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Expressing conditionality in earlier English[1]

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This article traces the diachronic development of English conditionals with clause-initial subclauses (*If you hurt the cat, (then) she will bite you*) by means of (frequency) data from three corpora (YCOE, PPCME2 and PPCEME). It investigates the division of labour between *(g)if*, *and* (meaning 'if, suppose/provided that, on condition that') and verb-initial conditionals from Old to Early Modern English. It is shown that conjunctional conditionals (e.g. *if* conditionals) have always been most frequent. The limitations on verb-initial conditionals (as they exist in Present-day English) develop diachronically and are related to restrictions on verb movement and choice of verb, and not frequency. Genre preferences, however, seem to exist. The use of *then* introducing the main clause will be shown to be a reflex of an earlier paratactic structure. Its use over time is influenced by mood and length, the latter being of influence especially in later periods.

Keywords: earlier English, conjunctional conditionals, verb-initial conditionals, parataxis

1 Introduction

Present-day English (PDE), like most of its Germanic sister languages, has multiple ways to express conditionality (Van den Nest 2010; Auer & Lindström 2011). (1a–c) present run-of-the-mill examples of both conjunctional (most notably *if*) and verb-initial (V1) conditionals.

(1) (a) If you work harder, (then) you will finish in time.
(b) If you had worked harder, (then) you would have finished in time.
(c) Had you worked harder, (then) you would have finished in time.

Conjunctional conditionals can express conditions whose fulfilment is open, as in (1a), or counterfactual, i.e. for which the speaker believes that the condition is not, cannot, or will not be fulfilled as (1b) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1091–3; Iatridou & Embick 1994; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006).[2] V1 conditionals like (1c) are (largely) restricted to expressing

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[2] Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1092, fn. a) point out that different terminology exists to define the speaker's belief regarding the fulfilment of the protasis in conditionals. Open conditionals have also been referred to as *real*, *factual* and *neutral*. Iatridou & Embick (1994) refer to these as *indicative*, while Van den Nest (2010) and Auer & Lindström (2011) adopt the term *realis.* Counterfactual conditionals are sometimes defined as *closed*, *unreal*, *rejected*, *nonfactual*, *marked* or *hypothetical*. They are referred to as *remote* conditions by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 739) and as *potentialis* or *irrealis* (combined in the term *non-realis*) by Van den Nest (2010) and Auer & Lindström (2011). The terms *open* and *counterfactual* are adopted here, where *counterfactual* comprises both *hypothetical* (condition can potentially be fulfilled, but will not be fulfilled) and *counterfactual* (fulfilment is impossible) conditionals.

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counterfactuality in PDE. The use of *then* is optional in both types, as indicated by the brackets. Using *then* is, however, ungrammatical when the conditional subclause is clause-final, as in (2).

(2) (*Then) you will finish in time, if you work harder.

The constructions in (1) also occur in earlier English, as exemplified by the Old English (OE) *(g)if* conditional in (3). However, conditionals in earlier English show much more construction-internal variation, with respect to mood, verb choice, restrictions on open and counterfactual V1 conditionals, and in the structure of the clause expressing the result of the condition. I will come back to this below.

(3) **Gif** Sodome hira synne hælen, **ðonne**
if the men of Sodom their sins conceal, then

ne syngodon hi na buton ege,
not sinned they not without fear,
'If the men of Sodom had concealed their sins, they would not have sinned without fear' (CP:55.427.29.3008)

Most studies on conditionality in English are restricted to either conjunctional or V1 conditionals or are synchronic in nature (see Iatridou & Embick 1994; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006; Van den Nest 2010; Auer & Lindström 2011). This article traces the diachronic development of English conditionals with clause-initial conditions as in (1a–c) and (3), as well as the division of labour between conjunctional and V1 conditionals. I will furthermore study the factors that promote the use of resumptive adverb *then*. I will also answer the question why its use in conditionals declines over time, but never quite disappears while it does so in other constructions with clauses expressing a similar semantic–pragmatic relationship. The focus will be on conditionals introduced by *(g)if*, by the finite verb (V1), and by *and* (meaning 'if, suppose / provided that, on condition that'; *OED*). These three have a context-independent conditional reading (contrary to, for example, *when*). I will show that conjunctional conditionals have always been preferred over V1 conditionals, which eventually became limited to counterfactual uses, as they became restricted to a subset of auxiliaries following the loss of preposing of lexical finite verbs. The results will be compared for both frequency and genre effects to earlier research on the division of labour between the two conditional types by Van den Nest (2010) on written OE and by Auer & Lindström (2011) on written German and Swedish. We will see that restrictions on V1 conditionals are not uncommon and that both conditional types have genre and modality preferences.

This article is organised as follows: section 2 discusses in detail the form and meaning of conditionals, the expression of conditionality in (earlier) English, the relation between conditionals and correlatives, and the role of *then*. Section 3 outlines the methodology for data collection and addresses the diachronic development and the use of the resumptive adverb *then*. Section 4 concludes.

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2 Types of conditionals: form and meaning

Conditionals are used to convey the message that the accuracy of the proposition expressed in the *apodosis* (or main clause) depends on the fulfilment of the condition expressed in the protasis (or conditional subclause) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1088; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006). Together, the two clauses are a semantic–pragmatic unit expressing condition and result (Van den Nest 2010), as in (4).

(4) If you hurt the cat, *she will bite you*.

The truth of the prediction '*she will bite you*' depends on the fulfilment of the condition 'if you hurt the cat'. Example (4) is a so-called content conditional, involving actual real-world content, as opposed to epistemic conditionals which reflect logical reasoning processes or speech-act conditionals (Sweetser 1990: 113–21).[3] In many languages, the protasis can either be clause-initial, as in (4), or clause-final, as in (5) (Iatridou & Embick 1994; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006).

(5) *The cat will bite you*, if you hurt her.

Conditionals with clause-final protases like (5) generally allow less variation. In languages like Russian, 'the clause-final option is unavailable' (Comrie 1986, cited in Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: 646), while in other languages, such as PDE, German and Dutch, clause-final V1 protases are restricted to counterfactuality (Iatridou & Embick 1994). Predictably, clause-initial protases are more common cross-linguistically. The protasis–apodosis order expresses the consecutive order of the events most accurately or iconically (see Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 173) and presumably facilitates interpretation.

Most Germanic languages have more than one morphosyntactic way of expressing condition–result semantics (Auer & Lindström 2011). Well-known strategies for overt marking of the protasis include inflectional marking by imperative/subjunctive morphology (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006), and the use of conditional conjunctions. The latter often find their origin in temporal *wh*-pronouns, like German *wenn* in (6), or interrogative conjunctions, like PDE *if* in (4) (also used in embedded yes/no questions). As such, PDE *if* – but also Dutch *als* 'if' (Zwart 2011: 106; 282–5) – is generally analysed as a conjunction in C, the canonical position for conjunctions in CP (Conjunction Phrase) (see Kayne 1991, cited in Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: 652).

Another way of marking the conditional protasis is by fronting the finite verb (to C) in the absence of a conjunction (Iatridou & Embick 1994). These V1 conditionals, although often a characteristic of languages without other indicators of conditionality, can also be found side-by-side with other conditionality marking strategies. PDE V1 conditionals are (largely) restricted to counterfactuality as in (7a), whereas German

[3] Epistemic conditionals are constructions like *If he was here, he was not at university*, while speech-act conditionals are typically exemplified by *If I may say so, you are mistaken*. For a more detailed discussion of conditional linking, the reader is referred to Sweetser (1990), Dancygier & Sweetser (2005) or Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1094-7).

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also permits open V1 conditionals that are neutral towards the fulfilment of the condition, like example (7b).

(6) *German* wenn-*conditional*
Wenn du müde bist, leg dich hin.
if you tired are, lay yourself down
'If you are tired, lie down.'

