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Plenary Sessions

'No gentleman goes on a bus': H.C. Wyld and the historical study of English

Simon Horobin
University of Oxford

H.C. Wyld was one of the most important linguists of the early twentieth century. He began his career as a student of Henry Sweet and later went on to hold the Merton chair in English Language at Oxford. Wyld wrote numerous books on English philology; *A History of Modern Colloquial English* was published in 1920, with further editions appearing into the 1950s. As *the* standard textbook, Wyld's work defined the historical study of English throughout much of the twentieth century. Wyld embarked on his career as a neutral observer, for whom one variety of English was just as valuable as another – a key axiom of modern descriptive linguistics. However, this stance of scientific objectivity found itself on slippery ground when it came to describing the relationship between regional dialect and Standard English. In this paper I shall argue that Wyld's ideas of dialect and standard continue to influence modern studies of the history of Standard English.

Shift in politeness values of English Discourse Markers: a cyclical tendency?

Gabriella Mazzon
University of Innsbruck

One of the most challenging objects of study investigated within the currently expanding frameworks of historical and diachronic English pragmatics is the development, spread and use of discourse and pragmatic markers (collectively abbreviated as DMs). The formal heterogeneity of these items has made their study highly interesting for scholars investigating processes like grammaticalization and pragmaticalization, while their acquisition of pragmatic values have been analysed from several perspectives, especially thanks to the development of synchronic and diachronic corpora of historical English, which has supplied abundant data form a variety of text-types.

The talk brings together some recent results in this field and sets them in dialogue, focussing however not on the transition of a language form towards becoming a discourse or pragmatic marker, but on the ensuing phases, variously characterised by persistence, layering, and increased formal fixity, occasionally including erosion.

The comparison of corpus analyses of some DMs in historical English seems to show consistent trends in the direction some items take in acquiring new (inter-)subjective functions. Similarly to English modal verbs, which developed epistemic meanings after deontic ones in what appears a rather systematic ways, some English DMs have gradually acquired new features, which often brings

them, within a process of subjectification, to be increasingly involved in the expression of relational values such as politeness. Furthermore, even within politeness systems themselves, it appears that some DMs tend to be used first with mitigating/hedging functions, and to become later associated with other signals reinforcing, rather than weakening, the pragmatic strength of a face-threat. A possible next step seems for these items to become perfunctory and thus lose any pragmatic strength, thus completing the "cycle" of their pragmaticalization. The talk with close with hypotheses on whether this tendency can be indeed considered as a pragmatic cycle, comparable to structural cycles like the "negative cycle", which also seems partly determined by pragmatic reasons.

Reconstructing Variation and Change in English: The Importance of Dialect Isolates

Daniel Schreier
University of Zurich

Dialect isolates are commonly perceived as traditional and conservative. The belief is remarkably persistent and has been adopted for speaker selection in traditional fieldwork (non-mobile older rural males, NORMs, as target speakers) and given rise to controversial processes such as "colonial lag" (Görlach 1987, Hundt 2009). Claims that enclave varieties are generally static have been revised and it is now generally recognized that they may undergo simultaneous innovation as well: "they are not simply preserved versions of earlier forms of the language on the mainland but have themselves gone through processes of their own" (Hickey 2004: 9).

I would like to argue here that one should with benefit focus on conservative *features* rather than conservative *dialects* as such, thus shifting the perspective from holistic (variety-related) to structural (feature-specific). I would like to focus on a feature that was well-attested in earlier forms of British English and is still salient in the public eye today, though it has become obsolescent and disappeared: hypercorrect /h/ (in words that have an initial vowel and stress on the first syllable, *egg*, *engine*, etc.). According to Milroy (1992), the *Norfolk Gilds* (late 14th century) or the *Paston Letters* (late 15th century) exhibit variable use of <h> spellings, namely both absence (in <*alpenie*> 'halfpenny') and un-etymological insertion (in <*hoke lewes*> 'oak leaves'), and it also is found in Charles Dickens' renderings of Working Class London English (e.g. "gas microscopes with hextra power", in the *Pickwick Papers*). Inserted /h/ has been lost from 20th century British English (only surviving in cases of occasional hypercorrection, such as in the letter <h>, pronounced /heitʃ/).

However, this conservative feature has been maintained in several post-colonial English varieties around the world, so I would like to argue here that, with due caution of course, these provide an ideal opportunity both to quantitatively study variation and to reconstruct usage in former British varieties. I will map and discuss reports of the feature where it has survived (e.g. in Caribbean and Pacific Englishes), report some pioneering findings from a large-

scale analysis of South Atlantic English, and then generally assess the relevance of dialect isolates for the reconstruction of variation and change in earlier English.

Görlach, Manfred. 1987. "Colonial Lag? The Alleged Conservative Character of American English and Other 'Colonial' Varieties." *English World-Wide* 8, 41–60.

Hundt, Marianne. 2009. "Colonial Lag, Colonial Innovation, or Simply Language Change?" In: Gunter Rohdenburg & Julia Schlüter (eds.). *One Language, Two Grammars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13-37.

Milroy, James. 1992. *Linguistic Variation and Change: On the Historical Sociolinguistics of English*. Oxford and Cambridge MA: Blackwell.

Late Modern English: Demographics, Prescriptivism, and Myths of Stability

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One of the characteristics of Late Modern English that several scholars have drawn attention to is the apparent stability of its structure. Romaine (1998: 7) argues that this stability "challenges any simple-minded view of the relationship between social change and language change which might lead us to expect that language change is necessarily faster and more radical during periods of social upheaval". As Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009: 105) notes, one effect of the Industrial Revolution was the weakening and break-up of hitherto stable social networks; as weak networks make it easier for linguistic innovations to spread through a community, one might thus expect Late Modern English to feature a great deal of language change.

Several scholars have suggested possible reasons why Late Modern English stands out from earlier periods in this regard. For instance, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009: 105) mentions the popularity of normative works on usage as one factor that contributed to constraining language change. Beal (2004: 125–126) argues that the difference between Late Modern English and other historical periods may be due in part to the nature and quantity of the evidence available: the richness of the evidence for Late Modern English pronunciation may itself make it difficult to notice systematic phonological change. To the extent that the same is true of Late Modern English grammar, recent methodological developments in corpus linguistics as regards the compilation and analysis of large historical corpora may facilitate detection of such change.

The aim of this paper is to discuss linguistic stability and change in Late Modern English against the background of what we know about (i) the nature of language change, (ii) the possible influence of normative works on usage, (iii) social changes during the Late Modern English period, and (iv) the interplay of language and society. Among other things, I will argue that the answer to the question of how much change Late Modern English undergoes depends in part on whether language change is considered at the level of speakers, communities, or

systems. Parts of the account will be illustrated with case studies from new and previous research.

Beal, Joan C. 2004. *English in Modern Times: 1700–1945*. London: Arnold.
Romaine, Suzanne. 1998. "Introduction". In: Suzanne Romaine (ed.). *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. IV: *1776–1997*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–56.
Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 2009. *An Introduction to Late Modern English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Usage guides and the Age of Prescriptivism

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The eighteenth century is commonly referred to as the Age of Prescriptivism (e.g. Yáñez-Bouza 2006; Auer 2008). In addition, scholars have noted the rise of what they call "the *New* Prescriptivism" (McArthur 1999; Beal 2009). But when we look at the model of standardisation proposed by Milroy and Milroy ([1985] 2012), we see that prescription (*not* prescriptivism) is the final stage in this process, and that this stage is preceded by the codification of English. The eighteenth century should therefore properly be called the Age of Codification (or even, because English codification was not an institutional process, the Age of the Codifiers) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008; 2011).

The final stage in the English standardisation process, prescription, according to Milroy and Milroy, is a never-ending stage, so today we are in the very middle of it. In my study of English usage guides and usage problems, however, I argue that prescriptivism needs to be distinguished from prescription, primarily because of its strongly negative connotations (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, in progress). Consequently, the Milroys' model of English standardisation consists not of seven but of eight stages. Without wanting to tie these final two stages to specific periods in the history of English – there is bound to be much overlap between the two, as there is between codification and prescription – we may conclude that prescriptivism is the stage we are in at present. The Age of Prescriptivism, in other words, is NOW.

In this paper, I will focus on the main product of the Age of Prescriptivism, the usage guide, a very popular genre today, as witness recent publications like Steven Pinker's *The sense of style* (2014), Oliver Kamm's *Accidence will happen* (2015) and Stephen Spector's *May I quote you on that?* (2015), but also revised older works, like Gowers's *Plain words* (2014) and Fowler's *Modern English Usage* (2015). Usage guides, however, also get parodied, as Rebecca Gowers's most recent *Horrible words: A guide to the misuse of English* (2016) illustrates. This, together with evidence from surveys we have carried out within the Bridging the Unbridgeable project, suggests that the tide may be changing and that there are signs that the Age of Prescriptivism is coming to an end. Which leads to the question of what will come next in the English standardisation process, or, indeed, what will be the ninth stage in the model presented by the Milroys?

Auer, Anita. 2008. *The Subjunctive in the Age of Prescriptivism: English and German Developments during the Eighteenth Century*. Basingstoke etc.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Beal, Joan. 2009. Three Hundred Years of Prescriptivism (and Counting). In: Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade & Wim van der Wurff (eds.). *Current Issues in Late Modern English*. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 35–55.

McArthur, Tom. 1999. "The New Prescriptivism?" *English Today* 15/3, 59.

Milroy, James & Lesley Milroy. [1985] 2012. *Authority in Language. Investigating Language Prescription and Standardization* [4th edn]. London: Routledge.

Yáñez-Bouza, Nuria. 2006. "Prescriptivism and Preposition Stranding in Eighteenth-Century Prose." *Historical Sociolinguistics and Sociohistorical Linguistics* 6. http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/.

Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (ed.). 2008. *Grammars, Grammarians and Grammar Writing in Eighteenth-Century England*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 2011. *The Bishop's Grammar. Robert Lowth and the Rise of Prescriptivism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid (in progress). *English Usage Guides: The Biography of a Genre.*

General Session Papers

The dynamics of changes in the early English inflection: Evidence from the Old English nominal system

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Keywords: frequency of occurrence, salience, inflection, Old English, nominal paradigms

The present study sets out to frame the mechanism underlying the restructuring process of the nominal inflection in early English, with a view to gaining a deeper understanding of morphological change. The reshaping of the early English nominal paradigms was a multifaceted process, embracing a range of phonological and morphological developments, which were conditioned by a complex interplay of a variety of factors. These factors, deriving from different domains and interacting mostly in a synergetic way, determined the final shape of the nominal inflection as it is known now in modern English. The following factors can be identified as the most consequential for the dynamics of the restructuring process: the absolute and relative frequency of occurrence (both type and token frequency, the latter serving often as a conserving factor, e.g. Bybee 1985, 2006), the phonological salience of inflectional markers (including the presence of allomorphic variation in the paradigm, such as *i*-mutation), syllable structure and the semantic constitution of declensional classes (cf. Kürschner 2008). It is the objective of the present study to identify and evaluate the significance of all these factors in the process of reorganisation of the historical paradigms in early English, as well as to arrange them on a hierarchical scale.

The evaluation of the role of individual factors involved in the process of restructuring, and the interpretation of their theoretical implications is based on the findings of a systematic qualitative and quantitative study conducted on the corpus of Old English (Healey 2009). The focus of the study is on the minor (unproductive) paradigms which underwent a large scale analogical restructuring resulting in a (nearly) complete elimination of the historical inflectional features.

One of the major observations concerning the dynamics of the process, based on the findings of the study, is that the analogical developments in the declensional classes occurred along the lines of morphosyntactic categories (case and number paradigm forms) rather than of declensional class affiliation. In regard to evaluating the role of the factors conditioning the developments in the nominal inflection, the study reveals the dominant role of (absolute and relative) frequency of occurrence, operating at different levels (e.g. lemma, case and number level). Together with the phonological salience of inflectional markers, frequency of occurrence can be considered a powerful explanatory force in the process of paradigmatic restructuring and language change.

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Bybee, J. L. 1985. *Morphology. A Study of the Relation between Form and Meaning*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Bybee, Joan (ed.). 2006. *Frequency of Use and the Organization of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kürschner, Sebastian. 2008. *Deklinationsklassen-Wandel eine diachron-kontrastive Studie zur Entwicklung der Pluralallomorphie im Deutschen, Niederländischen, Schwedischen und Dänischen*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

Patterns of diffusion in northern late Middle English: the case of *th* digraph

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Keywords: standardisation, historical dialectology, models of spatial diffusion

It is a truism to say that one can often encounter comments concerning the introduction of *th* that look like the following ones: "[d]uring the Middle English period, *th* was gradually reintroduced, and during early Modern English times printers regularized its use" (Algeo, 2010: 116); "*th* gradually replaced *ð* and *þ*, finally by about the end of the 15th century" (Upward & Davidson, 2011: 176). Such descriptions, although very handy when one wants to present the broad picture, say nothing about the way in which the diffusion of *th* operates. It is clear from a number of studies on northern late Middle English (Benskin, 1982; Stenroos, 2004; Jensen, 2012; Adamczyk, 2015) that the process of introducing the innovative digraph took a different path in the North and led to the emergence of, e.g., the Northern system: a systemic distinction between two phonemic dental fricatives established by means of two graphemes, <þ/y> <th>. Also, the analysis of northern late ME dialect material resulted in the identification of lexeme-specific preferences for either *th* or *þ/y*, with *the*, *that* and *they* showing strong preference for the latter (Adamczyk, 2015). It is interesting to reiterate the question asked by Studer-Joho (2014: 12) "Are there any tendencies as to what path the diffusion of innovations in Middle English takes?" and try to look for patterns of spatial diffusion of *th* in northern counties of mediaeval England. For the purpose of the research, 126 late ME legal documents from northern counties (Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire) were analysed. Documents used in the study were retrieved from *the Middle English Grammar Corpus* (Stenroos et al. 2011); maps were prepared on the basis of data extracted from *an Electronic Version of a Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Benskin et al. 2013—). Documents were searched for lexical and grammatical words with word-initial *th*, *þ* and *y* representing /θ ~ ð/ (Lexical words proved homogenous in the use of *th* word-initially). Results were presented on descriptive, frequency maps, which show values for particular texts at certain locations, and used for testing modern diffusion models (Trudgill, 1974, 1986; Hernandez Campoy, 1999; Bergs, 2006). Results seem to conform with Bergs' findings since the innovative *th* appears to spread along main roads (The reference map showing the system of roads in mediaeval England was retrieved from Morgan, 1984).

Adamczyk, Michał. 2015. "Realisations of the Word-Initial Variable (th) in Selected Late Middle English Northern Legal Documents." In: Zając, Magda

(ed.). *Variability in English Across Time and Space*. Łódź: Łódź University Press.
Algeo, John. 2010. *The Origins and Development of the English Language*. 6th edn. Boston: Wadsworth.
Benskin, Michael. 1982. "The Letters <þ> and <y> in Later Middle English and Some Related Matters." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 7, 13–30.
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Hernandez Campoy, Juan Manuel & Conde Silvestre, Juan Camilo. 2005. "Sociolinguistics and Geolinguistics Approaches to the Historical Diffusion of Linguistic Innovations: Incipient Standardisation in Late Middle English." *International Journal of English Studies* 5, 101—134.
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Stenroos, Merja, Martti Mäkinen, Simon Horobin & Jeremy Smith. 2011. *The Middle English Grammar Corpus* (Version 2011.1, concordance version). (http://www.uis.no/research/culture/the_middle_english_grammar_project/).
Studer-Joho, Nicole. 2014. *Diffusion and Change in Early Middle English: Methodological and Theoretical Implications from the LAEME Corpus of Tagged Texts*. Tübingen: Francke Verlag.
Trudgill, Peter. 1974. Linguistic Change and Diffusion: Description and Explanation in Sociolinguistic Dialect Geography. *Language in Society* 3. 215-246.
Trudgill, Peter. 1986. *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Upward, Christopher & George Davidson. 2011. *The History of English Spelling*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Exploring 'degrees of lexicalization' in the Historical Thesaurus of the OED

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One of the most intriguing issues raised by the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (*HTOED*) is the significance of vocabulary size. Why are

some semantic fields very densely populated in comparison to others, and why are concepts lexicalized to differing degrees across time? For some concepts, such as those in fields such as *Food* and *Colour*, there are obvious answers related to the external world. There are no terms for 'potato' attested earlier than the late sixteenth century because it was not imported to Britain until then, and many terms from the late eighteenth onwards show the increasing numbers of available varieties. Similarly, the rise in non-basic colour terms from the early Modern English period onwards corresponds to the technological changes that lead to sophisticated methods of creating and recreating precisely differentiated shades (Biggam 2012: 92; Wright 2011). This example seems to provide fairly clear evidence to support the view suggested in the preface of *HTOED* that in some cases the 'degree of lexicalization [of a category] reflect[s] its considerable degree of importance to speakers of the language' (Kay et al. 2009: xix). However, in other cases, including many abstract categories, the relationship between semantic field and conceptual domain is much less straightforward, and it is not obvious why there are either very few or very many lexical items for particular concepts in particular periods. *HTOED* shows a striking imbalance between the sections for relational antonyms Teaching (03.07.02) and Learning (03.07.03) (noted in Allan 2015). At the most general level of classification, there are many partial synonyms for 'teaching' and 'teach', but only a fraction of the number for 'learning' or 'learn'. Amongst the former, a relatively high proportion are only attested a small number of times, and their emergence seems to reflect shifts in stylistic norms rather than any greater significance to speakers; however, this does not explain the relative lack of corresponding items in the section Learning. Other parts of the classification show different patterns, with much greater symmetry between terms for 'teacher' and learner' diachronically. Focusing particularly on these sections as a case study, this paper considers how to make sense of the degree of lexicalization of different concepts, with attention to the complications that emerge from the data itself.

Allan, Kathryn. 2015. "*Education* in the *Historical Thesaurus of English*." In: Jocelyne Daems, Eline Zenner, Kris Heylen, Dirk Speelman & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.). *Change of Paradigms: New Paradoxes.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 81-95.

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Kay, Christian & Kathryn Allan. 2015. *English Historical Semantics*. (Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language – Advanced.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kay, Christian J., Jane Roberts, M.L. Samuels, & Irené Wotherspoon (eds.) 2009. *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Wright, Laura. 2011. "Semantic Shift of the Colour-Terms Maroon and Magenta in British Standard English." *Revista de Lengua para Fines Específicos* 17, 341-374.

Oxford English Dictionary (*OED*) *Online.* 2000–. http://dictionary.oed.com.

Middle English Exclusive Focusing Adverbials qua Information Structural Markers

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Key-words: focusing adverbials, Focus, discourse/hearer old/new information, Middle English

The transition from OE OV to ME VO word order (Los 2015; Pintzuk 2014; Trips 2002) triggers new information structural (IS) markers emergence in XII-XV cen. English. Hence, as an alternative to WO variations and temporal adverbials in coding different Old English IS types (Bech, Gunn Eide 2014; Westergaard 2009), ME records demonstrate a mass advent of various focusing adverbials, exclusives in particular. Yet, the previous studies are mostly centered on ME *only* (Brinton 1998; 2010; Meurman-Solin 2012; Nevalainen 1991; Rissanen 1985; Traugott 2004) taking little notice of other exclusives. Moreover, the IS load of the above adverbial type, as well as, positional variation and part of speech correlation require further specification.

A pilot investigation of *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* deals with ME *ane (onli), mereli, simpli, alone* considering their polysemanticism and emphasizing an exclusive sense (4,570 illustrations). The research suggests that being reanalyzed as focusing exclusives already in XII-XV cen. English, the adverbials indicate Focus elements with informational Focus being prevalent (ca. 67%). The contextual analysis shows that discourse and hearer old information marking ratio for the adverbials amounts to ca. 81,1%. E.g.

(1) Except þe fest of Innocentis, þey schul chaunge at þe chapitre of þe sonday or of þe fest or of þe vtas; wherfor þat þe seruise of sonday is lefte, & þey schul make memori of þe fest biforne, but ȝif it be a dobel fest, þey schul make *only* ***memori*** of þe sonday (*The Rewle of Sustris Menouresses Enclosid…*)
(2) Also non lyuyng in þis frel lif is *simply* ***wiþout synne***, non but Crist, holi writ witnessiþ (*An Apology for Lollard Doctrines…)*

The data demonstrate that discourse and hearer old information coding is typically associated with adverbial highlighting O or X sentence elements irrespective the WO, varying from 43,5% (*merely, simpli*) to ca. 80% (*ane, only, alone*) for different adverbials. Coincidently, a significant increase in verbal element marking (from ca. 45 % to 55 %) is characteristic of adverbials indicating discourse and hearer new information. Interestingly therein seems an insignificant number of Subject indication for both IS types, ranging from 0% to ca. 20% illustrations in the overall data.

Analysis indicates that within the XIII-XV cen. adverbials shows tendency to lexical meaning narrowing, expanding their information-structural load.

Bech, Kristin & Gunn Eide, Kristine (eds.). 2014. *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in Germanic and Romance Languages*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Brinton, Laurel. 1998. "The Flowers are Lovely; Only, they have no Scent: The Evolution of a Pragmatic Marker." In: Raimund Borgmeier, Herbert Grabes, Andreas Jucker (eds.). *Historical Pragmatics: Anglistentag 1997 Gießen Proceedings*. Gieβen: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 9-33.

Brinton, Laurel. 2010. "Discourse Markers." In: Andreas Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.). *Historical Pragmatics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 285-314.

Los, Bettelou. 2015. *A Historical Syntax of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Meurman-Solin, Anneli .2012. The Connectives And, For, But, and Only as Clause and Discourse Type Indicators in 16th- and 17th-Century Epistolary Prose. In: Anneli Meurman-Solin, Maria Jose Lopez-Couso, Bettelou Los (eds.). *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 164-196.

Nevalainen, Terttu. 1991. *BUT, ONLY, JUST: Focusing Adverbial Change in Modern English 1500-1900*. Helsinki: Societé Neophilologique.

Pintzuk, Susan. 2014. *Phrase Structures in Competition: Variation and Change in Old English Word Order*. New York: Routledge.

Rissanen, Matti. 1985. "Expression of Exclusiveness in Old English and the Development of the Adverb O*nly*." In: Roger Eaton et al. (eds.). *Papers from the 4th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 253-267.

Traugott, Elisabeth C. 2004. "From Subjectification to Intersubjectification." In: Raymond Hickey (ed.). *Motives for Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 124-139.

Trips, Carola. 2002. *From OV to VO in Early Middle English*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Westergaard, Marit. 2009. *The Acquisition of Word Order: Micro-cues, Information Structure, and Economy*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Whiche is in Englisshe tong: Managing Latin in English

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Keywords: Latin, multilingualism, translation, diachronic approach

Code-switching and multilingualism research is a growing trend in historical linguistics, particularly the historical study of English (see e.g. Schendl & Wright 2011). One of the shared features of written as well as spoken multilingualism is that embedded foreign-language units often appear with translations into the main or matrix language of the episode. Such translations reiterate the content and clarify its meaning but may serve other functions as well. This practice has been observed in historical bilingualism research at least since Voigts (1996), but there has not been much sustained interest in the translated reiterations themselves.

The proposed paper focuses on translations accompanying Latin terms, phrases or passages embedded in English texts, or what Diller (1997/98) calls

"English support". Data are sought from both individual texts and large electronic corpora – for example, twelfth-century copies of Old English homilies and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET3). Analysis of English support is subsequent to the identification and classification of switches to Latin in the English sources, also discussed in the paper.

Support interacts with both the Latin which it translates, either relatively literally or through paraphrase, and the English which surrounds it; and it may be flagged metalinguistically (see the title above). Our hypothesis is that despite the permanent status of Latin as a multi-purpose High language in England, English support has been constantly utilised in the production of bilingual – or seemingly monolingual – texts, but that the quantities, forms and, in some cases, functions of support vary between genres and topic domains. In medieval religious writing, for example, support can play a crucial role in the make-up and usability of the text (e.g. Skaffari 2016), while in the eighteenth century the practices of support in non-fiction can be more subtle, relying on readers understanding both languages at least to some extent (cf. Nurmi et al. *in prep*.). The study makes use of sociohistorical information about writers, readers and the context of communication in order to gain an understanding of the uses of support in managing Latin in the history of written English.

Diller, Hans-Jürgen. 1997/98. "Code-Switching in Medieval English Drama." *Comparative Drama* 31 (4), 506–537.

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"Everybody will be anxious to see the Yankee and she is just as Irish as the day she came out here"… **On the conceptualization of Irishness and emotional experiences in the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence**

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Keywords: Irishness, emigrant's letters, Argentina, North America

This paper, based on a corpus of Irish emigrants' personal correspondence, explores the notions of *Irishness* and migration experiences as conceptualized in the letters written by some of the Irish citizens that emigrated to Argentina and

North America (USA and Canada) in the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. In particular, the study proposes a pragmatic examination of the emotional load of identity nouns such as *home, country, Ireland, community* and *family* in order to compare and contrast the emotional experiences of the Irish diaspora.

Striving to shed light on the emotional background of Irish emigration, the present investigation addresses two main research questions. Firstly, what does personal correspondence reveal about the impact of emigration experienced by the Irish in North America and Argentina in the post-Famine years? Secondly, to what extent influence such emotional experiences the way in which *Irishness* is constructed? The data for this study comes from three sections of CORIECOR, the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence (McCafferty and Amador-Moreno in preparation). For the purpose of this study, a total of 285 letters dated between 1870 and 1930 were investigated using Wordsmith Corpus tool 6.0 (Scott 2012). Taking an interdisciplinary approach that combines sociolinguistics (Chambers 2009), corpus linguistics and pragmatics (Romero-Trillo 2008) methodologies, the ultimate objective of this investigation is to analyze these emigrants' emotional experiences and identity making through the language used in personal correspondence.

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McCafferty, Kevin & Carolina P. Amador-Moreno. (in preparation). CORIECOR - *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence.* Bergen and Cáceres: Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen and Department of English, University of Extremadura, Cáceres.

Romero-Trillo, Jesús (ed.). 2008. *Pragmatics and Corpus Linguistics: A Mutualistic Entente.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Scott, Mike. 2012. *Wordsmith Tools 5.0.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Common, proper and vulgar *pro-nun-ʃha-ʃhun* in eighteenth-century English: ECEP as a new tool for the study of historical phonology and dialectology

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Keywords: historical phonology, databases, Late Modern English

English historical linguists have complained in recent times about the scholarly neglect of the phonology of the Late Modern English period: as Beal (1999: 13) points out, "[w]here interest is shown in the eighteenth century, phonology is neglected, and where interest is shown in the history of English phonology, the eighteenth century is neglected". There is still a crying need for new studies and new methodologies for the study of historical phonology in general and of eighteenth-century phonology in particular.

One reason for this lack of research could be that the idiosyncratic notation systems used by eighteenth-century authors render it difficult to search and interpret phonological evidence. Yet, the value of pronouncing dictionaries as rich

and reliable evidence has been demonstrated by e.g. Beal (1999) and Jones (2006). The aim of this paper is to present a new electronic, searchable database of Eighteenth-Century English Phonology (ECEP), a new tool which will facilitate research on the social, regional and lexical distribution of phonological variants in eighteenth-century English, thereby meeting the demands of the growing research community in historical phonology and dialectology (e.g. Honeybone & Salmons 2014) and in Late Modern English (e.g. Mugglestone 2003, Hickey 2010).

First, we will describe the methodology and contents of ECEP, which will address the following: (a) selection of pronouncing dictionaries used as primary sources; (b) data input and annotation process, which consists of the transcription in IPA conventions of approximately 1,700 keywords taken from Wells' (1982) standard lexical sets of vocalic variants, along with supplementary consonantal sets of approximately 250 keywords; the database also includes work- and author-related metadata; (c) a brief demonstration of the online interface. Second, we will summarise two pilot case studies, which have analysed the data in ECEP in terms of segmental and suprasegmental phonology, homophony and frequency, amongst other features, thereby identifying clear influences to varying degrees according to geography and chronology. The case studies examined variation between/ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ in the CLOTH set; and the palatalization of alveolar consonants before /u/.

Thus, on the one hand, this presentation will demonstrate the importance and viability of ECEP for sociolinguists, dialectologists and historical phonologists; on the other hand, how the availability of ECEP, which has been designed as a sister to ECEG (Eighteenth-Century English Grammars database), will help to promote the use of databases as key resources in historical linguistics, beyond or by the side of the largely available text corpora.

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Eighteenth-Century English Phonology database. <http://hridigital.shef.ac.uk/eighteenth-century-english-phonology>

Hickey, Raymond (ed.). 2010. *Eighteenth-Century English. Ideology and Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Honeybone, Patrick & Joseph Salmons (eds.). 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of the Historical Phonology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, Charles. 2006. *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mugglestone, Lynda. 2003. *'Talking proper': The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wells, John C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Throwing some light on the development of *dare* in Middle English and Early Modern English: A corpus-based study

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Keywords: pre-modal verbs, regularization, assertivity, blend construction.

The aim of this study is to analyse the semantic and structural changes that the verb *dare* undergoes in the period between Middle English and Early Modern English. For this purpose, I will explain: (i) the reasons why pre-modal verb *dare* starts to show some lexical features and stops continuing with its grammaticalization process at the end of Middle English (Traugott 2001; Haspelmath 2004; Norde 2011 *contra* Beths 1999; Taeymans 2004; Schlüter 2010); (ii) to what extent *dare* and *tharf* are confused in the period of time under study (Molencki 2002, 2005); (iii) what is the role of *need* in the regularisation process of the verb *dare*. The data used in this study is from The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2) for Middle English, The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME) for Early Modern English and The Penn Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC) which covers the span of time from 1410 to 1695. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Middle English Dictionary* and Visser ([1963] 1973) constitute the secondary sources used in the analysis of *dare*, *need* and *tharf*. This study maintains that the changes that *dare* undergoes in late Middle English cannot be explained by the phonological similarity between *dare* and *tharf* alone but also by the relationship between *tharf* and the verb *need* and the influence that they exert on *dare.* My data corroborate that the verbs *dare* and *tharf* were confused in Middle English and Early Modern English in non-assertive and in 'fear' contexts, as well as in impersonal constructions. This confusion and the competition attested between the verbs *need* and *tharf* provoked the obsolescence of the latter verb before the end of the 15th century (see Visser, 1963-73: 1423). With the obsolescence of *tharf*, *dare* starts to occur more frequently in assertive context and it is no longer attested in impersonal constructions. In addition, *dare* starts to exhibit lexical features such as present and past inflections, non-finite forms or complementation by noun phrases because of the influence that the sometimes synonymous verb *need* exerts on it. As a consequence of the introduction of these new lexical features, *dare* is attested in blend constructions (Denison 1998: 170), showing both lexical and modal status.

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Denison, David. 1998. "Syntax." In: *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume IV: 1776*-1997. Suzanne Romaine (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 92-329.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2004. "On Directionality in Language Change with Particular Reference to Grammaticalization." In: *Up and Down the Cline – The Nature of Grammaticalization*. Olga Fischer, Muriel Norde & Harry Perridon (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 17-44.

Molencki, Rafał. 2002. "The Status of Dearr and þaerf in Old English." *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 35, 363-380.

—— 2005. "The Confusion between *Durren* and *Thurven* in Middle English." In: *Rethinking Middle English: Linguistic and Literary Approaches*. Nikolas Ritt & Herbert Schendl (eds.). Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 147-160.
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A diachronic account of 'ephemeral' conditional and concessive subordinators: A corpus-based study

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Keywords: 'ephemeral' subordinator, concessive and conditional adverbial subordinators, corpus-based, diachronic study.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the origin and development of English adverbial subordinators (cf., among others, the monographs by Kortmann (1997), Pérez Quintero (2002) and Lenker (2010), the collective volume edited by Lenker and Meurman-Solin (2007) and the different articles on individual connectors by Molencki (2007, 2008). The history of adverbial subordinators is characterized by a considerable enrichment in the Middle English period, when a large number of connectives were added to the inventory. In turn, Early Modern English witnessed the specialization and establishment of those Middle English innovations. This period was also crucial in the development of what Kortmann (1997: 301) denominates 'ephemeral' adverbial subordinators, i.e. those that were added to the inventory of adverbial connectives in Late Middle English or, more commonly, Early Modern English, but became obsolete or highly restricted beyond these periods. As Kortmann notes (1997: 333), ephemeral subordinators were particularly frequent in the domains belonging to the so-called CCC-domain (concessive, causal and conditional).

Given that conditional and concessive clauses encode closely related meanings and that conditional connectives have been one of the major historical sources for the development of concessive subordinators cross-linguistically (cf. König 1986), the aim of this paper is to provide a comparative account of the history of a set of 'ephemeral' connectives in the fields of conditionality and concessivity, among others, *if so be (that, as), conditioned (that)* and *when if* (condition) and *howbeit*, *notwithstanding* and *how(so/some)ever* (concession). Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the use of an 'ephemeral' conditional and a concessive marker, respectively:

(1) *And **if so is that** thou so be, tell me thy shrift, in privete. (*c1390 J. Gower *Confessio Amantis III. 5*.; OED s.v. *if* 1.8e)
(2) *I would fain have access and presence to The King even **howbeit** I should break up iron doors. (1634, S. Rutherford Lett.; OED s.v. howbeit conj.)*

The investigation is built upon data from various corpora. The *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* and the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Modern British English* will be used as a base line, complemented with data from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Middle English Dictionary* and their quotation databases. Additionally, genre-specific specialized corpora such as *Middle English Medical Texts*, the *Corpus of Early English Medical Writing*, the *Corpus of Religious Prose* and *The Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts* will supplement the data drawn from the base line corpora.

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Oxford English Dictionary Online. http://www.oed.com
Pérez Quintero & María Jesús. 2002. *Adverbial Subordination in English. A Functional Approach*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
Taavitsainen, Irma, Päivi Pahta & Martti Mäkinen (compilers). 2010. *Corpus of Early English Medical Writing*. CD-ROM. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Taavitsainen, Irma, Päivi Pahta & Martti Mäkinen (compilers). 2005. *Middle English Medical Texts*. CD-ROM. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
The Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts. 1999. Compiled by Josef Schmied, Claudia Claridge, and Rainer Siemund. (In: ICAME Collection of English Language Corpora (CD-ROM), Second Edition, eds. Knut Hofland, Anne Lindebjerg, Jørn Thunestvedt, The HIT Centre, University of Bergen, Norway.)

Paradigm shifts in 19th-century British grammar writing – a network of texts and authors

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Keywords: grammar, British, 19th century, network, paradigm shift

In contrast to grammar books published in other centuries, 19th-century grammars have received little attention so far. Given that the vast majority of them are school grammars, this comes as no surprise. For several reasons, however, the 19th century can be seen as a turning point in English grammar writing. While moral and social aspects become more and more relevant in teaching grammars, grammar books in general also illustrate the rather late introduction of comparative historical linguistics around 1830 (Linn 2006: 79) and the emergence of phonetics/phonology as a separate topic towards the end of the century (e.g. Sweet 1892/1898). Furthermore, new movements within linguistics, such as the works of the *New Philological Society* and the *Early English Text Society*, lead to a paradigm shift in grammar writing from highly prescriptive works to predominantly descriptive grammars (Finegan 1998: 559ff).

But how do the major changes in 19th-century grammars happen? Do they occur all of a sudden? If so, how do other grammar writers react to bold and innovative ideas of contemporaries? If new developments build up by and by, do authors address and discuss them in their grammars?

The aim of our study is to make connections between grammar books visible so that mechanisms behind changing approaches to grammar become apparent. With the help of an annotated corpus of British grammars, which is currently being compiled at Heidelberg University, we will show that developments in 19th-century grammar writing can be visualised as a network of grammars and grammar authors. XML-markup of the corpus texts includes all kinds of references and judgemental statements addressing other authors and grammars. The network, as well as wordlists of grammar books in comparison

reveal the authors' attitudes towards language use and language change, and give evidence of the innovative or conservative character of their grammar books.

Finegan, Edward. 1998. "English Grammar and Usage." In: Suzanne Romaine (ed.). *The Cambridge History of the English Language Vol. IV: 1776-1997*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Linn, Andrew. 2006. "English Grammar Writing." In: Bas Aarts & April McMahon (eds.). *Handbook of English Linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell, 72–92.

Sweet, Henry. 1892/1898. *A New English Grammar: Logical and Historical*. Oxford.

Was Jane Austen conservative or did she follow the semantics of motion situations in perfect tenses?

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Keywords: motion events, perfect tenses, Late Modern English

By the Late Modern English period the alternation observed in previous times for the uses of ‘have’ or ‘be’ as auxiliaries of perfect tenses seems to have almost disappeared, with ‘have’ gradually becoming the established form (Rydén & Brorström, 1987; Kytö, 1997).

Despite the increase of ‘have’ as a perfect auxiliary, ‘be’ was still in use in the 18th and 19th centuries. Jane Austen is one of the writers who has often been characterised as conservative because of her preference for ‘be’. However, more analyses are needed in order to confirm this assertion (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2014).

The present study aims at analysing the choice of auxiliary in perfect structures in combination with motion verbs both in Jane Austen’s novels and letters. The survey intends to offer, on the one hand, a deeper insight into the possible reasons for the different choices, and on the other hand, it looks into the similarities and differences shown in the auxiliaries in both text types in order to clarify the conservatism attributed to this writer.

