Denison & A. Scott (Eds.), *Morphosyntactic categories and the expression of possession* (pp. 123–148). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.
- Brinton, L. (2017). The evolution of pragmatic markers in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, 55(2), 449–453. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226718000580>.
- Brunetti, L. (2004). *A Unification of Focus*. Padua: Unipress.
- Cinque, G. (2006). *Restructuring and Functional Heads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clark, H. (1992). *Arenas of Language Use*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (ME Corpus 2019). Retrieved from <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/>.
- Ricca, D. (2017). Meaning both 'also' and 'only'? The intriguing polysemy of Old Italian pur(e). In A.-M. De Cesare, C. Andorno (Eds.), *Focus of additivity: Adverbial modifiers in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages* (pp. 45–78). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.278>.
- De Cerare, A.-M. (2015). Defining focusing modifiers in a cross-linguistic perspective. A discussion based on English, German, French and Italian. In K. Pittner, D. Elsner & F. Barteld (Eds.), *Adverbs – Functional and diachronic aspects* (pp. 47–81). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.
- De Cesare, A.-M. (2017). On 'additivity' as a multidisciplinary research field. In A.-M. De Cesare & C. Andorno (Eds.), *Focus on additivity: adverbial modifiers in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages* (pp. 1–22). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.278>.
- De Haan, F. (2012). Evidentiality and mirativity. In R. I. Binnick (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*. (pp. 1020–1045). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195381979.013.0036>.
- Fălăuş, A. (2020). Negation and alternatives: Interaction with focus constituents. In V. Depres & M. T. Espinal (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of negation* (pp. 333–348). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198830528.013.18>.
- Ferrari, A. et al. (2008). *L'interfaccia lingua-testo. Natura e funzioni dell'articolazione informativa dell'enunciato*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Forker, D. (2016). Toward a typology for additive markers. *Lingua*, 180, 69–100. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2016.03.008>.
- Frascarelli, M., Hinterhölzl, R. (2007). Types of topics in German and Italian. In K. Schwabe & S. Winkler (Eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form: Generalizations across languages* (pp. 87–116). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.100.07fra>.
- Gast, V. & van der Auwera, J. (2011). Scalar additive operators in the languages of Europe. *Language*, 87 (1), 2–54. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2011.0008>.

- Geurts, B., Beaver, D. I. & Maier, E. (2020). Discourse Representation Theory. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy, metaphysics research lab*. Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/discourse-representation-theory/>.
- Giannakidou, A. (2007). The landscape of EVEN. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 25, 39–81. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-006-9006-5>.
- Gómez-González, M. A. (2001). *The Theme-topic interface: Evidence from English*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.
- Haeberli, E. 2002. Inflectional morphology and the loss of V2 in English. In D. Lightfoot (Ed.), *Syntactic effects of morphological change* (pp. 88–106). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199250691.003.0005>.
- Haug, D. T. T., Eckhoff, H. M., Majer, M. & Welø, E. (2009). Breaking down and putting back together: Analysis and synthesis of New Testament Greek. *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, 9(1), 56–92. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156658409X12529372103308>.
- Hill, V. & Alboiu, G. (2016). *Verb movement and clause structure in Old Romanian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jackendoff, R. (1972). *Semantic interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Karttunen, L., & Peters, S. (1979). Conventional implicature. In Ch. Kyu Oh & D. A. Dineen (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, Vol. 11: Presupposition (pp. 1–56). New-York: Academic Press.
- Kay, P. (1990). Even. *Linguistic and Philosophy*, 13, 59–111. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00630517>.
- Kirfka, M. & Musan, R. (2012). *The expression of information structure*. Berlin & New-York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kiss, K. E. (1998). Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, 74, 245–273.
- König, E. (1991). *The Meaning of focus particles: A comparative perspective*. London, New York: Routledge.
- König, E. (2017). Syntax and semantics of additive focus markers from a cross-linguistic perspective: A tentative assessment of the state of the art. In A.-M. De Cesare & C. Andorno (Eds.), *Focus on additivity: Adverbial modifiers in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages* (pp. 23–43). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.278>.
- König, E. & Gast, V. (2006). *Focused assertion of identity: A typology of intensifiers*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- König, E. (1991). *The meaning of focus particles: A comparative perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Krifka, M. (2007). Basic notions of information structure. *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure*, 6, 13–55. <https://doi.org/10.1556/ALING.55.2008.3-4.2>.
- Lavidas, N. & D. T. T. Haugh. (2020). Postclassical Greek and treebanks for a diachronic analysis. In D. Rafiyenko & I. Seržant (Eds), *Postclassical Greek: contemporary approaches to philology and linguistics* (pp. 163–202). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Leroux, A. (2012). *Even* et quelques traductions en français: la référence à l'inattendu. *LINX*, 66-67, 35–50. <https://doi.org/10.4000/linx.1444>.

- Middle English Dictionary (MED 2021). Retrieved from: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>.
- Neeleman, A. & Vermeulen, R. (2012). The syntactic expression of information structure. In A. Neeleman & R. Vermeulen (Eds.), *The syntax of topic, focus and contrast: An interface- based approach* (pp. 1–38). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614511458.1>.
- Nevalainen, T. (1991). *BUT, ONLY, JUST: Focusing adverbial change in Modern English 1500- 1900*. Helsinki: Societe Neophilologique.
- Nevalainen, Terttu. (1994). Aspects of adverbial change in Early Modern English. In D. Kastovsky (Ed.), *Studies in Early Modern English* (pp. 243–260). Berlin & New-York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110879599.243>.
- Oxford English Dictionary (OED 2021). Retrieved from: <https://www.oed.com>.
- Petrova, S. (2009). Information structure and word order variation in the Old High German Tatian. In R. Hinterhölzl & S. Petrova (Eds.), *Information structure and language change* (pp. 251–279). Berlin & New-York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pintzuk, S. (2014). *Phrase structures in competition: Variation and change in Old English word order*. New-York: Routledge.
- Rooth, M. (1985). *Association with focus*. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts). Retrieved from: <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations/AAI8509599/>.
- Speyer, A. (2010). *Topicalization and stress clash avoidance in the history of English*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Sudhoff, S. (2010). *Focus particles in German. Syntax, prosody, and information structure*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.
- Traugott, E. (2009). The semantic development of scalar focus modifiers. In A. van Kemenade & B. Los (Eds.), *The handbook of the history of English* (pp. 335–359). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Trips, C. (2002). *From OV to VO in Early Middle English*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.
- Wilkinson, K. (1996). The scope of *even*. *Natural Language Semantics*, 4, 193–215. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00372819>.