(7) (a) *PDE counterfactual V1 conditional*
Had I known you were here, I would have stayed at home.
(b) *German open V1 conditional* (Iatridou & Embick 1994: 190, ex. 2b)
Kommt Hans dann geht Susanne.
comes Hans then goes Susanne
'If Hans comes, then Susanne goes.'

For languages allowing multiple overt ways of expressing conditionality, the choice of a particular conditional type (conjunctional versus V1) not only depends on language-internal factors, but is also influenced by discourse function, genre and modality (Auer & Lindström 2011). Present-day Swedish, for example, seems to favour conjunctional (*om* 'if') protases in the written language, but instructive (legal, scientific and regulatory) texts prefer V1 protases. The latter are also favoured in spoken Swedish and used by the speaker to establish an expert-status. Present-day written German also favours V1 over conjunctional protases in instructional texts, but shows an arbitrary distribution elsewhere. In spoken German, V1 conditionals are virtually absent. The division of labour between the different conditional types thus depends on the available morphosyntactic options along with genre and modality (Auer & Lindström 2011).

2.1 The expression of conditionality in (earlier) English

The order protasis–apodosis, as in (4), is the most common and versatile way to express conditionality in PDE. The subordinating conjunction *if* is the most frequent option, but *when* and *whenever* are used as well (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1089). PDE V1 conditionals are (largely) restricted to presenting counterfactual information, as observed above. They are also restricted to a limited set of auxiliaries: *had*, *were* and *should*, the latter marking a high degree of uncertainty. In somewhat literary styles, *should* and *were* can sometimes also be used non-counterfactually (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1094).[4] Resumptive adverb *then* can introduce the apodosis in both constructions.

OE, Middle English (ME) and Early Modern English (EModE) conditionals can be introduced by conjunctions like *(g)if* and *and*, as in examples (8)–(9), or by various types of V1 conditionals, as in (10) and (11).

[4] Examples from Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1094):

(i) Were it to reveal its secrets, that house would collapse in shame.
(ii) Should you change your mind, no one would blame you.

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(8) (G)if *conditional*

Gif	he	ðonne	sie	idæges		dead,	**ðonne**	sitte	sio	scyld	on	him.
if	he	then	is	on the same day		dead,	then	sit	the	guilt	on	him

'If he should be dead that same day, the guilt rests on him.' (LawAfEl:17.44)

(9) And *conditional*

And	the	Schottys	ben	trewe	hyt	moste	nedys	contynu	so	longe,
if	the	Scots	are	true	it	must	necessarily	continue	so	long

'If the Scots are true, its necessity compels it to continue so long,' (cmgregor 224.2242)

Conjunction *and* is especially interesting as it can function as both a coordinator and a subordinating conjunction in ME and EModE (conditionals). Its conditional use 'may have arisen from a simplified correlative use in which *and* loosely expresses various relations between two clauses' (Rissanen 1999: 281). Such a paratactic origin is proposed here for all protasis–apodosis order conditionals.

OE V1 conditionals can present both counterfactual and open propositions (Iatridou & Embick 1994), as in examples (10)–(11). It has been suggested that – as in Icelandic – open OE conditionals require the subjunctive in the protasis, like *wurðe* in (11) (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: 683, endnote 23). Conditionals can also be introduced by *when* and *þonne* (the latter meaning 'whenever' (Traugott 1992: 258)), originally temporal conjunctions which can induce a conditional interpretation depending on context, but always retain some temporality (Mitchell 1985: 858; Fischer 1992: 349).

(10) *Counterfactual V1 conditional*

Hæfde	ic	ælteowe	þenas,	nære	ic	þus	eaðelice	oferwiðed
had	I	faithful	servants	not-were	I	thus	easily	overcome

'Had I faithful servants, I should not be thus easily overcome.'
(+ALS[Forty_Soldiers]:226.2623)

(11) *Open V1 conditional*

wurðe	hit	þam	casere	cuþ	ne	canst	þu	þe	nænne	ræd
became	it	the	emperor	known	not	know	you	that	not-one	advantage

'Should it become known to the emperor, you will not know no advantage for yourself.' (+ALS_[Chrysanthus]:31.7348)

It is generally accepted in the literature that the embedded conjunction and the fronted finite verb in V1 conditionals target the same structural position (C) in the protasis (den Besten 1983; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006; Zwart 2011: 106, 282–5), even in OE; see figure 1. This distribution dates back to the shift from parataxis to hypotaxis in (pre-)OE times (Kiparsky 1995). Both conjunctional and V1 conditionals in the protasis–apodosis order originate from a paratactic structure exhibiting a semantic–pragmatic (but not syntactic) relationship between two main clauses. Here, the relationship is one condition and result, but it is also found in OE temporal correlative constructions and in OE left dislocations (Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017). Routinely combined, such semantically–pragmatically related main clauses were ultimately interpreted as one construction, in which the first clause

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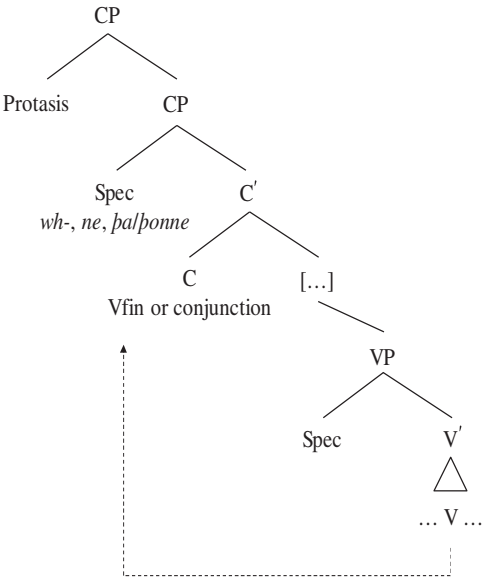


Figure 1. Old English clause structure[5]

was hypotactically integrated as a subclause into the second. This facilitated the rise of typical subordination markers like conjunctions in C (e.g. conditional *if*). Another effect was verb-fronting to C, motivated by a need to distinguish main clauses from subclauses (Kiparsky 1995). This took the form of (i) special modality related V1 word order patterns (e.g. *yes*/*no* questions, imperatives and conditionals); and (ii) Verb-Second (V2) in main clauses primarily triggered by certain types of constituents in Spec, CP (*wh*-constituents, negatives and demonstrative adverbs like *þa*/*þonne* 'then' in OE) (Kiparsky 1995; Fischer *et al*. 2000: 110–29; van Kemenade & Los 2006; Van den Nest 2010). The finite verb moves from V to C (via intermediate head positions) and is directly followed by the subject.[6] Figure 1 illustrates the structure.

The use of resumptive adverb *þa*/*þonne* in OE main clauses after a conditional protasis or adverbial subclause indicates that – at least in OE – these subclauses are non-integrated, extra-clausal material accounted for by an extra CP-adjoined position above the main clause CP in figure 1 (see Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017). As such, these constructions represent the stage in between parataxis and full hypotaxis.

Verb-fronting to C (see figure 1) crucially differentiates main clauses from subclauses in OE. As conjunctions and finite verbs both occur in C, OE *(g)if* conditionals with *(g)if* directly followed by the finite verb are not found. The paratactic

[5] Structure adapted from Fischer *et al*. (2000: 126) and Kiparsky (1995: 140).

[6] Verb-fronting to C survives as subject–auxiliary inversion in PDE *wh*-initial and negative initial clauses (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 136), and in counterfactual conditionals. For more (detailed) discussion of OE verb movement, including to positions other than C, see Fischer *et al.* (2000: 110-29) and Los (2009).