Semantically motion verbs involve the presence of other elements in the motion situation (e.g. figure, ground, path). These elements are either represented in the syntactic structure or not (Talmy, 2000). The semantic and syntactic analysis of the motion events in which these verbs are present will prove essential in the choice of auxiliary.

The two types of texts analysed in this study show different preferences regarding the uses of ‘be’ and ‘have’, with a higher number of examples found in combination with ‘be’ in the letters. This might be due to the manipulation of editors, and it may explain that she was in fact conservative in this respect.

The sentences containing the motion verbs were extracted from the two corpora compiled for the study (novels and letters) and they were arranged in several groups within each corpus depending on the elements involved in each motion event. The comparison of these subgroups led to several conclusions. First, some elements in the motion event played a very important role in the

choice of auxiliary, and secondly, despite being conservative, Jane Austen might have perceived these differences and represented them in her writings as opposed to other authors of the time, who might have simply follow the prescribed rules.

Kytö, Merja. 1997. "Be/Have + Past Participle: The Choice of Auxiliary with Intransitives from Late Middle to Modern English." In: *English in Transition: Corpus-Based Studies in Linguistic Variation and Genre Styles*. Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö & Kirsi Heikkonen (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rydén, Mats & Sverker Brorstörm. 1987. *The Be/Have Variation with Intransitives in English*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 2014. *In Search of Jane Austen. The Language of the Letters*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

"Splendidly Prejudiced": A History of Disapproval in English Usage Books

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The prescriptive tradition has been an important part of the history of English, and scholars have illuminated its development (e.g. Tieken 2008, Tieken 2012, Lynch 2009). One of the surprises that comes from such examination is finding out how dynamic the tradition turns out to be, especially given the monolithic way that it is often regarded by both supporters and detractors. Besides having a changing canon of rules, the tradition has also had a changing rhetoric used to describe the rules. Such rhetoric is the topic of this paper, particularly the labels used in usage handbooks from Baker 1770 to Garner 2009 to describe proscribed forms and those who use them. I will argue that over the years, such labels have tempered, even while the fundamental trust in the notion of correctness has largely been maintained. Perhaps the single greatest result coming from the twentieth-century challenges to the prescriptive tradition, then, has not been a more careful assessment of correctness, but instead a less offensive use of labels.

The labels that this paper will focus on are those used for the proscribed forms, for language containing such proscribed forms, and for people using such language. These three classes are the flip-side of the classes that Chapman (forthcoming) noted as having been reified and labeled, namely "The Rules" for the prescriptions, "Standard English" for language using prescribed forms, and "The Educated" for speakers who adhere to the prescriptions. The labels for the antitheses are not so well established, so part of this paper will present the variety of labels that are used. The paper will further argue that these labels were much harsher before the middle of the twentieth century. Since then, the labels have softened in most usage handbooks, as an entry from the first and third editions of Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* illustrates (s.v. *clever*)

> First edition (Fowler 1926): "Clever is much misused, especially in feminine conversation, where it is constantly heard in the sense of leaned, well read, bookish or studious."

Third edition (Burchfield 1996): "Fowler (1926) wrote a splendidly prejudiced piece about the misuse of *clever*, 'especially in feminine conversation' in the sense of 'learned, well read, bookish, or studious'. It is sufficient perhaps just to recognize that *clever* is normally a term of approbation (=skillful, talented; quick to understand and learn as *COD* has it)."

Baker, Robert. 1770. *Reflections on the English Language in the Nature of Vaugela's Reflections on the French*. London.

Burchfield, Robert W. 1996. *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Chapman, Don. Forthcoming. Stalwarts, SNOOTs, and Some Readers: How "Traditional Rules are Traditional. In *Prescription and Tradition in Language: Establishing Standards Across Time and Space*. Bristol: MultiLingual Matters.

Fowler, Henry W. 1926. *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lynch, Jack. 2009. *The Lexicographer's Dilemma: The Evolution of Proper English, from Shakespeare to South Park*. New York: Walker.

Tieken-boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 2008. *Grammars, Grammarians, and Grammar-writing in Eighteenth-century England*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Tieken-boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 2012. *The Bishop's Grammar: Robert Lowth and the Rise of Prescriptivism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

And the king stayed that night in Greenwich
The order of time and place adverbials in clusters from Old English to Early Modern English

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Reference grammars of Present Day English describe a tendency of place adverbials to precede adverbials of time in clusters (e.g. Biber et al. 2004: 811). According to Hasselgård (2010: 143ff.), the order of these adverbials is brought about by a number of word order principles which interact. Some of the factors discussed by her are obligatoriness, scope, lexical proximity to the verb, and weight. Other accounts (Hawkins 2000) put into question whether this placement preference is best described using a semantic classification of adverbials, instead suggesting that this order is motivated by a more general principle of processing efficiency.

In my presentation, I will discuss this issue from a diachronic perspective. I have traced the pattern *place-before-time* back in time with the help of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME), the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2) and the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). First of all, I will show that for each of these periods we find a statistically significant preferred order of the adverbials of place and time in clusters. This preference starts out as *time-before-place* in

Old English and changes to *place-before-time* at the end of the Middle English period. In the title of this presentation, I give an example of such a cluster, which I have adapted slightly from its Middle English original *And the kyng loggyd that nyght at Grenewyche* (CMGREGOR,191.1450). In a second step, I will discuss which factors might motivate these ordering preferences. To explore this question, I will present the results of a number of multifactorial analyses that I have carried out for each period using binary logistic regression models.

Finally, I will explore how we can account for this change in ordering preference. I will argue that a number of language-internal factors (among them obligatoriness and the position of the lexical verb) are crucial in establishing a semantic pattern that acts as a default case. I will then demonstrate how the increasingly fixed position of the lexical verb can be linked to the reversal of the ordering preference from *time-before-place* to *place-before-time*. Introducing frequent usage as an additional factor, I will show that a semantic classification of the adverbials helps account for the variance in the data.

Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad & Edward Finegan. 2004. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. 4th improved edition. Harlow: Longman.

Hasselgård, Hilde. 2010. *Adjunct Adverbials in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hawkins, John. A. 2000. "The Relative Order of Prepositional Phrases in English: Going Beyond Manner – Place – Time" In: *Language Variation and Change* 11, 231-266.

"Methinks you are mighty funny, Gentlemen": The socio-pragmatics of boosters in the late modern courtroom

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Keywords: intensifier, booster, historical socio-pragmatics, corpus linguistics, language change

The category of intensifiers comprising amplifiers (e.g. *tremendously*, *most*) and downtoners (e.g. *slightly*, *a bit*) has been an object of keen study over the past few decades (e.g. Bolinger 1972, Peters 1993, Méndez-Naya 2008). Yet only relatively little is known about the development of intensifiers in Late Modern English.

The present paper aims at exploring boosters, a category of amplifiers which mark a high degree of the scale, in data drawn from the Old Bailey Corpus (OBC, ca. 14 million words, 1720–1913). This speech-related and socio-pragmatically annotated historical resource can be expected to provide interesting insights into the trajectories of boosters: intensifiers have already been shown to be a characteristic of present-day spoken language (Paradis 2008: 321; Biber et al 1999).

In our study, we seek to answer the following research questions:

- Which of the booster forms gain ground and which forms are on their way out?
- What are the targets that speakers in the courtroom modify by using boosters (verbs, adjectives, or adverbs)? What broad semantic shades are conveyed by these uses (emphasis, immediacy, etc.)?
- How restricted/formulaic or flexible are individual booster types, both with regard to forms and to co-occurrences? Are there specific collocational preferences and do these change over time?
- What are the distributions of the forms across various types of speakers with regard to speakers' social (e.g. gender and rank) and functional (e.g. judge, witness) roles? Which are the most innovative/conservative types of users in sociolinguistic respects? We expect female, lower-ranking and non-standard speakers to assume leading roles in change (cf., e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte 2003).
- What role do discourse pragmatic considerations play for the distributions? We hypothesize that boosters will appear as important vehicles for conveying strategic strengthening in courtroom discourse, lending the speaker the opportunity to sound more assertive and convincing.

Our preliminary searches on the OBC show that the following items are represented in the material in modest to substantial numbers: *deeply, exceeding, exceedingly, extreme, greatly, heartily, highly, much, real, right, seriously, too, terribly, very, well*. There are also items appearing relatively infrequently, which are worth while looking up in the complete online version of the Old Bailey Proceedings (134 million words); among these are e.g. *ample, amply, bally, damnably, dearly, extensively, fearfully, frightfully, hard, horribly, largely, madly, mighty, mightily, monstrous, shockingly, sorely, strangely, tremendously, way*.

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Anaphoric strategies in Old English

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Keywords: Old English, pronouns, information structure, text type

A number of studies (Traugott 1992; Kiparsky 2002; van Gelderen 2013; van Kemenade & Los forthc.) show that the distribution of demonstrative and personal pronoun in Old English is to an extent a matter of information structure; personal pronouns tend to express the discourse topic whereas demonstratives indicate topic change. Such a distribution is in line with the cognitive/psycholinguistic literature on demonstrative and personal pronoun use in Modern German and Dutch (Bosch *et al*. 2003, 2007. See also Kirsner 1979; Comrie 2000). There is nevertheless a degree of indeterminacy involved in explaining the exact nature of pronoun distribution in Old English.

I attempt a refinement of the anaphoric strategies of Old English by carrying out an empirical study using a selection of different late Old English text types. My main aims are to explore to what extent the Old English data support the cognitive/psycholinguistic findings on the distribution of pronouns in other Germanic languages, but also in what way the distribution differs and why. For instance, to what extent are philological considerations, such as the possible effect of differing text types, stylistic considerations or scribal writing conventions influential in deciding anaphoric strategies?

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Keeping it in the family: Disentangling contact and inheritance in closely related languages

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Keywords: grammaticalization, Old English, Old Frisian, language contact, Anglo-Frisian

The striking similarities between Old English (OE) and its neighbor Old Frisian (OFr)— including aspects of phonology, lexis, and idiom—have long been cause for comment, and often for controversy. The question of whether the resemblance is due to an immediate common ancestor (Anglo-Frisian) or to a dialect continuum/*sprachkreis* has been hotly disputed using phonological and toponymic evidence… but not in recent years. Stiles (1995), summing up the general feeling of the time, came down hard in favor of the dialect continuum, and there the issue has rested.

However, recent finds in archaeology (Nieuwhof 2009, 2013) and genetics (Weale et al 2002) argue that the case requires a second look. Developments in grammaticalization theory and contact linguistics give us new tools with which to investigate. Are the similarities between OE and OFr due to an exclusive shared ancestor, or are those languages merely part of a dialect continuum, with no closer relationship than that shared with the other early West Germanic dialects? And are there any reliable criteria to separate out similarities due to inheritance and those that are due to contact? Shared developments seem, *primo facie*, to be evidence of shared inheritance, but there are other possible explanations. Parallel drift after separation, convergent development due to contact, or coincidence might be the cause of any shared feature.

In this paper, I discuss recently proposed methods of distinguishing inheritance from drift and contact (Heine and Nomachi 2013; Pat-El 2013; Robbeets 2013), focusing on how syntax can help explore the shared history of OE and OFr. Although the outcomes of grammaticalization processes often lead to crosslinguistic similarities (see e.g. Bybee et al 1994; Heine and Kuteva 2002), the fact that OE and OFr both display a cluster of grammaticalizations not found in other early West Germanic dialects may well be significant. The exclusive developments under investigation include *aga(n)* 'have' > 'have to' and the so-called 'long infinitive'. By comparing the distribution of these grammaticalized forms in the OFr corpus to that of their cognate forms in OE, I show that the two languages probably diverged from one another substantially later than they diverged from Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian.

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(Im)politeness, social status, and roles in the historical and political context of Early Modern English high treason and ordinary criminal trials

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Keywords: (im)politeness, social status, Early Modern English courtroom, high treason trials, ordinary criminal trials

In the field of historical pragmatics, studies on the Early Modern English (EModE) courtroom have in particular focused on spoken interactions between trial participants and investigated the choice of language, forms of address, or questions and answers (e.g. Archer 2005; Walker 2007).

This paper investigates the influence of trial participants' social status and role on the negotiation of (im)politeness in EModE high treason and ordinary criminal trials. In particular, it explores the use of deferent forms of address, such as *your Lordship*, *my Lord*, and offending expressions, such as *traitor* or *vile*, particularly in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart time. In this period, society (the macro-cosmos) was ruled by a strict social code which defined socially accepted behaviour based on honour, reputation, and courtesy (Whigham 1983: 631). However, these socially accepted rules, which were connected with a certain linguistic (im)polite behaviour, will not have applied fully in the historical courtroom during trials. In these situations the courtroom functioned as a micro-cosmos with its own linguistic rules (courtroom specific behaviour, institutionally-required formality).

The data is drawn from the first two sub-periods of the trial section of *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760* (*CED*), additional court records, which were both annotated socio-pragmatically, and the trial section of the *Socio-Pragmatic Corpus 1640-1760* (*SPC*). The new socio-pragmatically annotated records extend the *SPC* to the beginning of the EModE period, i.e. 1560-1639. As a result, further investigations regarding the influence of social status/role on verbal behaviour (polite/impolite) in the historical courtroom from the 16th to the 18th century are possible.

This paper studies the frequency and contexts of forms such as *your Lordship*, *my Lord*, *traitor*, *vile* and investigates the speaker's role, the addressee, the social status and the type of trial, high treason or ordinary criminal trial. It examines the attestation of these forms by looking at their use as a term of address, a term of reported speech, or a term of reference. Moreover, it explores a possible influence of the participants' social status outside the courtroom (rank, political position) on their role and power position in the courtroom and as a result on the use of (im)polite forms of address in trial proceedings. Initial findings suggest a connection between trial participants' social status in the EModE society (macro-cosmos) and the negotiation of (im)politeness in the courtroom (micro-cosmos).

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Contemporary understandings of Welsh, Scottish and Irish identities: Celtic characters in Shakespeare

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Keywords: Shakespeare, lexicography, corpus linguistics

Shakespeare's clearest – though far from accurate – use of dialect for sociolinguistic reasons (the speech reflects the speech communities to which the fictional speaker supposedly belongs) can be found in *Henry V*, where we meet the Welshman Captain Fluellen, the Scotsman Captain Jamy, and the Irishman Captain Macmorris. But what might have contemporary audiences have made of these characters? What popular understandings did Shakespeare's words trigger?

And how might those understandings have coloured what they were seeing and hearing?

Recent technological developments, largely in the domain of corpus linguistics, have enabled us to construct robustly evidenced but nuanced answers to such questions. This contrasts with previous work that has been characterised by more discursive socio-cultural discussions (e.g. Escobedo 2008). In our paper, we will use cqpweb, a corpus analysis tool developed at Lancaster University, to explore Celtic identity terms in the part of *Early English Books Online* contemporaneous with Shakespeare (specifically, the years 1580 to1619, amounting to 6,390 texts or 257,124,445 words). We will show how the usage of these terms – their distributional frequency, collocations, particular contexts of use, and so on – reveals contemporary understandings. We will not only compare the terms *Irish*, *Scots/Scottish* and *Welsh*, but also contrast them with *English*. Our results touch on issues of nationhood, colonialism and political power. More generally, we aim to demonstrate the potential of our methods for casting new light on Shakespeare's words. This paper is part of the *Encyclopaedia of Shakespeare's Language* project, funded by the UK's AHRC.

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The Middle English Northern Subject Rule: individual syntactic constructions vs variation in the adjacency condition

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Keywords: Northern Subject Rule, morphosyntax, Middle English, variation, dialects

The Northern Subject Rule (NSR) is one of few well-documented points of morphosyntactic dialect variation in early English (cf. Cole 2012a,b for Old English; de Haas 2011, in preparation, for Middle English). The NSR is typically analysed as a combination of two conditions on verbal inflection: the subject condition (under which pronoun subjects trigger different inflection than full noun phrase subjects) and the adjacency condition (under which the special inflection with pronoun subjects is only triggered when verb and subject are adjacent).

However, in present-day English NSR dialects, syntactic configurations in which the subject and the finite verb are nonadjacent do not uniformly affect verbal inflection (cf. Buchstaller, Corrigan, Holmberg & Maguire 2013). De Haas (in preparation) has found a similar pattern in late Middle English local documents from the MEG corpus (Stenroos, Mäkinen, Horobin & Smith 2011). One of the remaining questions is what role various syntactic constructions play in the NSR in early Middle English.

This paper will present a detailed syntactic analysis of early Middle English data from a corpus of localized early Middle English texts from Northern England and the Northern Midlands, comprising texts mainly from LAEME (Laing & Lass

2008-), and integrate it with existing findings. This will add more detail to our knowledge of the syntactic conditions governing verbal inflection in the NSR in Middle English.

The paper will also yield insight into diatopic and diachronic variation in Middle English verbal inflection by plotting the locations of origin of all corpus texts on maps, indicating the strength of the NSR conditions in various locations and, to the extent that this is possible, in different time periods. It will be shown that although the traditional dialect differences between Northern, East Midlands and West Midlands dialect areas remain visible (especially in the verbal morphology employed), the primary dialect division revealed by the NSR variation is one between North and South. The early Middle English data show strong NSR patterns in the Northern dialect area, with a transitional zone extending southward into the Northern Midlands. By comparison, the late Middle English material shows an extended core NSR area which included northern parts of the East Midlands and a transitional zone extending further than before into the East and West Midlands.

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_A_ corpus linguistic study of similar language style features in Early Modern English plays

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Keywords: Shakespeare, plays, corpus linguistics

In this paper I use corpus linguistic methods to identify and discuss language features which are most similar, statistically speaking, in the dialogue of characters in Shakespeare's plays compared to plays by a group of other contemporaneous playwrights.

Linguists applying quantitatively-based corpus linguistic methods have contributed much valuable empirically-based research charting the style of Shakespeare's dramatic dialogue. To illuminate this further, there is a need for more comparative corpus-based research which sets Shakespeare's language into the context of that of other playwrights of his day (Culpeper 2011).

A number of corpus linguistic Shakespeare studies utilise the 'keyness' technique, whereby two texts or corpora are compared on a statistical basis to find the words (or other linguistic features) which stand out as relatively frequent in one or the other. Though keyness is undoubtedly a useful technique for identifying distinctive features in the language of Shakespeare's characters (Culpeper 2009), in a particular play (Scott and Tribble 2006) or themes across plays (Archer et al 2009), it reveals nothing about similarities which may also exist between two sets of language data (Baker 2004). Documenting similarities is important to give a balanced perspective, provide context for differences, and lead to a greater understanding of a text-type or genre. Techniques in corpus linguistics for identifying language similarities are relatively under-explored (Taylor 2013) but there have been recent moves to redress the balance (e.g. Baker 2011).

Accordingly, my paper addresses the following research questions:

(i) What language features show the most similar high frequency when a statistically-based comparison is made between a corpus of Shakespeare's plays and a corpus of plays of closely similar date and genre by some of Shakespeare's contemporaries?
(ii) What do these language features reveal about language style features for which Shakespeare and his peers shared a preference?
(iii) What insights do they offer into the genre of EModE drama?

My data is from a corpus of Shakespeare's First Folio and a specialised corpus of other EModE plays sourced from EEBO. I show that Shakespeare's language style and those of some of his contemporaries coincide in a number of ways, e.g. in the use of first-person pronouns and other function words, plus the negative particle *not*, to construct an 'interactive' and 'involved' style typical of spoken language (Biber 1988:21, 56-58, 245).

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The power of inheritance: the development of the *as*- and *zero*-SPC

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Keywords: Secondary Predicate Construction, inheritance, constraining factors, historical linguistics

Usage-based studies on constructional change typically focus on facilitating contexts driving the construction’s development. Recently, however, attention has been paid to factors that constrain language change. A considerable conservative effect on constructional development has been ascribed to the construction’s origin or continued inheritance relations, which may have a persisting impact on the construction’s further behavior (Breban 2009, De Smet 2012, De Smet & Van de Velde 2013, Trousdale 2013, Petré 2014, Vartiainen in prep.).

Against this backdrop, the present paper investigates the distribution of two functionally similar constructions belonging to the Secondary Predicate Construction (SPC), namely the SPC introduced by *as* (the *as*-SPC) (1) and the SPC introduced by a *zero*-marker (the *zero*-SPC) (2). Both SPCs comprise a [Verb+Noun Phrase+XPhrase]-sequence and involve a predicative relation between the NP and the XP:

(1) Mr. Nostrum [**regarded**]$_{\text{Verb}}$ [**her**]$_{\text{NP}}$ ***as*** [**his favorite pupil**]$_{\text{XP}}$. (Wordbanks Online, 1977)
(2) (…) my mother and father [**considered**]$_{\text{Verb}}$ [**him**]$_{\text{NP}}$ ***Ø*** [**precocious**]$_{\text{XP}}$. (ibid., 1990)

Based on corpus-data from the YCOE (Old English) and the PENN corpora (Middle English to Late Modern English), we argue that the *as*- and *zero*-SPC on the one hand appear to have become more functionally alike as they both underwent a similar 'internalization' process (Traugott 1989), but on the other hand retained a number of differences – most crucially, the *as*-SPC favors Noun Phrases in the XP-slot (see (1)), while the *zero*-SPC favors Adjectival Phrases (see (2)). We will argue that this apparent incongruity can be understood in light of the evolution of the constructions (see i–ii) and of some basic tenets of language (see ii–iv). In particular, the differential preference of *as*-SPCs for NP-heads and of *zero*-SPCs for AP-heads the can be explained in four ways:

(i) the prepositional origin of *as* affected the distribution of the *as*-SPC, favoring NPs and preventing it from becoming productive with APs. By contrast, the original use of the *zero*-SPC following causative verbs had a lasting encouraging influence on the construction's preference for APs;
(ii) *as*-SPCs typically denote *depictive* predicative relations, while *zero*-SPCs denote both depictive and *resultative* relations. Since resultatives have a higher share of APs, *zero*-SPCs contain more APs than *as*-SPCs;
(iii) predicate nouns are more likely to be structurally marked than predicate adjectives (Croft 1991: 130), so that the *as*-SPC is a more likely candidate to express nominal predicative relations than the *zero*-SPC;
(iv) nominal predications are by nature not relational, as opposed to adjectival predications (Langacker 1999). Thus, NPs have more need for a linking device in the form of the predicative marker *as* to establish a predicative relation.

In light of these observations, we conclude that inheritance, in combination with more general principles of language, can be invoked to explain persisting differences between functionally similar constructions. As such, our research contributes to studies on mechanisms of language change.

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The diachrony of non-agentive and inanimate subjects in English

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Keywords: subjects, verb second, syntax, corpora, semantic roles

Present-day English allows for a range of non-agentive and inanimate subjects, see (1) and (2), which are rather unusual, especially from the perspective of related languages such as Dutch and German (see Rohdenburg 1974, Hawkins 1986, Callies 2006).

(1) This tent sleeps four.
(2) Last year saw the introduction of 4G networks.

Los & Dreschler (2012) and Dreschler (2015) have connected this tendency to the syntactic and information-structural consequences of the loss of verb second in English. While Old English had two positions for unmarked themes – the subject and a presubject position – only one position for unmarked themes remains in Present-day English, the subject (cf. Halliday 1967). At the same time, English has developed into a predominantly subject-initial language. Both developments increased the need for more strategies to place arguments in subject position. Such strategies include most prominently passives and middles, but the wide range of non-agentive and inanimate subjects is likely to be part of the same development (cf. Komen et al. 2014).

Previous researchers such as Rohdenburg (1974) and Hawkins (1986) have claimed that these subjects are innovations in the history of English (partly through their resemblance to middles), but the evidence for this is limited. Yet the

timing of this development is crucial for relating it to the developments in the language after the loss of verb second.

I will present a study of the development of non-agentive and inanimate subjects from 1500 onwards. In contrast to passives, and to a lesser extent middles, non-agentive subjects cannot be selected in a corpus on the basis of their syntactic structure. Therefore, I will start with Present-day English corpora and determine which verbs are relatively frequently used with (different) non-agentive subjects; for example, *see*, as in (3) and (4).

(3) *The twentieth century saw Britain* having to redefine its place in the world. (www.bbc.co.uk)

(4) *The Ordovician Period saw* the most dramatic volcanic activity in Wales' history. (www.bbc.co.uk)

I then turn to several historical corpora of English to determine when these verbs start to be used with non-agentive subjects and at what frequency. These data will provide an answer to the question whether, and during which period, there is a general development towards more non-agentive subjects, in turn shedding light on the connection to the development of English into a predominantly subject-initial language.

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Naturally vs. *in a natural way*: A Corpus-based Study on Adverbial Alternation and its Determinants

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A number of grammatical variation phenomena involve the language users' more or less systematic choice between synthetic and analytic variants, influenced by a wide array of factors. A case in point concerns adverbial alternation, i.e. the competition between *-ly*-derived adverbials (ADJ-*ly*) and the periphrastic alternative constructed with various (near-)synonymous nouns (*in a* ADJ *way/manner/fashion/style*). As the Early Modern English examples below illustrate, the adverbials used in (1) and (2) constitute functionally equivalent variants in that *naturally* could potentially be substituted for *in a natural way* and vice versa:

(1) she is so muche garnyshed wyth beaute, …. all the other membres of her body (…) **naturally** composed. (1565, EEPF)
(2) Birds of all species (…), that seemed to chirp **in a natural way**… (1661, EEPF)

So far, the periphrastic variant has only marginally been commented upon in the literature (cf., e.g., Jespersen 1942: 413, Lamprecht 1986: 120, Faiß 1989: 139), let alone systematically contrasted with its synthetic counterpart as for the factors underlying adverbial alternation. Drawing on prose fiction corpora from both historical and contemporary British English (EEPF, ECF, NCF, BNC wridom1), the present study provides a thorough analysis of adverbial alternation from a diachronic perspective, thus shedding light on the extent to which the periphrastic variant gained ground in the course of time and examining the contexts in which it is favoured or disfavoured over its synthetic rival.

For this reason, the paper will first discuss the evolution of the periphrastic variant against the backdrop of grammaticalization and contrast it to diachronic accounts of *-ly* adverbs (Kjellmer 1984; Killie 2007, 2015). Second, it will investigate the factors that have an impact on the language users' choice of adverbial alternants, thereby going beyond the function commonly attributed to the periphrastic variant, namely to avoid haplology effects (**friendlily, *sillily*). Even though phonological constraints are an important factor, they cannot be the only explanation for the distribution of the two variants as a pilot study by Krebs (2011) has shown. With adverbial alternation constituting a case of variation between a shorter and a longer option, the notion of end-weight (Quirk et al. 1985, Wasow 1997) is worth considering as another crucial factor, which is also at work in a number of other grammatical variation phenomena (cf. Mondorf 2009: 99-107, Eitelmann forthc.). First results reveal sentential ends to take the larger share of periphrastic adverbials, which hints at a strategy to achieve end-weight.

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Language contact and competition in the periphrastic perfect in Early English

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Keywords: perfect auxiliary, Old Norse, language contact, Middle English, Old English

The paper explores the extent to which the use of competing English perfective auxiliaries was influenced by language contact with Old Norse in the Old English period (as suggested in McWhorter 2002), involving extensive adult second language acquisition and bilingualism. Informed by connectionist (Ellis 2002) and competition (Bates and MacWhinney 1981) models of second language acquisition and sociolinguistics, the quantitative study scrutinises the changes in the distribution of various perfective auxiliaries from a dialectal and diachronic perspective.

Since besides Old Norse some varieties of present day Scandinavian language varieties display the same pattern of auxiliary distribution as Early English (McFadden and Alexiadou 2010; Yamaguchi and Pétursson 2003), the viability of a Scandinavian contact explanation of the idiosyncratic perfect auxiliary use in English (McWhorter 2002) can be tested by examining if texts coming from Scandinavian contact areas have a larger extent of Scandinavian-type perfect auxiliary selection than those coming from areas with no contact history.

Drawn from the parsed versions of the *Helsinki Corpus* (including *PPCME* for Middle English) and from the *Helsinki Corpus* proper (for Old English), the data show that whereas the perfective auxiliaries BE and HAVE do not behave in a considerably different way with the transitive and the non-mutative intransitive verbs in the various early English periods, there is a salient competition of BE and HAVE with mutative intransitive verbs. The correlation analysis found that the extent of this variation differs across dialects in a statistically significant way. This variable patterning is easily attributable to a significant extent of Scandinavian influence and imperfect adult second language acquisition since the distribution of the perfective auxiliary verbs displays a marked dichotomy between Middle English dialect areas located within the former Danelaw and those which are not. The data also suggest that, irrespective of the auxiliary type, the diffusion of the periphrastic perfect was faster – though at the same time more nonlinear – in the language contact areas, with burst-like phases (Lightfoot 1999) of overgeneralisation (to be explained resorting to complexity and restructuring models of acquisition), which then might have helped the Scandinavian-induced pattern percolate more easily into new grammatical contexts and registers.

A Comparative Study of the Pragmatic Uses of *Will* and *Shall* in Older Scots and Early Modern English Correspondence

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Keywords: correspondence, Early Modern English, politeness, Older Scots, *shall* & *will*

According to the *Scottish National Dictionary* the usages of the modal auxiliaries *will* and *shall* changed during the Older Scots period so that in Modern Scots *will* in the first person is used for predictions while first-person *shall* is employed for stating intentions (cf. *SND* s.v. *will*; Beal 1997:365–367). In British English, however, in line with the prescriptive tradition, first-person *will* is the modal of choice to denote intentions and first-person *shall* to denote predictions.

This genre-specific study seeks to explore possible reasons behind the distribution of modal meanings of *will* and *shall* during the period of change in both Older Scots and Early Modern English. It examines the pragmatic motivations underlying their use in official and private letters in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (*HCOS,* 1450–1700) and the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (*CEEC*).

To a certain extent sixteenth-century vernacular letters still follow the politeness conventions of the late medieval *ars dictaminis*, many of which undergo a simplification by 1700 (Nevalainen 2001). Official and private letters alike thus adhere more or less closely to the guidelines given in manuals and therefore often contain set parts such as Salutation and Notification beside other less routinised parts. In some of the set parts *will* and *shall* occur regularly, for instance in the Conclusion, where *will* is recurrently used to minimise the imposition on the addressee, e.g. *I <u>will cummyr</u> yowr grace with na langair writyngis*, and *shall* is employed in commissive speech acts, e.g. *I <u>salbe</u> at*

command. In the seventeenth century, due to the loosening of conventions the overall use of *shall* declines in Scottish letters.

This investigation of modal uses in Older Scots and Early Modern English aims to find out how politeness, communicative strategies and formulaic conventions influence the letter writer's choice of modal auxiliary. It will be examined whether the use of *will* and *shall* follows different conventions in official and private letters, how the loosening of conventions affects their use and how the relationship between the letter writer and the addressee informs the choice of either modal for particular speech acts.

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Construction semantics & construction frequency: The case of *go*-verb

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Keywords: constructional change, construction grammar, frequency, serial verbs, semantics

'Quasi-serial' *go*-verb (Pullum 1990), as in *I go get the paper* or *Go see a supervisor!*, is a rather puzzling phenomenon for linguistic theories. Over the last century, the construction has established itself in colloquial English, particularly in North America. It is synchronically characterized by the bare stem condition, stating that neither verb bears inflection (**She goes get(s) the paper*). While formal analyses attribute the constraint to morphosyntactic parameters or derivational operations (Bjorkman 2015; Jaeggli & Hyams 1993), functional accounts assume the construction's semantics as significant factors in accounting for *go*-verb's synchronic properties (Flach 2015; Wulff 2006).

Two immediate questions are particularly interesting from a diachronic perspective: first, how did the bare stem condition arise? And, second, what are facilitating factors for the construction's dramatic frequency increase during the 20th century (Bachmann 2013)? These seemingly unrelated questions are two sides of the same coin and give rise to a more general question: can *go*-verb's development be modelled as constructional change (Hilpert 2013)?

Using a variant of variability-based neighbour clustering (Gries & Hilpert 2012) on data from the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA), the following scenario is proposed. Judging from earliest attestations, *go*-verb most likely developed from imperatives; a pattern it displays well into the 19th century. During the 19th century, the semantics of directives persist, but gradually spread to other, non-inflecting syntactic and phraseological contexts. However, *go*-verb only increases in frequency *after* the construction approaches its present-day diverse distributional patterns, giving weight to views that frequency and constructional change do not necessarily proceed in parallel.

This talk will take a usage-based, evolutionary approach to add a diachronic perspective on a synchronic constraint: it views *go*-verb's modern properties as a direct result of replicated use(s) over time. I shall also illustrate the extended possibilities of a clustering method—originally developed to deal with occurrence frequencies—and what it can do to assess the distribution of syntactic variables. Combined then, this talk addresses theoretical, empirical and methodological issues of constructional semantics and constructional change.

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A case of accusative/dative syncretism in the language of the Lindisfarne Gospels Gloss?

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Keywords: Old Northumbrian, morphology, variation

One of the most characteristic features of the grammar of the Lindisfarne Gospels Gloss is the absence of the dative singular inflexion in the so-called 'Type α' declension, mostly comprising nouns belonging to originally *a*-stems (*stān*), short *ja*-stems (*bedd*), long *ō*-stems (*hwīl*), long and short *jō*-stems (*synn*), long *i*-stems (*sēd*), long *u*-stems (*hond*), and *nt*-stems (*būend*) (Ross 1960: 39). In the paradigm of these nouns, the etymological dative singular in *-e* is in the process of disappearing, which is why Ross considers the forms in *-e* as instances of what he labels 'rudimentary dative' (1960: 38). A quantitative analysis of this noun class in the Lindisfarne Gospels Gloss shows that endingless forms (which are characteristic of the nominative/accusative singular of this declension) are indeed frequent, especially in monosyllabic nouns such as *dæg, gast, wulf, god, hus* and *scip*. Nevertheless, our analysis reveals that inflected forms with *-e* (*dæge, gaste, wulfe, gode, huse* and *scipe*) are not uncommon.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the distribution of inflected and uninflected forms for the dative singular in masculine and neuter *a*-stems, in order to determine the degree of resilience of Ross's 'rudimentary' dative in the Gloss, and whether it can still be regarded as a separate case. To this end a quantitative analysis of thirty nouns belonging to this declension has been carried out in contexts where they gloss a Latin accusative or dative form. Special attention has been paid to the syntactic context (presence or absence of a preposition) and the type of verb. The results of our analysis of the Lindisfane Gospels have been compared with the Rushworth Gospel Gloss in order to determine the degree of similarity/divergence between them.

Methodological issues will also be addressed, such as the importance of collating the standard editions of *Lindisfarne* (Skeat 1871-1887) with the original manuscript (Kendrick et al. 1956), and the value of statistical analyses in assessing change in progress in Old Northumbrian.

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The architecture of concepts and processes of conceptual change in Early Modern English discourse

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Much historical semantics work focusses on onomasiological change (e.g. change in a concept like TRUTH; Lenker, 2007), or on semasiological change (e.g. meaning change in a keyword like *evidence*; Wierzbicka, 2010). The theoretical landscape has recently become more nuanced, with work on conceptual onomasiological change on the divergence of related dialects (Peirsman *et. al*, 2015) and on semantics in sociolinguistics using semasiological lectometry (Robinson, in prep).

However, answering the question of what a concept looks like when it emerges in discourse requires a different semantics. Specifically, this semantics necessarily precedes the in-depth study of named concepts (onomasiology) or identified words (semasiology). The development of this alternative semantics is driven by the following empirical questions:

- Can we use distant reading to identify concepts evolving in early modern English?
- What kinds of query are suitable for identifying concepts and semantic change?
- How do we recognize conceptual change in early modern English?

I use the notions of frequency and proximity to model the complex linguistic architecture of a 'concept'. This work contributes to a framework for exploring the emergence in early modern English printed discourse of what comes to be identified and used in the world as a social, cultural or political concept. This framework therefore informs the development of a set of computer-assisted language processing techniques designed to identify concepts in discourse.

This experiential and encyclopaedic account of the architecture of concepts assumes that a concept is not coterminous with a keyword. I argue that 'concepts' are not composed of meanings per se, nor are they captured in definitions. Instead, they are composed of associated linguistic entities connected across textual space that may together imply conceptuality and, over time, and in different genres become lexicalised. In this talk, I will flesh out and illustrate this hypothesis using Early Modern English discourse.

The context for this discussion is a large collaborative digital humanities project designed to query the universe of printed discourse in English as represented by Early English Books Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online to discover what early modern English writers and readers regarded as compelling and important notions for describing and understanding their political, social and cultural worlds.[1]

[1] The Linguistic DNA project is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (project AH/M00614X/1), and runs till 2018.