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origin also explains why, with the exception of V1 conditionals, V1 subclauses seem to be rare in OE. If V1 conditionals, like conjunctional conditionals, indeed originally consisted of two semantically–pragmatically (but not syntactically) related main clauses (as established for Old Swedish (Wessén 1956, quoted in Auer & Lindström 2011: 223–4)), this accounts naturally for why all other uses of V1 in OE are found in various types of main clauses: *yes*/*no* questions, imperatives and V1 declaratives (Fischer 1992: 278; Traugott 1992: 184; Fischer *et al.* 2000: 53; Ohkado 2004). In fact, V1 conditionals (in some Germanic languages at least) seem to have emerged out of other verb-fronting structures, most notably *yes/no* questions (Auer & Lindström 2011). Mitchell (1985: 848–9) furthermore indicates that OE V1 imperatives can also function as conditionals.[7] Based on intonation patterns, he argues that these often take the form of two coordinated (paratactic) main clauses in PDE as in (12), but he does not hazard any guess regarding their syntactic status in OE. As the second clause in (13), Mitchell's example (1985: 849), is introduced by resumptive adverb *þonne*, it seems reasonable to assume that – at least in OE – V1 imperatives also fit the structure in figure 1 as *þonne* establishes a relation between the two clauses. The shared origin of conjunctional and V1 conditionals thus explains their complementary distribution, but not the restriction of PDE V1 conditionals to counterfactuality expressed by certain auxiliaries. This issue will be addressed in 3.2.

(12) Wait a moment (and) I'll come down.

(13) **berað** eowre byrðenna gemænelice betwux iow
bear your burdens in common between to you
ðonne gefylle ge godes æ
then fulfil you God's law
'Bear your burdens in common between yourselves, then you will fulfil God's law.' (CP:51.395.33.2689)

2.2 Conditionals, correlatives and then

It was observed above that OE conditionals with clause-initial protases (a conditional example is repeated for convenience in (14)) share the same structure with temporal correlative constructions like (15). Both constructions are introduced by a subclause followed by a V2 main clause (optionally) introduced by resumptive adverb *þonne* or *þa* 'then'. In fact, conditionals are themselves either correlatives or are historically derived from correlative constructions in many languages (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006).

(14) **Gif** he ðonne sie idæges dead, **ðonne** sitte sio scyld on him.
if he then is on the same day dead, then set the guilt on him
'If he should be dead that same day, the guilt rests on him.' (LawAfEl:17.44)

(15) **þa** he þa to him cwom, **þa** wæs he forht geworden.
then he then to him came, then was he fearful become
'When he then came to him, he had become fearful.' (Bede_2:9.128.17.1222)

[7] As do Fischer (1992: 349) for ME and Rissanen (1999: 309) for EModE.

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Resumptive adverb use in the apodosis reinforces the semantic-pragmatic relationship between the two clauses: *ðonne* 'then' in (14) is used in conditionals similarly to correlative proforms in correlative constructions like (15) (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006; Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017). Resumptive adverbs resume the previous clause as backgrounded and structure the discourse by foregrounding the consequence or temporal event in the main clause, establishing textual cohesion and reminding the reader/listener to pay attention to what is coming (van der Horst 1981: 39–41; Enkvist 1986; van Kemenade & Los 2006; Baker 2007: 99; van der Horst 2008: 538–9; Los, 2009; Wårvik 2013). Their position is the multifunctional first position (Spec, CP) of the OE V2 main clause, which is pragmatically associated with discourse continuity (van Kemenade & Los 2006; Los 2009; Los & van Kemenade in press).

Conditionals followed by a main clause without a resumptive adverb like (16) are also extra-clausal, as in the structure presented in figure 1. Since the trigger for verb placement in C is the resumptive adverb (rather than the protasis itself), I postulate a null resumptive adverb in the Spec, CP of the main clause (for a more detailed discussion see Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017).

(16) **Gif** he ðonne stalie on gewitness ealles his hiredes,
if he then steal on knowledge all his household,
gongen his ealles on ðeowot.
go he all into slavery
'If he steal[s] with the knowledge of all his household let them all go into slavery.' (LawIne:7.1.27)

Although subject-initial apodoses rapidly gain ground from ME onwards, PDE conditional clauses still have a biclausal structure in which the protasis is (CP-) adjoined to the apodosis (Kiparsky 1995; Haegeman 2003, 2012). Proform *then* (a descendent of OE *þonne*; *OED*), still introduces the apodosis in *if*-conditionals, as in (17), especially in those conditionals where the connection is inferential (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 757–8). *Then* is, however, not obligatory: it has hardly any interpretive contribution (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006) and does not lead to subject-inversion as it did in OE, although its use might come with a certain (intonational) emphasis. As resumptive adverb use is optional in both OE and PDE, the question arises which factors influence their use. This issue will be addressed in section 3.3.

(17) If you hurt the cat, (then) she will bite you.

3 Development over time

As many of the earlier studies on conditionals in English restrict themselves to either OE or PDE, I will now consider the diachronic development of conditionals. The results will add to the observations by Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers (2017) for (structurally similar) correlatives and the insights regarding the development of V2. They will also be compared to Van den Nest's (2010) findings for OE regarding

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frequency and to Auer & Lindström's findings (2011) regarding genre effects in (written) German and Swedish. The focus will be on (i) the division of labour between conjunctional and V1 conditionals; (ii) structural developments in the main clause; (iii) the use of resumptive adverbs in conditionals and the factors that contribute to this, especially in EModE; and (iv) the effects of genre.

3.1 Methodology

In order to trace the development of conditionals in English over time, all potential context-independent conditionals with clause-initial protasis introduced by *(g)if*, *and* or an initial finite verb were extracted from six subperiods of three corpora. Conditionals introduced by *when* or OE *þonne* have not been taken into account as they have a context-dependent conditional reading and they always retain some temporality (Mitchell 1985: 858; Fischer 1992: 349). The inclusion of *and* is based on its use as both a coordinating and subordinating conjunction in ME and EModE (Rissanen 1999: 281; Denison 2008: 302), which is interesting as conditionals with a protasis–apodosis order reflect an earlier paratactic structure. The text selection included prose texts that are unambiguous in their periodization. Period O1 (450–850), O4 (1050–1150) and M2 (1250–1350) were left out due to low word counts and varying text quality. PPCEME period E2 (1570–1639) was chosen over E1 (1500–1569) based on the timing of the loss of V2 by late ME to EModE (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 129–37), thus providing data from a period after the loss of V2.

- *York–Toronto–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE; Taylor *et al.* 2003)
  - O2 (850–950) – 291,481 words
  - O3 (950–1050) – 573,828 words
- *Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, second edition (PPCME2; Kroch & Taylor 2000)
  - M1 (1150–1250) – 195,494 words
  - M3 (1350–1420) – 385,994 words
  - M4 (1420–1500) – 260,116 words
- *Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME; Kroch, Santorini & Delfs 2004)
  - E2 (1570–1639) – 628,463 words

The texts were searched using XQuery in *CorpusStudio* (Komen 2009, 2012), a programme that allows user-adaptable features to be extracted from the corpora. Due to annotation differences between the corpora, searching for *(g)if* and *and* conditionals required different queries for each corpus. V1 conditionals received the same annotation across the corpora, but were annotated as two separate clauses throughout.[8] The results were automatically labelled by means of scripts (user defined

[8] Conjunctional conditionals – YCOE was searched for initial adverbial subclauses in the form of a CP-ADV with a P containing *(g)if* or *and* followed by an IP-SUB on the same level as P, all directly under IP-*. PPCME2 and PPCEME were also searched for initial adverbial subclauses, here a PP with P containing *(g)if* or *and* and

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XQuery functions using the available metadata and tagging in the corpora) for the features resumptive adverb use, mood and genre (based on Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers' (2017) results for correlative constructions, also see section 3.3) as well as for the verb tense, verb type and the orthographic representation of the verb (e.g. *give*, *had*) in the protasis. The results were converted into four Cesax databases (Komen 2011, 2012), one for each language stage for conjunctional conditionals and one for V1 conditionals diachronically. The Cesax databases allow the data to be viewed, edited and prepared for (statistical) processing. The databases were checked manually to see whether the automatic labelling had been carried out correctly. Non-conditional examples were deleted, and adjustments to the features made as necessary. The four databases were converted to Excel format and subsequently combined for further analysis by means of pivot tables and statistical testing using *IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor* versions 22 and 23 in order to analyse the development of conditionals over time.

Additionally, it was determined manually for all the non-imperative V1 conditionals, *and* conditionals, and a subset of 300 *(g)if* conditionals (a random sample distributed over the periods similarly to the V1 conditionals) whether the protasis was open or counterfactual. The choice to analyse a sample of *(g)if* conditionals and not the entire dataset was based on the observation that, although verb tense might provide an indication of whether a conditional is open or counterfactual, it is not a failsafe method. Example (18) indicates that although the past tense *gewilnast* is used in the protasis (an indication of counterfactuality; Van den Nest, 2010; Fischer 1992: 349–50; Traugott 1992: 257), the condition is open. The reverse hypothesis does not hold either: not all present tense protases are open, as shown in the *and* conditional (19). Although it at first seems from (19) that the hawk is lost, the context shows that the hawk is currently missing and later retrieved, indicating that the protasis is in fact counterfactual. As such, the textual context had to be taken into account for each individual *(g)if*, *and* and V1 example. V1 imperative conditionals were left out of this part of the analysis to avoid data skewing as these seem to always represent open conditions.

(18) witodlice gif ðu ðæs ne **gewilnast**. ne becymst ðu
certainly if you that not want not become you
næfre to ðam pleolicum leahtre
never to that perilous crime
'For if you do not desire her, you will never commit that dangerous crime.'
(+ACHom_II,_12.1:119.329.2612)

a CP-ADV on the same level, all directly under IP-*. For all corpora the initial conditional subclause had to be followed by a main clause attached to the same level as the CP-ADV or PP containing the initial adverbial subclause. Spelling variants were included in the search.

V1 conditionals – V1 conditionals are annotated as two separate clauses in all corpora. Initial conditional subclauses are annotated in two ways: (i) an IP-MAT* with a CP-ADV* as the first child which itself needs to have as its first child an IP-SUB* with the finite verb as the first constituent; (ii) an IP-MAT* with an imperative verb as its first child. Both types of conditional subclause had to be followed by another IP-MAT* expressing the apodosis.

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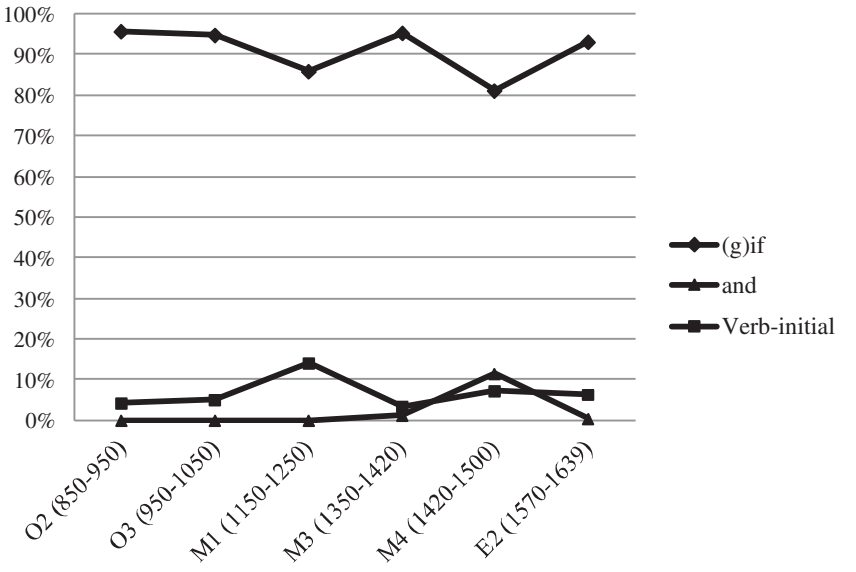


Figure 2. Conditionals over time

(19) for and my hauke be loste my lorde wolde destroy me, (cmmalory 2.053.351)

3.2 Frequency

Table 1 and figure 2 give an overview of the data for *(g)if*, *and* and V1 conditionals, the latter split by the mood of the finite verb in the protasis. Note that complementiser *(g)if* comprises both *gif* in Old English as well as *yf* / *if* in later periods.

Table 1 and figure 2 show that *(g)if* conditionals are more frequent than *and* and V1 conditionals in earlier English. Figure 3 indicates that counterfactual *(g)if* conditionals are (virtually) absent in OE, although this might be simply a feature of this particular sample. A quick look at the complete OE *(g)if* data, using the past subjunctive in the protasis as an indication of counterfactuality (Traugott 1992: 257; Van den Nest 2010 for non-imperative V1 conditionals), results in 59 examples. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that *(g)if* protases can be either open or counterfactual, even in OE. Over time, *(g)if* protases most frequently contain lexical verbs. Frequently found are forms of *ofslean* 'to kill' as in (20), *secgan* 'to say', *þurhwunian* 'to continue' and *dón* 'to do/make/cause' in OE. The choice for these particular types of verbs is unsurprising as 31 per cent of OE *(g)if* examples come from legal and moral texts both frequently discussing the consequences of actions. In later periods the lexical verbs *come*, *find*, *know*, *make*, *please* and *say* are frequently found, but their use declines from ME onwards in favour of forms of *be*, *do* and modal auxiliaries.

(20) Gif hine mon ofslea, licgge he orgilde.
if him man kills lies he unpaid
'If he is killed, no wergild shall be paid for him.' (LawAf_1:1.5.10)

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Table 1. *Absolute frequencies of conditionals over time*[9]

	O2 (850–950)	O3 (950–1050)	M1 (1150–1250)	M3 (1350–1420)	M4 (1420–1500)	E2 (1570–1639)	Total
(g)if	892	1,329	297	745	236	1,258	4,757
and	0	0	0	11	33	6	50
Verb-initial (total)	38	69	48	25	21	84	285
V1 indicative	2	7	25	11	12	48	105
V1 subjunctive	4	13	—	—	—	—	17
V1 imperative	32	49	23	14	9	36	163
Total	930	1,398	345	781	290	1,348	5,092
Total main clauses	20,315	50,204	12,621	26,326	19,846	23,635	152,947

[9]Total main clauses per period obtained via CorpusStudio (Komen 2009, 2012).

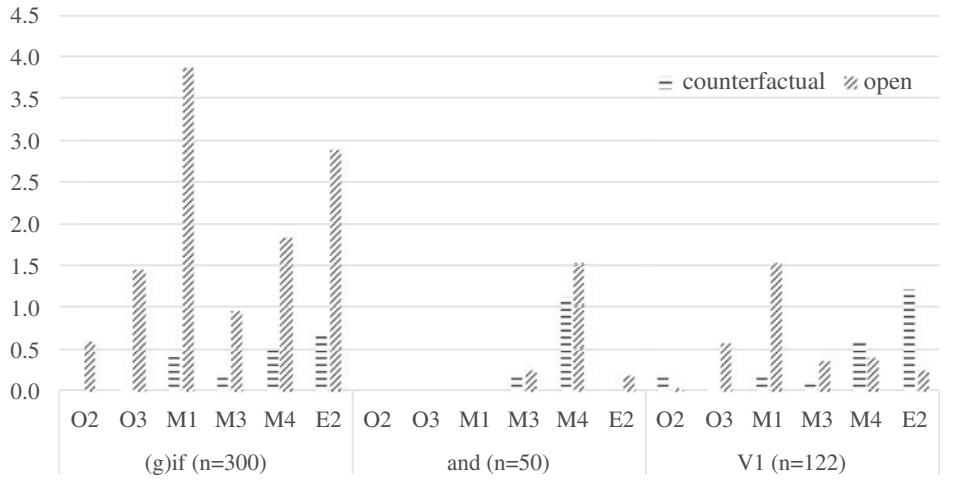


Figure 3. Distribution of open and counterfactual protases per 1,000 subclauses in a subset of the data