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Basic valency orientation and the productivity of the causative formation in Old English

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Keywords: causative, morphology, Germanic, typology, transitivity

In this presentation I would like to make a contribution towards establishing the basic valency orientation of Old English. Several recent works, such as van Gelderen 2011 and Plank & Lahiri 2015, have explored the basic valency of languages within the Germanic family, English and German respectively. The latter propose a transitivising tendency in German, basing their assumption partly on the existence of numerous intransitive - causative verb pairs with directed - causativising - phonological alternations. These pairs are the reflexes of the Germanic causative pairs formed by means of the suffix **-(i)ja-* attached to the root of a strong verb in a given ablaut grade (*jan*-causatives for short). They argue that, although the suffix has disappeared, the direction of the derivation is still recognisable for speakers of German. My first aim is to test whether the same holds for the extant Old English causative pairs. In a previous work (Garcia 2012), I traced a total of 52 *jan*-causatives in that language. They are, like their German cognates, characterised solely by a phonological alternation in their root. Unlike the verbs in Plank and Lahiri's corpus, though, Old English *jan*-causatives are not uniform in the senses they express, nor are they always transitive. I will argue that the direction of the derivation between the strong verb and the derived weak verb is most probably not retrievable for Old English speakers. I will show that both the phonological alternations and the semantic relationship between strong verb and derived verb are varied, and inconsistently so. There seems to be no correspondence between form and function. This leads to the second aim of my presentation, which is to take issue against the assumed productivity of the causative **-(i)ja-* suffix in Old English (see fi. van Gelderen 2011: 137). I will ground my argumentation on the relative (in)frequency of the formation compared to the Germanic proto-language and on the lack of correspondence between form and function mentioned above. The conclusions of my research so far are that, while the basic valency of Germanic can safely be assumed to be intransitive, and its orientation transitivising, mainly due to the productivity of the *jan*-causative

formation, the basic valency of Old English cannot. As mentioned by other authors before, labile verbs are already in use then, and, crucially, the causative formation is probably not productive anymore.

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'he is certainly a very clever Man': Self-Corrections in Lady Mary Hamilton's first Diary

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Keywords: Late Modern English, self-corrections, ego documents

Self-corrections in ego documents such as letters and diaries from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries offer interesting insights into the level of education of the writers and their awareness of emerging norms in the age of prescriptivism. Auer (2008), Fairman (2008) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008) report that more educated writers, like Robert Lowth or Joshua Reynolds, were conscious of matters of style and language; they tended to focus more on corrections which elevated the style of a letter, whereas self-corrections by less educated writers rather address slips of the pen, misspellings and grammatical mistakes. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2014: 85) further notes that, in the case of Jane Austen, letters written for more formal contexts contain the fewest or no self-corrections.

This paper explores self-corrections in the first diary by Lady Mary Hamilton (1756–1816), written during a three-month tour in Flanders and Belgium in 1776. Lady Mary Hamilton was well educated, interested in literature, and taught herself Latin. While the diary contains entries detailing events of the day, it also features letters addressed to her mother, who was an intended reader of this diary. The diary therefore has a hybrid nature and may to some extent be compared to draft letters: the author comments on the fact that she does not always have much time to write, so it seems highly unlikely that she would have been able to prepare a 'fair copy' of her diary (letters). Like 'spontaneously produced letters', the diary may represent the 'author's most vernacular usage' (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006: 55).

The aim of the paper is firstly to classify the self-corrections in Lady Mary Hamilton's first diary according to five categories (adapted from Auer 2008, Fairman 2008 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014): (1) 'mechanical alterations', including deletion of repeated words; (2) 'orthographic corrections'; (3) 'grammatical corrections'; (4) 'alterations for content' comprising (4a) stylistic changes, as well as (4b) factual corrections; and (5) 'omission', which refers to

the addition of missing sentence elements. It will then be possible to examine in how far the diary might resemble draft or spontaneous letters, and to compare Lady Mary Hamilton's self-corrections with those of other writers of the time. Stylistic and grammatical changes will be examined, where relevant, in the light of pertaining prescriptive comments or contemporary usage by similarly educated writers as evidenced in corpora such as CLMET3.0. A pilot study indicates that there are few spelling and grammatical changes, and that many self-corrections supply missing words or additional detail, which may point towards time constraints and a spontaneous writing style.

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The position of negative adjectives in Old English prose

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Keywords: negative adjectives, noun phrase, Old English, prose

In Old English, the position of the adjective against the head noun was not fixed. Different authors (e.g. Pysz 2009, Fischer 2001) have observed that, among others, the adjective's inflection type (weak or strong) and its attributive or predicative use is a factor in whether the adjective is preposed or postposed. As regards negative adjectives, i.e. incorporating the negative prefix *–un*, they are said to generally come in postposition to the nouns they modify. Sampson (2010: 95) links an adjective's negativity with the postnominal placement, quoting "the tendency of negated adjectives beginning with *un-* … to appear postnominally". For Fischer (2001: 263), the incorporation of the negative element in strong

adjectives "is very closely connected with the predicate", and this fact will favor postposition, according to Bolinger's logic of linear iconicity – it is "striking" in Fischer's data that "strong, negated adjectives occur much more frequently after the noun than adjectives without negation".

This paper, a corpus-based, data-driven study, will investigate to what extent this general rule is followed in OE prose texts obtained from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). To this end, the following research questions have been formulated: Do strong negative adjectives outnumber non-negated adjectives in postposition? Do strong negative adjectives have a tendency to appear in postposition? Do strong negated adjectives occur in preposition?

A pilot study conducted on the first series of Aelfric's *Catholic Homilies* suggested that strong adjectives in postposition are not predominantly negated. Additionally, the postposition of most of those which are may potentially be explained by other factors, such as modification by a prepositional phrase, serving as object complement (both mentioned by Fischer), or indirect Latin influence in a formulaic phrase. Also, the data does not appear to support the observation that negated adjectives tend to appear in post- rather than preposition. If analyzing a larger sample turns out not to support the findings of the pilot, it may indicate the existence of some idiosyncrasies on the Noun Phrase level in different Old English texts and/or authors.

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A difficult to explain order – Increasing AP complexity in the prenominal *position?*

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Keywords: noun phrase, word order, syntactic complexity, phrasal compound, grammatical variation

Even though PDE has a rather fixed order of heads and dependents, the nominal domain allows for variation: Adjective phrases occur both in prenominal and in postnominal position. While structurally less complex APs occur prenominally, more complex ones including a post-head dependent follow the nominal head (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:551). This distribution is well-accounted for in current word order theories. According to Dryer (1992), for instance, a right-branching language such as PDE prefers complex APs in postnominal position to avoid a deeper branching out to the left. Similarly, Hawkins (2014) considers a

postnominal complex AP easier to process and hence the preferred, grammaticalized option.

Recent studies have indicated some structural changes in the English NP: Biber et al. (2009) report an increasing use of premodifiers – attributive adjectives and nouns – over the past three centuries in both AmE and BrE. This gives rise to the question which types of APs are affected by the change: In the light of the above, only less complex ones should become more frequent in prenominal position.

The aim of this paper is two-fold. Drawing on AmE corpus data (COHA and COCA), it will first demonstrate that there is actually an increasing use of complex prenominal material over the last decades. In a second step, these rather unexpected findings will receive closer scrutiny to show that many of the attestations in PDE are less problematic than they seem: We are dealing with phrasal compounds or lexicalized phrases (ex. 1-2), i.e. complexity does not hold on the syntactic level.

(1) *a similar good-for-you message* (COCA 2005)
(2) *a taken-for-granted fact* (COCA 2001)

However, there is a considerable number of examples of attributive modification without fixed phrases. Interestingly, these even display the most complex possible AP-structure since they comprise a clausal complement:

(3) *Some expensive-to-run programs* (COCA 2010)
(4) *the toughest to handle crimes* (COCA 2008

I will show that it is due to this complex structure that these APs can well be accounted for in branching-direction or processing-based word order theories. It will be argued that a prenominal position is an advantage from both theoretical perspectives, which may be an explanation for this rather unexpected increase of an apparent word order deviance.

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The accident case in the English grammatical manuscripts and printed grammars before William Bullokar's *Pamphlet for Grammar* (1586)

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Keywords: English textbooks, Latin grammatical categories, English grammatical manuscripts, Printed grammars

The status of Latin as the universal language throughout the Middle Ages and beyond makes the application of Latin grammatical categories to English school texts for language instruction after the Black Death (1348/49) a natural step. The English treatises dealing with morphology are structured according to Donatus' *Ars minor* which discusses the eight parts of speech. Latin rules influenced the early English grammatical treatises including the idea that English nouns and adjectives have all the grammatical cases found in Latin. For example, the accident 'case' in English is equated with analytic constructions such as 'of þe mayster', 'to þe mayster', 'o þou mayster'. In the first part of this paper the different methods will be shown how the Latin accident 'case' of the declinable parts of speech is transferred to English. In some texts the treatment of the English prepositions – they are separately dealt within the group of the indeclinable parts of speech - is mostly found in the discussion of the accident case of the noun.

The illustrative examples in these treatises represent a restricted level of English. Therefore the second part of this paper will look at more elaborate constructions in treaties of the so-called *Vulgaria* which are closer to contemporary English usage of the same period. There is variety in method how to apply the Latin concept to English, but the teaching of English in the Latin frame survived in treatises even after William Bullokar's grammar. The methods vary according to the copy texts available to the schoolmasters in different regions and institutions, their own pedagogical views, influences of the New Learning and also the royal proclamation of 1540/42, but little independent analysis of English is found in these treatises..

The paper is based on the manuscripts described and edited by David Thomson (1979 and 1984), Cynthia Renée Bland (1991); early printed grammars are described and made available by Hedwig Gwosdek (1991, 2000 and 2013). These texts are supplemented by facsimile editions from the database *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*). Treatises on *Vulgaria* are made available in Nicholas Orme's *English School Exercises, 1420-1530.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2013.

Recent grammatical change in postcolonial Englishes: A real-time study of genitive variation in Caribbean and Indian news writing

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Keywords: genitive variation, postcolonial varieties of English, newspaper language, real-time change, logistic regression

Today, genitive variation, i.e., the variation between the inflectional *s*-genitive and the periphrastic *of*-construction, is "arguably the best researched of all syntactic alternations in English" (Rosenbach 2014: 215). Numerous studies have shown that the *s*-genitive is on the rise (again) and that this rise is more advanced in American than in British English. This makes the feature relevant to the question of the Americanization of English worldwide (cf. Schneider 2006: 67). Still, to this date, there are no (published) studies of genitive variation in varieties other than British, American, and – marginally – Canadian and New Zealand English (Rosenbach 2014: 252-62).

In the proposed paper, we present real-time evidence from three postcolonial varieties: Jamaican and Bahamian, which, as the acrolectal ends of their respective creole continua, represent English as used a "second dialect" (Görlach 1990: 40), and Indian English, which in many ways exemplifies a prototypical "New English." We systematically compare a historical newspaper corpus from the 1960s from each country with a contemporary one as well as with the press sections of the Brown family of corpora and their 2006 updates AE06 and BE06 (https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/), in order to determine whether any of the varieties have undergone a shift in norm orientation with regard to the use of genitive constructions, from British-oriented during the early postcolonial phase to American-oriented today. In the case of the two Caribbean countries, such a shift appears plausible in light of their geographical proximity and current socioeconomic links with the North American mainland; Indian English, by contrast, is often considered conservative or even archaic in comparison to the metropolitan varieties.

In our investigation, we consider a number of independent variables, such as possessor animacy, end weight, informational density, and the presence of a final sibilant in the possessor noun phrase. In addition to a number of individual distributional analyses, we use logistic regression to determine the probabilistic contribution of each of these variables to the observed variation, in order to obtain an accurate picture of language change in progress.

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Dental Fricatives in the History of English

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English is one of the few Germanic languages which has preserved the dental fricatives which arose during the original Germanic Sound Shift when a strongly

aspirated /tʰ/ developed into a dental fricative /θ/ (e.g. *thin* /θɪn/ from an earlier */tʰin/), in stressed onsets (not preceded by /s/). All the Germanic languages, except Gothic, Icelandic, and English, later lost this fricative (Gothic did not survive long enough to be relevant; Danish has the dental fricative /ð/ from a different source, due to word-final lenition of inherited /-d/ as in *mad* /-ð/ 'food').

When the textual record of Old English appears there is a single dental fricative phoneme with two allophones, [θ] and [ð], determined by phonotactic position (Lutz 1991: 80-127). These phonemicise in the Middle English period (Hickey 2015) resulting in contrast like *teeth* and *teethe*. Since then the dental fricatives have continued in standard English and structurally match other pairs of fricatives like /f/ ~ /v/, /s/ ~ /z/ and /ʃ/ ~ /ʒ/ and show the greatest degree of stability in the onsets of stressed syllables, e.g. *think, thirst; though*.

However, the development of dental fricatives does show not insignificant variation. In the environment of /r/ there is an alternation between /d/ and /ð/ (Hickey 1987) as in *burden ~ burthen*. Perhaps more importantly, the various dialects of English show different developmental paths for the early dental fricatives. They frequently alternate with /f/ ~ /v/, so-called TH-fronting, a phenomenon already attested in Middle English. They appear as dental stops in other varieties, African American English, New York English, southern Irish English. They may be lost entirely, as in Northern [nɔɻn] Irish English, or the voiced member of the pair may shift to /l/ as in *other* [ʌlər] (Derry English). In vernacular forms of Northern English there has been a reduction of [ð] in the definite article *the* to [ʔ] and further to zero (M. Jones 2002; Rupp & Page-Verhoeff 2005).

The current paper will look at the workings of inheritance versus dialect developments in the realm of dental fricatives across many varieties of English and examine the lenition of stops as a diachronic process in English (Minkova, ed., 2009). The role of morphology is important here, e.g. word-finally dental fricatives are often retained because of a grammatical function (nominalising ending, e.g. *warm : warmth*). Furthermore, the role of perception in the development of dental fricatives will be scrutinised (the non-sibilant nature of fricatives makes them less audible than sibilants), e.g. in the shift from /- θ/ to /-s/ in the third person singular present tense of verbs. This scrutiny will be done against the backdrop of existing accounts in the relevant literature.

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Primary stress and rhythmic context in the history of English

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Keywords: primary stress, noun-verb asymmetry, rhythmic context, diachronic corpus study, verse

This paper addresses the issue of differential stress patterns in English nouns and verbs. Previous accounts of English stress (e.g. Chomsky & Halle 1968; Burzio 1994) have failed to satisfactorily explain a basic prosodic asymmetry distinguishing polysyllabic nouns and verbs. This asymmetry consists in "primary stress in English nouns [being] farther to the left than primary stress in English verbs" (Ross 1973: 173). Most notoriously, the stress asymmetry is reflected in disyllabic heteronymic pairs where nouns exhibit trochaic stress while verbs are iambic, as in *récord* (N) – *recórd* (V).

In contrast to the formalistic generative literature, the present paper approaches the issue from a usage-based perspective. Specifically, it pursues the question whether the rhythmic contexts that typically surround nouns and verbs may have biased the two word classes towards the observed divergent stress patterns over centuries of use in actual utterances.

The study's point of departure is a series of papers by Kelly & Bock (1988) and Kelly (1988, 1989). They find that PDE nouns and verbs indeed differ systematically with respect to their rhythmic positions in utterances (Kelly &

Bock 1988), as well as their affinity for unstressed affixes (Kelly 1988). Presuming that stressed and unstressed syllables ideally alternate in speech (Selkirk 1984), their findings support the hypothesis that stress patterns of noun and verb stems have, over time, adjusted to their customary word-external and word-internal rhythmic environments (Kelly 1989).

Although frequently cited (e.g Berg 1999; Patel 2008), the text analyses in these studies have never been replicated, and despite the argument's inherent diachronicity, no attempts have been made to base it on historical language data. The proposed paper seeks to fill this gap by examining rhythmic context biases from Middle to Present Day English. The empirical data are supplied by the *Penn-Helsinki* corpora. Additionally, a purpose-built reference corpus of historical English verse serves to identify historical stress patterns by exploiting the prosodic evidence preserved in metre (cf. Minkova 2013). The data are analysed quantitatively and subjected to standard methods of statistical significance testing (Gries 2009).

Contrary to expectation, preliminary results reveal no significant differences between nouns and verbs regarding their word-external rhythmic contexts, while the word-internal regularities observed in Kelly (1988) may be more convincingly explained with recourse to word etymology. These results cast doubt on Kelly (& Bock)'s findings and the rhythmic-context hypothesis in general.

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Etymological Spelling Before and After the Sixteenth-Century

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Keywords: etymological spelling, Early Modern English, Gower, phonography, logography

The practice of imitating Latinate spellings, or etymological spelling, has traditionally been attributed to the heyday of the English Renaissance in the sixteenth century (Scragg 54, Upward and Davidson 11, Barber 180–81, Salmon 27, Görlach 145). In standard histories of English, it has been explained as due to the characteristic aspiration then of English authors towards Classics. The sixteenth century was indeed the most productive period of etymological spelling, but there is evidence to show that the practice was observable sporadically in earlier centuries and that its aftermath lingered on into later centuries.

The present paper aims to offer a revised historical narrative of etymological spelling in English. I shall take four approaches to address the problem. Firstly, an attempt is made to build a typology of etymological spellings according to etymology, pronunciation, spelling "depth," graphemic interference, and graphemes involved. Thus, the following etymological spellings are classified into distinct groups: <descri*b*e>, <verdi*c*t>, <co*g*nizance>, <vi*c*tual>, and <au*th*ority>. Secondly, pre-sixteenth-century attestations of etymological spelling are presented from my search of references including historical dictionaries (*OED* and *MED*); etymological dictionaries (Skeat, Barnhart, Klein, *ODEE*); and historical corpora (*Helsinki Corpus*, *LAEME*, *IMEPC*, and *MEG-C*). The findings are to be evaluated against the traditional account of etymological spelling as a characteristically sixteenth-century phenomenon. Reference is also made to a comparable trend across the Channel, as well as to Gower's unexpectedly early etymological spellings such as <cor*p*s> and <dou*b*t>.

Thirdly, it is to be examined how etymological spellings, once introduced, affected their pronunciations, or failed to do so, in the sixteenth century and after. For this purpose, historical and dialectal dictionaries as well as orthoepists' comments from the Modern English period are consulted. Fourthly, (socio)linguistic and grammatological approaches are taken. They are instrumental in enabling us to interpret etymological spelling to have played a pivotal role in the history of English spelling and its standardisation, which, as I propose, proceeded from the more phonographic to the more logographic pole.

From the discussions, it is to be concluded that etymological spelling should not be seen as having emerged all of a sudden and come to a halt in the sixteenth century. The practice was made possible in consequence of a number of (socio)linguistic and grammatological strands pre-existing in earlier centuries and a prolonged process of spelling-pronunciation adjustment, if any, in later centuries.

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BE- and HAVE-perfects with manner of motion verbs

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Keywords: perfect, auxiliary, motion verbs, Middle English

In Old and Middle English both *BE* and *HAVE* combined with past participles of verbs to form perfect periphrases. While originally, *HAVE* combined with transitive verbs only (e.g. *hie hæfdon hine gebundenne* 'they had bound him') and *BE* with intransitive ones, the combinational range of *HAVE* increased already in Old English to include intransitives (e.g. *Þa hie [...]gewicod hæfdon* 'when they had encamped'). Ultimately, only the *HAVE*-perfect survived. However, for a long time, *BE*+past participle remained in use with mutative intransitive verbs, i.e., verbs denoting a change of state or location (e.g. *He is come*, still in the 19th century).

On the basis of attestations like (1) and (2), Los (2015: 76–77) has recently suggested that there might be a systematic difference in the use of *BE* and *HAVE*

with manner of motion verbs in Middle English: These can denote both a change of location, like mutative intransitives (cf. *unto the temple walked is* in (1)), and a 'controlled process' or 'activity', i.e., non-mutative (cf. *ye han walked wyde* in (2)). Los suggests that in the former use of manner of motion verbs, *BE* might the auxiliary of choice, in the latter *HAVE*.

(1) Arcite unto the temple **walked is** / of fierse Mars, to doon his sacrifise (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, Knight's Tale 2368–9)
'Arcite has walked to the temple of fierce Mars to make his offering.'

(2) 'Saw ye', quod she, 'as ye **han walked** wyde / Any of my sustren walke you besyde [...]?' (Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women* 3, 978–9)
'"Did you", she said, "while you were walking far and wide, see any of my sisters walking beside you?"'

Taking into account also other factors that have been found to influence the choice of *be* and *have*, such as counterfactuality, infinitive or past perfect context (cf., e.g., Kytö 1997), I will test the above hypothesis with attestations of manner of motion verbs taken from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*.

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Text typology and morphosyntactic variation in Old English: Classifying the texts in the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose

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Keywords: Old English, corpus linguistics, text types, genre, morpho-syntax

In this contribution we want to explore in what ways quantitative studies in historical linguistics can profit from distinguishing between text types; specifically, whether the seemingly free variation that remains with many morphosyntactic variables in Old English even after dialect and sub-period have been taken care of gives way to more regular distribution patterns once we replace the YCOE's genre labels with a finer-grained typology of text types. This approach will allow us to discover patterns that we were unable to see before and to make theoretically more sound statements about specific sublanguages (cf. Lee 2001: 38) before drawing conclusions (or not) about Old English in general.

The YCOE's genre categories are based on the text type categories used in the Helsinki Corpus, which follow "heuristic rather than logical principles"; users are explicitly encouraged to "keep an open mind about grouping the samples on textual principles which may differ from [the compilers'] codings" (Kytö and

Rissanen 1993: 10). Thus, for example, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, *Orosius* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* are all categorized as HISTORY, despite the fact that, as Pérez-Lorido (2001: 127) notes, there are substantial stylistic differences between chronicles and other forms of historiographical writing. Also, the classification criteria employed are quite heterogeneous, functional categories like PREFACE standing side by side with HISTORY and LAW, defined according to discourse domain, and conglomerations of both, such as HANDBOOK MEDICINE (cf. e.g. Diller 2001: 25).

To make more sense of our own data, we have therefore split up those corpus files that were heterogeneous with respect to text type (or sub-period) and replaced the original genre labels by a new classification of texts along the three dimensions of *content*, *function* and *form* (cf. e.g. Biber 1988, Kohnen 2001, Kohnen 2012).

Thus equipped, we will present two case studies, one concerned with the rise of the present perfect, one with the decline of the case system, exploring Kohnen's (2004: 6) notion of the demand profile of different text types, based on the assumption that the frequency of linguistic structures depends on and changes with the degree to which they fulfil functions specific to that text type (cf. Kohnen 2001).

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A study on the causative and adhortative expressions in Old English and Middle English

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Keywords: causative; adhortative; *let*; homily; auxiliary

Modern English (MnE) causative and adhortative expressions are represented by *let* and *make*:

(1) He *let*/*made* her go. (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1205: "verbs of coercive meaning")
(2) *Let*'s go. (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2005: 170-171: "1st person imperative" *let*)

The causative notion (1) has been expressed by Old English (OE) *lǣtan*/Middle English (ME) *lēten* (see *OED2*, *let* 12.a.; 13.), while OE *hātan* 'to command (someone to do something)' and ME *māken* (> MnE *make*) were also prevalent in the medieval English (Nagucka 1979; Terasawa 1985). For adhortative use (2), there was an auxiliary OE *uton*/ME *uten* (< OE *gewītan* 'to go') supplanted by ME *lēten* (*OED2*, *let* 14.a.; †*ute*; Warner 1993; Traugott 1995; Ogura 2000/2002; Krug 2009; van Bergen 2013).

Prior research has focused on the usage of these lexemes individually, and their systematic alternation is suitable for comprehensive discussion. This paper examines how the causative and adhortative expressions were interrelated during the transitional period between OE and ME. This problem will be addressed with three approaches: (i) the semantic transition of OE *lǣtan*/ME *lēten* from permissive reading ('to allow someone to do') to coercive reading ('to force someone to do'); (ii) the decline of OE *uton*/ME *uten*; and (iii) the derivation of adhortative *let* from causative *let*.

Regarding these approaches, the research methods used will be: the lexical conflict between OE and ME, the pragmatic viewpoints relating to the contextual participants (i.e. who causes whom to do something, who exhorts whom to carry out the proposition together), and the role of the word order of a declarative sentence with its finite verb at the initial position (V1-order). These analytical viewpoints will be applied to the examples selected from Late OE (e.g. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*) and Early ME (e.g. *Lambeth Homilies* and *Trinity Homilies*).

This paper will provide the following insights. Firstly, OE *lǣtan* is in close semantic relation to its prefixed cognate *forlǣtan* 'to abandon' in permissive sense, while the coercive sense is conveyed by OE *hātan* and ME *māken*. Second, OE *uton*/ME *uten* falls into disuse as the V1-order declines (cf. Önnerfors 1997). Finally, the emergence of ME *lēten* in the adhortative use is promoted by highlighting the contextual role of an entity wishing to realise the propositional content.

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Two sets of rules: Nominal inflection in macaronic sermons

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keywords: macaronic sermons, code-switching, nominal inflection

As has been pointed out in several studies (Stolt 1964, Wenzel 1994, Schendl & Wright 2011, Jefferson & Putter 2013), historical mixed texts are an interesting, yet still widely unexplored source of information concerning language use in multilingual societies in Medieval Europe. Drawing on so-called macaronic sermons from 14th/15th century England, this contribution will discuss to what extent the *Matrix Language Frame Model* (Myers-Scotton 2002), which is based on findings from modern oral code-switching data, is also applicable to historical written texts. The aim of this is two-fold: First, it will be demonstrated how we can use language mixing patterns found in historical sources to support or question existing code-switching models. Second, it will be argued that modern code-switching models can be used to explain details of language use of bilinguals in Medieval England.

The empirical data, extracted manually from MS Bodley 649 (ed. Horner 2006), consists of clauses containing mixed noun phrases, e.g.

(1) A blisful rex comus to þe. - A blissful king comes to you. (H269)
(2) Fugite istum venemus draconem. - Flee from this venomous dragon. (H195)

(3) Iste ventus hath made magnam tempest. - This wind has created a great storm. (H113)

The vast majority of clauses (182 out of 192) conform to the predictions of the MLF Model. However, there are also a few clauses that seem incompatible with it, e.g. (3). In such instances the model does not allow the Latin adjective *magnam* to receive overt case marking from an English verb group. I propose that this discrepancy can be interpreted as a consequence of normative understanding of language: The clerics who wrote down the sermons were trained formally in Latin but not in English. In cases of insufficient overlap between the structures of Latin and the structures of English (e.g. inflections for case in Latin but not anymore in English) the perceived obligation to use explicitly learned, fixed rules of Latin grammar overrides any implicit and seemingly arbitrary "rules" of code-switching. It is suggested that the relatively infrequent discrepancies between the predictions of the MLF model and the actual realization of grammatical morphemes in the sermons might be a product of premeditated writing but not necessarily a direct reflection of oral language use. How far this needs to be borne in mind in assessing medieval code-switching will be discussed.

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English *How Come* Construction: A Diachronic Perspective

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The expression *how come* as in *How come you left?* is a lot similar to *why* in both its usage and meaning, but displays quite different properties. As noted in the literature (Zwicky and Zwicky 1971, Collins 1991, Fitzpatrick 2005), one obvious difference between *how come* and *why* is that only the latter allows SAI (Subject-Aux Inversion) (e.g., *Why did you leave?* vs. **How come did you leave?*). However, there are many differences between the two, including its wider distributional possibilities. For example, unlike *why*, *how come* can occur in various nonfinite environments as seen from corpus examples like *How come your hair so thick?* and *How come they done that to me?*. The two are also different in terms of presupposition in that the complement clause of *how come* expresses a presupposed factivity as seen from the contrast in rhetorical questions like *Why would John leave?* vs. **How come John would leave?* (Huddleston and

Pullum 2002, Conroy 2006). The presupposed factivity of *how come* also leads to other intriguing differences. For example, unlike *why*, *how come* can neither question a future event or subjunctive one nor have multiple questions (e.g., **How come we will leave tomorrow?* and **How come John ate what?*).

This paper investigates the grammatical properties of the *how come* construction from a diachronic perspective, using the corpus COHA (Corpus of Historical American English) which covers data from 1810s to 2000s. The web interface of the corpus immediately shows us that its usage has rapidly increased since 1910s in Figure 1. Considering key parameters of grammaticalization such as generality, productivity, and compositionality (Traugott and Trousdale 2013), the corpus investigation indicates that the *how come* construction is a clear instance of grammaticalization. The corpus search first offers evidence of the syntactic expansion. Until 1870s, the expression *how come* combines only with the small clause as in *But how come [you to write about this man and them niggers]?* (COHA 1841 FIC) and *But how come [you in her bed]?* (COHA 1843 FIC). After 1880s, the expression *how come* combines with various types of Ss including not only a finite S but also a nonfinite S as illustrated by examples like *How come [he [got a Puerto Rican name]]?* (COHA 2000 FIC) and *How come [he [look just like them]], then?* (COHA 1982 FIC). From 1880s, the construction began to occur in embedded environments as in *Now explain how come you knew three thugs were going to jump me.* (COHA 2005 FIC). Together with the increase in its uses, the construction began to be fossilized over time, obtaining sui generis properties. For instance, the possible variations such as *how come/came/comes* in the construction are narrowed to the simple form *how come*. In earlier days, all these variations were used interchangeably, as evidenced from corpus examples like *How came [she brought up with a fever]?* (COHA 1848 FIC) and *But how comes [Ned here]?* (COHA 1887 FIC), but in the 19th century only the *how come* construction survives.

The historical evolution of the construction, as evidenced from the corpus data, results from interactions with other pre-existing constructions. In this paper, we suggest that this supports the notion that language consists of a network of constructions and changes in the language network can also bring out diachronic changes of the construction in question.

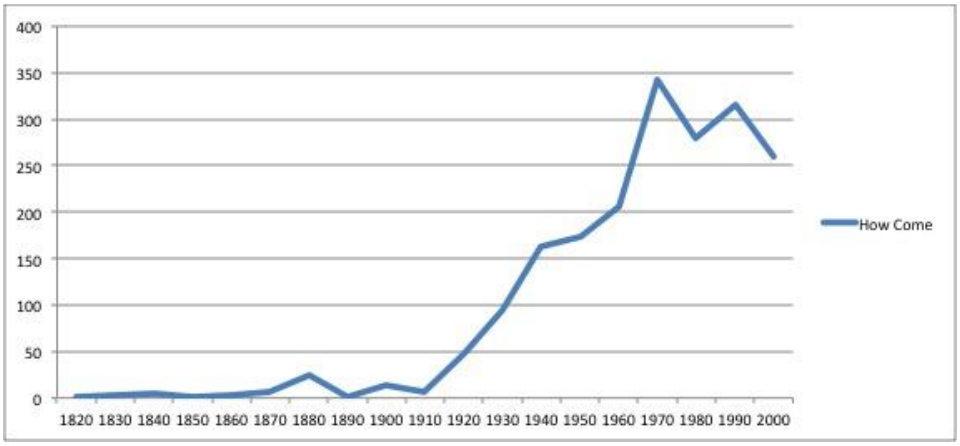

Figure 1: Frequency per million words of *how come* in COHA

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Anglo-Saxon expressives: Reconstructing speech acts without speech-act verbs

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keywords: historical pragmatics, Old English, expressive speech acts

Expressives are those speech acts that articulate or "express" a psychological state or attitude of the speaker, for example, *complain*, *apologise*, *praise* etc. (Searle 1976). Expressives from the Old English period form a virtually unexplored field of study (for the very few exceptions see Arnovick 1999 and Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000). Seen against the background of present-day English, Old English expressives display some apparent gaps: The descriptive speech-act terms *apologise* and *compliment* are neither found in the *Thesaurus of Old English* nor in the *Dictionary of Old English* nor in the large *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* compiled by Bosworth and Toller (Bosworth and Toller 1898, 1921). If there are no descriptive terms to refer to these speech acts, does this mean they did not exist in Anglo-Saxon society? Or is this pragmatic space covered by other, synonymous expressions, for example, regretting (*behrēowsian* and *besārgian*) or praising (*(ge)herian, (ge)bletsian* and others)? Or would Anglo-Saxon speakers perform such speech acts using expressions designating sad feelings (for example, the adjectives *geōmor* or *sarig*) or designating the excellence and merits which form the basis of a compliment (for example, the nouns *cræft*, *cyst*, *duguð* and others)? And would these still be the same speech acts?

In my study I will first extract synonyms of *apologise* and *compliment* from the electronic *Thesaurus of Old English* and the electronic Bosworth-Toller. These will be the basis for a search in the complete *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. These data may produce either first-hand performative uses of the respective expressive speech acts or, as descriptive uses, provide information about the kinds of acts referred to and, thus, the conceptualisation of these speech acts in Anglo-Saxon times (compare the "metacommunicative expression analysis", Jucker and Taavitsainen 2014). In a similar way, I will extract the terms designating psychological states and the excellence and merits typically associated with apologising and complimenting and investigate their use in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*.

The aim of my presentation is to trace possible descriptions and manifestations of the acts of apologising and complimenting in Old English, to find out in how far these differ from the present-day concepts of these speech acts and to locate them within the context of Anglo-Saxon society and its linguistic practice. By reconstructing speech acts without speech-act verbs, this paper also attempts to test new methodologies for diachronic speech-act analysis.

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Non-root accented rhymes in Middle English iambic poetry

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Keywords: Middle English, verse, stress, metre, weight-sensitivity

The paper addresses the issue of apparent irregularities in the placement of ictus in Middle English poetry. The expected stressing pattern for Germanic vocabulary is trochaic (Campbell 1959: 30), yet numerous non-root native syllables occur in contemporary verse. The presence of the anomalies is particularly interesting in the case of rhyming syllables, as these are considered to be the most inviolable positions in a line of verse (Minkova 1996: 103). The scope of the present study is hence limited to rhyming iambic verse, thus also reducing the potential for erroneous results which might stem from metrical ambiguities elsewhere within the line.

The proposed analysis aims to systematise the irregularities and establish the reasons for their presence. In Old English both poetic and linguistic accentuation relied greatly on syllabic weight (Dresher — Lahiri 1991). A

continued application of resolution in Middle English is observed in *Poema Morale* (Fulk 2002). Thus, the first aspect to be considered is the possibility that the phenomenon might be a reflection of Old English weight-sensitivity. Another factor to be analysed is a potential impact of the incomplete grammaticalisation of certain suffixes (Marchand 1969: 232). Finally, external influences are considered.

The study is based on the Humanities Text Initiative's *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse.* The data is classified in terms of chronological and geographical origin, syllable weight and morphological content. Finally, the close context of the anomalies is considered with regard to the presence of Romance borrowings which display original stress patterns.

The expected results include a degree of continuity from Old to Middle English in the potential of heavy syllables for carrying poetic ictus. Such a potential would have diminished gradually within the period. External influences as well as the role of incomplete grammaticalisation are also expected to have been of some significance.

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What can we learn from constructed speech errors? – Mrs Malaprop revisited

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Keywords: malapropisms, (types of) speech errors, sociopragmatics, mental lexicon

Due to her untiring and constantly failing attempts to enhance her social standing by employing highly extravagant diction, Mrs Malaprop in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775) has given her name to a specific type of lexical misapplication exploited for humorous effect. While her 'malapropisms' have usually served as a starting point for scholarly investigations into similar speech errors produced by modern speakers (including, e.g., the notorious 'Bushisms'), this paper asks what the original material, skilfully embedded in a 'comedy of manners', can tell us about the linguistic microstructure of such lexical mismatches and whether this peculiar kind of material – unintentionally comic from the character's point of view, yet deliberately fabricated for this purpose by the playwright – can find a place in modern speech error typologies. How

'natural' is Mrs Malaprop's (mis)constructed language? To what extent do her linguistic eccentricities follow predictable patterns that guide authentic word selection errors? Does the sociopragmatic dimension, so vital for dramatic effect, shape Mrs Malaprop's misguided lexical choices and her discursive practices in a way that markedly deviates from plausible linguistic behaviour? To answer these questions, the structure and semantics of Sheridan's malapropisms will be seen in relation to relevant evidence provided by the *OED*, 18th-century dictionaries, and modern collections of 'confusibles', and compared to the results of pertinent studies in speech error production (cf., e.g., Fay and Cutler 1977; Zwicky 1979, 1982; Aitchison and Straf 1981). The aim of the paper is to demonstrate that, despite its constructed and fictitious character, Mrs Malaprop's distorted lexis lends itself to a profitable comparison with real speech errors in our search for "[t]he non-anomalous nature of anomalous utterances" (Fromkin 1971) and, ultimately, the workings of the human mind.

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Multiple Glosses in Old English Psalter Glosses: Traditional or Innovative?

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Keywords: Old English, Old English psalter glosses, multiple glosses, translation

In OE interlinear glosses, glossators employ with varying frequency multiple glosses – the glossing technique of providing two or more alternative glosses, usually connected by the sign *ł* (for Latin *vel*), to translate a single Latin word or phrase. Whereas multiple glosses in general have been studied from linguistic perspectives (e.g. Wiesenekker 1991), less attention has been paid to the fact that OE psalter glosses in particular enable us to examine multiple glosses in relation to textual matters. The OE psalter glosses are extant in fifteen manuscripts and fragments, which are textually interrelated in very complicated manners (cf. Sisam and Sisam 1959, Kitson 2002–2003). Even when two manuscripts which are supposed to be closely related with each other are compared, their use of multiple glosses may not be identical; a single gloss in one manuscript, for instance, may agree with a double (or even triple) gloss in the other, or vice versa. The present paper proposes to examine such correspondences in a group of manuscripts which are considered to be textually interrelated, in order to find out what reasons, both linguistic and textual, lie behind agreement and disagreement in their uses of multiple glosses.