The use of conditional *and* is marginal in all periods and indeed does not seem to be productive at all before the late thirteenth century (*OED*; Rissanen 1999: 281): the firm establishment of *(g)if* conditionals by ME most likely restrained their use. Mitchell (1985: 843–5) and the *Dictionary of Old English* (cited in the *OED*) do present a few OE examples, but Mitchell argues that these also allow a different non-conditional interpretation or can be interpreted as scribal errors. Figure 3 indicates that *and* conditionals can have both open and counterfactual protases. The syntactic–semantic category of the verb in the protasis is evenly distributed over *be* as in (9) above, *have*, lexical verbs and modals. The small peak in M4 (figure 2) is related to 28 occurrences in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, a narrative text with many dialogues in which their use generally flourishes (also see section 3.4).

V1 conditionals were never in serious competition with conjunctional conditionals throughout earlier English (see figure 2), unlike their counterparts in (spoken) Present-day Swedish and German (Auer & Lindström 2011). The results confirm Van den Nest's observations (2010) that V1 conditionals are marginal in OE.[10] The present study does find more inverted conditionals (in YCOE), but this higher frequency also includes the imperative V1 conditionals not taken into account by Van den Nest (2010). His analysis relates the marginal use of non-imperative V1 conditionals in OE to their establishment as counterfactuals early on, suggesting that this perhaps took place in (early) ME, although he does not provide any evidence. Figure 3, however, indicates that we find both counterfactual and open V1 conditionals in OE and ME. Only after period M4 (1420-1500) do we find more counterfactual than open non-imperative V1 conditionals. The diachronically low frequency of V1 conditionals must thus be related to different factors, namely (i) the already firm establishment of the more versatile conjunctional *if*-conditional in early OE as seen in figure 2; and (ii) the limitation

[10] Van den Nest's study (2010) of V1 conditionals used the YCOE and the *British National Corpus*.

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to counterfactuality caused by evolving restrictions on verb-fronting to C related to modality that arose in English over time (see Biberauer & Roberts 2012)

Although the restrictions on verb-movement to C are essentially a main clause phenomenon, its extension to V1 subclauses follows from their (paratactic) origin as a main clause that became reanalysed as a non-integrated subclause; see figure 1. In OE, the finite lexical verb could still be fronted to C (i.e. V2; Fischer *et al.* 2000: 110–29), as in example (21).

(21) *Old English V1 conditional with a lexical verb*

…	and	**bring**	þæt	word	þam	cynge	to	blisse:	þonne	hafast	þu
…	and	bring	that	word	that	king	to	rejoice:	then	have	you
mede	and	eac	clæne	handa	fram	þæs	unscæðþigan	blode			
reward	and	also	clean	hands	from	that	innocent	blood			

'… and bring these words for the king's delight: then you will have reward and also hands that are clean of the blood of the innocent.' (ApT:8.23.145)

Verb-fronting to C became restricted to finite auxiliaries after the loss of V2 by late ME/EModE (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 129–37; Haeberli 2002; Los 2009, 2012; van Kemenade 2012) and following the auxiliation of the modals and the rise of auxiliary *do* during the sixteenth century (Biberauer & Roberts 2012). As a result, V1 (sub)clauses became specialised for modal auxiliaries, and presumably those uses replaced the loss of subjunctive mood marking on the lexical verb. A further semantic limitation arose after the mid nineteenth century (Denison 2008: 296–304), which restricted V1 subclause word order to the auxiliaries *had* and *should* and the past subjunctive form *were*, which all express tentativeness, possibilities and probabilities and seem thus semantically linked to counterfactual conditions. Figure 4 shows how these restrictions developed diachronically. Note especially that *should* first appears

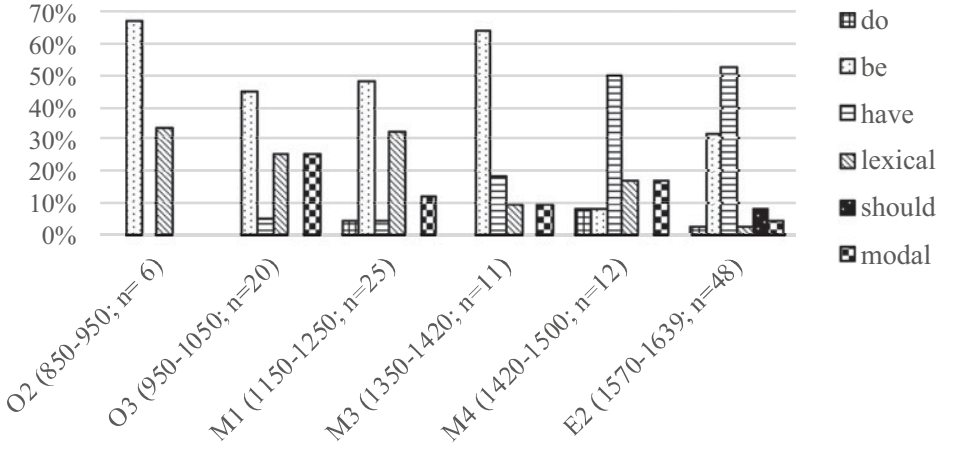


Figure 4. Syntactic–semantic verb type in non-imperative V1 conditionals[11]

[11] The syntactic–semantic verb type was determined using the available POS-tagging. *Should* was manually extracted from the category modal.

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in period E2. The lexical verbs used in non-imperative V1 conditionals furthermore do not overlap with those most frequently used in *(g)if* conditionals.

The combination of syntactic and strong semantic restrictions also accounts for Van den Nest's (2010) observation regarding the absence of PDE open V1 conditionals like **Does the sun shine, then we'll go for a swim*: auxiliary *do* is semantically empty. The fact that these restrictions do not apply in other West-Germanic languages like Dutch (Zwart 2011: 283, ex. 10.7; Broekhuis & Corver 2016: 1298, ex. 125b) and German (Iatridou & Embick 1994: 190, ex. 2b), as in the open V1 conditionals in (22) and (7b) with lexical verbs, supports the idea that they do not merely stem from frequency effects. Auer & Lindström (2011) do, however, indicate that spoken Present-day German is getting closer to PDE by restricting counterfactuals to certain auxiliaries, showing that restrictions on the expression of counterfactuality are not uncommon.

(22) *Dutch open V1 conditional*
Komt Hans dan gaat Susanne.
comes Hans then goes Susanne
'If Hans comes, then Susanne goes.'

The data presented in table 1 also contain imperative open V1 conditionals. This type is mentioned by Mitchell (1985: 848–51), but not by Van den Nest (2010). Imperative V1 conditionals are more frequent than non-imperative V1 conditionals, accounting for 57 per cent of the total V1 dataset and 76 per cent of the OE V1 dataset. They seem to partially overlap in meaning with subjunctive V1 conditionals, which can also express obligation along with tentativeness (Traugott 1992: 184). Imperative V1 conditionals present the condition as an order, using lexical verbs even in EModE, indicating that the restrictions on non-imperative V1 conditionals do not apply. The main clause usually expresses the consequence of not following this order, but we also find examples of what will happen if the order is carried out, as in example (23).

(23) He andwyrde. **Weorpað** me oferbord. **þonne**
he answered throw me overboard then
geswicð þeos gedreccednyss.
stops this affliction
'He answered, Cast me overboard, then will this affliction cease.' (ÆCHom_I_18: 318.24.3404 / 3405)

In sum, conjunctional and V1 conditionals were never in competition in terms of frequency in the periods investigated here, but – as we will see – each conditional type has its own genre preferences.