The group of manuscripts to be examined consists of **G** (The Vitellius Psalter; BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii), **H** (The Tiberius Psalter; BL, Cotton Tiberius C. vi) and **J** (The Arundel Psalter; BL, Arundel 60). These manuscripts contain the *Gallicanum* version of the psalms and their glosses are aligned to the 'D-type' glosses, a textual group first seen in **D** (The Royal Psalter; BL, Royal 2 B. v) as against 'A-type', of which the earliest witness is **A** (The Vespasian Psalter; BL, Cotton Vespasian A. i). **G**, **H** and **J** also share the feature that they reflect non D-type sources at different points in addition to D-type ones.

The present paper aims to uncover each glossator's working practices as regards multiple glosses by paying attention to textual relationship of the relevant manuscripts. The data collected will suggest, for instance, that some glossators tend to retain multiple glosses that are likely to have been found in their exemplars, while others more freely reduce them to single glosses and introduce new multiple glosses. The paper also argues that this analysis of glossators' practices will be of significance in scrutinizing the kinds of linguistic concerns that appear to underlie their employment and rejection of multiple glosses.

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Actually, it's not infrequent. Changing frequencies of discourse marker use in written texts from the 19th century until today

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While there are a number of recent studies dealing with the functions of discourse markers in present-day English (e.g. Schiffrin 1987, Lenk 1998, Aijmer 2002), as well as insightful analyses of their historical development from lexical sources (e.g. Brinton 1996), so far there has been little interest in the question to what extent the use of these markers has been affected by recent change.

It is well known that language use has been affected by colloquialization, i.e. by the growing tendency to use linguistic markers which were originally associated with spoken language in written texts (cf. e.g. Mair 2006, Leech & Smith 2006, Leech et al. 2009). Discourse markers, i.e. linguistic items with pragmatic functions that structure discourse, clearly belong to this group, i.e. they represent markers that typically occur in spoken interaction (cf. Brinton 1996: 33).

The present paper aims at investigating the open question as to whether or not discourse markers are increasingly used in written texts in the recent history of English. More specifically, I will take a closer look at the development of the discourse markers *well, actually* and *in fact* using the 400-million word *Corpus of Historical American English* (*COHA*). Searching for utterance-initial uses (i.e. the position where a discourse marker function is most likely, cf. Jucker & Ziv 1998: 3), one finds that all three markers are overall on the rise in the data. However, not all three exhibit the kind of ongoing rise one would expect for a change caused by colloquialization. Instead, only for *in fact* this trend goes uninterrupted by slopes, while both *actually* and *well* show fluctuations and actually seem to peak in the 1960s/1970s.

I will attempt to explain these frequency developments by looking at the more precise usage patterns, based on random samples (100 per discourse marker and per decade investigated), which are subjugated to a detailed analysis, including genre-specific context (e.g. inner monologue) and usage function (distinguishing in particular between interpersonal, face-saving uses and more textual, coherence-oriented uses).

The present findings suggest that, while colloquialization and an ensuing increase in interactionality can explain part of the changes in frequency observed, the exact functional profiles of the individual discourse markers as well as fine-grained changes in genre conventions have to be considered to arrive at a full explanation.

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Constructions and alternations with Old English verbs of depriving

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Keywords: Old English, verbs of depriving, constructions, alternations

Previous research in Old English verbs of depriving has focused on the morphological case that these verbs license (thus McLaughlin 1983; Visser 1984; Mitchell 1985; Molencki 1991) and pointed out that they tend to select a direct case and an oblique one, as, for instance, an accusative object of person and a genitive of thing, as is the case with *Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices* [ChronA (Bately) 024900 (755.1)] 'Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom'. *The Dictionary of Old English* (entry to *beniman*) lists several complementation patterns with verbs of depriving in which several alternations arise, including the alternation between the complete frame (thing and person) and the reduced frame, the selection of oblique cases (genitive vs. dative) as well as prepositional unmarkedness vs. markedness. With this background, the aim of this paper is to identify the constructions and alternations in which verbs of depriving partake. The inventory of verbs of depriving, which is based on the information provided by *A thesaurus of Old English* and *Historical thesaurus of the Oxford English dictionary*, comprises *āniman*, *bedrēosan*, *behlȳþan*, *benǣman*, *benēotan*, *beniman*, *berǣdan*, *berēafian*, *berēofan*, and *bescierian*, all of which convey the meaning 'to deprive, to take away'. The data of analysis will be retrieved from *The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus.* The method combines morphosyntactic and semantic analysis. On the morphosyntactic side, grammatical case, prepositional government, order and voice will be considered. On the semantic side, the number and class of semantic participants, the Aktionsart type (as in Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) and the type of possession (alienable vs. inalienable) will be taken into account. Conclusions are expected along two lines. In the first place, a correlation is likely to hold

between a given alternation and different constructions when both the morphosyntax and semantics are considered. And, secondly, the perspective on the state of affairs (the former possessor vs. the new possessor) determines the morphosyntactic aspects of the expression.

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On the Development of Anaphoric Pronouns in Early and Modern English Dialects

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Keywords**:** Pronouns, Middle English, dialectology, corpus

As Buccini (1992) and Howe (1996) have shown, southern Middle and Modern English dialects retained relic weak/enclitic forms of anaphoric object pronouns longest. This observation indicates that these dialects developed more closely in line with other Continental Germanic languages than those in the north – a parallelism that is particularly transparent from a comparison of Old and Modern Frisian dialects. This paper offers additional data on the development of 3sg. masculine and feminine weak/enclitic pronouns (i.e. *hine* and *hise*) in Middle English dialects, mainly using *LAEME*. Apart from providing new information on the chronology and geography of the forms, *LAEME* also supplies interesting empirical facts about their syntactic use (e.g. as direct or indirect objects), which was unviable in earlier studies.

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"any one who thinks may […] plainly perceive": Expressing certainty in Early Modern English

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Keywords: Early Modern English; Pragmatics; Stance; Modality

Certainty can be expressed through a range of lexical and lexico-grammatical markers, including modal verbs (e.g. *must*), epistemic verbs (e.g. *believe*), adjectives (e.g. *sure*), and adverbs (e.g. *certainly*). Certainty markers can occur alone or they can be part of more complex expressions. In addition, certainty can also be expressed through formulations that lack overt lexico-grammatical markers but which, when interpreted in context, nevertheless show a very strong commitment of the speaker or writer to what is said. Such formulations are of particular interest to the study of historical periods of English, in which formalised stance markers are less frequent than in Present-day English (Biber 2004). However, the study of more implicit realisations of certainty has not received a great deal of attention so far (but see, for instance, Gray and Biber 2014; Grund 2012, 2013; Taavitsainen 2000, 2001).

I analyse how certainty is expressed in Early Modern English in three different contexts: scientific treatises (based on the corpus of *Early Modern English Medical Writing*), persuasive pamphlets (based on the *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts*), and statements by witnesses and defendants in court trials (based on the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*). All three contexts provide clear motivations for expressing a strong commitment to what is said, albeit for slightly different reasons. The texts are analysed with respect to the different forms of certainty marking they include and the functions these markers fulfil. The analysis of the functions of certainty markers is based on Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007), who show that certainty adverbs in Present-day English fulfil different functions depending on the context in which they occur. The same is true for certainty markers in Early Modern English. More specifically, I will argue that the three contexts from which I selected my data relate differently to three aspects that are closely connected to certainty: 1) reliability of the message; 2) credibility of the speaker; and 3) persuasion of the addressee. The difference in emphasis on these aspects of the texts overall is reflected in the functions of certainty markers within the texts.

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As, For, To, Zero: Object Predicatives and Prepositions in the history of English

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In Present-Day English, object predicatives in complex-transitive complementation patterns may occur with or without the preposition *as*, e.g.

(1) We considered him *a genius* / *as a genius* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1200).

Verbs in complex-transitive constructions are typically assigned to the semantically based categories 'current' or 'resulting' in Quirk et al.'s terminology (1985: 1196), or more commonly to 'depictive' or 'resultative' (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 251). Across these categories, complex-transitive verbs differ in that some always and some never occur with *as*, while for a third group both options are possible as in the example above.

However, both optional and obligatory *as* with object complements are rather late developments in the history of English, as Visser points out: "In Old, Middle and early Modern English *for* and *to* were largely predominant. *As* was extremely rare in Middle English, remained the exception in early Modern English, to become, however, the favourite in Pres. D. English by gradually replacing the older rivals" (^{3}1984: 586). This paper draws on data derived from Corpora of Early and Late Modern English (ARCHER, CED, COLMOBAENG) to trace the contexts which gave rise to prepositional *as* in complex-transitive complementation patterns.

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Parasitic gaps, null objects and contact effects in Early Modern English biblical translations

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Keywords: Early Modern English, contact effects of translations, parasitic gaps, null objects.

The aim of the paper is to test the hypotheses that (a) the development (rise and fall) of the parasitic gaps in Early Modern English is related to the diachrony of null objects (contra van der Wurff 1989), and (b) contact effects of translation in the case of parasitic gaps can be classified into two major categories of effects

(direct vs. indirect) according to the biblical or nonbiblical type of translation (see Taylor 2008).

It has been shown that parasitic gaps (of the type of Ex. 1 and Ex. 2) appear from the 16th to the 19th century, in the context of a relative pronoun immediately followed by an adverbial subclause and then another clause (van der Wurff 1989:126).

(1) *A man whom if you **know** __ you must love* (Cowper *Letters* III 215)
(2) *It is my will, the which if thou **respect** __, / Show a fair presence […]* (Shakespeare *R & J* I, v, 75f)

Van der Wurff (1989) analyzes the parasitic gaps of the 16th-19th centuries as markers of the higher stylistic registers that reflect Latinisms (in accordance with Visser (1963:par.534) and Jespersen (1927:201)). Truswell (2011) observes, however, that parasitic gaps do not always represent a conscious imitation of Latin.

According to our hypotheses, we have conducted a corpus study in order to investigate the presence of parasitic gaps and null objects in the 16th-century translation of Tyndale (1525) and the 17th-century King James Version (1611), as well as in earlier and later translations (the Wycliffite Bible (1395) or the Young's Literal Translation (1887), for instance) and the Latin and Greek source texts.

We show that the diachrony of the null objects and the rise and fall of the parasitic gaps demonstrate parallel stages: Old and Middle English allow definite null objects (*He nam hlaf and **heold 0** betweox his handum*; Wulfstan, Polity(Jost) p.228 par.117), but disallow parasitic gaps. The definite null objects become rare in the 16th century.

With regard to the question of contact effects, we argue that the transfer in the case of contact (on the written vs. oral type of contact, see Fischer 1992:18) follows the characteristics of transfer in cases of bilingualism and second language acquisition (Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou 2007): the elements that host uninterpretable features are used optionally. For instance, 3rd-person (in contrast to 1st- or 2nd-person) object pronouns are affected as uninterpretable clusters of features in all types of translations (biblical and nonbiblical).

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On the evolution of subordinators expressing negative purpose: the case of *lest* in Mediaeval English

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The aim of this paper is to examine the development and status of *lest* in Old and Middle English. This subordinator expressing negative purpose developed from OE *þy læs* (*þe*) – the instrumental form of the demonstrative pronoun and the adverb *læs* 'less' optionally expanded by the particle *þe*. Shearin (1903:95-96) and Mitchell (1985:479) note that in earliest Old English forms without the indeclinable particle regularly appeared, e.g. *hine waldend on, tirfæst metod, tacen sette, freoðobeacen, frea þy læs hine feonda hwilc mid guðþræce gretan dorste feorran oððe nean*. 'Mighty and Glorious Lord, set a sign, a sign of security on him lest any foe anywhere should dare assault him with violence.' GenA 1043, while in Late Old English the subordinator was expanded by *þe*, e.g. *nelle we ðas race na leng teon. þy læs þe hit eow æþryt ðince*. 'We do not wish to continue with the explanation any longer lest it should seem tedious to you.' ÆCHom I, 5 223.183.

In Present-day English the usage of *lest* is stable both semantically and structurally, i.e. it is used only in the avertive (negative purpose) function (Lichtenberk's 1995:298 term) and it cannot be followed by the complementizer *that*. Additionally, the verb in the subordinate clause normally takes the subjunctive form or is preceded by *should* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1000).

In Middle English such a use appears to have been the most common, for instance, *Þis put he biddes þat beo ilidet, leste beast falle þrin* 'He commands that this pit should always be covered with a lid lest an animal fall into it' a1250 Ancr.(Tit D.18) 6/31. However, during the Middle English period *lest* enjoyed greater autonomy, e.g. it could coocur with the complementizer *that*, the "surplus" negative particle could appear in the embedded clause and, interestingly, it could be interpreted as an "in-case" rather than the "avertive" marker (*Suyche a maner man enfourme ȝee in þe spirite of softnesse, biholdande þiselfe, lest þat þou be not temptyd* 'You, who are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering yourself, in case you be tempted' a1425(a1400) Paul.Epist.(Corp-C 32) Gal.6.1). A history of *lest* has recently been studied by López-Couso (2007), yet some aspects of its development in Middle English will be clarified with reference to grammaticalisation mechanisms proposed by Lehmann (1982) [2002], Hopper (1991) and Heine (2003) [2005].

The language material for this study is gathered chiefly from The Oxford English Dictionary and the electronic corpora of the English language such as *DOEC*, *CMEPV*, *ICAMET* and *PPCME2* corpora.

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The emergence of *runner-ups* and *fixer-uppers.* The constructionalization of a word-formational pattern

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Keywords: Derivation, phrasal verb, constructionalisation, reduplication, word formation

A large-scale quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis of newspaper collections of British and American English (*The Guardian 1990-2005, The Daily Mail 1993-2000, The Washington Times 1990-1992, The Detroit Free Press 1992-1995, The New York Times 1989-1994, The Los Angeles Times 1992-1999*) has established that in Present-Day English, there are two types of *-er* nominalizations available to derive nouns from phrasal verbs. A close analysis of the data within the framework of Traugott & Trousdale (2013) reveals that these types of

nominalizations have developed paradigms of their own and their emergence, from a diachronic point of view, is a story of constructionalization.

The etymologically earlier type, attested in the Oxford English Dictionary since Middle English times, involves derivational marking of the phrasal verb exclusively on the verbal part as in example (1).

(1) "If one day this magazine were to publish a list of the 10 most heroic ***runner-ups*** in sport history …" (The Guardian 2005)

It is used predominantly to denote people and shows variation regarding its plural marking. The etymologically younger type that can be found in British and American English since the late nineteenth century, as exemplified in (2) and (3), is characterized by a reduplicative derivational process (McIntyre 2013:42) involving simultaneous suffixation, where double marking with *-er* occurs on both elements, the verb and the particle.

(2) "… squeamish, self-conscious, timid or not a ***joiner-inner*** and you're branded a wimp." (The Times 1994)
(3) "***blanket putter onner and offer***" (The Guardian 2005)

This two-fold marked pattern is applied by language users to denote agents as in *joiner-inner* 'a person that is easily accepted in any social group' as well as somewhat agentive devices such as *blanket putter onner and offer* 'a device helping to adjust blankets' and objects as in *fixer-upper* (*The Guardian* 2002) 'a house in need of repair'. This difference in meaning is not deductible looking at the form alone. Thus, these examples are non-compositional form-meaning pairs in the sense of Goldberg (2006). This paper argues that both types of *-er* nominalization each represent a construction in its own right.

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Reconceptualizing Chaucer's Iambic Pentameter

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Keywords: absolute metricality, gradient metricality, floating line-internal stress theory, R-stress, K-stress, P-stress

Generative Metrical Theories that advocate absolute metricality typically hold that weak metrical positions in English iambic pentameter are constrained whereas strong metrical positions are not (Halle and Keyser, 1965, 1971, 1999; Kiparsky 1975, 1977; Hanson and Kiparsky 1996). In contrast, generative metrical theories that advocate gradient metricality typically maintain that metrical constraints are violable (Youmans 1989, Li 1995, 2016; Youmans and Li 2002; Hayes 1989, 2000; Golston 1995; Stockwell and Minkova 2001; Fab 2001; Minkova 2007; Fitzgerald 2007; Youmans 2009; Hayes, Wilson, and Shisko 2012; Duffell 2008, 2014).

This paper complements generative metrical theories, reconceptualizes Chaucer's iambic pentameter, and develops a *Floating Line-Internal Stress Theory* (FLIST). Briefly, FLIST captures how lexical stresses in Chaucer's iambic pentameter lines are distributed and categories the lexical stress into **R-stress** (rhymed stress), **K-stress** (key stress), and **P-stress** (preferred stress). R-stress is invariably inviolable and fixed into position 10 or foot 5, K-stress, nearly always inviolable, floats to a strong metrical position in a foot other than foot 5, as determined by caesura, and P-stress varies with K-stress and fills up strong positions in one or more remaining feet. Additionally, FLIST also accounts for lines void of lexical stress in both feet 2 and 3. Ranked as R-stress > K-stress > P-stress, this OT-based hierarchy is backed up by statistics derived from 822 sampled lines from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criceyde* and tested by 1,394 sampled lines with G-transformations (rhyme- and rhythm-driven syntactic inversions) from Chaucer's other iambic pentameter poems. Because "Chaucer did not divide his lines by a regular caesura after a set number of syllables" (Benson, 1987: xliv), feet salience in Chaucer varies with line divisions, yielding a rich, diverse array of ranks such as Foot F5>1>2>4>3, 5>2>4>1>3, F5>3>2>1>4, F5>4>3>1>2, and so forth. When desired ranks are not achieved using normal word order, Chaucer typically resorts to G-transformations abided by a strictly ranked set of nine interactive universal constraints: R_{HYME}!, F_{OCUS}> $S_{YL}C_{OUNT}$>$S_{PEC}L_{EFT}^{1}$>B_{IG}FES>LH>$S_{PEC}L_{EFT}^{2}$>$H_{EAD}R_{IGHT}$, $H_{EAD}L_{EFT}$.

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Old English Word Orders and Discourse: Information Structure in *Ælfric*

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Keywords: Old English, syntax, information structure, discourse, *Ælfric*

Ælfric (ca. 955-1020) has been called 'a conscious stylist' (Hurst 1977) who was very much in control of his writing. His style has been primarily studied with respect to his lexical choices, the use he made of metre, assonance, alliteration, and paronomasia (see eg. Corona 2008, Sato 2012). With respect to discourse and information structure, work has been done on peak marking and referent tracking, but with a focus on pragmatic uses of single elements like *þa* (eg. Wårvik 1995, 2013a, 2013b) or *uton* (Steele 2001) rather than word order.

Word order studies of Ælfrician texts tend to present a quantitative overview which show, for instance, word order differences in the position of the finite verb in subclauses between Ælfric's homilies and his Saints Lives (Pintzuk 1999: 208), or argue a particular analysis of clausal architecture (Koopman 2005, Ohkado 2004). Davis (1997) primary interest is in weight as a factor govening word order, and his findings also show that the demands of Ælfric's rhythmic prose led to very special orders that are not found in his non-rhythmic prose. It is clear from all these works that Ælfric's word orders do not reflect standard assumptions about main clause/subclause asymmetry in West-Germanic.

My paper synthesizes the findings in these separate bodies of literature by showing that some of the word order differences between Ælfric's homilies and Saints Lives proceed from genre (reason-clauses, which tend to have verb-movement because of their assertive nature, are more frequent in exposition) while other differences proceed from Ælfric's manipulation of readers' expectations, marking, for instance, the start of a new section by sentences like (1), where the first constituent is new rather than, as expected, gven information:

(1) *On twam þingum* hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod (ÆCHom I, 1, 20.1)
In two things has God the man's soul enhanced
'God has enhanced the human soul in two ways'

Similarly, Ælfric uses the subject position after adverbial local anchors (*ðurh ðornas*), normally expected to host subject pronouns or other given material, to introduce new information that is particularly important (*synna*):

(2) Soðlice ðurh ðornas synna beoð getacnode (ÆCHom II,14.1, 144.213)
Truly, through thorns syns are symbolized
'Truly, the thorns symbolize sins'

I will draw on existing studies, augmented by corpus searches of Ælfric's works of my own. My conclusion will be that Ælfric's works need to handled with care if they are used for diachronic investigations.

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Proverbs in the history of English: A usage-based view

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Keywords: historical English phraseology, usage-based view, mental representation of proverbs

The present paper sheds light on the representation of proverbs in the mind in relation to cultural contexts. While the proverbial tradition is seen as a very important discourse tradition of medieval England (for example Schaefer 1992, Shippey 1994, Aurich 2012), it is widely acknowledged that it is no longer as influential in modern times (though Mieder 2015: 44 claims that proverbs still have a quite important role today). The importance of the proverbial genre in the English Middle Ages becomes for instance evident in what Shippey (1994) has called 'gnomic key-word miscomprehension'. He discusses various textual examples in which proverbial statements were integrated that seem to have been triggered in the mind of the author/translator by individual words. What is really striking about this is that the proverbs were by no means appropriate in these contexts (see for example Shippey's discussion of *neode* (1994: 294)). This

apparent misuse of proverbs can be explained in view of the significance of the proverbial discourse tradition in medieval English culture where "wise words had an importance that extended beyond their appropriateness" to anyone's particular text (Shippey 1994: 293). From a cognitive point of view, Shippey's observations are just as interesting – the co-activation of proverbs based on individual words does not appear to be widespread in modern Western societies. Today, it is usually taken for granted that truncated forms of common proverbs (say two-word allusions) serve to call to mind the whole proverb. In this paper I propose a modified version of the superlemma model of idiom representation (cf. Sprenger et al. 2006): the dual layer storage model of proverb representation. This model incorporates a facilitation process in line with the usage-based view (e.g. Geeraerts 2006, Bybee 2013). It is assumed that there is a mark-up on the lemma level which acts as a back-up system. What is more, there might be a rescaling mechanism (cf. Guttentag/Carroll 1998: 956) which may be held responsible for the fact that language users can commit a proverb to memory – given that they acknowledge the cultural salience of the item – because they are sensitive to the low frequency of the item (cf. Siyanova-Chanturia et al. 2011). I will argue that the status of proverbs in a given culture has mainly two effects – firstly, it influences the rescaling mechanism which operates in storing proverbs and, secondly, it shapes the extent to which the assumed back-up system is manifested.

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Voiced velars vocalized: Quantifying the early Middle English evidence of a sound change

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Keywords: historical phonology, early Middle English, sound change, corpus linguistics, vocalization

Around the early Middle English period, all instances of what had been the Old English voiced velar fricative [ɣ] were vocalized, yielding different results depending on the phonological surroundings (cf. Kemmler and Rieker 2012: 14-15):

(1) OE *niȝon* [niɣon] > ME *nin* [niːn] ‘nine’
(2) OE *boȝa* [boɣɑ] > ME *bowe* [bɔu(e)] ‘bow’

The sound was thus assimilated to the preceding vowel, thereby recapitulating the general vocalization of the OE postvocalic semivowels [j] and [w] to the effect that the results of the change as given in (1) and (2) are indistinguishable from the results of the vocalization of the respective semivowels, such as OE *bodiȝ* ‘body’ [bodij] > ME *bodi* [bɔdiː] ‘body’ and OE *flopan* [floːwɑn] > ME *flowen* [flɔuen] ‘flow’ (cf. Minkova 2014: 205). While the OE input value and the later ME outcome values of this change are relatively clear, the phonetic details surrounding the actual process of vocalization in early ME are uncertain. For one thing, the voiced velar fricative is often said to have been vocalized considerably later than the corresponding semivowels (e.g. Pinsker 1974: 33-34), but the change is dated to various different centuries, and it seems especially unclear when exactly the split between [ɣ > i] and [ɣ > u] took place.

The aim of this talk is to shed some new light on the vocalization of the OE voiced velar fricative as manifested in early ME records. The study is based on a quantitative analysis of original manuscript spellings found in the LAEME Corpus of Tagged Texts (part of version 3.2 of the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, Laing 2013-). All spellings of 113 relevant lexicogrammatical forms were extracted from the corpus, yielding close to 3,500 tokens. Comparing general percentages of different ‘spelling types’ over time makes it possible to pinpoint the process of vocalization of [ɣ] with considerably more precision that could previously be achieved through the qualitative analysis of spellings. If we additionally align the relevant findings with several linguistic variables such as the preceding vowel’s quantity, quality and accentuation, or the respective lexeme’s word class and frequency, we can use a multivariate regression-modeling approach (cf. Field, Miles and Field 2012, ch. 7 and 8; Gries 2013, ch. 5) in order to elucidate which were the decisive factors for the sound change in question.

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Language choice and code-switching in Early Modern English school drama: A pragmaphilological approach

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Keywords: pragmatics, pragmaphilology, code-switching, Early Modern English, drama

Over the past few decades, there has been increasing interest in code-switching (CS) and other 'multilingual practices' in historical texts. Many of the previous studies have concentrated especially on the pragmatic side of CS, and it has been shown that CS can be employed for a multitude of different functions (e.g. Adams 2003; Davidson 2003; Nurmi & Pahta 2012). Most studies, however, have adopted a more data-driven approach, and the functions of CS have not necessarily been defined explicitly with the aid of any particular theoretical framework. The present paper contributes to filling this gap by presenting a novel theoretical/methodological framework for analysing the functions of CS and by applying it to a collection of early modern school drama texts. The research questions are:

(1) What are the main functions of language choice and CS in this data set?
(2) How can these functions be defined and classified with the aid of pragmatic theory?

The data consist of texts from the *Orationes* manuscript (CCA Lit.MS E41, Canterbury Cathedral Library), which contains plays and speeches performed by the students of the King's School, Canterbury, in the latter half of the 17th century (see Johnson et al. *forthcoming*). Although some of the plays are monolingual (in either English or Latin), most of them contain some switching between especially English, Latin and Greek.

The approach developed in the present study can be described as a *pragmaphilological* (cf. Jacobs & Jucker 1995). I conceptualise it as a combination of philology and pragmatics, the former providing a data-driven and the latter a theory-driven method. Philological methods are first applied to contextualise and interpret the analysed texts (cf. e.g. Anttila 1989), and these findings are then explained, classified and organised with the aid of pragmatic theory. The theoretical framework applied in the present study is an eclectic one.

The point of departure is the concept of *facework* (e.g. Goffman [1967] 2005; Brown & Levinson 1987; Culpeper 2011); other important concepts include *rationality* (e.g. Itkonen 2003), *layering* (Clark 1996), and *contextualisation* (e.g. Gumperz 1992).

It is expected that the CS and language choice in the drama texts have various functions, and that the approach developed in the present paper enables a more coherent analysis and classification, while still accounting for the socio-historical, linguistic and material context of the data.

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Testing a stylometric tool in the study of Middle English documentary texts

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Keywords: Middle English, historical dialectology, stylometry

This paper investigates the usability of 'Stylo', a stylometric package written for _R_ (Eder, Rybicki and Kestemont, 2015) in the study of Middle English diatopical and other variation. The aim is to test the n-gram functionality in mapping potentially interesting groups of texts in advance of in-detail, traditional historical dialectal analysis of texts, based on the geographical variation in spelling (LALME).

The material used in this study is the Corpus of Middle English Local Documents (MELD), version 2015.1., containing English documentary texts (legal instruments, administrative writings, and personal letters) from the period between 1400-1525. The corpus contains currently 1,003 scribal texts that can be localised on non-linguistic grounds.

The analysis will be based on the extraction and comparison of character n-grams, the assumption being that each Middle English texts of the defined period will attest to a unique set of such n-grams. Such unique sets are also assumed to be more similar among texts that share a similar variant of Middle English, either diatopically conditioned or otherwise (Jensen, 2010; Stenroos and Thengs, 2012). The length of the n-gram will be of pivotal importance. In the visualisation of the data, the choice of the function has to be tested: 'Stylo' provides several functions to the analysis of n-grams, of which multidimensional scaling seems to be the most promising (Eder, Rybicki and Kestemont, 2015; cf. Embleton, Uritescu and Wheeler, 2009).

The expected results will show different groupings of texts, and some of them will be conditioned by genre or other extra-textual variables, not only by the location of composition. This paper contributes to the study of non-standardised historical texts and Middle English dialectology in particular.

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Historical semantics and conceptual change in Early Modern English: Computation meets close reading

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Drawing on the initial findings of a major research project mapping semantic and conceptual change in Early Modern English, this paper presents fresh insight into how computational methods may be combined with close reading in a step towards automated concept recognition. The project applies computational semantic methods to the texts in Early English Books Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Collocational analysis (cf. Sinclair 1991, Manning and Schueze 1999) and Vector Space Models (cf. Turney and Pantel 2010) are applied to the texts to identify, in a bottom-up way, sets of lexical expressions that are related in different texts, at different times. These approaches reflect a view of semantics as encyclopaedic; i.e. we approach meaning not as context-independent, but as linked to context, discourse, and real-world knowledge (cf. Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987, Evans 2009, Cruse 2011). The outputs of these computational approaches indicate trends, variation, and change in sets of related lexical expressions. Considering the encyclopaedic meanings of selected expressions, we argue that, with careful interpretation, they in turn suggest the emergence of particular culturally important concepts within particular contexts and discourses of the period. Following the computational analysis, close reading of individual texts and examples is performed by a team of historically-sensitive linguists and philologists, to interpret the outputs and relate them to historical contexts, conceptual change, and meaning change.

The following research questions are forwarded:

(1) How can we describe the relationships that appear within sets of lexical expressions identified by the computational methods, in particular texts and contexts?
(2) In what ways can close reading rigorously facilitate meaningful interpretation of these sets of lexical expressions, moving from lexis to concepts?

We present preliminary findings on sets of related lexical expressions, and illustrate the processes of close reading that can allow these findings to be interpreted meaningfully in light of historical contexts and conceptual change. We expect to identify relationships between words and texts that would not have been identified by human readers alone. These findings will facilitate analysis of the content of social and cultural concepts, and the semantics of social and cultural keywords. In addition, it is anticipated that some sets of words and texts will be very difficult, or impossible, to interpret meaningfully. Such examples will be discussed, and the project (due to complete in 2018) will serve as a model for further improvement of such methods in digital humanities.

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"Four main cases and the remnants of a fifth": the status of the Old English instrumental

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Keywords: Old English, semantics of case, corpus linguistics, productivity

Descriptions of Old English grammar generally do not count the instrumental as a separate case. Marsden talks of "four main cases […] and the remnants of a fifth" (2015: 572), Hogg calls the instrumental "vestigial" (2012: 73), Baker speaks of "traces" (2012: 34) and Mitchell states that it had been "subsumed under the dative" (2000 [1985]: 565, § 1345). Statements such as these, though not wrong, as far as they go, turn out to be only half the story. They should not prevent us from asking questions: to what extent can the instrumental and the dative still be distinguished, how great is the functional load of the distinction, and how productive was it?

I will approach these questions from a usage-based, construction-grammar perspective, using data from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose.

Assuming that, following the merger of the dative and the instrumental, "dative" nouns and pronouns are best analysed as ambiguous or neutral with respect to the dative-instrumental distinction rather than simply dative, noun phrases containing modifiers specifically case-marked for instrumental can be considered instrumental on the phrase level (contra the YCOE tagging, which was adopted for purely practical reasons, cf. the disclaimer in Taylor 2003: Dative and instrumental case) and can be compared to noun phrases containing unambiguously dative modifiers. The functional differences between the two cases can then be studied.

The instrumental seems to be in variation with the dative wherever it occurs. However, the reverse is not true: the dative does not alternate with the instrumental in all of its functions, even where instrumental forms are available. Collocation (or collostruction, cf. Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003) data show that in noun phrases, instrumental determiners tend to occur in clearly-defined sets of constructions, most prominently adverbials of time of the type *þy (ilcan) geare*, while instrumental forms do not encroach upon the dative in other functions. The noun phrases in question display enough variation to justify the assumption that

they are not fossilized formulae but represent an at least partially productive construction. This entails that a functional difference between the two cases still exists in Old English, and that their semantics are consequently not identical (cf. Goldberg's principle of No Synonymy, 1995: 67). This has implications for the status of the instrumental as a case (or not) of Old English.

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The interaction of phonology-morphology-syntax-pragmatics in final *–n* loss

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The alveolar nasal stop /n/ tops the overall frequency of consonants in Present-Day English (Cruttenden 2008: 232). In coda position the frequency of /-n/ is surpassed, narrowly, only by /-t/ (Muthmann 1999: 404). Yet /-n/ shows by far the earliest examples of deletion in weak syllable codas, it remains the only post-vocalic stop in the system that has been lost, that has been added unetymologically (*nunnation*), and it also survives as an allomorphy marker today.

In Old English /-n/- loss was particularly wide-spread in early Northumbrian, affecting inflectional /-n/ in weak nouns (*foldu* 'earth', *cofa* 'cave', both acc. sg), infinitives (*herġa* 'to praise', *arīsa* 'to arise'), adverbs (*biġeonda* 'beyond', *ūta* 'out' (Campbell 1959: 189-90, Hogg 1992: 305) and other morphologically defined categories. Outside Northumbrian the loss was more limited, though it is clear that it had begun to spread the Southern dialects after about 1050. Kitson's (1992) survey prompts the conclusion that the transition to Middle English, of which /–n/-loss is an important diagnostic, is driven by morphology (ibid. 82). On the other hand, coda /-n/-loss in atonic syllables could also be clearly phonologically-conditioned ad in e.g. *aweġ* 'away' < *onweġ, abūtan* 'about' < *onbūtan,* or in the rise of alternate forms such as *cliwen~clew* 'a round bunch', *maiden~maid, gammon~game, even~eve, drightin~dricht* 'lord'. Another phonological factor was avoidance of hiatus: word-final *-n* is frequently

lost before unaccented vowels, though this effect is uneven (Reed 1950, Paddock 1989, Schlüter 2009) – it is much weaker in strong past participles, past indicative plurals, and in (most) nouns in <-en> (OE *berðen*, ME *byrðen* 'burden', OE, ME *īren,* adj. 'iron').

In Middle English the loss proceeded rapidly, but the triggers behind the different rates of change and the different results for the various categories remain unclear. The previous studies record the orthographic loss of <-n> in the various grammatical forms, but do not address the interplay of phonetic, phonological and morphological factors driving the change. The relationship between /-n/-loss and nunnation in Middle English is also a good target of investigation. Crucially, without an explicit hierarchy of morphosyntactic salience, frequency, and possibly other pragmatic factors, we still don't know why only some of the <-n>'s survived, both in inflectional morphemes, and in monomorphemic forms in <-en/-on>.

This contribution looks at the multiple conditioning factors, positive and negative, of this particular process, with a view to locating it within the larger framework of diachronic variation and change in English.

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One hour hath orphan'd me, and widow'd me. A syntactic and semantic history of English verbs converted from human nouns

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Keywords**:** denominal conversion verbs, lexical semantics, *OED*, syntax, verb classes

English verbs converted or zero-derived from nouns denoting human beings are known to represent two main classes. One is made up of those which can be paraphrased with the verb *make* (e.g. *to orphan* 'to make someone an orphan'), while the other class consists of the verbs which can be paraphrased with *act* (e.g.

to captain ‘to act as a captain’). The members in these two classes are called ‘*orphan* verbs’ and ‘*captain* verbs’ respectively in Levin (1993). The crucial distinction between them is whether the parent noun is predicated of the surface object of the verb (*orphan* verbs) or the surface subject (*captain* verbs).

Previous research on these verbs has centred on the issues of word-formation (Biese 1941, Marchand 1969, Davies 2004, Balteiro 2007, Gottfurcht 2008, Rimell 2012), but there is still much left to be explored in terms of historical syntax and semantics. For example, Levin notes that *orphan* verbs today are often used in (adjectival) passive, but it is not made clear when their usage was fixed in this way. As for semantics, Clark & Clark (1979: 775) provide the generalisation that, in *orphan* verbs, ‘the parent nouns denote roles conferred on people by external forces, sometimes against their will’, whereas in *captain* verbs ‘the parent nouns denote roles or professions that people take on deliberately’, but they also make an important note that *fool* can be either an *orphan* verb or a *captain* verb. A dozen more verbs like *fool* are cited from the *OED* in Bladin (1911: 116–17), which shows that boundaries between the two verb classes were more fluid in earlier English.

This paper will investigate when the syntactic and semantic distinctions between *orphan* verbs and *captain* verbs were shaped and how they fluctuated in the history of English. I will use a list extracted as comprehensively as possible from the *OED* Online. Most of the verbs concerned have limited attestations, so illustrative quotations under their *OED* Online entries will form the primary data, but they will be supplemented by some corpus data from the Modern English period. It will be demonstrated that the sixteenth century is a turning point, with more verbs which appear to disagree with the above semantic generalisation, closer connections between *orphan* verbs and passive use, and the rise and spread of *captain* verbs co-occurring with a dummy object *it* (e.g. *boss it* ‘to act as a boss’).

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Grapho-phonological parsing of C15 Scots: a reassessment of the [v]~[f] alternation

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Keywords: Older Scots, phonology, spelling, corpora, devoicing

This paper introduces a new technique for analysing variant spellings in non-standard writing systems. We take evidence for devoicing of /v/ in C15 Scots as our case study.

Following loss of final *-e* in early Middle English (ME), /v/ (the restructured allophone of intervocalic /f/) was subject to word-final devoicing in northern varieties (Mossé 1952: §45, Fisiak 1968: 61). According to Johnston (1997: 104), devoicing of final /v/ is widespread also in Scots and can be traced back to early forms in final <f(f)>, e.g. C15 Scots *gif(f)* 'give', *haf(f)* 'have', *luf(f)* 'love'. This, then, raises questions about the signification of <f(f)> in *giffyn* 'giving', *haffand* 'having', *luffit* 'loved': did /v/ also devoice intervocalically in early Scots, or do these forms show levelling of devoiced /v/ to stem-final position (cf. Bermúdez-Otero, 2007: 503), or are they simply historic root spellings carried over from Old English? And what about *gafe* 'gave', *haf(f)e* 'have', *lufe* 'love'? Do these show that final <e> had no phonic substance? And what of text languages in which <f(f)> (presumably for [f]) and <u, v, w> (presumably for [v]) alternate in the same environment, e.g. *hafe ~ have*?

Such questions lie at the heart of a major study of the phonological origins of Scots. The project, *From Inglis to Scots: Mapping sounds to spellings*, takes a systematic approach to the relationship between sounds and spellings through a new technique of grapho-phonological parsing. This involves (i) triangulating early Scots spelling units (= graphemes, *litterae*), their corresponding sound values (= phones, *potestates*), and the *potestates* of the varieties which were the immediate inputs to Scots; (ii) annotating these correspondence sets with etymological, phonotactic and syllable-position information. From these analyses we derive for our case study a list of matches, i.e. tokens of <f(f)> for historical [f] or <u, v, w> for historical [v], and of mismatches, e.g. tokens of <f(f)> for historical [v] or <u, v, w> for historical [f]. We show how our annotations enable us to discover the linguistic circumstances in which these (mis)matches occur and thereby offer a comprehensive analysis of early Scots <f(f)> and <u, v, w>.

Our data is drawn from LAOS, which represents 1,400 local documents written in 1380–1500 Scots. There has been no systematic investigation of (de)voicing in Scots in this period, and our findings are relevant for understanding the situation in late northern ME, if not early northern ME as well.

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The intensifier SO: a recent innovation or a case of recycling gendered use?

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Keywords: intensifying adverbs, historical sociolinguistics, gender variation, corpus methods

Intensifying adverbs are characterized by renewal: even the core members of the category have changed between the 16th century and the present. These changes pattern according to gender, age and social status, and distinguish communities, varieties and styles (e.g. Méndez-Naya 2008, Nevalainen 2008, Tagliamonte 2008). Renewal need not always mean innovation but it can involve recycling older, once popular forms. This is the case with the intensifier *so*.

Tagliamonte (2008) and Tagliamonte and Denis (2014) compared apparent-time variation in the most popular intensifiers in Toronto and Ontario and associated the rise of *SO* in Toronto with adolescent female speakers. Their sources only trace its history in North America to the late 19th century. Our findings show that intensifying *SO* has a much longer history associated with female usage in England. The 18th-century *Critical Review* specifically mentioned the use of *SO* "without the corresponding part in the sentence" as one of those "linguistic demons" that even educated women like Mrs. Piozzi were possessed by in their published works (Tucker 1967/2013: 79).

The 18th-century section of the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC) shows that Hester Piozzi also employed the intensifier *SO* extensively in her private writing. Example 1 illustrates its stacked use; in (2) italics indicate that *SO* is stressed; and (3) shows the kind of extended use that Tagliamonte (2008: 391) found in her Toronto data.

(1) their Theatre **so small**, yet **so decorated**; and the Appearance of the Prince at the Playhouse at once **so venerated** and **so beloved**, was quite a pleasing Spectacle. (1785; PI,168)
(2) Worse than all this, Jacob and I have quarelled, and I am ***so*** **sorry**! (1793; PII,133)
(3) we made it out very prettily with the help of agreable Mr. Jones, whom you were all **so in Love** with last Summer. (1790; PI,342)

In the quantitative part of our study we compare male and female use of the intensifiers *SO*, *VERY*, *PRETTY* and *REALLY* in the CEEC. To visualize their distributions in the course of the 18th century, we apply a modified version of the beanplot (Kampstra 2008); to assess the statistical significance of the variation, we use robust methods that account for the dispersion of the items across individuals (e.g. Wilcoxon 1945). Our pilot results suggest a consistent gender difference in the use of *SO* and *VERY*, both being promoted by female writers.

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A Queenly Voice: Linguistic and Political Agency in the Letters of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots

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Keywords: women's letters, linguistic agency, politics, persuasion, politeness theory

Royal marriages throughout English history have long been recognised as forming 'important tools in a king's diplomatic armoury; there was no better way of cementing a political allegiance than through a personal, dynastic bond.' (Wilkinson 2009: 21). Yet for the female agents involved in such transactions (principally royal princesses), occupying the role of 'peace-maker' could place them in a particularly tentative position of tied loyalties; mediating delicate political matters between two nations. Such was the case Henry VII's eldest daughter, Margaret Tudor, who married James IV, King of Scotland, in 1503 as a symbolic consummation of the Treaty of Perpetual peace forged between England and Scotland. However, when James IV was killed at the Battle of Flodden in 1513, Margaret became governing regent of the infant monarch James V, situating her in a unique position of active political involvement and power for a female

agent in this period. However, until this point, little research has been conducted to consider how exactly Margaret sought to participate in the traditionally patriarchal-dominated stage of Early Modern politics.

This paper will therefore explore how Margaret used the medium and language of epistolary communication to negotiate with, and persuade important male political figures to affiliate with her personal political agenda. Drawing upon principles from historical pragmatics and politeness theory, I will analyse a collection of Margaret's letters from different periods throughout her lifetime and to different recipients to consider the following ideas; How did Margaret design the stylistic composition of her letters (such as address formulae and the formulation of directives) to negotiate the particular power relations of the the communicative situation and more effectively persuade her recipients to affiliate with her interactional goals? How did Margaret use meta-communicative markers to legitimise her female epistolary voice and thus persuade her audience to trust the authenticity and reliability of her letters? Through such an analysis, I will seek to not only better understand the linguistic and political character of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots, but to further explore how we can use the medium of epistolary communication to reconsider the role that late-medieval and early-modern queens played in our social and political history.

***Thone* and *thother:* reduced *th'* nominals in Middle English**

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In the twelfth century the English definite article develops a reduced variant *th*' which leans on the following noun, alternatively but much less frequently also on an adjacent adjective which comes before the noun. The earliest known examples of reduced *th*' come from the Peterborough Chronicle:

(1) *7 begæt thare priuileges, an of alle þe lands of* ***þabbotrice***
And obtained their privileges one of all the lands of the-abbey
?a1160 *Peterb.Chron.*(LdMisc 636) an.1137

Reduction of this type continues unabated throughout Middle English and Early Modern English and, as I argue in Nykiel (2015), it is not related to Definite Article Reduction present in some dialects of Northern England nowadays. In time reduced *th*' broadens the range of possible hosts as in Middle English it only attaches to a noun or adjective beginning with a vowel or <h>, while in Shakespeare it also appears before consonants as illustrated by van Gelderen (2011: 214).

One of the most frequently occurring nominals which take reduced *th*' involve the pronouns *one* and *other*. The nominals *thone and thother* in the late 15th century can outnumber corresponding nominals with the full form of the definite article, as is the case with the Foure Sonnes of Aymon, a text printed around 1489. The Middle English Dictionary goes as far as to list *thother* as a separate entry.

Elsewhere (Nykiel 2015), I show that in the late fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century nominals with reduced *th*' tend to have different anaphoric

and referential functions than those introduced by the full form of the definite article. Such nominals are associated with highly accessible antecedents and discourse topics. The data presented there feed into the argument that reduced *th*' is part of the development of the definiteness cycle. In this study, making use of the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, I aim to see whether the conclusions regarding the differences in the use of reduced *th*' nominals and full *the* nominals can be upheld in the case of the nominals with the pronouns *one* and *other* in Middle English. Another objective is to see whether the choice of reduced *th*' correlates with the clausal function of the nominal (subject vs. complement), and with a particular type of topic (aboutness-shift topic vs. contrastive topic), following Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007). More ground will be added to the argument that at the end of Middle English the function of reduced *th*' as a definite article weakens, paving way for reduced *th*' gradually turning into a nominal marker.

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'Faythfully ouerseene and corrected after the originall and first copie': Early English title-pages as sites of textual discourse

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Keywords: paratexts, title-page, textuality, discourse, Early Modern English

The early development of the title-page in European printed books is characterised by the gradual increase in linguistic and visual content. Having begun its life in the 1460s or thereabouts as a simple unadorned blank to protect the opening of the text, the title-page would by the second decade of the sixteenth century often contain a wide range of information in addition to the actual title, including the names and addresses of the printer and/or bookseller, the date of publication, as well as a variety of paratextual statements concerning the text and its author. As Smith (2000) observes, this development reflects the nature of the printed book as a mass-produced item and book producers' realization that the title-page could be usefully harnessed to serve promotional needs.

The material that found its way into the title-page could also include statements about the textual history of the work(s) printed in the book. Such information could highlight, for example, the improved quality of the text (e.g. through correction or use of a better exemplar – as illustrated by the quotation in our title from STC 25591a) or comment on some other linguistic or visual improvement associated with the edition at hand.

Based on the *Early English Books Online* database, our paper will explore the emergence of this textual (or 'proto-philological') discourse in English-language title-pages during the first half of the sixteenth century. In addition to seeking to pinpoint when and in what kinds of publications such discourse first appeared and how it spread, we will pay attention to the phraseology and terminology employed in it. Our work is informed by research into early modern paratexts and the role of the title-page therein (e.g. Saenger 2006, Massai 2011, McConchie 2013) and by recent studies on late medieval and early modern notions of textuality (e.g. Grafton 2011, Linde 2012, Wakelin 2014).

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Social versus cognitive factors in individual grammaticalization paths

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Keywords: grammaticalization, adult development, Early Modern English, historical sociolinguistics, Big Data

Traditionally grammaticalization has been analyzed at the aggregate level of the community. But ultimately it is the minds of individuals that change language. This simple fact raises the fundamental research question which factors, cognitive and/or social, are shaping grammatical change. We analyze the interaction between change across the lifespan and grammaticalization by means of the well-known case of *be going to* (cf. Traugott 2015 for an overview), on the basis of a new large-scale longitudinal corpus of 50 individuals embedded in the social network of the London-based 17th century elite. Our case study is the generalized use of *be going to* to express imminent speech events, even those where no motion is involved, as in (1).

(1) *But there is another thing worth your observation, which I* ***am going to tell*** *you.* (John Davies, 1653)

Not only is this extension the earliest one that clearly moves away from a motion interpretation of *be going to* in terms of its semantics, it also gets a structural innovation established, that of fronted objects (in (1) *which*) of the embedded infinitive. This pattern is exceedingly rare in instances where motion is still present, and we will argue, that it has greatly contributed to the further grammaticalization of *be going to* (cf. Krug 2000: 97 on a similar conducive syntactic environment for *have to*).

This particular non-motion pattern appeared around 1650, and spread very quickly. By the early 1660s, about 30% of the sampled authors had adopted it, including both young authors who may have been raised with it (e.g., Robert Boyle, adoption when in his early twenties) and middle-aged authors (e.g., Richard Baxter, who first uses the pattern in a work of 1660, when he was 45).

A rapid spread like this suggests social factors to be of crucial importance. However, even when allowing for the coincidental attestation gap, a considerable minority did not adopt the novel pattern. We provide evidence that their conservative behaviour correlates significantly with similar conservative behaviour in the related progressive construction. Even so, authors like Gilbert Burnet use *go to* [SPEECH VERB] instead, showing that the progressive and prospective *go* are not inevitably tied to each other. In general, our corpus-based approach to grammatical change in adults makes it possible to start disentangling sociolinguistic and cognitive factors in grammatical change in a more principled way than existing smaller-scale studies (e.g., Bergs 2005) have been able to do.

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Food for thought: *Bread* vs *Loaf* in Old and Early Middle English texts

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Keywords: Old English, Middle English, Old Norse, semantics, BREAD

Our etymological understanding of OE *brēad* has been influenced by a frequently quoted comment by Otto Jespersen (1938: §78) on the lexical impact of Old Norse on English: 'An Englishman cannot *thrive* or be *ill* or *die* without Scandinavian words; they are to the language what *bread* and *eggs* are to the daily fare'. Although Jespersen does not make any specific comment on his use of italics, probably we are to understand that the italicized terms have somehow been influenced by Old Norse. The list includes terms at various points in an imaginary

scale of certainty about Norse derivation, with PDE *egg*, whose phonological structure clearly identifies it as Norse-derived because it exhibits the effects of Holtzmann's Law (cp. OIc *egg* 'egg', OE *ǣg* id.), at one end, and PDE *bread* at the other. Nothing in the latter's phonological or morphological structure is suggestive of Norse derivation, while the existence of cognates in other West Germanic languages (cp. OFris. *brād*, OS *brōd*, OHG *brōt*) and the fact that the term is already attested in early Old English texts (cp. OE *bēobrēad* 'honeycomb with honey') can be taken as evidence of its native origin. Yet, one could argue that it might represent a Norse-derived semantic loan, i.e. that OE *brēad*, which, on the basis of our extant records, seems to have often meant 'piece, morsel of bread', acquired the meaning 'bread, food prepared by moistening, kneading, and baking meal or flour, generally with the addition of yeast or leaven' *(OED* 1989: s.v. *bread*, n., senses 1 and 2a), which is more frequently expressed by OE *hlāf*, because of the influence of its Viking Age Norse cognate, represented by OIc *brauð 'bread' (cp. Johannesson 2006: 69). This apparent semantic change* could have been the main reason for the narrowing exhibited by the reflex of OE *hlāf*: while OE *hlāf* could refer to both 'bread', as the food substance, and 'one of the portions, of uniform size and shape, into which a batch of bread is divided' (*OED* 1989: s.v. *loaf*, n.[1], sense 2.a), PDE *loaf* is normally used with the second meaning. This paper will explore the rivalry between OE *brēad* / ME *brēd* and OE *hlāf* / ME *lōf* in order to throw further light on the processes of semantic change outlined above; and, on the basis of this information, to asses to what extent Norse-influence should be invoked to account for some of these changes.

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On the emergence of the English {/-z/} suffix as a communicative enhancement

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This paper accounts for the emergence of the *-s* suffix, marking plural, genitive case and 3rd singular present in verbs, in terms of communicative expressiveness. The Modern English {/z/} suffix developed from Early Middle English {/əs/}, which is surprising, as final voicing is typologically rare and voiced final segments count as highly marked (see e.g. Stampe 1979, Donegan & Stampe 1979, Blevins 2004). So far, no convincing explanation for this phenomenon has been found (e.g. sporadic final voicing in Pinsker, 1974; Ringe, 2003).

Our own account proposes a two-stage process with {/-z/} and {/-s/} as competing segments. In the first stage final [-z] emerged as a result of schwa loss,

which deleted unstressed vowels both in word-final and checked positions, yielding final clusters as in (1):

(1)	ME		EModE
	a. [katəs] *catt-es* 'cats, pl.'	→	[kæts]
	b. [godəs] *god-es* 'gods, pl.'		[gɒdz]

While the post-schwa-loss plural in (1a) retains the voiceless [s] of the Middle English ancestor as expected, the suffix surfaces as voiced [z] in plurals of the type in (1b). At this stage, however, [z] represents merely a by-product of an articulatory constraint on obstruent sequences, which requires them to agree in voicing. It is only at a second stage that [z] comes to be re-functionalised as a potential lexical underlier {/z/} of the plural suffix.

We argue that the ultimate selection of innovative {/z/} over resident {/s/} is due to its higher signalling function as it signalled the complexity of plural forms more reliably than the resident {/s/} plurals, as illustrated in Table 1:

Table 1. Meaning-signal mappings for /z/ and /s/ plurals

	sin-s (complex)	*since (lexical)*	*Ambiguity*
plural {/-s/}	[sɪns]	[sɪns]	Yes
plural {/-z/}	[sɪnz]	[sɪns]	No

Clearly, however, the argument works only if the number of simple word forms ending in a sonorant or vowel followed by /s/ (such as *since* or *peace*) exceeds the number of simple forms ending in a sonorant or vowel followed by /z/ (such as *cleanse* or *rise*). We demonstrate, by means of a statistical analysis of the Penn Helsinki Corpus of Early Modern English, that this was indeed the case in the relevant period.

We therefore conclude that the selection of the innovative plural variant {/-z/} satisfied the preference for each form to signal only one function much better than the resident {/s/} variant, and significantly decreased the ambiguity between complex and simple word form tokens.

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Reconstructing the life cycle of Open Syllable Lengthening from corpus data

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This paper uses corpus data for revisiting questions about Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL). Traditionally (e.g. Luick 1914-21) taken to affect vowels in open penultimate syllables, the change was shown (by Minkova 1982) to be categorically reflected only in words whose final syllable was unstable schwa (e.g. *make* or *hope*), while words of the type *body*, or *open*, reflect it in only about half of all instances.

Dresher (2015) accounts for this by assuming that OSL was blocked in inflected (and trisyllabic) forms such as *bodies* (GEN or PL), or *opened* (PT). Similarly, he explains the otherwise unexpected lengthenings in closed monosyllables such as *god*, or *hwæl* 'whale', which he assumes to have undergone OSL in inflected forms like *godes* or *hwæles* (both GEN or PL). Having surfaced in both lengthened and unlengthened forms, words like *body*, *open*, *god* or *whale* reflect OSL randomly.

While Dresher's account implies that OSL was implemented on the word level before becoming opaque and leaving only lexical traces, the hypothesis that its lexical traces might reflect an earlier stage in its life cycle (cf. Bermudez-Otero 2015), namely its implementation on the phrase level, has not yet been tested. Also on the phrase level, however, lengthening conditions were met variably by each of the relevant lexeme types, and the possibility of direct lexicalisation from the phrase level cannot be ruled out.

(1)

Lexeme type	Open disyllable	Closed monosyllable	Trisyllable
(I) make / hope	*ˈmake ˈcasteles*	*ˈmak ˈpoudir*	*ˈmakeð a ˈcrosse*
(II) body / open	*ˈbodi ˈbriht*	-	*ˈbodi and ˈzaule*
(III) god / whale	*ˈgod alˌmihtig*	*ˈgod ˈʒef*	*ˈgod and ðe ˌwurlde*

Our paper reports results of a study in which we collected attestations of lexemes of types (I) to (III) in the *PPCME* (Kroch & Taylor 2000) and counted the proportion of instances that met lengthening conditions (a) on the phrase level and (b) on the word level. We then checked how well these proportions correlated with the proportions of lengthened reflexes among Modern English descendants of the three types. While no such correlations could be established for the phrase level, the frequency with which lengthening conditions were met on the word level predicts the proportion of lengthened lexical reflexes surprisingly well.

Our study corroborates Dresher's hypothesis (partly) and demonstrates how corpus data can be used to address issues in historical phonology.

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Religious Controversies in the 1690s: the case of George Keith and the Quaker movement in England

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Keywords: Quaker, George Keith, religious controversy, pragmatic, discourse

The nature and content of historical religious controversies (HRCs) has received relatively little attention, particularly from a pragma-discourse perspective. Previous work includes studies on aspects of HRCs by Dascal (2008), Gloning (1999) and Fritz (2003, 2005, 2008). Van Eemeren & Garssen (2008:1) extol the 'breadth and richness of this strongly emerging field of study'. My paper, as a new contribution to this scholarship, explores the controversy surrounding the schismatic Quaker George Keith, and compares some findings of these earlier studies with rhetorical strategies found in two related texts: one of many published by Keith, and a riposte on behalf of the Quaker movement by a leading Friend in the 1690s, Thomas Ellwood.

The paper is less concerned with the nature or rightness of Keith's prolonged dispute with the Quakers - a controversy that eventually led him to leave the community and become an Anglican priest - than in the ways in which the two writers accuse, refute, criticize and complain within the context of what at one level was a public theological debate and at another was a deep-seated, irreconcilable squabble between Keith and his former fellow Quakers.

The investigation explores communicative strategies employed by both sides in the controversy with regard to functional and evaluative language in order to compare with the basic forms of more traditional HRC characteristics proposed in the literature. Both close reading and corpus-based techniques are used to derive frequency evidence as well as qualitative insights from the data. The dialogic discourse structure identified by Fritz is foregrounded. Linguistic features examined include the different effects of 1st person singular and plural usage, negative evaluative lexis, the heavy contrastive use of the reporting verb SAY by both disputants, and the deontic, 'censuring' modals *should* and *ought.* Keith's style of argumentation in particular is what present-day scholars might term 'passive-aggressive'.

I provide, therefore, an examination of a Quaker-schismatic vs. a prominent Quaker as represented in these texts and make comparisons with studies of HRCs in different contexts by Fritz and others. The dispute reveals several important properties of communicative strategies used in this historic Quaker polemic, evidenced by certain functions and speech acts. The Quaker data match Fritz's (2008) HRC principles in many respects but also reveal unconventional rhetorical strategies compared with not only his theoretical model but also between the two Quaker protagonists themselves.

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How does language change happen? Reconciling the role of individual speakers and community

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Most of historical linguistic research investigates language change across the whole speech community or focuses on the language of individual historical figures (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, Evans 2015.). What still remains uncertain is how change at these two levels of language, i.e. individual and community, comes together to shape a language of a given historical period.

Useful insights to this question have been proposed in recent sociolinguistic research (Buchstaller 2015, Sankoff 2013, Wagner 2012) which demonstrate that individuals may: (1) display patterns of stability; (2) change in later life in the direction of a community-wide change; or (3) display retrograde change in later life, with older speakers reverting to earlier community patterns as they age. Patterns of individual variation-change may lead to accelerating (2) or slowing down (3) of community-wide change (Wagner and Sankoff 2014). Studies also indicate that speakers' awareness of change increases in time but it is uncertain to what extent this may affect the pace of on-going change. There is little information on the relationship between individual speakers and their participation in change that is at different stage of development (early, middle, late). Finally, it is unclear how change at different levels of language adds to the dynamic relationship between individual and the community.

In my presentation I explore the relationship between lifespan and community-level change by looking at semantic variation of evaluative adjectives in the speech of ten Sheffielders (age 35–70) between 2005 and 2015. The results indicate that usage of variants undergoing community-wide change from below (e.g. *skinny* 'mean') remains most stable across the life of individuals. Makers and stereotypes, such as *wicked* or *cool* undergo some life-span change (2) thus accelerating the pace of the community-wide change to the extent that the change to opposite happens just within one or two generations. The data also shows that speakers' awareness of change increases over time and this leads speakers, who oppose to the change, to reject the use of a given adjective (e. g. *awesome*, *gay*) with all its senses, and not necessarily by reverting to previous 'pre-change' usage (3). The results also allow for discussion of the individual participation in changes at different stages of development, as speakers over 50 years of age participate in ongoing change of *gay*, *happy*, *chilled*, whereas those below 50 participate in change of *wicked*, *fit*, or *awesome*. I conclude by proposing the most fruitful lines of future enquiry aiming at deriving a more comprehensive theory of language change.

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The visual text: abbreviations vis-à-vis otiose strokes in British Library Royal MS 18 D II of the *Siege of Thebes*

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Keywords: Latin abbreviation, macron, flourish, visual text, pragmaphilology

The proposed presentation focuses on the visual/ linguistic interface of the medieval manuscript, as manifested in scribal conventions for applying the so-called common mark of abbreviation, or macron, vis-à-vis ornamental flourishes, i.e. visual elements devoid of any linguistic functions. In an analysis of British Library Royal MS 18 D II (ff. 147v-162), a late-fifteenth century copy of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes,* the author analyses how late medieval English scribes use the "half-graphic objects" (Traube 1909: 134) to encode linguistic information on the one hand and, on the other, as one of the visual cues signalling the organisation of discourse (cf. Carroll et al. 2013: 56). Acknowledging the need for a cross-disciplinary framework in the study of manuscripts, suggested by the Pragmatics on the Page Project (PoP), i.e. the study of the linguistic contents of historical texts alongside their visual appearance (cf. Carroll et al. 2013), the proposed paper pursues a pragmaphilological analysis of the macron and the flourish as “discourse markers” in the text of BL Royal MS 18 D II. Thus, the paper analyses the forms and possible pragmatic functions of macrons and flourishes, used in a manuscript of the *Siege of Thebes*, considered here as a "visual text" (cf. Kendall et al. 2013), that is one in which the readers construe the meaning of the text through internalising the physical organisation of the page.

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Further Explorations in the Grammar of Intensifier Marking in Modern English

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Keywords: increase of suffixed intensifiers, progressive and recessive environments, cline of verbality

Over the last few centuries, Standard English has experienced a general trend towards explicit adverbial marking by means of the suffix *–ly*. In the case of intensifiers, the development has been comparatively slow, with different environments and lexical items implementing the change at different speeds. Focusing on Early Modern English, Nevalainen (2008: 297) describes the situation as follows: "zero intensifiers (i.e. unmarked ones) favour adverb and adjectival heads" while "intensifying *–ly* adverbs tend to occur with verbal and participial heads." Building on these findings, Rohdenburg (2014) shows that the establishment of suffixed intensifiers has always been much further advanced with predicative and postnominal adjectives than attributive ones.

The purpose of this paper is to explore a number of further issues bearing on the replacement of zero intensifiers by suffixed ones:

(1) It can be shown that (adjectives derived from) past and present participles display a clearly contrasting behaviour. Intensified past participles like *exceeding(ly) pleased*, which virtually always function as predicatives, represent one of the earliest categories implementing the change. By contrast, intensified present participles such as *exceeding(ly) pleasing*, which are regularly found in in both attributive and non-attributive uses, parallel the behaviour of other attributive and non-attributive adjectives.
(2) We also need to distinguish between simple manner adverbs as in *he behaved exceeding(ly) well* and complex expressions such as *well preserved*. Unlike the former type, the latter usually functions as a predicative item, with its intensifier showing similar rates of suffixation to that modifying past participles.
(3) Moreover, intensifiers of prepositional phrases like *in love*, which typically function as predicatives, have virtually always selected the *–ly* suffix as well.

The findings in 1–3 strengthen the view that the intensified categories spearheading the advance of the suffixed intensifiers typically occur as predicatives (or in related uses) while those lagging behind display completely different functions. If we assume, following Fischer (2001), that the contrast between the two types of categories reflects a cline of verbality, two other observations fall into place, a) the extremely early adoption of suffixed intensifiers with verbal heads confirmed by numerous analyses and b) the fact already noted in Rohdenburg (2014) that the establishment of the *–ly* suffix is even more advanced with complemented (non-attributive) adjectives than uncomplemented ones.

The database used for this study consists of the BNC and a sizeable collection of historical corpora provided by Chadwyck-Healey, the Gutenberg project and Mark Davies.

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Light verbs in earlier Irish English

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Keywords: Irish English, Light Verb Constructions, Early Modern English, Late Modern English, Language Contact

It has previously been observed that learner varieties of English overgeneralize specific high-frequency collocations (Nesselhauf 2003), including light verb constructions such as *to take a walk* or *have a look*. Generally, due to their high analyticity (Brinton 1996), light verb constructions are a noteworthy feature in language acquisition varieties (Danchev 1992). The proposed study seeks to investigate to what extent specific language contact or acquisition features can be found in Early and Late Modern Irish English.

Contemporary Irish English does not show major overt differences in the use of light verb constructions compared to British or American English (Ronan and Schneider 2015). Yet, during the formative stages of Irish English between the 17th and 19th century (Hickey 2007), we could expect distinct L2 type use of light verb constructions in this contact variety of English.

The study is carried out on the basis of corpus material collected semi-automatically with the help of *AntConc* from the corpus sources Corpus of Irish English (Hickey 2003) and Coriecor (McCafferty and Amador Moreno 2012). An

overview is created of the use of light verb constructions in 17h to 19th century Irish English in comparison with light verb constructions Early and Late Modern British English (Brinton and Akimoto 1999, Claridge 2000, Ronan 2014).

We expect results of this study to show that frequencies of light verb construction are high overall in early Irish English and that highly frequent light verbs are favoured over less frequent ones.

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Old English and Old Frisian in the North Sea Germanic Context: What Runes from the Netherlands can tell us

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Keywords: Anglo-Frisian, Frisian Runes, Old Frisian, Runic Writing, Old English

The close relationship between English and Frisian as well as their position within the Germanic language family has been explored through system-internal and comparative reconstruction, the results of which are reported, for instance, in Nielsen (1989, 2000) and Bremmer (2009). Runic inscriptions, however, have been accorded little attention so far. This is particularly true for inscriptions found

in the Netherlands and adjacent areas (England, Northern Germany, Belgium and France) dating from the 5th to the 9th centuries. These constitute a narrow but relevant empirical basis for the investigation of the hitherto reconstructed early language stages of (Pre-)Old Frisian and (Pre-)Old English, dated to c. 400–610/650 AD (Pre-OE and Pre-OFris) and c. 610/650–900 AD (Early OE and Early Runic OFris). Previous corpus editions of the Frisian inscriptions (Düwel & Tempel 1970; Looijenga 1996, 2003; Quak 1990; Nielsen 1994; Giliberto 2000) range from short publications such as checklists to full-length dissertations and constitute important methodological groundwork. Nevertheless, these studies no longer reflect the current state of research since they lack the alignment with contemporary archaeological research in the *terp* areas of the northern coast of the Netherlands, i.e. the region of the dwelling mounts where most Frisian inscriptions have come to light. Following the methodological considerations of Braunmüller (1991; 1998) and Barnes (1994) for runological research, which place the autopsy of the object at the starting point of any investigation, the present paper reviews the twenty Frisian inscriptions in excerpts and presents new readings against the backdrop of their specific archaeological contexts. This approach at the interface of linguistics and archaeology aims to investigate the early sound system of Old Frisian, runic graphemes and their allograph types, text types and formulas as well as the relationship between inscription and object as *Inschriftenträger* in a comparative view with Old English (runic) material.

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Orthographic regularisation in the early modern editions of *The Schoole of virtue*

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Keywords: orthography, spelling, standardisation, early printed books, orthoepists

The approach adopted in this study combines quantitative and qualitative methods. It draws upon the philological tradition of examining and comparing several texts written in the same language, but produced at different times. The study discusses the orthography of several sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century editions of *The Schoole of vertue*, a manual of good conduct for children co-authored by Francis Segar and Robert Crowley. The analysed editions comprise those published by W. Seares (1557), H. Denham (1582), R. Jones (1593), T. P. and J. W. (full names unknown, 1621), R. Bird (1626, 1630, 1635, 1640, and 1660), E. Crowch (1670), J. Wright (1677), as well as M. W. and G. Conyers (1687). The texts under analysis have the form an electronic database of transcriptions of the editions based on the facsimiles available at *Early English Books Online*.

The main focus of the paper is the realisation and evolution of a number of orthographic variables in all the editions under consideration. The variables taken into account fall into five criteria, including the establishment of etymological spelling, orthographic distinctions between homophones, morphological spelling (a consistent orthographic representation of particular morphemes), indication of vowel length (e.g. by doubling letters representing vowels or by adding a final <e>), and the distribution and functional load of the graphemes (e.g. <v>, <u>, <i>, <j>, and <y>). Most of these criteria are considered crucial in the research on orthographic standardisation in English (see e.g. Salmon 1999).

The spelling patterns and orthographic variants identified in the corpus are set against the prescriptive and proscriptive recommendations of contemporary language authorities and their potential influence on the choices of the printers is assessed. The normative works consulted for the purposes of this project comprise over thirty sources, e.g. Hart (1569), Mulcaster (1582), Clement (1587), Cawdrey (1604), Cockeram (1623), Butler (1633), Daines (1640), Hodges (1644), Wharton (1654), Coles (1674), and Ellis (1680).

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Daines, Simon. 1640. *Orthoepia Anglicana...* London: the Company of Stationers.
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Writing the early history of the subjunctive: frequency, form and function of mandative subjunctives in Old and Middle English

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Keywords: subjunctive, Old English, Middle English

The history of the subjunctive has long been written. It is a well-known fact that the frequency of the subjunctive in dependent contexts (*mandative* and *adverbial subjunctive*) has decreased ever since the Middle English period (cf. Moessner 2010) and that it is replaced by modal periphrasis with *should*. Against this background, a stunning revival is observed from the middle of the twentieth century onwards, at least in mandative constructions and in certain varieties of English (cf. the summary and analysis in Leech et al. 2009).

This outline of the history of the subjunctive presupposes an earlier stage of the language, where the subjunctive flourished more abundantly - supposedly in Old English, because Old and Early Middle English, by contrast to later periods, are more synthetic and contain a fuller inflectional system. Hence, the assumption tacitly goes, the subjunctive was likely to be used more often than its periphrastic alternatives.

But this straightforward linguistic intuition has never actually been examined empirically. With the notable exception of one single study on the co-texts of the verbs *bēodan* and *biddan* (López-Couso & Mèndez-Naya, 2006), we know nothing about the frequency and distribution of the subjunctive, modal alternatives and other possible variants in Old English. In principle, constructions of the type "pre-modal verb + infinitival lexical verb", as well as indicative mood, infinitival complements and nominalisations form viable alternatives even in Old English.

In my contribution, I will therefore examine the frequency of the mandative subjunctive in Old and Early Middle English, and analyse the distribution patterns of alternative constructions, including finite (indicative mood and pre-modal + infinitive) and non-finite / de-verbal variants (infinitival complements and nominalisations). I will use the YCOE database as a starting point and will extend

the analysis to the Middle English part of the HC. I hope to shed light on the question whether the subjunctive does, in fact, decline after its assumed prime in Old English, or whether it possibly had uninflected or non-finite rivals in Old English, too, despite the fact that the language had distinct synthetic options. Additionally, I will provide a semantic and pragmatic analysis of the subjunctive and its alternatives to verify whether (pre-)modal alternatives indeed constitute identical semantic options.

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Early Modern English prose and verse debates as representations of verbal conflict

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Keywords: conflict talk, Early Modern English, historical dialogue analysis, debates

While debate poetry is a well-known genre in early English, similar literary disputes in prose have not been examined in much detail. Even debate poetry has rarely been approached from a linguistic viewpoint, in spite of increasing interest in forms of conflict talk. In this paper, I will examine prose disputes between fictional characters, comparing the representation of conflict interaction in these prose debates with that found in debate poetry. The focus is on the ways in which the interaction is constructed as oppositional (e.g. argumentative moves, (im)politeness).

My approach is mainly qualitative, with some quantitative elements. The analysis, based on close reading, will examine the various types of moves used by the characters to oppose (or align with) one another, the linguistic means used for aggravating or mitigating the dispute, and the sequential organisation of the represented interaction. The data consist of a selection of mainly sixteenth-century prose dialogues from the EEBO database, located with a search of the textual label ‘disputation’. These will be compared with a similar selection of debate poems, to investigate how the verse/prose form affects the representation of conflict interactions.

It is expected that prose debates will use a broader range of interactive moves. From a preliminary examination of the data it would also appear that aggravating strategies are more typical of debate poetry, while the prose disputes make heavier use of mitigating devices. This could be due to the higher level of "condensation in the communicative mechanism" (Spitz 2010: 200) typical of literary texts: poems, as the more stylised form, are more likely to be limited to the most salient and easily recognisable features of conflict talk.

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"A perfect grammatical slaughter-house": (Re-)Establishing order among variable strong verb forms in Modern English

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Keywords: strong verbs, prescriptive grammar, British and American English, morphological biuniqueness, rhythmic alternation

The present paper studies the copious variation of past tense and past participle forms in a group of strong verbs (including *drink*, *shrink* and *sink*) in English of the modern period. While the past tense (and to a lesser extent, the past participle) alternates between *-a-* and *-u-*forms (*drank* vs. *drunk* etc.), forms preserving the *-en-*suffix compete with suffixless forms for the past participle (*drunken* vs. *drunk* etc.).

The analysis will focus on the 18th and 19th centuries and be based on the 400-million-word Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) and a series of literature collections (in particular Eighteenth-Century Fiction, Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Early American Fiction, English Prose Drama and American Drama; 120 million words in total). A quantitative in-depth analysis will seek to establish the influence (or lack of influence) of the following factors as well as their interactions:

- The two major national varieties, British and American English, have in many cases developed different preferences, drawing on the ample supply of variants current in Early Modern English. While Anderwald (2012) elucidates the evolution of past tense forms in American English, comparable data for British English and for past participles are still pending.
- Morphological biuniqueness is a functionally motivated preference which favours a one-to-one relationship between forms and functions. From this perspective, a specialization of *-a*-forms for the past tense and of *-u*-forms for the past participle seems ideal. The logic of this constraint appealed to prescriptive grammarians, who helped in promoting a biunique form-function pairing (Sundby, Bjørge & Haugland 1991, Anderwald 2012).
- The 18th and 19th centuries saw a considerable growth in the number of prescriptive grammars published. Interestingly, their recommendations have been shown to differ in the British and the American tradition (Anderwald 2012). The corpus data will indicate if this is actually reflected in divergent usage or if grammatical precepts have evaporated without leaving a trace in British or American English, respectively.
- In the past participle, the retention of the *-en*-suffix has been argued to be fostered by rhythmically favourable circumstances, such as a following stressed syllable (Schlüter 2005). The tendency to avoid adjacent stressed syllables accounts for a striking affinity between attributive uses and conservative *-en*-forms of the participles (e.g. *a drúnken sáilor*). If a syntactic function (such as attributive use) frequently recurs with a certain morphological alternant (in this case the disyllabic one), the rhythmically motivated distribution can congeal into a secondary, grammatically constrained one.