3.3 The use of then

The apodosis of both OE conjunctional and V1 conditionals is often introduced by the resumptive adverb *þonne* 'then' whose descendant *then* we still find in PDE conditionals. The similarities between conditionals and correlative constructions as discussed in section 2.2 raise the question whether the use of *þonne* in both

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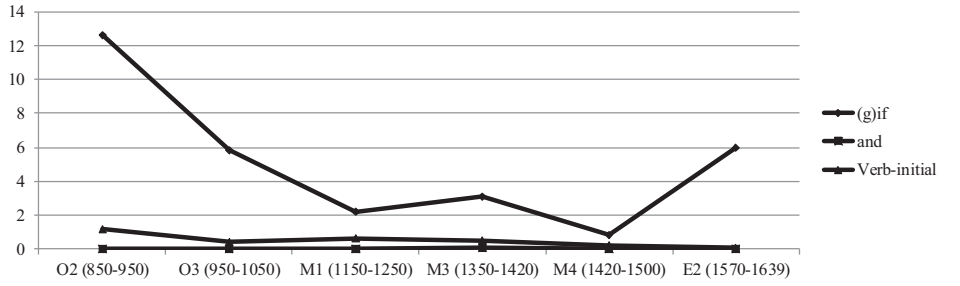


Figure 5. Resumptive adverb use *in (g)if*, *and* and V1 conditionals over time

conjunctional and V1 conditionals follows a similar path as resumptives in correlatives for which a relation exists between resumptive adverb use and the availability of V2, the use of indicative mood and subclause length (see Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017).[12]

Resumptive adverb use in correlatives has virtually disappeared by the end of ME. Table 2 and figure 5 show that this observation also holds for the use of resumptive adverbs in conditionals.[13] Note that resumptive adverb *then* in fact comprises the whole range of spelling variants, of which *þonne*, *þenne*, *than* and *then* are found most frequently.

Figure 5 shows that resumptive adverb use is highest in OE *(g)if*-conditionals in which it declines over the ME period to about one instance per 1,000 main clauses by 1500. The use of *then* after *if*-protases rises again in EModE and is still found in PDE (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006). Section 3.3.3 discusses these developments in detail.

And conditionals are not attested in OE. They only occur from 1350 (period M3) onwards, but they make little use of (the already declining) resumptive adverbs: only 5 out of the 50 examples found have a resumptive adverb. As their low frequency makes it impossible to draw generalised conclusions, *and* conditionals will not be discussed in detail here.

Resumptive adverb use following V1 protases is much lower compared to *(g)if*-conditionals: about half of the V1 conditionals have a resumptive adverb in all periods. Imperative V1 conditionals use more resumptive adverbs in OE and early ME than non-imperatives, but their use declines soon after. The higher frequency of resumptives in imperative open V1 conditionals can be explained by the fact that resumptives seem to have an additional role in these. Resumptive adverbs not only introduce the apodosis, but also seem to emphasise the conditionality of the construction in the sense that the

[12] Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers (2017) included *(g)if* conditionals in their set of correlatives, but only present observations for the full dataset: no distinction is made between different types, nor are *and* and V1 conditionals included.

[13] Resumptive adverb use in conditionals is given as a normalised figure per 1,000 main clauses as visualisation by means of percentages is skewed by low frequencies for some conditional types resulting in the false impression that resumptive adverb use is higher from one period to the next.

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Table 2. *Absolute frequencies of conditionals with resumptive adverbs over time*

	O2 (850–950)	O3 (950–1050)	M1 (1150–1250)	M3 (1350–1420)	M4 (1420–1500)	E2 (1570–1639)	Total
(g)if	892	1,329	297	745	236	1,258	4,757
(g)if … then	252	291	28	78	17	200	866
and	0	0	0	11	33	6	50
and … then	0	0	0	3	1	1	5
Verb-initial	38	69	48	25	21	84	285
Verb-initial … *then*	24	22	8	12	4	3	73
Total conditionals	930	1,398	345	781	290	1,348	5,092
Total resumptive *then*	276	313	36	93	22	204	944
Total main clauses	20,315	50,204	12,621	26,326	19,846	23,635	152,947

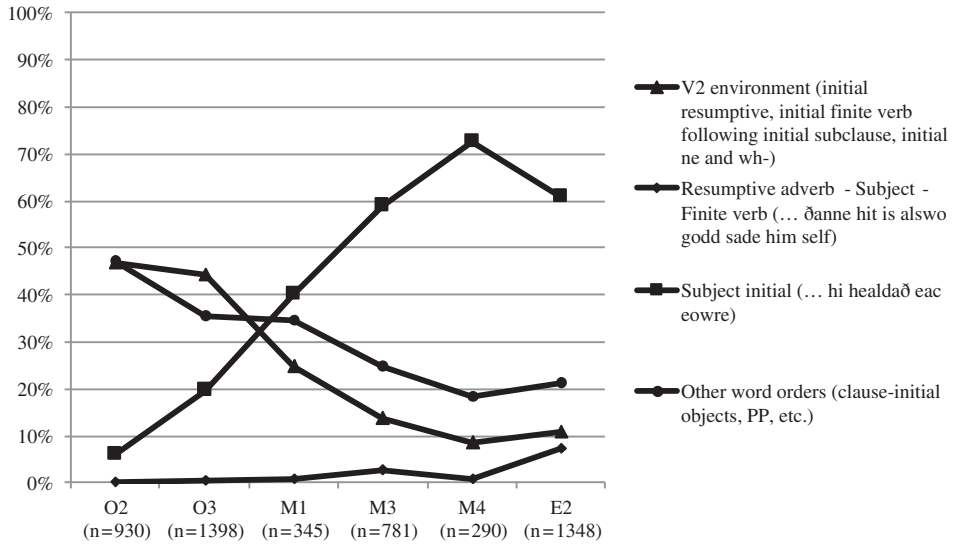


Figure 6. Development of V2 and SVO in conditionals[14]

resumptive reinforces that the preceding proposition must be interpreted as a condition and not as merely an imperative statement.

3.3.1 Relation to Verb-Second

The use of resumptive *ponne* strengthens the relationship between protasis and apodosis, and establishes textual cohesion (van Kemenade & Los 2006; Los 2009; Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017; Los & van Kemenade in press). Its use is facilitated by the availability of a multifunctional clause-initial position (Spec, CP) in the OE V2 main clause (see sections 2.1 and 2.2). The question is how these main clause characteristics developed over time.

Figure 6 shows that the decline of V2 environments is in line with the loss of resumptive adverbs. The employment of V2 environments with a multifunctional Spec, CP position in conditionals gradually declines and has virtually disappeared before the loss of V2 by late ME to EModE (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 129–37; Haeberli 2002; Los 2009; van Kemenade & Westergaard 2012; Los 2012). The declining use of resumptive adverbs in the transition from OE to ME removed the trigger for V2 placement in C, resulting in the apodosis becoming an early adopter of the SV order that arose after the loss of V2 (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 129–37; van Kemenade 2012; Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017). The new subject-initial environment rises from O2 onwards, becoming the most frequent order after period M1. Most competition is found between period O3 and M1. Examples are (24) and (25). The decrease in subject-initial main clauses between period M4 and E2 is related to the increase in the

[14] No distinction has been made between conjunctional and V1 conditionals here as both have the same paratactic origin and thrive on the availability of the same features.

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word order resumptive adverb – subject – finite verb, as in (26). This word order option becomes more established after the loss of V2 and is still used in PDE.