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Data-driven linguistic features in the ARCHER and COHA corpora

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Keywords: data-driven, Modern English, tagging, language models, language change

We employ a spelling-normalised version of the ARCHER corpus, and the Corpus of American English (COHA), the currently largest corpus of diachronic English, in a largely data-driven fashion to describe changes in language use, from 1600 to

2000. In particular, we investigate to what extent data-driven methods are able to reveal features of linguistic change.

We first investigate and interpret prominent linguistic changes in Early (EME) and Late Modern English (LME). LME has e.g. been described in Aarts, López-Couso, and Méndez-Naya (2012):

- increase of the progressive passive (see Figure 1)
- increase of the *get* -passive
- increased use of progressives
- decrease of *be* as perfect auxiliary
- decrease of periphrastic *do* in affirmative sentences
- tendency to replace finite complements by non-finite clauses
- replace *to*-infinites by *-ing* forms

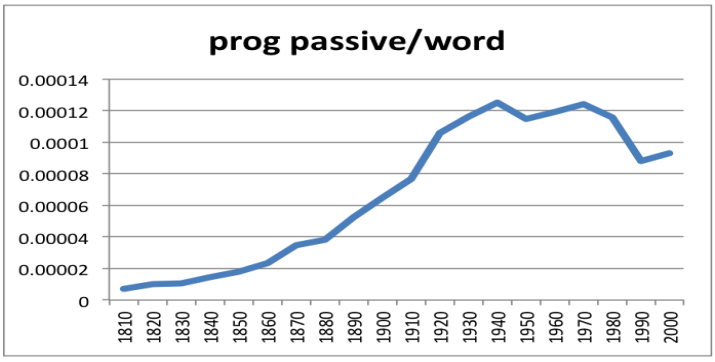

Figure 1. Progressive passive forms over the COHA period

Second, we measure data-driven overuse of sequences at the lexical and grammatical level of earlier stages of English, compared to current use. This involves changes in collocations and tag n-gram frequencies. It brings e.g. adverb placement and noun complexity features to the surface. According to tag bigram frequencies, a rapid increase of noun-compounds over the last centuries (Leech et al. 2009) emerges. We trace the increase of noun-noun compounds and show that they are a major method to create new concepts in a technologically and sociologically increasingly complex world.

Third, we use language models like surprisal, part-of-speech tagging and machine learning to detect sequences that are unexpected from a PDE perspective, but frequent in EME and LME. We test if the method detects linguistic characteristics of LME and EME, like unusual word order, e.g. adverb placement, semantic shifts or idioms. Surprisal (Levy and Jaeger 2007) is an information-theoretic measure which expresses the probability of found continuations. Areas of low probability mark unexpected continuations and thus high surprisal. Unexpected sequences from earlier stages of English make it harder for a tagger model (Schmid 1994) trained on PDE sequences to confidently assign tags. We test if areas where the tagger has low confidence in its decisions coincide with linguistic characteristics of earlier stages of English. In our machine learning approach, we test which features allow one to classify a text into its correct century, and if the extracted features are linguistically meaningful.

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Wanderlust, Zugzwang, Bratwurst, kitsch, tingel-tangel, Bildungsroman **and** ***Sprachgefühl*****: the German influence on English in the Twentieth Century**

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Keywords: language contact, lexicology, German influence on English

A considerable number of studies concentrate on the influence of foreign languages on English throughout its history. Yet, only a few investigations focus on the recent impact of German on present-day English. German borrowings which have been assumed into English in the twentieth century have as yet figured little if at all in such analyses.

The present paper will provide an insight into the German influence on the English vocabulary in recent times. The findings presented in the present study are based on a corpus of more than 2000 twentieth-century German borrowings retrieved from the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

On the basis of their meanings, the borrowings under review were assigned to manifold areas such as the fine arts, cooking, politics, war, military, language and linguistics in order to give an overview of the various subject fields and spheres of life enriched by German in the recent past. An essential aim of this paper is to shed light on the chronological distribution of the different German borrowings. To investigate the intensity of German influence, the present study will address the question of how many words are included in each subject field and whether the number of German borrowings is increasing or decreasing over time.

In addition, this paper will offer a socio-cultural analysis of the highs and lows of the German impact on English in the twentieth century. It will provide a rounded picture of the political, social or cultural events and developments which may have left their mark upon the English language.

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Syntactic and semantic change of concessive constructions in written American English

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Keywords: concessives, subjectification, syntax, corpus linguistics, American English

This paper investigates diachronic changes in concessive constructions headed by *although*, *though*, *even though*, *in spite of* and *despite* in written American English from the 1860s to the present day. Such constructions may belong to at least three semantic types (cf. Sweetser 1990) – content, epistemic and speech act – which can be ranked on a subjectivity scale (cf. Crevels 2000):

(1) **Although** Carl had worked hard, he failed the exam. [content]
(2) Carl had worked hard, **although** he failed the exam. [epistemic]
(3) Carl is a hard worker, **although** he's not very bright. [speech-act]

Content and epistemic concessives are based on a presupposed causality frame (e.g. 'hard work normally leads to success'), while in more subjective speech-act concessives two pragmatic stances are contrasted. Subjectified meanings are assumed to emerge historically later (e.g. Traugott 1989).

Based on data from the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA; Davies 2010) this paper inspects (i) the frequencies of connectives, (ii) the semantic types of constructions they typically attach to, (iii) the preferred syntactic arrangement of constructions, and, most importantly, (iv) the diachronic variability of all of those parameters. For investigations purely based on the frequencies of connectives, the entire corpus is used; for manual semantic and syntactic inspections two subcorpora are formed for the late 19th and the late 20th centuries, respectively.

Results suggest that there is competition between *in spite of* and *despite*, with *despite* becoming the dominant form in the 20th century; *although* and *even though* both increase in frequency. *Although* and *though* preferably attach to speech-act concessives, while *even though*, *in spite of* and *despite* predominantly attach to content and epistemic concessives. However, all five connectives become increasingly associated with speech-act concessives, which points to a slow process of subjectification.

For *although* and *though*, subordinate clauses in speech-act concessives are much more likely to be found in sentence-final position than is the case in less subjective types. This trend is strengthened diachronically. Interestingly, this pattern is reversed for *in spite of* and *despite*, where semantic-type concessives are more likely to place their subordinate structures in final position. This pattern also becomes more pronounced over time. Based on these (and other) findings, it is argued that beyond obvious changes in frequency the connectives under investigation have undergone processes of semantic and syntactic specialisation.

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Change in passive voice in American English – situation type and grammaticalization

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Keywords: American English, get-passive, be-passive, grammaticalization, genre

There are two expressions of passive voice in English which have recently been undergoing extreme frequency change. The more common of these is the be-passive, as in *he was shot*, which has been declining rapidly in American English, probably as a result of stylistic proscription (Leech 2004, Leech et al 2009, Schwarz 2015a). The other is the so-called get-passive, as in *he got shot*. The get-

passive, a relatively recent innovation, has skyrocketed in frequency in American English in the late 20th century, probably owing to colloquialization (Mair 1997), although it remains far less frequent than the be-passive and cannot reasonably be said to be offering it any competition.

Because of the increase in frequency of the get-passive as a marker of passive function, it is of interest to examine diachronic, cross-genre material for signs of grammaticalization. Although Leech et al (2009) and Schwarz (2015a) found no indications of semantic bleaching of the get-passive, Schwarz (2015b) found recent changes in the situation-type preferences of the construction, indicating morphosyntactic generalization (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 104). Using Quirk et al (1985) as a framework, Schwarz coded the situation types of be- and get-passives from the TIME Magazine Corpus (Davies 2006). The get-passives began the century with a clear preference for the 'transitional act,' as in *she got arrested*, reflecting their origins in inchoatives such as *he got sick* (see Fleisher 2006). However, by the end of the century, the get-passives were found equally frequently in the situation type most typical of the more canonical be-passive; namely, 'accomplishment,' as in *the house got built*.

In the present study, I conduct a diachronic corpus investigation based on the 400-million-word Corpus of Historical American English (Davies 2010), which includes material from four written genres from 1810–2009. My study will thus add a new dimension to previous research by focusing on the changes in situation type for both be- and get-passives over time and across the genres of the corpus. It is also hoped that the findings may shed some new light on the effect of genre on the development of passive voice in written American English. I am especially interested to see whether be-passives display a consistent preference for the situation type 'accomplishment' and whether there is any indication that the get-passives show a gradual change away from 'transitional acts' as they become more frequent, which would indicate that grammaticalization is underway.

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The Epinal Glossary: An Anglo-Saxon Advanced Learner's Dictionary?

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Keywords: Old English, Latin, code-switching, glossaries, text types, historical pragmatics

The Epinal glossary, dating from ca. AD 700, is probably the oldest surviving manuscript that transmits Old English. The glossary consists of about 3,200 glosses, which are sorted in roughly alphabetical order. Overall, about one third of the glosses have Old English interpretations; the majority are Latin-Latin. The vernacular material is distributed unevenly across the glossary: on the one hand, the amount of Old English varies from page to page; on the other hand, Old English interpretations appear in little clusters. Research on the Epinal glossary – or on glossaries related to Epinal – has mostly focused on the origin of the Latin headwords or on the Old English interpretations as sources for early Old English.

This paper proposes to take a different approach and to study the glossary from a pragmaphilological perspective: as a text that is composite in its origin and in the languages that it employs, but which was also clearly designed as a unified whole and intended for a particular purpose. Several features are noteworthy: The layout of the glossary is definitely "user-friendly"; the glosses are carefully arranged in three pairs of columns, and each alphabetical section is highlighted by a capital letter. What kind of user did the unknown compiler of the glossary envisage? Clearly, it must have been an advanced learner of Latin since the headwords as well as many of the Latin explanations consist of fairly uncommon vocabulary. The interplay of Latin and the vernacular is of particular interest; the presence of both languages side-by-side implies that the compiler worked on the assumption that the users of the glossary would be equally fluent readers in Latin and in Old English. The vernacular is not flagged – as is the case in some glossaries – and, in some instances, both Latin and Old English *interpretamenta* are given for one Latin lemma. Apart from the fact that Old English occurs only in a minority of glosses, there is, however, one particular difference between Latin and vernacular interpretations: While both languages include one-word (intra- / inter-lingual) synonyms to the headwords, only all-Latin items run to longer explanations or include meta-linguistic comments.

Based on a comparison of Latin, Old English and mixed explanations, the paper investigates the interplay of languages in the Epinal glossary with a view to both the origin of the glosses and the purpose of the glossary. On a wider level, the paper contributes to our understanding of early medieval glossaries as a text type.

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Grammaticalization and emancipation: tracing *(had) better* in Scottish English over time

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Keywords: *(had) better*, deontic modality, grammaticalization, Scottish English, corpus-based

The recent shift away from central modals in scholarship on the English modal system has entailed greater attention to emergent options for expressing modality. While deontic modal items such as *have got to*/ *gotta* and *have to*/ *hafta* have been considered widely, previous scholarship on *(had) better*, an item whose modal nature has been recognized only recently, has been limited. Studies focused on its usage, both synchronic and diachronic, in the 'major' varieties of English only (for British and American English cf. Mitchell 2003; Denison and Cort 2010; van der Auwera and De Wit 2010; van der Auwera, Noël and Van linden 2013; for Australian English cf. Collins 2009), even though, as Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007: 82) point out, "the underlying organization of the [deontic modal] system in certain locales may differ."

As the pilot study to a project on deontic modality in Scottish English, this paper will explore the utility of the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (CMSW) and especially of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts & Speech* (SCOTS) for the purpose of sketching the developments of *(had) better* in Scottish English between 1700 and the present day. Acting on the assumption that *(had) better* in Scottish English follows a trend observed for other varieties, we can expect *(had) better* to decline

in frequency overall, but that forms with encliticized or omitted auxiliary gain ground over the non-contracted form. Against the background of including *(had) better* in the group of emergent modal verbs (cf. Leech 2013: 95), a complementary qualitative analysis will trace ongoing grammaticalization processes, focussing on the potential of *better* to increasingly emancipate from its source form. Similar to what Lorenz (2013) observes for *gotta*, the emancipated form *better* might stand a chance of survival in colloquial language, even though *had better* is declining. The paper will shed further light on semantic aspects, such as the loss of comparative meaning in favour of a now dominant deontic meaning of advice, as well as ensuing pragmatic implications.

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Pressed for space: the effect of justification on spelling in early printed English

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Keywords: printing, spelling, justification, standardisation

Printing is usually presented as playing a pivotal role in the history of English. Specifically, printing has been assigned a part in the standardisation of English through such factors as Caxton's editing practices, the high number of non-native speakers working in the printing house, and the alteration of spellings by compositors.

There are three reasons that might cause a compositor to alter spellings: influence from the copy text, the compositor imprinting his own spellings onto the new text, and *justification*--the requirement that lines of type fit the printed area exactly. All three of these alterations can be made simultaneously, but I am particularly interested in isolating changes made in order to justify type. My research question asks, did compositors change spellings in order to fit type onto their lines? Although scholarly speculation suggests that this was the case (Gaskell 1972; Hellinga 1983; Blake 1996), no empirical study has investigated this question.

The data for this study is derived from Caxton's two editions of the *Canterbury Tales*. I created a database of spelling changes between the two editions, isolating changes that were introduced by the compositor. Within this database, I examined the differences in frequency and placement on the page of these spelling changes in both prose and verse. The difference between the prose and verse data is that the prose is visually justified and the verse is not.

The results of this study suggest that printers did not change spellings to justify their type in the fifteenth century. Instead, they altered the spacing between words, added more abbreviations, and hyphenated words over lines more frequently than in unjustified text. Additionally, the spelling changes do not occur in specific places on the page – they are not more likely to occur at the ends of lines, however abbreviations are more likely to occur at the ends of lines than elsewhere in the text. These findings challenge the received wisdom regarding the impact of the printing press. By removing the possibility that the physicality of the type could have affected spelling, these findings might alter the story of standardisation, and remove one factor that has supposedly contributed to spelling change in fifteenth-century English.

Blake, Norman. 1996. *A History of the English language*. London: Macmillan.

Gaskell, Philipp. 1972. *A New Introduction to Bibliography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hellinga, Lotte. 1983. "Manuscripts in the Hands of Printers." In: Joseph B. Trapp (ed.). *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years After the Invention of Printing*. London: University of London, 3–12.

Older Scots atonic *e* in word‑final and covered inflectional positions

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This paper considers the unstressed vowels in Older Scots (OSc) in final position (*gud<u>e</u>* 'good' "that which is good"[2] and in covered inflectional position (*gud<u>es</u>* 'goods'). I suggest that the variable use of final <-e> in singular nouns in OSc creates ambiguity about the linguistic status of <e> in words like *gudes*. Consider the following forms of *times* (noun plural) taken from *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (*LAOS*; Williamson 2008):

(1) **<tymes>**
(2) **<tymis>**
(3) **<tymees>**
(4) **<[t]yms>**

In examples (2) and (4), the plural inflection ({-S}) appears to be represented by <-is> and <-s> respectively. In (3), the inflection is presumably <-es>, attached to a form with stem-final <-e>. In (1) however, it is not clear whether the inflection should be interpreted as <-s> attached to an e-final stem (in the pattern of (3)), or <-es> attached to a consonant-final stem (in the pattern of (2)). As a singular noun, 'time' is attested in *LAOS* with final <-e> in approximately half of all tokens, and is therefore unenlightening on the subject of where to place the boundary between the stem and the {-S} morpheme.

To investigate the relationship between final and covered inflectional <-e>, I focus on the 22 mono-morphemic, OE-derived nouns which are assumed to be consonant-final in OSc (Johnston 1997; Aitken & Macafee 2002) and are attested in *LAOS* in both singular and plural forms, including 'time' < OE *tīma*, 'name' < OE *nama*, 'house' < OE *hūs* and 'thing' < OE *þing*. I categorise each noun according to (i) the presence or absence of a final vowel in OE; and (ii) OE and OSc vowel quality (Aitken & Macafee 2002). I then perform two mixed-effects logistic regression analyses, with final <-e> and covered inflectional <e> as my dependent variables. I find that text date is significantly correlated with the presence of both types, suggesting varying scribal practice over time. The regression also reveals medial vowel quality to correlate significantly with covered inflectional <e>, although not at all with final <-e>.

Based on these analyses, I suggest that, whilst final <-e> and covered inflectional <-e> are both subject to variation over time, the factors which affect their occurrence are different. I further elaborate on the factors which correlate with each type of <e> by analysing the relationship of individual lexical items with the independent variables over time, demonstrating that there is no correlation between the likelihood of final <‑ e> and the likelihood of covered inflectional <-e> for any of the words I examine, but that factors such as stem-final *littera* may affect the realization (or lack thereof) of a following vowel *littera.*

[2] *"Gud(e n.". Dictionary of the Scots Language. 2004. Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd. Accessed 15 Dec 2015 <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/dost16298>*

Finally, I speculate on what implications my analysis has for the interpretation of <e> in forms such as *tymes* and *gudes*, where <e> could be analysed as stem-final or as part of the {-S} morpheme.

Aitken, Adam J. & Caroline Macafee. 2002. "The Older Scots Vowels: A History of the Stressed Vowels of Older Scots from the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century." *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies* 80(3), 71 – 73.

Johnston, Paul. 1997. "Older Scots Phonology and its Regional Variation." In: Charles Jones (ed.). *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 47 - 111

Williamson, Keith. 2008. *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots, Phase 1: 1380 - 1500.* Available at: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html

Local documents as a source of word geography

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Keywords: word geography, Middle English, documentary texts, supralocalization, standardization

Lexical variation over geographical space, or word geography, is notoriously difficult to study in Middle English. In order to study a wide range of vocabulary, scholars have generally turned to texts that may be called, in a broad sense, literary: narrative and poetic texts as well as religious and scientific treatises. Such texts almost exclusively survive in scribal copies, and the geographical background of both authors and scribes is often unknown; in addition, scribal treatment of vocabulary has been shown to be highly unpredictable.

Documentary texts, including both legal-administrative and epistolary materials, provide a promising alternative source for the study of word geography. These texts are generally produced at definable locations, and a large proportion of them are originals or local copies. The potential drawback with such texts for the study of lexical variation is their often limited range of vocabulary: on the other hand, they may provide large quantities of data for a restricted set of items, some of which are of considerable interest both for the study of geographical variation and the study of lexical standardisation.

Of all types of local document, the ones with the closest connection to geography are without doubt those which describe and define actual land holdings: terriers, field surveys, perambulations, boundary disputes and the like. Such texts, here termed land documents, build upon a local knowledge of terrain, landmarks and traditions, and are for the most part (if not always) intended for local use. While administrative documents are typically highly formulaic, the vocabulary used for describing land holdings is necessarily local: it includes features of landscape, such as watercourses, hills and even large trees, as well as terminology relating to land division and field systems, such as units of areal measurement. As the use of local terminology is crucial for the efficient use of land documents, they form a rich source for the study of lexical variation within the semantic fields relating to location.

This paper presents a survey of selected lexical items in the *Middle English Local Documents Corpus* (MELD), which is being compiled at the University of Stavanger. It compares the variation found in land terminology with other kinds of lexical and morphological variation, and relates the findings to the local and supralocal functions of different types of documents.

A report on the use of mood in conditional *if*-clauses in Modern English

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Keywords: conditional *if*-clauses, subjunctive, indicative

Conditional *if*-clauses are particularly important for the examination of developments in the use of mood in Modern English: in corpus studies that use selections of adverbial clauses for this purpose, e.g. Auer (2009: 72) and Grund & Walker (2009: 99), *if*-clauses are found to be the most frequent and also most frequently attested with the subjunctive. The decline in the use of the subjunctive has mostly been investigated through the statistical comparison with the use of the indicative and modal verbs, while the context and properties of examples have received relatively less attention. The paper presents an investigation into the use of mood in conditional *if*-clauses from the first half of the 16th century to the beginning of the 21st century which is based on a relatively small corpus but includes manual analysis of examples.

The corpus consists of dramatic and non-fiction texts published in the first half of a century. They form six subcorpora of approximately 168,000 words per century (the genres are represented by two authors, each contributing approximately 42,000 words).

Some findings of the analysis match the results of studies based on larger corpora, e.g. conditional *if*-clauses are found in similar frequency relative to other adverbial clauses, and modal verbs do not appear to replace the subjunctive in this type of clause. These findings possibly suggest that the samples are sufficiently representative for the rest of the analysis to be seen as pointing towards areas of interest for future research of conditional *if*-clauses. The main findings suggest the following: there may be a discourse related explanation for the use of some rare indicative instances in the 16th century part of the corpus; the indicative may have spread sooner in some types of conditional *if*-clause than others; and, towards the end of the Early Modern English period and during the Late Modern English period, the overall frequencies of preterite and past perfect conditional *if*-clauses may have been affected by an increase in the frequency of conditional inversion.

Auer, Anita. 2009. *The Subjunctive in the Age of Prescriptivism*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grund, Peter & Terry Walker. 2006. "The Subjunctive in Adverbial Clauses in Nineteenth-Century English." In: Merja Kytö, Mats Rydén & Erik Smitterberg (eds.). *Nineteenth-Century English: Stability and Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 89–109.

Middle English Grammatical Treatises: The Dialectological Perspective

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Keywords: Middle English, Grammars, Dialectology, Morphology, Syntax

Thomson's *Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* (1979) lists 36 Middle English grammatical texts dated from the late 14th to the early 16th century. Although the main purpose of these texts was to teach Latin to pupils, they were all written in the vernacular and the Latin grammars are illustrated and explained through English examples and parallel constructions. Thomson (1984: xvii) mentions that "little independent analysis of English is found in the treatises"; however, he also notes "a number of interesting remarks about the English of the day." Among these are for instance descriptions of both the analytic and synthetic adjective comparison, comments on relative pronouns or discussions of various verbs forms (cf. Thomson 1984: xvii-xxiii).

It is remarkable that, occasionally, we also get contemporary comments on variation, when for instance the writer of the *accidence* text in Cambridge, St. John's College, MS F.26 explains the present participle as follows:

(1) Qwerby knowyst þe participyl of present tens?
For he endyth in Englysch in '-yng' or in '-and' as 'redyng', 'louand'.(C 497-8)

According to Thomson (1979: 57) the text was written at St. Alban's in the mid-fifteenth century. However, it appears that the language of the text does not share this origin. The "Index of sources" of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* (*LALME*) notes that the language of Hand A is NE Norfolk (cf. the <qw> spellings for *wh-* in example (1)). Nevertheless, the dot map of item 58 including present participle *-and(-)* types shows that the feature is also frequent in the area around St. Albans.

Although Thomson (1984) presents an overview on the kind of English linguistic data that can be gathered from the Middle English Latin grammars, he does not address spatial variation. In this paper I discuss the late Middle English grammatical texts from a dialectological perspective. I discuss the dialectal data that can be gathered from the texts edited in Thomson (1984) and relate it to the known spatial distribution of these features as presented in *LALME*. Furthermore, I assess how far the suggested origins of the individual grammars correspond to the text languages as localized in *LALME*. In those instances where the manuscripts have not yet been localized, I discuss the possibilities of the mapping tool in *eLALME* to narrow down possible dialectal origins of the grammars' text languages.

Benskin, Michael, Margaret Laing, Vasilis Karaiskos & Keith Williamson. 2013. *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Available at: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html

McIntosh, Angus, Michael L. Samuels & Michael Benskin. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)*. Aberdeen: Universitiy Press.

Thomson, David. 1979. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts.* New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Thomson, David. 1984. *An Edition of the Middle English Grammatical Texts.* New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Title-page layout and titles in early modern printed medical texts

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Keywords: title-pages, titles, genre, medical writing

Title-pages and titles of English books in the early modern period have only recently garnered the interest of linguists. McConchie (2013) has investigated ways in which title-page design conveys meaning, and Ratia (2013) has studied the correlation between textual labels in titles and the content of Stuart-era plague treatises. Sullivan (2007), a book historian rather than a linguist suggests that, for skilled readers, generic markers (ie. textual labels) conveyed both information about the content of the text and how readers should orient themselves to the text. Studies of popular news pamphlets (Suhr 2011 and forthcoming) argue that, for newly literate readers, textual labels became relevant genre markers for these kinds of popular texts only when the labels began to be highlighted on title-pages from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. A systematic analysis of the title-pages and textual labels of more literate genres that require more advanced reading skills is necessary to be able to assess how relevant textual labels and other textual elements were for contemporaries for guiding genre expectations and reading comprehension.

This paper addresses this need by investigating the title-pages and titles of 150 medical texts from the period 1525-1700. The texts cover a variety of genres and audiences; they are included in the *Corpus of Early Modern English Medical Texts* (Taavitsainen *et al.* 2010). The study has a two-fold aim: first, the visual layout of the title-pages is charted in order to determine when highlighting individual textual elements supersedes the practice of treating the title-page as one visual entity. Arguably, highlighting increases the relevance of textual elements for readers. Preliminary results indicate that this change takes place earlier in medical texts than in popular pamphlets, but is there a difference in the development of the title-page design of texts aimed at wider audiences and texts aimed at medical professionals? Secondly, this paper investigates what kind of textual elements are given prominence in the title-pages by visual highlighting: textual labels, references to authors, foreign terms, or words indicating the topic. This part of the analysis also considers the impact of stacking several highlighted elements into one title-page: do they guide a reader's attitude, as suggested by Sullivan, or does it serve other purposes, such as indicating the intended readership of the texts? The results of the study enhance our understanding of early modern title-pages and titles as carriers of linguistic meaning and genre expectations.

McConchie, Roderic. W. 2013. "Some Reflections on Early Modern Printed Title-Pages." In: Anneli Meurman-Solin & Jukka Tyrkkö (eds.). *Principles and Practices for the Digital Editing and Annotation of Diachronic Data* (Studies

in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 14). Helsinki: VARIENG. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/mcconchie/>

Ratia, Maura. 2013. "Investigating Genre Through Title-Pages: Plague Treatises of the Stuart Era in Focus." In: Anneli Meurman-Solin & Jukka Tyrkkö (eds.). *Principles and Practices for the Digital Editing and Annotation of Diachronic Data* (Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 14). Helsinki: VARIENG. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/ratia/>

Suhr, Carla. 2011. *Publishing for the Masses: Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Suhr, Carla. Forthcoming. "*News* and *relations*: Textual Labels in the Titles of Early Modern News Pamphlets." In: Hubert Cuyckens, Hendrik De Smet, Frauke D'hoedt, Liesbet Heyvaert, Charlotte Maekelberghe & Peter Petré (eds.) *ICAME-18 conference volume*. Amsterdam and Philadelpha: John Benjamins.

Sullivan, Ceri. 2007. "Disposable Elements? Indications of Genre in Early Modern Titles." *Modern Language Review* 102 (3), 641-53.

Taavitsainen, Irma, Päivi Pahta, Turo Hiltunen, Ville Marttila, Martti Mäkinen, Maura Ratia, Carla Suhr & Jukka Tyrkkö with assistance of Alpo Honkapohja, Anu Lehto and Raisa Oinonen. 2010. *Early Modern English Medical Texts 1500–1700.* CD-ROM. Software by Raymond Hickey. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

The Penetration of French Lexis in Middle English Occupational Domains

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The Leverhulme-funded Bilingual Thesaurus of Medieval England project addresses the question of how far the use of French extended down the sociological strata of English life, by investigating how levels of French-origin lexis varied in different occupational domains. Some attention has been paid to this issue: Rothwell (2012) has suggested that there is little penetration of French lexis in the domain of farming, while most scholars argue that food preparation vocabulary was heavily influenced by French for prestige reasons (Serjeantson 1935; Prins 1941; Strang 1970). Shipping has also been proposed as a domain particularly open to French influence (Trotter 2003; Kowaleski 2009).

Middle English terminology in six occupational domains was collected, structured by the Historical Thesaurus of the OED. Etymologies were checked in the relevant historical dictionaries. This has allowed us to offer some provisional empirical analysis of French influence in these domains, taking Durkin's (2014) figures for new words entering English in the medieval period, of 16% of purely French-origin, and another 11% of French/Latin, as a baseline comparison. Borrowings from languages other than French and French/Latin were excluded, as terms from other languages apparently skew the data in at least one domain.

Results fall into two categories, those where the French + Latin level exceeds 40%, and those where it is around the aggregate 27% level indicated by

Durkin. Food preparation, trade, and travel by water fall into the former category, building, farming, and manufacture into the latter. The food preparation and farming results are in line with existing accounts of borrowing, but trade and travel by water are much higher.

The paper will offer breakdowns of semantic roles of the vocabulary in each domain, and of sub-areas within them, in order to relate loans to particular motives for borrowing, especially technical innovation.

Durkin, Philip. 2014. *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kowaleski, Maryanne. 2009. "The French of England: A Maritime Lingua Franca?" In: Jocelyn Wogan-Brown, Carolyn Collette, Maryanne Kowaleski, Linne Mooney, Ad Putter & David Trotter (eds.). *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100-c. 1500*. York: York Medieval Press, 103-117.

Prins, Anton. A. 1941. "On the Loss and Substitution of Words in Middle English I." *Neophilologus* 26, 280-298.

Prins, Anton. A. 1942. "On the Loss and Substitution of Words in Middle English II." *Neophilologus* 27, 49-59.

Rothwell, William. 2010. "*Husbonderie* and *Manaungerie* in Later Medieval England: A Tale of Two Walters." In: Richard Ingahm (ed.). *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 44-51.

Serjeantson, Mary S. 1935. *A History of Foreign Words in English*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Strang, Barbara 1970. *A History of English*. London Methuen

Trotter, David. 2003. "Not as Eccentric as it Looks: Anglo-French and French French." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 39, 427-438.

Secondary Stress in Old English, Optionality and Uncertainty: *Manuscript Spacing and Clues to Metre*

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Keywords: Old English, Beowulf, manuscript, metre, secondary stress

Most, if not all, scholarly work on scansions of OE alliterative verse agrees on the placement of primary stress, but the placement of secondary stress remains a subject of debate, pivoting on the question whether the underlying principles are phonological (cf. Dresher & Lahiri, 1991) or morphological (cf. Minkova, 2006) in nature. This paper contributes to this debate by demonstrating that secondary stress is in fact marked in the Beowulf manuscript, which could put the debate of what governs secondary stress assignment on a more solid footing.

Although spacing and word-division in OE manuscripts is usually regarded as inconsistent and erratic, such irregularities can in fact be shown to be systematic, and governed by phonological considerations rather than by any need

to mark morpheme boundaries. Consider, for instance, the element *-wine* 'friend' as the second element of a N-N compound in the Beowulf manuscript. The compound *Ingwine* in (1a) is not separated by a space, while *freawine* in (1b) appears as *frea wine*.

		Scansion (Bliss 1962)	**Manuscript transcription** (Kiernan 2013)
(1)	l.1319a	/ / x x	
a.		Frean Ing-**wine**	Frean <space>ingwine (f.162r.)
	l.2438a	x / \ x	
b.		His frea-**wine**	His <space> frea <space> **wine** (f.187v.)

A closer look at these and other N-N compounds reveals that the spacing correlates with the presence or absence of secondary stress: *–wine* in (1b) carries secondary stress and is preceded by a space in the manuscript, whereas *–wine* in (1a), which is unstressed, is not preceded by a space. The same system explains non-separated sequences of unstressed monosyllabic (function) words, in examples such as ***huða*** *æþelingas (l.3a)* and ***seþe*** *his wordes geweald (l. 79a)*, where clustering marks anacrusis or a weak first measure. In examples such as *folce* ***to****frofre* (l. 14a) monosyllabic *to* is fused with the following stressed syllable clearly marking the foot boundary (Bliss: / x | **x** / x). Proper nouns such as *beowulf* (ll.528a, 630a, 675a, etc.) are obscured N-N compounds that usually appear as one word, but we find *beo wulfes* (ll. 500b, 855b, 871a) separated where the stress assignment is affected by the presence of inflectional ending *-es*.

The observed relation between syllables carrying stress and spacing manifests itself throughout the manuscript and offers systematic indications of the appearance of secondary stress.

Bliss, Alan J. 1962. *The Metre of Beowulf*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Dresher, B. Elan & Aditi Lahiri. 1991. "The Germanic Foot: Metrical Coherence in Old English." *Linguistic Inquiry, 22*(2), 251-286.

Kiernan, Kevin. 2013. *Electronic Beowulf 3.0*. London: British Museum. DVD.

Klaeber, Friedrich (ed.). 1922. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Boston/Washington D.C.: Heath & Company.

Minkova, Donka. 2006. "Old and Middle English Prosody." In: Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds.). *The Blackwell Handbook on the History of English*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 96-124.

Script and the late Middle English dialect map

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Keywords**:** Late Middle English – Dialectology – Spelling – Palaeography – Quantitative methods

This presentation addresses the allographic variation present in the population of texts written in England and in dialectally localisable English in the late Middle Ages. It applies a quantitative analytical methodology on quantitative data collected from 449 texts comprising the Middle English Grammar Corpus, version 2011.1, and associated texts. In particular, the paper develops a separate tree-structured model of the regression relationships among four predictors for each of 17 allographs. It establishes that the accuracy of every tree is acceptable, which means that the four predictors suffice to explain the allographic variation. The models are conditional inference trees, and the predictors are localisation in respectively eastings and northings; position in the word; and class membership. Texts' localisation are the localisations reported in a *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English;* that is, every text was situated in a two-dimensional space based on the similarity of its spelling forms with the spelling forms found in other texts. Position in the word relates to where the given allograph occurs in a word. The basis for class membership is which ones out of the seventeen allographs co-occur within texts.

Different configurations of the predictors result in different frequencies of the given allographs. Every conditional inference tree according to which localisation (in the sense explained above) in eastings is a predictor singles out East Anglia. The allographs in question are the single-compartment <g>, right-shouldered <r> with no descender, and <x> executed as a single stroke to form a loop to the right. These allographs have higher frequencies in certain configurations in East Anglia, while the reversed and circular <e> and the sigma form of <s> have lower frequencies in certain other configurations in texts localisable to this region.

The regression analysis suggests movement in the direction from configurations which result in higher frequencies of the given allograph to configurations which result in lower frequencies. If this is the correct interpretation, the former three allographs are spreading, while the latter two are receding. The movements of these allographs, which are traditionally associated with the scripts known as Anglicana and Secretary, suggest that palaeographical innovation took place in texts localisable to East Anglia. Against this background, the presentation discusses the extent to which the history of these two scripts on English soil runs parallel with the development of what has evolved into present-day Standard English.

St Michael at the North Gate and St Peter in the East:
English churchwardens' accounts of late medieval Oxford[3]

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Keywords: Oxford; Central Midland Standard; Orthography, Morphology, MELD (the corpus of Middle English Local Documents)

This paper presents an investigation into the language of 85 Oxford churchwardens' accounts, all written wholly or partly in English, dating from 1424 to 1525. The accounts relate to the churches of St Michael at the North Gate and St Peter in the East, and form part of the Corpus of Middle English Local Documents (MELD), a digital text corpus currently being compiled from original manuscripts by the Middle English Scribal Texts Programme team (MEST) at the University of Stavanger, Norway.

No systematic study of the language of the Oxford churchwardens' accounts has previously been undertaken. Churchwardens' accounts are among the earliest administrative documents systematically written in English; the present collection contains English texts from 1424 onwards, and comparable collections from London, Salisbury, St Albans and Bishop's Stortford show a similar date pattern. The vocabulary of accounts is admittedly somewhat limited; however, in choosing frequently occurring salient orthographical and morphological features there is plenty of material in the accounts to merit a linguistic case study.

Oxford has been suggested as a possible source for the so-called Central Midland Standard (CMS), one of four incipient standards identified by Samuels (1963). The Oxfordshire capital had been a centre of vernacular book production from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards. The medical faculty in Oxford was the largest in the country; texts on medicine and theology, and Wycliffite texts in particular, have been associated with the CMS. Documentary texts have generally not been linked to the CMS based on the hypothesis that documentary language was mainly influenced by the central government offices. Judging from studies in the MELD material, however, notably Thengs (2013) and Stenroos and Thengs (2012), this picture is much more nuanced, and the present study will shed light on the language development in Oxford in the period immediately following the emergence of the CMS.

The aims of the present study are threefold: firstly, to examine to what extent the Oxford churcwardens' accounts comply with the linguistic characteristics of the CMS. Secondly, the accounts of St Michael's span more than a century, which makes them ideal for a diachronic study of the development of Oxford English in the late Middle Ages. Thirdly, the accounts of St Peter's, spanning from 1484-1524, form the basis for a synchronic comparison with the accounts within the same date range from St Michael's.

MED = The Middle English Dictionary. URL: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/

[3] The accounts of St Michael's church were edited by the reverend Salter in 1933, whose edition is used as a reference in the MED. To my knowledge, the collection from St Peter's church has not been edited. However, following the transcription policy of MEST to stay as close to the manuscript reality as possible, all the texts included in this study have been transcribed from and proofread against manuscript facsimiles; no editions have been used for this purpose.

MEST = The Middle English Scribal Texts Programme. URL: www.uis.no/mest
Salter, Herbert Edward. 1933. *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Church, Oxford.* Oxford: King's Stone.
Samuels, Michael L. 1963. "Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology." In: Angus McIntosh, Michael L. Samuels & Margaret Laingl (eds.). 1989. *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on some Principles and Problems*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 64–80.
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Thengs, Kjetil V. 2013. *English Medieval Documents of the North-West Midlands: A Study in the Language of a Real-Space Text Corpus.* PhD thesis, University of Stavanger.

How abstract is *respect*? Another look at a word with multiple senses

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keywords: abstractness, meaning, metaphor, metonymy, sense

My research question is how one can measure the abstractness of a word. *Respect*, the focus of my analysis, is an abstract word, but the issue is whether its degree of abstractness can be measured. Is it possible to say that its degree of abstractness has changed between different periods of time, such as Early Modern, Late Modern and Present-day English? And how abstract is it compared to other words such as *regard* or *see/sight*?

Previous research suggests that the abstractness of a word could be measured at least in three ways: by looking at how many senses dictionaries give to it and how these senses relate to each other, by looking at how many conceptual metonymies and metaphors are used in connection with it in naturally occurring data, and by focusing on which particular conceptual metaphors are used in connection with it. If a lot of metaphors are used to discuss a concept, the concept appears rather abstract. On the other hand, some metaphors may be more abstract than others (e.g. the RESPECT IS A CONTAINER metaphor is often fairly vague, while RESPECT IS A FABRIC may be considered more concrete). These three approaches converge in that dictionary definitions often include senses which have their origins in metonymies and metaphors.

I will use dictionary data (the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*) on the meanings of *respect*, *regard* and *see/sight* in order to compare the degrees of abstractness of different words with each other, and corpus data (the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*

Sampler, the Early Modern English period of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, the *Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English*, the *Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English*) in order to compare the degrees of abstractness of *respect* in Early Modern and Present-day English. The idea is to use *respect* as a test-bed for developing the study of abstract words and, more specifically, the degrees of abstractness of words.

My preliminary finding complicates the issue at hand: *Respect* seems to have more senses in Early Modern than Present-day English and these Early Modern English senses cascade in a series of metonymies, suggesting that the word is more abstract in the earlier than the latter period. However, Present-day English authors appear to use more metaphors with *respect* than Early Modern English writers.

Tissari, Heli. 2008. "A Look at *respect*: Investigating Metonymies in Early Modern English." In: Richard Dury, Maurizio Gotti & Marina Dossena (eds.). *English Historical Linguistics 2006. Volume II: Lexical and Semantical Change. Selected Papers from the fourteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL 14), Bergamo, 21-25 August 2006*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 139-157.

"Obscure, indistinct sounds": Vowel reduction and the pronunciation of unstressed vo els in 18th century English

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Keywords: Unstressed vowels; Vowel reduction; Schwa; Eighteenth century English

Over the last few decades the phonology of Late Modern century English has attracted the attention of scholars such as Beal (1999) or Jones (2006), who have endeavoured to shed light on the quality of vowels under stress. The orthoepic treatises of the eighteenth century provide a number of detailed accounts on their quality and articulation. Nevertheless, little is known of the pronunciation of unstressed vowels and the extent to which these were reduced to a centralized vowel like contemporary English [ə]. On the one hand the phenomenon was often described at the time as a process whereby vowels tend to become "obscure" or "indistinct" and approach "the sound of short *u*" in *but*. On the other hand the pre-phonetic transcriptions of eighteenth century lexicographers like Walker (1791) show relatively few examples of such reduction as in *comfort* {ku^{2}m′-fu^{2}rt} [ˈkʌmfəˠt], and tend to avoid it in a majority of words like *ornament* {o^{3}r′-na^{4}-me^{2}nt} [ˈɔːnæment]. This evidence questions the authenticity of these transcriptions, often criticised as being mere graphocentric idealizations, as well as our knowledge of the spread of centralization and the variety of unstressed vowels realisations.

This paper offers to elicit the conditions favouring reduction to [ə] in late eighteenth century pronouncing dictionaries, suggests precise phonetic values to some of their unstressed orthoepic symbols and draws the line between

graphocentrism and authentic pronunciations. In addition to examining the discourse of orthoepists, a number of criteria are tested on a fully computerized edition of John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791). Following morphophonological studies like Trocmé (1975) or Dahak (2011) four syllabic positions relative to primary stress are examined as well as the phonetic, syllabic and morphological environment of these unstressed vowels. The results show that vowels in post-tonic positions were more liable to be centralized whereas in other positions a greater variety of reduced vowels coexisted alongside [ə]. While some of the full vowels in final endings like *-al* are unrealistic transcriptions hiding a [ə], others such as <a> in *-age* show a genuine resistance to reduction in words like *heritage* [ˈherɪteˈdʒ] as opposed to *beverage* [ˈbevərɪdʒ]. Vowel preservation also seemed to be associated with words coming from learned lexical strata and was generally used in higher register oral styles.

Beal, Joan Christine. 1999. *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas spence's 'Grand Repository of the English Language'*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Jones, Charles. 2006. *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Basingstoke: Palsgrave Macmillan.

Walker, John. 1791. *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*. London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson and T. Cadell.

Trocmé, Hélène. 1975. *Aspects de la Réduction des Voyelles Prétoniques en Anglais Moderne*. Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris VII - Denis Diderot.

Dahak, Anissa. 2011. *Étude Diachronique, Phonologique et Morphologique des Syllabes Inaccentuées en Anglais Contemporain*. Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris VII - Denis Diderot.

Multilingual practices and metadiscourse in military writing from early modern England

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Keywords: Early Modern English, metadiscourse, military writing, multilingual practices, professional discourse

Multilingual practices, or the use of two or more languages in a stretch of discourse, have been shown to be an important feature of numerous historical contexts of language use (Schendl 2012). In Early Modern English, foreign-language elements ranging from single words to phrases and longer passages are found in texts from several domains, including various professional spheres and the world of business (see e.g. Pahta 2011; Nurmi and Pahta 2013; Wright 1999). For many writers in these domains, such elements served a variety of micro- and macro-level functions and offered ways of constructing and performing one's identity as a member of the professional community. From the reader's point of view, however, these displays were potentially problematic: aspiring learners and interested laypeople could not be expected to have gained the expertise and linguistic resources needed to fully understand the complex practices of a dynamic, developing field.

Metadiscourse, i.e. the strategies and concomitant linguistic forms used by writers to guide their readers' correct interpretation of the text, has attracted substantial scholarly interest in recent years (Hyland 2005; on early modern material see e.g. Boggel 2009). Nevertheless, the forms and functions of metadiscourse in multilingual textual contexts of the past have not been studied extensively to date.

This paper applies qualitative and quantitative corpus linguistic methods to investigate metadiscourse related to multilingualism in an early modern professional domain which had a great impact on contemporary societies but has received little attention from linguists: warfare. Using data from a new corpus of non-literary prose texts on military topics published in 16th- and 17th-century England, currently being compiled, the study addresses the following questions: How are multilingual elements such as quotations and specialized terminology introduced and explained to the reader? What is the typology of such elements in terms of their functions and the languages used? Does the data show diachronic variation, or patterns associated with the background of the author or characteristics of the text?

Extending insights gained from present-day language use into studying the intersections of metadiscursive and multilingual practices in historical material, the paper provides a detailed empirical analysis of typical features of metadiscourse in a previously uncharted historical discourse domain. The findings allow for a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of an early stage in the development that eventually led to the forms of professional writing we know today.

Boggel, Sandra. 2009. *Metadiscourse in Middle English and Early Modern English Religious Texts: A Corpus-Based Study*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Hyland, Ken. 2005. *Metadiscourse: Exploring Interaction in Writing*. London/New York: Continuum.

Nurmi, Arja & Päivi Pahta. 2013. "Multilingual practices in the language of the law: Evidence from the *Lampeter Corpus*." In: Jukka Tyrkkö, Olga Timofeeva & Maria Salenius (eds.). *Ex philologia lux: Essays in Honour of Leena Kahlas-Tarkka*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 187–205.

Pahta, Päivi. 2011. Code-switching in Early Modern English medical writing. In Taavitsainen, Irma and Päivi Pahta eds. *Medical writing in Early Modern English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115–132.

Schendl, Herbert. 2012. "Multilingualism, Code-Switching, and Language Contact in Historical Sociolinguistics." In: Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 520–533.

Wright, Laura. 1999. "Mixed-Language Business Writing: Five Hundred Years of Code-Switching." In: Ernst Håkon Jahr (ed.). *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 99–117.

A constructionist approach to category change: constraining factors in the adjectivization of participles

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Keywords: adjectives, participles, ambiguity, category change, Construction Grammar

It is generally accepted in usage-based theories of language that language change is facilitated by contexts of use that allow for semantically and/or structurally ambiguous readings of a construction (see e.g. Evans & Wilkins 2000; Diewald 2002; Heine 2002). While this facilitative effect is well attested in the literature, much less attention has been paid to factors that constrain language change. Furthermore, the idea that ambiguities may also promote stability and discourage change has not been explored in detail. In this paper I discuss the development of three participle constructions that have gained increasingly adjective-like uses in recent history: ADJ-*looking* (e.g. *modest-looking*), N-V*ing* denoting a change in psychological state (e.g. *awe-inspiring*), and the adjectival *-ed* participle headed by a psych-verb (e.g. *surprised*). I will argue that the development of these constructions has been significantly constrained by unresolved ambiguities as well as source structures that continue to support the earlier, verbal categorization instead of an adjectival one. As a consequence, the participles have acquired adjectival uses gradually and often at a slow rate.

The data will be analyzed from a constructionist perspective, where constructions are connected in a network, and categories like "verb" or "adjective" are regarded as emergent schemas that arise from actual patterns of use (see e.g. Hilpert 2014). On the one hand, then, this paper contributes to the discussion on the nature of word classes in Construction Grammar by presenting detailed information of the category change of three participle constructions. On the other hand, the case studies raise new questions about the role of ambiguity in language change, suggesting that language users may tolerate certain kinds of ambiguous contexts of use for long periods of time.

The data for the case studies are taken from large corpora of Late Modern and Present-day English (COHA, COCA, CLMET) and historical databases (ECCO-TCP, Old Bailey Online).

Diewald, Gabriele. 2002. "A Model for Relevant Types of Contexts in Grammaticalization." In: Ilse Wischer & Gabriele Diewald (eds.). *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 103–120.

Evans, Nicholas & David Wilkins. 2000. "In the Mind's Ear: The Semantic Extensions of Perception Verbs in Australian Languages. *Language* 76(3), 546–592.

Heine, Bernd. 2002. "On the Role of Context in Grammaticalization." In: Ilse Wischer & Gabriele Diewald (eds.). *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 83–101.

Hilpert, Martin. 2014. *Construction Grammar and its Application to English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Modelling language change: An algorithmic interpretation of paradigmatic irregularities in Old English minor stems

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Keywords: modelling, analogy, self-organisation, Old English, nominal paradigms

The complex interaction between sound change and analogy has been commonly framed in terms of the so called *Sturtevant's paradox*, which states that sound change, which is highly regular, causes irregularity, whereas analogy, which is inherently irregular, causes regularity (Antilla 1989: 94). The focus of the present paper is on the supposedly irregular and teleological application of analogy. The working of analogy, in view of the present authors, can only be understood if language is conceived of in terms of a *Complex Adaptive System* (Beckner et al. 2009). In this framework, grammar emerges from the process of self-organisation of linguistic signs and accordingly changes induced by analogy are part of this process of self-organisation.

The present study aims at illustrating the validity of the dynamic system approach by testing two cases from the history of English, i.e. the analogical developments in the class of mutated plurals (e.g. OE *gōs – gēs*) and the *s*-stems (which originally contained the *r*-formative, e.g. OE *lamb – lambor*). In the transition from Proto-Germanic to Old English, these minor nouns developed a range of paradigmatic irregularities, manifested in root allomorphy, including vocalic (*i*-mutation) and consonantal alternations (*r*-element). Both the *s*-stems and mutated plurals exhibit three-way paradigmatic patterns, which have been either ascribed to regular phonological processes, or explained in terms of analogical levelling. No explanation has been offered so far with regard to the question why the working of analogy was selective, applying only to some of the patterns and resulting thus in divergent outcomes.

In this study we employ a stochastic model that simulates the developments in the investigated paradigms. It consists of the following components: random spontaneous variation, non-random variation caused by ease of articulation, non-random variation caused by analogical pressure, as well as the language user's pursuit of effective communication and the inclination to adjust to interlocutor's speech. The interaction of all the components in the model, combined with the different frequency distributions of each lemma, leads to the diversified paradigm patterns.

The analysis reveals that the historically observable changes and the lexical sub-variation found in the investigated declensional paradigms can be predicted by a model that is built on the aforementioned components. The study indicates that analogy may be 'irregular' in its manifestation, but that its scope and direction can be predicted from the interaction of the components and input values of the model.

Anttila, Raimo. 1989. *Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Beckner, Clay, Richard Blythe, Joan Bybee, Morten. H. Christiansen, William Croft, Nick C. Ellis, John Holland, Jinyun Ke, Diane Larsen-Freeman & Tom

Schoenemann. 2009. “Language Is a Complex Adaptive System: Position Paper.” *Language Learning* 59(2), 1–26.

Some observation on the development of *each other*

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In Present Day English mutual situations are encoded either with lexical reciprocals (i.e. plain verbs), or with reciprocal markers (*each other*). A great amount of studies have been devoted to the theoretical debate on what kind of mutual situation *each other* can encode, but much less to the investigation of the possible paths of its development, with only very few exceptions of Haas (2010) and Plank (2008).

Middle English encoded mutual situations by means of both syntactic and morphological or clitic markers, in accordance to most Indo-European languages. According to Plank, the reciprocal marker *each other* is the outcome of a grammaticalization process where a distributive transitive construction (e.g. *each* student sits next to the *other*) was reanalyzed as a reciprocal construction (e.g. the students sit next to *each other*) via a intermediate stage of floating quantifiers (the students sit *each* next to the *other*). As clear and elegant as Plank’s analysis might be, it nevertheless has a weak point: first of all it is based on very scanty evidence; secondly, if quantifier floating is claimed to be instrumental in getting the two parts of the reciprocal into close contact (and in stopping taking scope over the NP expressing the set of participants), how can one account for the existence of a bipartite quantifier marker of reciprocity in languages that do not allow quantifiers to float, such as Romance languages? Moreover, it is not straightforward that sentences like *the earls (each) hated each the other* would yield a sentence with low transitivity as reciprocal sentences do.

The present paper will aim to propose a different hypothesis. An analysis of the semantic and syntactic constraints of usage of the various reciprocal constructions in Middle English will show that Middle English was not too different from other Indo-European languages, such as Old French and Old Italian: in particular the bipartite pattern ‘quantifier and alterity word’ was as common in Middle English as in Romance languages and used likewise. Therefore the reason for the typologically different PDE reciprocal system must be found in the general restructuring of co-reference (reflexive and reciprocal) marking which took place in the course of the Middle English period and established in Early Modern English period.

Haas, Florian. 2010. *Reciprocity in English: Historical Development and Synchronic Structure*. New York: Oxon.

Plank, Frans. 2008. “Thoughts on the origin, progress and pro status of reciprocal forms, occasioned by those of Bavarian.” In: Ekkehard König & Volker Gast (eds.). *Reciprocals and Reflexives: Theoretical and Typological Explorations*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

The rivalry between *far from being* + predicative item and its counterpart omitting the copula in Modern English

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Keywords: omissible function words, similarities with comparative formation, complexity constraints, contrasts between British and American English

This paper deals with the evolution of *far from* in examples like (1a-b).

(1) a. This incident was far from being rare/isolated / an isolated phenomenon.
b. This incident was far from rare/isolated / an isolated phenomenon.

Picking up on the analyses in Rohdenburg & Schlüter (2009: 405-406) and De Smet (2012), the paper charts the large-scale replacement of explicit predicatives like (1a) by the zero type as in (1b) over the last few centuries.

Throughout the Modern English period the distribution of the rivalling options has been largely determined by the presumed complexity of the predicative items involved. In line with the predictions of the Complexity Principle (cf., e.g., Rohdenburg 1996), frequent and morphologically simple adjectives like *rare* have always tended to phase out the more explicit variant including *being* distinctly faster than less frequent and more complex adjectives such as *isolated*. Accordingly, we find some striking parallels between the variable use of *being* in cases like (1a-b) and the choice between the (less explicit) synthetic comparative and the (more explicit) analytic type as described by Mondorf (2009). These parallels extend to the occurrence of complemented adjectives, which still display a special affinity with the variant including *being*. Other complex items that are likely to favour the more explicit and older variant include NPs like *an isolated phenomenon*, equative comparatives (e.g. *as rare as*) and prepositional phrases such as *in the bag*.

Special attention is devoted to contrasts between British and American English. While American English was lagging behind British English in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it can be shown to have spearheaded the drift towards omitting *being* since the second half of the 19th century. Thus, the more recent developments reflect the pronounced trend of American English towards the omission of variable function words (cf. Rohdenburg & Schlüter 2009). At present, however, any clear contrasts between the two varieties tend to be confined to rarer and more complex kinds of predicative items involving, in particular, NPs and prepositional phrases.

The database used for this study consists of several years of British and American newspapers from the 1990s and early 2000s, the BNC and a sizeable collection of historical corpora provided by Chadwyck-Healey, the Gutenberg project and Mark Davies.

De Smet, Hendrik. 2012. "The Course of Actualization." *Language* 88: 801-833.
Mondorf, Britta. 2009. *More Support for* More-*Support: The Role of Processing Constraints on the Choice between Synthetic and Analytic Comparative Forms*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Rohdenburg, Günter. 1996. "Cognitive Complexity and Increased Grammatical Explicitness in English." *Cognitive Linguistics* 7: 149-182.
Rohdenburg, Günter & Julia Schlüter. 2009. "New Departures." In: Günter Rohdenburg & Julia Schlüter (eds.). *One Language, Two Grammars? Differences between British and American English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 364-423.

An evolving community of practice? Realisations of evaluative patterns in Late Modern English historiographical texts

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With the exception of a small number of studies on contemporary historiography (e.g. Martin 2002, Bondi & Mazzi 2009, Coffin 2009), the field of history writing has not received much attention with regard to its presumed constitutive linguistic features and its development – despite its importance for constructing our past (Jenkins 2003, Munslow 2007) and its wide appeal to both specialist and lay audiences. The aim of the present paper is, thus, to contribute to the identification of the (changing) conventions of a community of practice, by analysing the ways in which evaluative meaning is construed in the works of historiographers over the course of 200 years (1700 to 1914).

Historiography, particularly in this formative period, exhibits a tension between the requirements of academic/scientific objectivity (cf. Lorenz 2008) and the social or moral role of 'educating' the reader (Kelley 2003). In this predicament it is a promising option for a historian who wants to evaluate historical events or persons to use more subtle, but still explicit choices beyond clearly evaluative lexical items (e.g. *devious*). Therefore recurrent syntactical patterns such as *it v-link ADJ that* (Hunston 2011) are of particular interest here to approach the linguistic conventions writers of historical texts adhered to.

> **[I]t was natural that** the kingdom of the Scots should look for friendship […] to the West Saxons and their king. (Green, John R. 1894. The Conquest of England)

> **[I]t was very suspicious**, that his Dutiful Regards to the King were chiefly for his own Interest. (Tyrell, James. 1704. The General History of England)

The use of the impersonal, and thus objectivizing, pronoun *it* combined with adjectives, which signal degrees of normality, invite the reader to align with the author's viewpoint/assessment. This will be combined with a search for explicit, inscribed evaluation through lexical items from the category JUDGEMENT in the appraisal framework such as *eccentric*, *brave*, *zealous* (Martin & White 2005) and patterns of intensification, which again presents a somewhat less direct means of evaluation. In this way, a first sketch, though still incomplete, of an evaluative pattern in historiography and its development will be constructed.

The analysis will be based on the "Corpus of Late Modern British Historical Writing", which comprises the excerpts of the works of 50 historians (totalling approx. 1.5m. words). Both corpus-internal and –external comparisons (reference

corpus: CLMET3.0) will be carried out in order to establish genre-specific choices and developments within historiography.

Bondi, Marina & Davide Mazzi. 2009. "Writing History: Argument, Narrative and Point of View." In: Marta Shiro, Paola Bentivoglio, Francés Erlich (eds.). *Haciendo discurso. Homenaje a Adriana Bolívar*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela: 611-626.

Coffin, Caroline. 2009. "Historical Discourse: The Language of Time, Cause and Evaluation." *Continuum Discourse.* London/New York: Continuum.

Hunston, Susan. 2004. "Counting the Uncountable: Problems of Identifying Evaluation in a Text and in a Corpus." In: John Morley, Louann Haarmann & Alan Partington (eds.). *Corpora and Discourse - Proceedings of CamConf 2002*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang: 157-188.

Hunston, Susan. 2011. *Corpus Approaches to Evaluation: Phraseology and Evaluative Language*. London/New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, Keith. 2003. *Re-thinking History*. London/New York: Routledge.

Kelley, Donald R. 2003. *Fortunes of History: Historical Inquiry from Herder to Huizinga*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lorenz, Chris. 2008. "Scientific Historiography." In: Aviezer Tucker (ed.). *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Company, 393–403.

Martin, James R. & Peter R. R. White. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Munslow, Alun. 2007. *Narrative and History (Theory and History).* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Standardisation and Subjunctives: The Role of Scribal Choice in the Development of Old English

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Keywords: Old English; standardisation; scribal practice; manuscript transmission

Traditional accounts of Old English ('OE') (Campbell, 1959; Hogg, 1992) often focus on early or otherwise dialectally marked manuscript texts for evidence of the history of the language. Such manuscripts are chosen as the basis of this evidence because they are closest to the original author's or translator's work, and are felt to reflect 'real' OE in a way that later copies do not (Miller, 1890: v-vi). Where more than one manuscript of a text exists, those which diverge most from the most conservative versions are rarely discussed in detail in general histories.

This paper presents an alternative way of viewing the development of OE, through the more sociolinguistically-orientated lens of scribal copying. A text with several surviving manuscript witnesses allows us to see what linguistic forms were deemed acceptable to individual language users/writers (i.e. features which were copied literatim), and which were not (i.e. those emended or updated by later copyists) (cf. Laing, 2004).

The OE translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* is one such text, surviving in four main copies, whose scribes diverge to varying degrees from the

Mercian dialectal character of the translator's (now lost) original text. The paper focuses on one case study, that of plural, preterite subjunctives, which in the earliest manuscripts commonly appear with denasalisation (e.g. *hie wolde* instead of *hie wolden* 'they wanted'). A range of strategies is used by the scribes studied; while the main scribe of the earliest manuscript appears content to transmit several denasalised forms, later scribes are more likely to reject denasalisation. This rejection sometimes appears as the restoration of subjunctive forms in <en>, while in other cases scribes write what appears to be the indicative form <on>, reflecting the collapse of the mood markers in late OE. One eleventh-century reader provided several grammatical and orthographical corrections to the text, and frequently corrects an earlier copyist's denasalised subjunctives to 'indicatives'. This course of action reveals a reader whose motivation was to mark the plural, but who did not feel the need to provide a distinction between the old subjunctive and indicative spellings.

This paper shows how evidence not normally considered in larger histories of the language can usefully be brought to bear on ideas of standardisation in the pre-Conquest period. In the absence of direct metalinguistic comment, the actions and decisions of copyists and correctors have much to tell us about attitudes to correctness and linguistic norms in the period.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. *A Grammar of Old English: Volume 1: Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Laing, Margaret. 2004. "Multidimensionality: Time, Space and Stratigraphy in Historical Dialectology." In: Marina Dossena & Roger Lass (eds.). *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*. Bern: Peter Lang, 49-93.

Miller, Thomas. (ed). 1898. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. (EETS o.s. 95, 96, 110, 111). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

Now you see it now you don't again, or word-initial prevocalic [h] in Middle English

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Keywords: dialects, Innsbruck Corpus, Middle English, prevocalic *h*, spelling

Writing about the grapheme <h->, Scragg (1970) states that "in the initial position before a vowel [it] has been unstable throughout the history of written English", which is also proved by "instances of the non-etymological absence or presence of initial *h* in native words". Regarding loanwords from French, *h* in this position was mute (cf. *istorie* for *historie*) and it was also silent in the native words with a weak stress, e.g. *(h)is, (h)em* etc.

With reference to the pronunciation of initial <h> Wright (1928) says that "OE. initial **h** remained in ME. before accented vowels…" (130; *hous(e)*, *home*, *herte* 'heart', etc.). Discussing the ME pronunciation of native words, Jordan (1974: 178) writes: "In initial position before a vowel *h* was aspirate as in OE and still became sounded as such in native pronunciation in accented syllables, although also often weak (*habben*, *hōnd* etc.)".

An important hypothesis concerning the regional conditioning of initial [h] loss was launched by Luick (1940: 1092): "In the 15th century, but earlier in certain areas, initial [h] was lost to a considerable extent in words like *hand, house* on a major part of the territory where English was spoken. That sound was retained only in Scotland, Ireland, Northumberland, parts of Cumberland and Durham. Elsewhere the change was effected, as is evidenced by contemporary dialects." [translation mine]. Similarly, Jordan (1974:248) confines this development to the non-northerly areas. As regards chronology, Lass (1992:62) and particularly Milroy (1983, 1992a:198-201, 1992b: 136-145) suggested an early date for the initiation of the loss (11c.)

Summing up, the evidence of the status of word-initial *h* followed by a stressed vowel rests on three spelling phenomena:

(1) No <h-> spelling in native words, e.g. *ouse* for *house*, *erte* for *herte* 'heart', etc.
(2) The use of non-etymological <h-> (<hall> for *all*, etc.).
(3) Positioning of words like *myn* 'mine', *thyn* 'thine', and *an*, before native words with initial <h-> (*an hous* 'a house', *myn home* 'my home', etc.). Such forms are common in Chaucer.

As the evidence in Milroy concerns items (1) and (2), the present study will focus on item (3), offering statistics of such forms in around one hundred Middle English prose texts from *The Innsbruck Corpus* (Markus 2009), and will also consider other sources (LAEME, LALME, MED, OED). The principal goal of the study will be the verification of Luick's, Jordan's and Milroy's statements concerning the regional distribution of initial *h*-loss in native words, with emphasis on the 14th-15th century developments.

Blake, Norman (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. *Vol. 2. 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davenport, Michael, Erik Hansen & Hans F. Nielsen (eds.). 1983. *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Jordan, Richard. 1974. *Handbook of Middle English Grammar. Translated and revised by Eugene J. Crook*. The Hague: Mouton.

Lass, Roger. 1992. "Phonology and Morphology." In: Norman Blake (ed.). *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. *Vol. 2. 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 23-155.

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Expressing obligation and necessity in Late Modern English: modal MUST and semi-modal HAVE TO

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keywords: corpus linguistics, Late Modern English, modal verbs

The present paper analyzes the use of two modal expressions of obligation and necessity, the modal MUST and the semi-modal HAVE TO, throughout Late Modern English, adopting a corpus-linguistic approach.

While there is substantial research on (semi-)modals in the 20th century, often based on the Brown corpora (cf. e.g. Leech 2013), considerably less work has been done on the Late Modern period, although it is in that period that many semi-modals, including HAVE TO, first increase drastically in discourse frequency after centuries of marginal occurrence (Krug 2000: 251). The Late Modern period is therefore certainly worth investigating.

The present study focuses exclusively on MUST and HAVE TO: the aim is to chart their development throughout the 18th and 19th centuries and identify factors that influence the changes in frequency in this initial stage of competition between modals and semi-modals. This focused approach permits a detailed analysis of various relevant factors, such as semantics (epistemic, deontic, performative meanings), tense, or modal phrase structure patterns. As especially semi-modals are closely associated with spoken usage, the 14-million-word Old Bailey Corpus (OBC, Huber et al. 2012), containing trial proceedings and recording spoken interaction in the courtroom between 1720 and 1913, serves as a source of data.

Globally, results show increasing use of HAVE TO and relatively stable frequencies for MUST, coupled with a shift in the functions of MUST (confirming results of e.g. Biber 2004): epistemic uses of MUST, which represent only 31% of occurrences in the early 18th century, nearly double (59%) in the late 19th century. In deontic contexts, HAVE TO is increasingly preferred. Different phrase structures show different developments. In the OBC, the pattern 'modal + infinitive' (*I must go*) declines noticeably (367 instances pmw in the early 18th century vs. 165 in the late 19th century). Interestingly, a similar trend is observed by Aarts et al. (2014: 76) for the 20th century – perhaps representing a later stage of the same process. Other patterns' developments change over time, though: the pattern 'modal + have (+ been) + PP' is on the rise in Late Modern English, but no longer in the 20th century.

In the end, the analysis of MUST and HAVE TO supports the line of reasoning that modals are not simply being replaced by semi-modals over time; instead, these forms' developments are complex and can only be adequately analyzed with reference to various different, often interconnected, factors.

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I'm sorry: from confession to apology

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This paper takes its point of departure at the intersection of historical pragmatics and the history of emotions (esp. Reddy 2001), specifically to do with the history of the apology in English. Apologies are a ubiquitous feature of present-day Englishes, and are also frequently discussed cross-linguistically, but their origins in English have yet to be described (cf. Jucker and Taavitsainen, whom go back as far as the sixteenth century). Literally interpreted, especially historically (in OE, for example), *I am sorry* suggests expressivity to the effect of 'I feel bad', yet this is not their most common pragmatic meaning today, as they have been conventionalized as a 'common courtesy'. How did we get to the point where we essentially make a personal statement along the lines of 'I feel bad' when (for example) we ever so slightly bump into someone in the street? The answer to this question, I argue, lies in the medieval origins of the apology from devotional rituals of confession, which ideologically bound affective sincerity to external speech. Before the cultural spread of confession, apologies in English were a non-concept, and it is only over the course of the Middle Ages that the affective ritual of penance is reappropriated in the context of interpersonal relations (i.e. between human subjects, and not just with God) and conventionalized across English society, to the point where forms such as *I am sorry* (as well as ME *It repenteth me*) communicate courtesy rather than an ideo-affective stance signaling emotions arising from the recognition of sin. In tracing this history I will discuss a variety of medieval texts, including homilies, the *Ancrene Wisse*, Chaucer and (finally) fifteenth-century familiar letters.

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Old English *wolde* and *sceolde* – A semantic and syntactic analysis

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Keywords: grammaticalization, habitual, modality, Old English, *sculan*, *willan*,

The Old English pre-modals *willan* and **sculan*, which are generally considered less grammaticalized than their Modern English counterparts, nevertheless most often function as auxiliary verbs (cf. Wischer 2006: 173):

- *Hu ne meaht þu gesion þæt ælc wyrt & ælc wudu **wile weaxan** on þæm lande selest þe him betst gerist …*
  'Canst thou not see that each plant and each tree **will grow** best in land that suits it best …'
  (AB 91.13)
- A*c þæt is swiðe dyslic & swiðe micel syn þæt mon þæs **wenan scyle** be Gode,*
  'But it is very great folly and sin **to think** thus of God, ….'
  (AB 84.18)

However, in such periphrastic constructions, they appear only randomly to express epistemic modality or possible future reference, although such uses may occasionally occur (cf. Traugott 1992: 195ff.)

While the present tense forms of *willan* and **sculan* have been studied in some detail, often in the context of their development into future tense markers, the use of their past tense forms has received comparatively little attention. Traugott (*ibid.:* 195ff) provides an example where *wolde* appears to be predictive of the future and another one with *wolde* expressing remote possibility. Another example with *sceolde* is supposed to express mood in the meaning 'supposedly'. Goossens (1987: 130ff.), on the basis of a sample analysis of 100 present- and 100 past tense forms of **sculan*, made the observation that *sceolde* only exceptionally functions as the past tense equivalent of *sceal.*

My study is based on a data analysis from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The past tense forms of *willan* and **sculan* will be identified and categorized with regard to the syntactic contexts in which they occur and the lexical or grammatical meanings they express. The study will also focus on regional and genre issues.

My aim is to shed some light on the following questions: To what extent did *wolde* and *sceolde*[4] still express past time reference and to what extent did they already express epistemic modality? Are there any linguistic contexts that favour an epistemic reading? Are there any text types or authors that stand out in their

[4] The terms *wolde* and *sceolde* are used here as representatives for all inflected past tense forms such as *woldest*, *woldon*, etc.

use of epistemic *wolde* or *sceolde*? Are there any incipient uses of *wolde* as habitual marker? The results might finally be compared to earlier findings on the use of present tense *willan* and *sculan* in Old English and their further grammaticalization.

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Studying dialect spelling in its own right

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The written representation of non-standard varieties does not receive the attention it deserves. With regard to comprehensive overviews of present-day varieties and traditional dialects of English, we find chapters on phonology, morphology and syntax, but there is none on spelling (cf. e.g. Kortmann/Upton 2008 or Schneider 2008). In historical linguistics, descriptions of dialect spelling are, of course, more frequent. Often they report on spelling in relation to pronunciation (e.g. Agutter 1988). On the whole, it is perhaps also unsurprising that full-scale accounts of the structure and the history of spelling relate to Standard English (Venezky 1970, Scragg 1974, Upward/Davidson 2011, Crystal 2012, or Horobin 2013).

In contrast to that, I would like to take up what Angus McIntosh pointed to 60 years ago: the study of the written representation of language in its own right (McIntosh 1956; cf. Agutter 1987: 75). At the core of my paper will be a detailed

analysis of the graphical representation of Ulster Scots in the past and present. On the basis of that analysis, the history of Ulster-Scots spelling will be delineated. On closer inspection, the history of Ulster-Scots spelling will show that the traditional dialect has developed a distinct spelling. It will also reveal that, in the present, a considerable amount of texts belonging to revived written Ulster Scots seems to diverge from its source, i.e. Scots in Scotland, as well as its immediate local forebears. However, the indications of divergence are not bound up with language-internal developments. It is argued that they are strongly related to politics/ideology as well as editorial contexts.

Accordingly, by relating an in-depth analysis of dialect spelling to central issues of orality and literacy studies, I suggest to review our understanding of written language as "Distanzsprache" ('language of distance'; cf. Koch/Oesterreicher 1986 and 2012). It appears that the term cannot be applied to written dialect and that, on the level of spelling, written dialect represents itself as recontextualised language. Therefore, linking up with other studies focussing on the written representation of non-standard language (e.g. Bann/Corbett 2015 or Moll 2015), my paper calls for diachronic and synchronic studies of what I would like to term 'dialect graphy'.

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On syntheticity and analyticity in the history of English ditransitives

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Keywords: ditransitives, double object construction, analyticity, syntheticity, Middle English

This paper taps into the question whether the English language actually "underwent a typological shift from a predominantly synthetic towards a predominantly analytic language" (Haselow 2011: 1), a development which is typically linked to the large-scale loss of inflectional morphology at the transition from Old to Middle English (see Allen 1995; Baugh & Cable 2002; Fischer 1992). More specifically, the paper focuses on ditransitive complementation patterns: here, the change is visible in the expression of the recipient argument, which reportedly moves from a more synthetic NP to a more analytic PP (Barðdal 2009; De Cuypere 2015). There is, however, some counter-evidence to these assumptions: for example, rather than being completely replaced by the periphrastic competitor, the original NP-double object construction (DOC) has survived into PDE as a productive construction alongside the PP-pattern (1a-b).

(1) a. John gave *Mary*$_{\text{RECIPIENT}}$ an apple$_{\text{THEME}}$.
b. John gave an apple$_{\text{THEME}}$ *to Mary*$_{\text{RECIPIENT}}$.

Furthermore, some PP-paraphrases were present already in Old English (2), when the case marking system was still largely intact (cf. De Cuypere 2015):

(2) & sende […] þis ærendgewrit$_{\text{THEME}}$ **him to**$_{\text{RECIPIENT}}$
'and sent this letter to him' (coaelive; De Cuypere 2015: 8)

This paper now aims to investigate the issue based on a quantitative study of DOCs and PP-constructions (involving all kinds of prepositions, e.g. *to* or *from*), in the *PPCME2*. The results show that there are striking differences concerning the competition between synthetic and analytic means of expression among different semantic verb classes. Three major groups can be distinguished: first, PDE prototypical ditransitives, i.e. **transfer(-related) verbs**; in this group, there is a stark increase of (*to*-)prepositional paraphrases in the beginning of the ME period, which is, however, reversed towards the end, with the DOC taking over again. The same initial growth of PPs is found in the second group, including e.g. **dispossession verbs**; in contrast to the first group, however, there is no trend reversal here, but the prepositional patterns clearly win out, meaning that these classes are ousted entirely from the DOC. In the last group, analytic patterns are

stronger already in the beginning, and there is no significant change over the course of the period.

Concerning the larger question at hand, it thus appears that there is no straightforward move towards greater analyticity in ditransitive complementation, but rather different strands of development dependent on the semantics of the verbs involved (cf. also Barðdal 2009; Szmrecsanyi 2012).

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Workshop 1

The Dynamics of Speech Representation in the History of English

Conveners: Peter J. Grund & Terry Walker

Free Indirect Speech, Slipping, or a System in Flux? Exploring Overlaps between Direct and Indirect Speech in Early Modern English

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The use and function of speech representation have recently attracted increasing attention among English historical linguists (see, e.g., Camiciotti 2007; Culpeper & Kytö 2010; McIntyre & Walker 2011; Moore 2011; Jucker & Berger 2014; Busse forthcoming). This scholarship has mostly focused on the dynamics of direct and indirect speech in historical texts or the application of a number of well-defined categories developed in modern studies (esp. that of Semino & Short 2004). However, we have shown that a number of speech representation structures found in early modern witness statements defy easy classification and instead combine characteristics of different representation categories (Walker & Grund forthcoming). As yet, we know little about the frequency and characteristics of such "in-between" forms and what the implications of these forms might be for our understanding of the general system of speech representation in the history of English.