(24) If any man eate of this bread, he shall liue for euer:
'If any man eats this bread, he shall live forever.'
(Authnew-e2-h t,40J.772)

(25) Had Jack kept his owne counsell, the cooke had beene still out of service, …
'Had Jack kept quiet, the cook would still have been out of a job, …' (Armin-e2-h 15.247)

(26) **Gif** he spekð of sennes and of sothades, **ðanne** hit is alswo
if he speaks of sins and of foolishness then it is also
godd sade him self:
God said him self
'If he speaks of sins and foolishness, then it is as if God said Himself:'
(Cmvices1_101.1207)

3.3.2 Conditionals, resumptive adverbs and mood

Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers (2017) show that in OE correlatives the feature *Mood* contributes to the correlative's temporal and conditional expression in the form of resumptive adverb use. A similar relation seems to exist between mood and conditionality in general. Although it has often been put forward that conditionals favour the subjunctive in at least one of the two clauses (Mitchell 1985: 780, 783–4, 788, 792–3, 797, 805; Fischer 1992: 349–50; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006; Van den Nest 2010), Traugott (1992: 256) argues that the prototypical OE *(g)if …þonne* conditional has the indicative in both clauses.

Table 3 shows that both conjunctional and non-imperative V1 conditionals favour the indicative over the subjunctive in the protasis as in (27), even in OE: 63 per cent of protases is indicative. All 789 conditionals with subjunctive verbs are found in OE where the subjunctive is used to express tentativeness, obligations, desires, etc. as in (14) (Traugott 1992: 184).[15]

(27) Gif hig **beoð** on Sunnandæg, þonne **byð** an;
if it are on Sunday then is one
'If it is a Sunday, it is one.' (ByrM_1_[Baker-Lapidge]:1.4.27.543)

The suggestion that open OE non-imperative V1 conditionals have the subjunctive does not hold: out of the 20 open V1 conditionals, only 14 have the subjunctive. The results indicate that the need for a specific mood marking conditionality in OE is unnecessary: the conjunction in C already sufficiently expresses the conditional

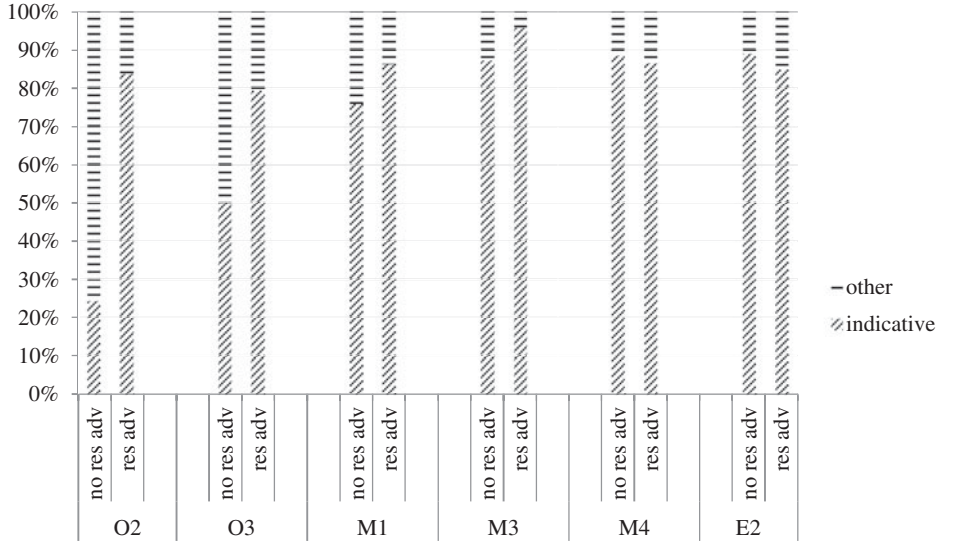
[15] The PPCME2 and PPCEME corpora manuals indicate that, while imperatives are still annotated separately, subjunctive verbs are (POS-)tagged together with indicative verbs. While not mentioned specifically, this choice might be related to the disappearance of the distinctive endings for the different moods in the course of ME (Fischer 1992; Moessner 2006). No attempt has been made here to add a separate annotation for subjunctives as this has to be done manually and cannot be accomplished objectively. The absence of data in table 3 does not entail that the subjunctive is absent from ME or EModE.

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Table 3. *Mood of finite verbs in clause-initial protases (absolute frequencies)*

	O2 (850–950)	O3 (950–1050)	M1 (1150–1250)	M3 (1350–1420)	M4 (1420–1500)	E2 (1570–1639)	Total
(g)if							
indicative	480	968	297	745	236	1,258	3,984
subjunctive	411	361	—	—	—	—	772
imperative	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
and							
indicative	—	—	—	11	33	6	50
subjunctive	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
imperative	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Verb-initial							
indicative	2	7	25	11	12	48	105
subjunctive	4	13	—	—	—	—	17
imperative	32	49	23	14	9	36	163



Note. The category *other* includes the moods imperative, subjunctive, ambiguous, question (i.e. the main clause is a question)

Figure 7. Resumptive adverb use and the mood of the finite verb in the apodosis of conditionals

modality in *(g)if*-conditionals (Mitchell 1985: 797; Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2014) as does the use of initial verbs in V1 conditionals.

Regarding verbal mood in the main clause, the observation for correlatives that less variation in mood is found in combination with a resumptive adverb (Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017) also holds for conditionals: indicative mood is preferred in main clauses with resumptive adverbs, as shown in figure 7 and exemplified in (27). This observation is significant for period O2 (χ^2 (1) = 218.0906 $p < .001$), period O3 (χ^2 (1) = 115.547 $p < .001$) and period M3 (χ^2 (1) = 9.0047 $p < .01$) when we take all conditional data together and reduce the variable main clause mood to two categories: *indicative* vs *other*. The correlation between the indicative and resumptive adverb use follows from the observation that both represent factual information. The results are largely influenced by the vast amount of *(g)if* conditionals, especially in period M3 where resumptive adverb use increases slightly as most examples occur in genres (science, moral and narrative) favouring resumptive adverb use (Links, van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017). The same tendency can be observed for V1 conditionals like (28), but their frequency is too low to test this observation statistically. *And* conditionals hardly use any resumptive adverbs and no correlation was found.

(28) Gewite þæt ungesewenlice ut: þonne **fylð** adune þæt gesewenlice.
departs that invisible out then fall down that visible
'If that which is invisible departs, then will the visible fall down.'
(+ACHom_I,_10:262.123.1914)

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3.3.3 Then *in EModE*

Figure 5 shows that resumptive adverb use increases again in EModE, but this rise cannot be attributed to the same features facilitating resumptive adverb use in OE. Resumptive adverb use in EModE and PDE conditionals is (still) optional, but when used, resumptives seem to have a certain (intonational) emphasis related to a change in discourse function. Over time, clause-initial adverbials in English decline in anaphoric reference. While clause-initial adverbials often establish discourse links in OE and ME, they tend to represent new rather than old referential information in PDE (Pérez-Guerra 2005, cited in Los 2009: 112; Los 2012: 27) and function as frame-setters evoking a contrastive reading (Los & van Kemenade in press).

Resumptive adverbs are used in EModE and PDE only when they serve a clear function, either that of signalling to the reader/listener that something important is coming up (what happens when (not) satisfying the *if*-clause proposition), or clarifying an inferential connection (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 757–8). It is thus unsurprising that their use in EModE is related to subclause length measured in words:[16] long utterances (in this case protases) increase the processing burden on the human brain (see Arnold *et al*. 2000), which can be lightened by using a summarising, signalling and supporting element like a resumptive adverb. Diachronically, resumptive adverb use increases with the length of the protasis in both conjunctional *(g)if* and V1 conditionals.

In OE (*g)if* conditionals, the protasis is significantly longer when a resumptive adverb is used, but only by an average of 1.68 words ($t(843.932) = -6.069$, p (one-tailed) $< .001$ with a small effect size $r = .20$; period O2 and O3 taken together). This difference increases to an average of 11.64 words in period E2 (1570-1639) where protases are twice as long when followed by a resumptive ($M = 22.59$, $SE = 2.268$) compared to conditionals without one ($M = 10.95$, $SE = .351$). This difference was significant at $t(208.621) = -5.068$, p (one-tailed) $< .001$ with a medium effect size $r = .33$.[17] An example can be seen in (29). These observations do not hold for *and* conditionals as these use very few resumptive adverbs.

(29) But **if** the LORD make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them vp, with all that appertaine vnto them, and they go downe quicke into the pit: **then** ye shall vnderstand that these men haue prouoked the LORD. (authold-e2-h 16,20N.1129)

The correlation between subclause length and resumptive adverb use also holds for the complete set of V1 conditionals, but not diachronically. Subclause length significantly influences resumptive adverb use in only two periods: O3 and M3. V1 conditionals in the later periods use too few resumptive adverbs to obtain any meaningful results. Again, the observation is that subclauses become longer over time. Subclauses in period O3 are also longer when a resumptive adverb is used, but only by an average of 2.21 words ($t(67) = -2.361$, p (one-tailed) $< .05$ with a medium effect size $r =$

[16] Subclause length can be calculated in several ways. Szmrecsányi (2004) notes in his article on syntactic complexity that all numerical measures of calculating weight are highly correlated, showing that the most economic method – measuring length in words – is as accurate as other methods.

[17] No significant effect was found for period M1 and M4.

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.28). In period M3, subclauses in inverted conditionals are more than twice as long when a resumptive adverb is used (M = 12.92, SE = 2.8853) compared to when no resumptive adverb is used (M = 5.54, SE = .852) and this difference was significant at $t(12.912) = -2.452$, p (one-tailed) < .05 with a medium effect size $r = .56$. (30) gives an example.

(30) and **lokis**, when ye sing, þat yure herte acorde wid yure
and behold when you sing that your heart agrees with your
voice **þan** sing ye riht.
voice then sing you right
'Ensure when you sing that your heart agrees with your voice, then you will sing right.' (cmbenrul19,658)

3.4 Genre

Auer & Lindström's study (2011) on conditionality has shown that for the Present-day V2 languages German and Swedish the choice between spoken/written language and genre influences the choice between conjunctional and V1 conditionals. It was observed that spoken Swedish prefers V1 conditionals, whereas these are virtually absent in German. Written Swedish favours conjunctional over V1 conditionals, while German written texts in general show no such preference with the exception of newspaper articles which do favour conjunctional conditionals. V1 conditionals in both German and Swedish favour legal, regulatory (instructions or rules), scientific (law-like regulatories) and instructive texts when used. As it is impossible to investigate the spoken language, the focus here will be on conditionals in written texts in earlier English, some of which intended to be spoken, such as Shakespeare's plays from period E2.

(G)if conditionals, being chosen between 81 and 96 per cent of the time (see table 1 and figure 2), have always been more frequent than *and* or V1 conditionals, thus patterning with Present-day Swedish. They are also diachronically favoured in all (existing) genres, occurring most frequently in legal, moral, biblical and scientific texts, which are typically aimed at discussing actions and their (possible) consequences.

More interesting is thus the distribution across genre of *and* and V1 conditionals, as shown in figure 8.[18]

[18] Any genres that do not contain texts in a particular period have been left out, for example Law in early Middle English. The genres consist of the following text types (as given in YCOE, PPCME2 and PPCEME):

- Spoken – drama comedy
- Bible – bible
- Ego document – biography auto; diary private; letters non-private; letters private; travelogue
- Science – educational treatise; handbook astronomy; handbook medicine; handbook other; philosophy; science; science medicine; science other; science, astronomy
- Moral – homilies; religious treatise; rule; sermon
- Narrative – biography life saint; biography other; biography, lives; fiction; history; romance
- Law – charters and wills; law(s); proceedings trial

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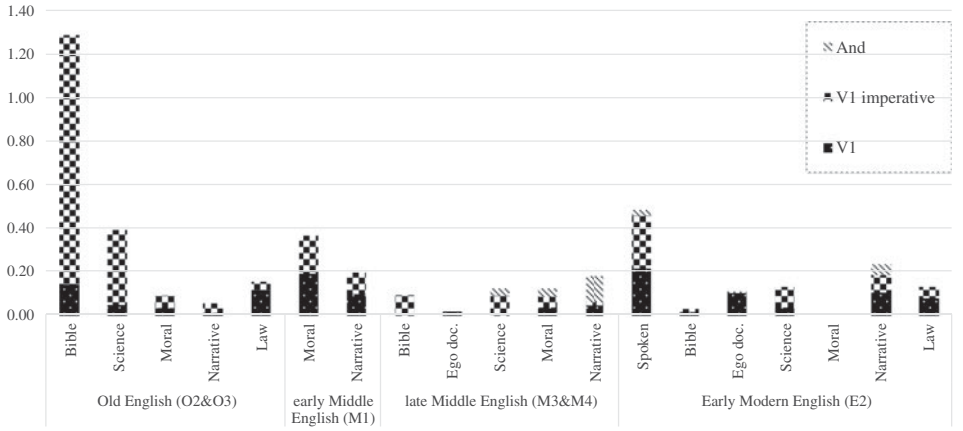


Figure 8. Genre preferences in *and* and V1 conditionals (normalised per 1,000 words)

When used, *and* conditionals only occur in scientific, moral, narrative, ego documents and spoken (the latter two only in EModE) texts. A clear genre preference for narratives exists in late ME, but this seems influenced by 28 examples from Malory's romance *Morte D'Arthur* (recall that the overall total of *and* conditionals is 50). *And* conditionals are not used in the surviving biblical or legal texts, thus showing a genre preference during their brief usage period.

Non-imperative V1 conditionals favour spoken texts, but since this genre only occurs in EModE, this observation does not hold diachronically. Throughout OE and ME they prefer biblical, moral, narrative and legal texts. Imperative V1 constructions are most often found in OE and late ME biblical texts, OE scientific texts, as well as early ME moral texts and late ME biblical and scientific texts. Like their non-imperative counterparts, they favour EModE spoken texts. V1 conditionals, thus seem to pattern with German and Swedish in preferring scientific (especially imperative V1 conditionals) and legal/instructive (moral or biblical) texts when used, although *(g)if* conditionals are always preferred over V1 conditionals. For spoken texts, a division as in Swedish does not exists. Although used most frequently in spoken texts, V1 conditionals are not favoured over *(g)if* conditionals here. The overall results thus show that certain genre preferences are stable across languages and cannot be attributed to frequency effects.

4 Conclusion

This article presented a diachronic perspective on the expression of conditionality in earlier English. My examination of historical data from three corpora (YCOE, PPCME2 and PPCEME) shows that conjunctional conditionals have always been used most frequently, while V1 conditionals have always played a marginal role. The restriction of V1 conditionals to counterfactuality was shown not to be a frequency effect as argued by Van den Nest (2010), but related to restrictions on verb-movement

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to C following the loss of V2 and to a further semantic restriction to *had*, *were* and *should*. The (optional) use of the resumptive adverb *then*, in both conjunctional and V1 conditionals, reflects the paratactic origin of the construction as two semantic–pragmatic related main clauses that were interpreted as one construction containing a non-integrated subclause and a main clause. Its declining use in ME forced conditionals (but also correlatives) to become early adopters of the SV order arising after the loss of V2. It was shown that resumptive adverb use in both conditional types is influenced by the availability of V2 and indicative mood. In later periods, especially EModE, subclause length plays a key role. When it comes to genre preferences, conjunctional *(g)if* conditionals are always favoured over *and* and V1 conditionals, but each type does show certain preferences similar to modern V2 languages.

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