In this paper, we explore these issues further by investigating speech representation structures in Early Modern English that exhibit a mixture of what is commonly seen as features of direct speech and indirect speech. We draw data from an *Electronic Text Edition of Depositions 1560–1760* (ETED). This source is very useful for an exploration of speech representation since witness depositions are characterized by different levels of recorded speech (including the witness's own, and speech reported by the witness as spoken by others). Paying attention to patterns across the two-hundred year period, we chart the frequency and characteristics of different types of speech representation that overlap between direct and indirect speech (such as the mixture of third-person and first-person reference, and the use of reporting expression + *that* + direct speech representation).

In a broader perspective, we explore different ways of accounting for such "mixed" uses, including whether they can be considered instances of "slipping" (e.g., Schuelke 1958), early examples of "free indirect speech" (e.g., Fludernik 1993), or signs of a system under development (Moore 2011). We thus hope to contribute to the general outline of the system of speech representation in the history of English and to a broader discussion of how to apply modern frameworks of description to historical materials when reconstructing this system.

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Discursive Norms and Realities: Forms and Functions of Speech Presentation in 19th-century English Writing

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Diachronic analyses of discourse presentation in historical English texts have recently increased immensely (cf. Busse 2010, McIntyre and Walker 2011, Grund and Walker 2011).

The focus of this paper is a systematic investigation of speech presentation in nineteenth-century British English writing. The analysis is twofold: First, it will focus on practices of "verbal hygiene" (Cameron [1995] 2012) regarding forms and functions of speech presentation techniques in a corpus of selected 19th-century grammars of English, which is currently being compiled at the English department of Heidelberg University. I will then evaluate these attempts to set up norms against the actual use of speech presentation modes and strategies in a

corpus of 19th-century British English narrative fiction and newspaper reports. One aim is to assess the relationship between metalinguistic reflexivity and actual language usage. For this, it is necessary to quantitatively and qualitatively assess whether, and if so, which modes of discourse presentation are discussed in the grammars under investigation. Finally, these findings will be correlated with the use of forms and function of speech presentation modes in 19th-century narrative fictional texts and newspaper reports.

Drawing on the model of discourse presentation outlined by Leech and Short (1981) and Semino and Short (2004), which is elaborated in Busse (2010), I will focus on the micro- and macro-contexts surrounding discourse presentation in general and speech presentation in particular. I will show that it is possible to identify specific 19th-century patterns of speech presentation, that is, lexico-grammatical configurations that are characteristic or "diagnostic" (Toolan 2009: 16) of direct speech, free indirect speech or those reporting clauses that introduce, for example, indirect or direct speech. Furthermore, the paper will outline how it is possible to isolate speech presentation categories as a basis for semi-automatic searches.

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Quoting in Early Modern English Historiography

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Quoting is an integral part of both older and modern history writing. In medieval history writing, it serves evidential, evaluative and rhetorical-stylistic purposes (Claridge forthcoming), with the latter two functions potentially dominant. In modern history writing, as in other academic genres, it functions within referencing practices, i.e. is supposed to be predominantly evidential, but of course also has potential argumentative functions (e.g. Hyland 1999). Quoting in early and late Modern history writing has not been investigated so far, however (with the exception of a few remarks in Rissanen 1973). The present study thus focuses on the 16th and 17th centuries, a time when parameters important for historiography were changing. Humanism heightened awareness/knowledge not

only of the classical Greek and Roman historiographers (as potential models) but also of the value of primary documents as sources (together with a critical philological approach to them) (e.g. Burrow 2009). Especially this latter point, in conjunction with the so-called antiquarian movement in England, opens wider avenues for quoting within the realm of evidentiality. Furthermore, the advent of printing produces both more historiographical works in the first place as well as the greater availability of such works for every single historian. This potentially eases and intensifies heteroglossic works, in which different historical views can be disputed (in the sense of modern understandings of secondary literature). Different perspectives were probably more prevalent during these two centuries than before and also the time immediately following, with religious, social and political divisions proliferating, and all parties concerned using the new print medium for their purposes. Ideological and propagandist works may exploit quoting practices perhaps especially for evaluative and argumentative purposes, as Rissanen (1973) points out for the chronicler Hall, who hides his own(?) evaluation in a quotation, as it is potentially importune given Tudor *raison d'état*.

The data basis for this research consists of extracts from eight historians each from both centuries. These are for the 16th century Fabyan, Foxe, Hall, Hayward, Heywood, Holinshed, More, as well as Stow, and for the 17th century Bacon, Buck, Burnet, Camden, Clarendon, Dugdale, Habington, and Sanderson. This selection includes various approaches and topical foci, such as chronicling (e.g. Holinshed), humanist historiography (e.g. More), antiquarian perspectives (e.g. Camden), partisan-propagandist writing (e.g. Foxe), or eyewitness historiography (e.g. Clarendon).

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Hyland, Ken. 1999. "Academic Attribution: Citation and the Construction of Disciplinary Knowledge." *Applied Linguistics* 20 (3): 341-367.
Rissanen, Matti. 1973. *Studies in the Style and Narrative Technique of Edward Hall's Chronicle.* Helsinki: Societé Néophilologique.

Reconfiguring Quotation over the Longue Durée

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Direct quotation increases the dramatic element of a narrative and adds authenticity to evaluative claims (Schiffrin 1981). Speakers thus 'emphasize various aspects of the report' through the use of a range of quotative verbs (Romaine & Lange 1991:234). Variation thus adds color and versatility to this grammatical function. At the same time, recent work on direct quotation assumes (whether implicitly or explicitly) that the system is undergoing rapid and large-scale change via the emergence of innovative forms such as *go*, *be all*, *this is me*, and *be like* (e.g. Blyth et al. 1990; Buchstaller et al. 2010; Cheshire et al. 2011).

In this talk I explore the parameters of change across the *longue durée* (Braudel 1958), merging diachronic and synchronic materials to provide greater time depth than what is typically possible with contemporary recordings. This

approach is ideal for exploring the ongoing and continuous evolution of a linguistic system, particularly when merged with variationist methods to elucidate pathways of change. My concern here is the role of grammatical constraints on direct quotation, alongside evolution of functional, pragmatic and lexical repertoires. Drawing on data representing two varieties of English—Victoria English (Canada) and New Zealand English—I present a comparative variationist analysis of the quotative system, providing a continuous link between present-day quotation and that of the late nineteenth century. 7316 tokens are considered, extracted from 513 speakers with birth years spanning 1860 to 1996.

Analysis reveals a longitudinal and multi-faceted trajectory of change, resulting in a highly constrained variable grammar in which language-internal contextual factors evolve and specialize, the effects of which reverberate throughout the sector. In the latter half of the 19th century, quotation exhibited a constricted ecology, with the quotidian function to introduce third person speech. The emergence of a robustly variable grammar of quotation is a more recent development. Nonetheless, there was little fluctuation in the roles of individual forms across time, whether conservative (*say*) or innovative (*be like*). In other words, there is no evidence for recent catastrophic shifts within the overall configuration of the quotative system in either variety. Both follow parallel trajectories, suggesting general overarching change to direct quotation as a discourse genre.

The sum of these results highlights the need for historical perspectives on synchronic phenomena and serves as a reminder that (socio)linguistic variables cannot be described apart from the grammar in which they are fundamentally situated and constrained (Labov, 2001:84).

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From Our Correspondent at the Court: Reporting Authority and the Development of Speech Representation in Historical English Letters

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This paper investigates the formal and functional dimensions of reported discourse in sixteenth-century English correspondence. Despite their extensive use in historical sociolinguistics and literary studies, letters are a surprisingly under-examined genre in the study of speech representation in the history of English, although their potential has been demonstrated for the 18th century (Palander-Collin and Nevala 2010). The present paper explores the form and functions of reported language in correspondence from the sixteenth century – a key period of social and linguistic change. In particular, I focus on how letter-writers report the utterances - spoken, thought and written - of high-status sources (namely, the king or queen), in order to assess how the early modern reporting system compares with the present-day equivalent. In Present-Day English, the social status of a speaker has been found to influence the manner of report (e.g. the reporting verb, the mode of reporting, and the quantity and distribution; see Blackwell and Fox 2012; Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Johnstone 1987). However, less work has been done to establish when this association between speaker and form became established, and how this might intersect more broadly with early modern values of (textual) authenticity, verbatim reporting, and verbal authority. This is the focus of the present study.

The paper discusses results collected from the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC) and original corpora of Tudor royal correspondence (see Evans, forthcoming). These suggest that early modern writers prefer to present royal language using indirect reports which contain semi-conventionalised linguistic features that clearly mark the authority of the source. Only an elite few, associated with the Court, use direct speech. These correspondents were primarily in the employ of Henry VIIII, and occupied front-line positions as ambassadors and councillors (e.g. Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Wyatt). I consider how their use of direct speech representation can be understood pragmatically, as a strategy to demonstrate their competency, neutrality, and other attributes that would allow them to keep favour with the King; and the extent to which their usage accords with Present-Day frameworks (e.g. Semino and Short 2004) of the pragmatics of reported discourse.

In conclusion, I suggest that reporting practices for high-status sources differentiate between speech and writing, with the latter showing nascent signs of anxiety over verbatim reporting. I argue that these trends are part of the larger cultural shift from oral to written records taking place throughout the early modern period, and that this development needs to be more fully accounted for if we are to understand the development of speech representation in English.

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Initiating Direct Speech in Early Modern Fiction and Witness Depositions: A Contrastive Study

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This study explores the preface position in direct speech quotations in fictional texts and compares the findings gained to a previous study on witness depositions (Lutzky 2015). The aim is, on the one hand, to discover to what extent direct speech quotations are used in these Early Modern English (EModE) types of texts and, on the other hand, to investigate how they are signalled as direct speech. For example, Lutzky (2015) found that in her sample of EModE witness depositions, direct speech was frequently initiated by pragmatic markers with a range of functions and first person singular or plural pronouns and it will be the focus of this study to uncover similarities and differences between the two text types in question.

The data was chosen to allow for a comparison between the constructed text type of prose fiction and the authentic text type of witness depositions to discover how an impression of direct speech was created for literary purposes as opposed to reconstructed in a legal context during the EModE period. The text samples for both of these text types are drawn from *A Corpus of English Dialogues* (CED). This corpus was specifically designed to facilitate research on speech related and interactive data, which is why an effort was made to include text samples with extensive dialogic passages for prose fiction and witness depositions, both of which are generally known to be characterised by considerable narratorial intervention. As a consequence, the two subcorpora of the CED comprising 172,940 words of prose fiction samples and 223,890 words of witness depositions will serve as the basis of this study on direct speech quotations.

The analysis will include both quantitative and qualitative components, establishing first the direct speech initiators used in the two subcorpora to then engage in a closer study of their functions. This will lead into a wider discussion of the function of direct speech quotations or direct exchanges between characters and participants at particular points in a story or deposition. The overall aim is to gain further insights into the use and distribution of direct speech quotations and their functions in the text types at hand and to discover how they are initiated in the presence or absence of additional means, such as quotatives.

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The Path not Taken: Parentheses and Written Direct Speech

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University of Washington

Using quotation marks to flag directly reported speech in written English is a convention that developed only in the eighteenth century; prior to this point, direct discourse was marked through a number of other means (Moore 2011). One convention, prevalent in the late sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries, was to use parentheses to set off interjecting quotative clauses (sometimes called *inquit* clauses). In many Early Modern books, therefore, an utterance of direct speech appears like this (see Lennard 1991):

> Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of *Spaine?* (Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations*...., 1599. cited from *EEBO*)

Unlike modern quotation marks, however, the parentheses do not mark the words of represented speech, but rather mark the quotative clause that interrupts the utterance. This study traces this usage through the *Early English Books Online* database, examining constructions such as "said he" or "quoth she" to look at the changing frequency of the use of parentheses to mark inquit phrases in Early Modern printed books.

The waxing and waning of this usage in the Early Modern period illuminates the interdependence of different kinds of organizational structures for representing speech: one pragmatic convention rises to fill a communicative need for written language, and then it fades when another strategy emerges that suits better. Examining the convention of quotative parentheses and the textual environment that produced them helps us to understand the mechanisms through which written English adopted and then lost pragmatic markers in the first few centuries of printed texts.

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On the Road to New Ways of Representing Discourse: Nineteenth-Century Proto-Examples of Free Indirect and Related Forms

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Whereas forms of 'mixed' perspective have been claimed to exist as early as Chaucer (e.g. Fludernik 1993, 1995), the turning point for the emergence of Free Indirect forms of discourse representation is usually placed somewhere between the 17th and 19th centuries (e.g. Banfield 1982: Ch. 6, Adamson 2001, Sotirova 2007, McIntyre & Walker 2011), and Pascal's influential (1977) book on 'dual voice' has cemented the association of Free Indirect discourse with the 19th century novel.

In this paper, I want to put flesh on the implicit understanding that Free Indirect and related forms did not appear fully formed, by studying attested examples which from a present-day perspective would seem anomalous or inelegant. Examples include the use of quotation marks for Free Indirect representations in Austen (e.g. Leech & Short 1981), or the non-main clause syntax combined with quotation marks and capitalization in (1):

(1) The orator bustled up to him, and, drawing him partly aside, inquired "On which side he voted?" (…) Another short but busy little fellow pulled him by the arm, and (…) inquired in his ear "Whether he was Federal or Democrat?" (Washington Irving, "Rip Van Winkle")

I also argue that the traditional typologies (e.g. Semino & Short 2004) do not adequately capture a type previously identified as 'distancing indirect speech/thought' (e.g. Vandelanotte 2004, 2009, 2012), of which 'proto-forms' can likewise be found in 19th century literature. In (2), the I-narrator (Francis Osbaldistone) draws his servant Andrew's discourse (addressed to Francis' father) into his deictic viewpoint, using first person to refer to himself even though he is not the speaker:

(2) He went at great length into an account of the dangers I had escaped, chiefly, as he insinuated, by means of his own experience, exertion, and sagacity. "What was to come of me now, when my better angel, in his (Andrew's) person, was removed from my side, it was," he said, "sad and sair to conjecture; that the Bailie was nae better than just naebody at a pinch, or something waur, ..." (Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*)

The author's gloss ("Andrew's") provides a striking example of the author educating the reader into correctly interpreting novel forms of discourse representation. More generally, I interpret experimentation with various linguistic parameters as attempts at better representing character discourse, within the broader history of the novel as a genre to which access to the minds of characters is central (Palmer 2004).

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McIntyre, Dan & Brian Walker. 2011. "Discourse Presentation in Early Modern English Writing: A Preliminary Corpus-Based Investigation." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 16 (1): 101–130.
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Workshop 2

Diachronic approaches to the typology of language contact

Conveners: Olga Timofeeva & Richard Ingham

Buried Treasure: In Search of the Old Norse Influence on Middle English Lexis

Richard Dance & Britanny Schorn
University of Cambridge

The linguistic contexts of Viking Age England in which speakers of Old English and the early Scandinavian languages ('Old Norse') encountered one another, and the mechanisms by which material was transferred between them, have been the subject of important research (see esp. Townend 2002). But there remains a great deal of detailed analysis to be undertaken on that transferred material itself, especially the very rich and diverse ON influence on the medieval English lexicon. The lexical data is very challenging, not least etymologically: given the genetic proximity of the languages in contact, it can be unusually difficult to identify which English words really do show input from ON. And this is only the first step in the investigation of these words' histories, which should incorporate similarly detailed studies of their forms, meanings, usage and diffusion in English. In recent years there has been intensive etymological and contextual work on the Norse-derived vocabulary of some texts and traditions, especially before *c*. 1300; see esp. Pons-Sanz (2007, 2013), Dance (2003, 2011). Nevertheless, the Scandinavian influence on the vocabulary of the great later Middle English literary monuments has rarely seen sustained exploration; and texts composed in the North and East of England, where the influence from ON is attested in its greatest range and complexity, have not been treated together in a major, etymologically analytical study since Björkman's survey of 1900–1902.

In this paper, I shall describe the new methodological framework developed for my detailed study of the etymologies of the 483 words for which ON input has been claimed in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Using a range of examples, better-known and more obscure, I shall discuss the varied and complex types of evidence for Scandinavian input which they reveal. I shall also introduce the larger, collaborative project which will succeed and continue this study. The *Gersum* Project (funded by the U.K.'s Arts and Humanities Research Council, and managed by Dr Sara Pons-Sanz and I) will begin in January 2016, and will apply the methods of the *Gawain* study to the Norse-derived words in a much larger corpus of ME texts, investigating not only their etymologies but also their phonology and morphology, their meanings, their wider dialect distribution, and their usage in their literary contexts, and will present this data in a fully searchable online catalogue.

Björkman, Erik. 1900. *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*. Halle: Niemeyer.

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———. 2013. *The Lexical Effects of Anglo-Scandinavian Linguistic Contact on Old English*. Turnhout: Brepols.
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Exploring the penetration of words borrowed from Scandinavian languages or from (Anglo-)French in the basic vocabulary of Middle English

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Keywords: lexical borrowing; core vocabulary; polysemy

It is has long been observed that borrowing of basic, core vocabulary is relatively rare, and is indicative of certain types of contact situations (compare for instance Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001). Recent research has sought to refine earlier work on identifying basic vocabulary categories (such as Swadesh lists) and to place such work on a firmer empirical footing (see especially Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). However, problems remain, for instance in identifying how far a particular word is the usual realization of a particular basic meaning (e.g., if 'soil' is identified as a basic meaning category, the problem remains of determining whether *soil*, *earth*, or *dirt* is the usual realization of this word in English, the answer to which may differ according to stylistic register, variety of English, or finer-grained semantic factors), and in establishing what was 'usual' in earlier historical periods for which, necessarily, less complete data is available.

This paper takes as its starting point those words of either early Scandinavian or (Anglo-)French origin which are (either arguably or indisputably) the usual realizations in modern English of meanings occurring in the Leipzig-Jakarta list of 100 basic meanings (see Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009), taking as its starting point the analysis in Durkin (2014), which identifies (from early Scandinavian) *root*, *wing*, *hit*, *leg*, *egg*, *give*, *skin*, *take* (*they* does not occur in the Leipzig-Jakarta 100-meaning list), and (from (Anglo-)French) *carry*, *soil*, *cry*, *crush*. This paper examines how far one can trace the patterns of competition shown between these items and (mostly but not exclusively native-origin) items of similar meaning, focussing on the Middle English period; in particular, it assesses how far systemic functional factors (such as avoidance of ambiguous polysemy or reduction of functional load in words with more than one high-frequency meaning; compare Samuels 1972, 1987, Kay and Allan forthcoming 2016) may

have had a part to play in the penetration of these borrowed items into the basic vocabulary. In particular, competition between *carry* and (native) *bear* will be examined in detail as a test case.

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Haspelmath, Martin & Uri Tadmor. (eds.). 2009. *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

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Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Current views on Celtic as a factor in the history of English

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In her review article on three recent works on the history of English, Donka Minkova (2008: 903) notes that "work on the Celtic linguistic substratum is still not part of the establishment history of English." Despite a growing body of research focusing on different aspects of the role of Celtic substratum influence in the history of the English language (see, e.g. Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen (eds.) 2002, Vennemann 2002, Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2008, McWhorter 2009, Ahlqvist 2010, Trudgill 2010, Hickey 2012), the role of Celtic contact influences in the historical development of the English language remains a relatively underrepresented area in even the most recent textbook accounts of the history of English.

Our aim in this paper is, firstly, to assess the nature of the Celtic (Brythonic)-Anglo-Saxon contacts in the light of contemporary theories of language contact situations (Thomason & Kauffman 1988, Trudgill 2011) and argue that that the nature of the contact situation in the first few centuries after the *adventus Saxonum* was such that contact influences between (British) Celtic and Old English (Anglo-Saxon) were more than likely. Secondly, we will focus on the question of the role of lexis in language shift situations; our analysis of three corpora of present day Celtic Englishes (Irish English, Hebridean English and Welsh English) indicates that, despite a fair number of Celtic-derived features in their morphosyntax, the amount of lexical transfer in these modern Celtic Englishes is rather minimal. This offers further evidence to support the claim that the relatively scarce evidence of lexical transfer in the analogous medieval contact

scenarios should not be taken as a valid argument against contact influence at phonological and morphosyntactic levels. And finally, we will also review some recent work on early Celtic influence in English, such as McWhorter (2009), Schrijver (2009), Ahlqvist (2010), Trudgill (2010), Benskin (2011) and Vennemann (2013), and argue that the accumulated evidence for Celtic influence on English has reached a level that calls for a reassessment of the establishment history of English.

Ahlqvist, Anders. 2010. "Early English and Celtic." *Australian Celtic Journal* 9: 43–73.

Benskin, Michael. 2011. "Present Indicative Plural Concord in Brittonic and Early English." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 109: 158–85.

Filppula, Markku, Juhani Klemola & Heli Pitkänen (eds.). 2002. *The Celtic Roots of English*. Joensuu: Joensuu University Press.

Filppula, Markku, Juhani Klemola & Heli Paulasto. 2008. *English and Celtic in Contact.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hickey, Raymond. 2012. "Early English and the Celtic hypothesis." In: Terttu Nevalainen & Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 497–507.

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Syntactic effects of contact in translations: Evidence from object pronoun placement in Middle English

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Although it is often suggested in the literature on historical syntax that a translated text may be influenced by its source language, there is little work that has examined the nature of this potential interference in detail. This paper will show that by looking at object pronoun placement in Middle English some interesting

insights can be gained into how language contact in translation contexts can affect the syntax.

As is well-known, English loses its head-final properties in the verbal syntax soon after the OE period. Thus, object-verb order with non-negative, non-quantified nominal objects is to a large extent lost after the middle of the 13th century (Pintzuk and Taylor 2006). Evidence from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2* (PPCME2, Kroch and Taylor 2000) shows that the same is true for pronominal objects. Preverbal placement of object pronouns is virtually non-existent in texts after 1250. There are some exceptions, however. In the PPCME2 period 1250-1350, the *Ayenbite of Inwit* and the *Kentish Sermons* have frequencies of preverbal object pronoun placement of 70% and more both with finite and with non-finite main verbs. Similarly, in the PPCME2 period 1350-1420, there is one text, the Middle English prose *Brut*, that shows frequencies that are well above those of the other texts, with OV reaching over 30% with finite main verbs and more than 50% with non-finite main verbs. What is common to all these three outliers is that they are translations of French texts. Given that French object pronouns systematically occur in preverbal position, French influence is a very plausible explanation of the distinctive status of the three ME texts with high frequencies of preverbal object placement.

In this paper, I will try to shed some light on the nature of the influence of a source language on the syntax of a translation by examining all the texts with a French source that are contained in the PPCME2. Apart from the three texts mentioned above, this also includes texts that behave like non-translated ones with respect to object pronoun placement (*Mandeville's Travels*, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *Morte Darthur*). I will address the following questions: Why are there contact effects in some texts and not in others? In texts where influence of the source language is likely, do the authors follow their source slavishly or is there variation in the way they do or do not follow their source? To find answers to the second question, I will provide close comparative analyses of the *Ayenbite of Inwit* and the *Brut*, and corresponding French texts. To conclude, I will explore some general consequences of my findings with respect to the status of translations as sources of evidence in historical syntax.

Why Norse loanwords in English alliterative poetry?

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Alliterative poetry was employed throughout literate Anglo-Saxon England and far beyond the Norman Conquest. One of the core features was the use of a great variety of nominal content words typically referring to heroic fighting. How did Norse loans become part of this highly traditional vocabulary?

On the basis of a selective corpus of words referring to warfare and male social ranks, the paper discusses the role of Norse loans from late Old English (Brunanburh, Maldon) to early Middle English (Lagamon's Brut) and later Middle English (Sir Gawain), with a view to their espressive functions (descriptive / poetic colouring) and to the contact situation, dialect area, and social rank of poet and audience.

Old English poets, in their endeavours towards lexical variation, deviated from prose usage mostly by means of archaisms and compound formations. The use of Norse loanwords in the two poems dealing with military conflicts between Anglo-Saxons and Vikings primarily adds elements of realism to a traditional text type. Nevertheless, their use deserves also to be discussed against the background of ealdorman Aethelweard's use of rare Greek terms for 'ship' in passages of his Latin *Chronicon* about naval battles (Lutz 2000).

Post-Conquest poets expanded their expressive means with loanwords of both Old Norse and Anglo-Norman origin. Lagamon's archaising *Brut* was produced in early 13th-century Worcester, which had close political and cultural ties with York and as such both to pre-Conquest Wessex and to the former Danelaw (Lendinara 1999, Dance 2003). His selection of Norse loans had nothing to do with its Celtic and Anglo-Saxon subject matter but rather with his audience. Later Middle English poems, despite their Arthurian subject matter, used even more Norse loans as features of their alliterative art, because they addressed regional Midland and Northern audiences with their Norse admixture.

Thus, taken together, Norse loans in alliterative poetry reflect the somewhat broken continuity of both Anglo-Saxon and Viking identities: their use survived the Norman conquest in regions that preserved and developed these features for specific audiences.

Dance, Richard. 2003. *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts*. Tempe, Arizona.

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The nature of close-relative contact: West and North Germanic language contacts and their results in Anglo-Saxon England and the Northern Isles

Robert Millar
University of Aberdeen

What happens when two closely related but discrete language varieties come into contact? Are the results different from contact between dialects of what is generally recognised to be one language? Does the level of mutual intelligibility between near relatives matter in relation to the result of the contact?

This paper considers in depth two contacts between English (taken in its broadest sense) and the North Germanic languages. The first of these is well-known: the effects of contact between Old English and Viking Norse in the North of England in the Anglo-Saxon period. There is still much to be debated about this contact, in particular perhaps in connection to how its results relate to the effects Celtic varieties might have had upon the development of English in relation to the typological changes through which the language passed during the period. The primacy of contact with Norse is supported by, among others, Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Millar (2000) and Fischer (2013). In recent years the argument for Celtic influence being predominant has grown considerably in support and has

been expressed particularly forcefully by Trudgill (2010 and 2011) and Schrijver (2014) (although it should be noted that the nature of the contact is analysed differently by each scholar). This paper will argue for a constructive synthesis of these explanations, but will concentrate in the main on how English and Norse might have interacted linguistically, avoiding the grievous errors exhibited in works like Emonds and Faarlund (2014). It will focus, however, on whether koineisation (Kerswill 2001; Siegel 1985 and 1987) between these near relatives is a primary force behind these changes. The other context considered is, perhaps, less well known: the results of the contact between the native Norn language (Barnes 1998; Rendboe 1984 and 1987) and the incoming Scots dialects in the Northern Isles (Millar 2007 and 2008; Knooihuizen 2009). What traces of Norn can we find in the modern Insular Scots dialects? How do they differ from more mainstream Scots varieties? Why are the results of this contact so different from the Old English—Viking Norse contacts previously discussed?

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From *sicker* to *sure*: the contact-induced lexical layering within the medieval English adjectives of certainty

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The prevailing OE adjective of certainty was *gewiss*, inherited from the Proto-Germanic **ga-wissaz*, the past participle of the verb *witan* 'to know', and its cognates are found in all the (early) Germanic languages. Another OE adjective was *sicor*, borrowed into Germanic from Latin *securus* at an early stage, definitely before the OHG Consonantal Shift, as evidenced by German *sicher* (<OHG *sihhur*). In Old English, however, *sicor* was a rare word and it was not until early Middle English that *siker* became the most common adjective of certainty after the demise of the adjective *y-wis* (<*gewiss*) in the 12th c. (though the adverb *iwis* 'certainly' continued to be used throughout the ME period) despite the fact that Old Norse typically used its cognate *víss*.

In the late 13th c. new borrowings from Anglo-Norman appeared: *sure* and *certain*. The former was the regular French phonetic development of *securus* and is lavishly attested in both Old French and Anglo-Norman forms *segur, seur, sur*, etc., which entered Middle English, first obviously among bilingual speakers (cf. Schendl and Wright 2011, Ingham 2012), but the word spread quickly to all dialects and genres, and was used alongside its English doublet *siker*, not infrequently in a binomial pair *sure and sicker*, the latter word sometimes spelt *secure* in the 14th c. although the new Latinate *secure* is not attested until the 1530s. In the paper we will try and examine the diffusion of the new Anglo-French items and the gradual obsolescence of native *sicker* (lost after the 16th c. except for the northern British dialects) across the ME dialects, subperiods and text types. We will also take into account the manuscript variation.

The history of English adjectives of certainty definitely confirms the view of layering, described by Hopper 1991 as the tendency to preserve multiple synonymy in languages. His views have mostly been used to discuss the phenomenon in the context of grammaticalization, but they can also be applied with reference to lexis: "the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers" (1991: 22), as is shown in some recent research (Arista 2011, 2014, Brems 2012, Traugott 2008). The fact that the successive English adjectives of certainty coexisted and competed with one another for centuries strongly corroborates the principle of semantic layering.

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Borrowing of argument structure: a gap in borrowing scales

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This paper discusses why the borrowing of verbs, i.e. its argument structure, has never been truly dealt with in models of language contact including borrowing scales and hierarchies. I assume that the reason for this gap is the use of the long-standing traditional dichotomy between lexical and structural borrowing. Since verbs have both lexical and structural properties there is no question of either or, and this is why we should rethink our terminology when we define borrowing.

One of the most frequently cited works in the field of language contact clearly is Thomason & Kaufman's 1988 monograph, the reason being that back then for the first time the authors dealt with language contact in the historical dimension in a systematic fashion. Scrutinising the borrowing scale they proposed to measure the intensity of contact reveals that although they thoroughly defined five stages going from casual contact to heavy structural borrowing by giving very detailed information as to what is likely to be borrowed, the authors do not mention the borrowing of the argument structure of verbs at all. If our survey is extended to other borrowing scales or hierarchies that have been proposed in the literature we find a slightly different picture. The hierarchies suggested for

example by Haugen (1953), Muysken (1981) and Matras (2007) which predict the borrowability of word-classes from a quantative perspective, include verbs and state that they are less likely to be borrowed than nouns but more likely than for example subordinating conjunctions or inflectional affixes (Muysken and Matras). Nevertheless, again the distinction between lexical and structural borrowing is implicit, and moreover, it is not explicitly defined what verb borrowing actually means.

Interestingly, even if we consult works that focus on the borrowing of verbs like Wohlgemuth (2009) we do not find any information as to how argument structure might be borrowed. The author dedicates his work solely to the accommodation or formal adaptation of verbs in the recipient language (as defined by Heine and Kuteva (2005)). This seems to be surprising if not paradoxical since we know from contemporary studies of contact and acquisition (e.g. Schmitt, 2000, Myers-Scotton, 2002) that argument structure can be and is borrowed. So the question arises why this phenomenon has never been included in borrowing scales and hierarchies, and in more general terms, in the study of borrowing.

An explanation probably is the dichotomy between lexical and structural borrowing which is the basis of almost all studies of language contact as mentioned above. In the talk I will discuss properties of verbs and why they fall out of the traditional picture. I will also suggest a terminology that is better suited to account for the borrowing of verbs and will point to the fact that the nature of verbs, and thus their being borrowed, serves as a good indicator to measure the intensity of contact.

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Once again, *folks*: The gain and loss of military terms

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Military terms form one of three domains of specialized Germanic vocabulary which, when an Indo-European etymology had not been found, used to be classified as owed to substrate influence; the other two are the law and societal organization. I have documented and criticized this view in my 1984 article on early Germanic vocabulary, demonstrating with samples from six languages that the military, the law, and the state form on the contrary precisely those domains in which non-inherited items are regularly owed not to substratal but to superstratal contact influence. In Lutz 2002 this is shown in greater detail and with an additional focus, the replacement of an existing nomenclature by a superstratal one, for English legal vocabulary. In my presentation I will show, using the documentation time-lines of the OED on the model of my 2012 article on *athel* and *noble* as well as other resources, how military expressions used for centuries may nevertheless lose ground and are replaced by new terms of similar or identical meaning owing to superstratal language contact; "the replacement of numerous very general terms, e.g. *here* with *army*, *gefeoht* with *battle*, *feond* with *enemy*, is clearly due to superstratal influence, just like the introduction of a large number of verbs such as *arm*, *besiege*, *defend*, for which Old English had perfectly good equivalents" (Lutz 2013: 573). The partial typology of contact influences developed in this way will in a final section be applied to military terms of obscure etymology, among which one already touched upon in 1984 and repeatedly since then, OE *folk* 'division of an army', will again receive attention.

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Middle English borrowing from French: nouns and verbs of interpersonal cognition in the Early South English Legendary

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The Early South English Legendary was described as a 'popular' and 'widespread' source of medieval lay religious instruction by Görlach (1998), who also noted the extensive French-origin lexis it contains. This paper offers an

analysis of c. 275 French-origin lexical types in a large sample from this late 13th-century source, finding that the conventional account of French borrowing into Middle English, emphasising high-status occupations and activities (e.g. Kastovsky 2006, Barber, Beal & Shaw 2009, Minkova & Stockwell 2009, among many others) fits this data rather poorly. Over a third of borrowed words denoted abstract concepts of general applicability such as suspicion, plenty, joy, doubt etc. Particularly noticeable were words for mental states and ways of communicating involving self and others: blame, honour, consent, beguile, betray, annoy, confirm, disturb, etc., where a cognitive representation of an event involving another person is involved. We term the latter verbs of social cognition, and consider their significance in relation to current views of the status of French in mediaeval England, comparing them with the presence of native-origin lexis in this semantic domain. The extension of French-origin lexis to non-material life, for aspects of cognitive experience not inherently determined by social rank, lends further weight to the socially and semantically broader perspective on French loans in English encouraged by Rothwell (1998).

In this sample of a little over 3,000 lines of text, one new French-derived lexical type of all kinds occurred nearly every 10 lines, implying familiarity among the intended audience with a wide range of French-origin vocabulary. Evidently, French-origin vocabulary, including a large number of terms for abstract concepts not forming part of high status-oriented content domains, was considered appropriate for popular didactic use with lay folk at this time, in preference to native-origin lexis. It is concluded that the nature of much of the loan lexis in the Legendary suggests that the creation of a French-influenced high register of English (McMahon1994), well before the end of the medieval period, was already underway (cf. Durkin 2014).

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Latin loans and their diffusion in Old English

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Re-evaluating historical data in the light of contemporary methodology is always a fruitful exercise, which can help see the former in a new illuminating way and, sometimes, highlight the shortcomings of the latter. A few years ago I tried to apply Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale to the English-Latin contact situation in Anglo-Saxon England after the Christianisation period (Timofeeva 2010a). What the study revealed was that on the one hand most of the mechanisms that are associated with language-contact situations today (various types of language mixing, first- and second-language transfer effects) can also be attested in Anglo-Saxon data; on the other hand the evaluation of the contact situation as a whole would predict a very low intensity of contact and, hence, only negligible contact-induced interference between English and Latin. This paradox can readily be explained by the fact that the contact effects are only observable in the high written registers, while the low spoken ones are (and will forever remain) undocumented (Timofeeva 2013a,b). And yet, the linguistic data (lexical and even structural loans) are there, transferred into educated Old English and in some cases carried over into the post-Conquest period.

In this paper I would like to consider how contact-induced innovations (lexical and syntactic) diffused in medieval English and to attempt to reconstruct their diffusion scenarios from the perspective of translation studies (Koller 1998) and contact-induced grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva 2005), by at the same time drawing on the sociolinguistic methodology of Milroy & Milroy (1985) and Trudgill (1974) and the role of innovators and adopters in the dissemination of borrowed linguistic patterns. The lexical data for this study (a select body of late Latin loans) will come from the electronic recourses like the DOE, OED, and the DOE Web Corpus, while the syntactic part will be based on the data collected for my PhD on Latin-based non-finite constructions in Old English (Timofeeva 2010b). It appears that strong ties within monastic communities would generally prevent contact-induced lexical change from spreading outside the monasteries. Yet the role of individual innovators with both clerical and non-clerical ties (e.g., Ælfric) and early adopters with elementary Latin proficiency (e.g., parish priests) in diffusion of change should not be underestimated.

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Workshop 3

Intersubjectivity and the Emergence of Grammatical Patterns in the History of English

Conveners: Sylvie Hancil & Alexander Haselow

From subjectivity to intersubjectivity: Changing patterns of politeness in English

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The comment clauses *if you ask me* and *if I may say so* are typically attached to a speaker opinion or evaluation, functioning to undercut the strength of the utterance ('this is just my personal opinion; you may not accept it'):

(1) It was all the mother's fault**, if you ask me** (2005 COCA: FIC)
(2) **If I may say so**, that's totally unrealistic. (1992 COCA: SPOK)

They thus serve as politeness markers by mitigating the attack on negative (and positive) face. Yet they do this in different ways: *If you ask me* suggests that the interlocutor might have asked for the proffered opinion, while *if I may say so* seeks the interlocutor's permission to offer the opinion.

The two comment clauses appear at very different times: *if I may say so* in the late sixteenth century and *if I ask me* two centuries later:

(3) neyther onely with theyr functions, but also (**if I may say so**) with their words and exhortations. (1598 Luis, de Granada; EEBO)
(4) "Well, it is the trick of the trade, **if you ask me** (1883 George Bennett, Theft > simple larceny; Old Bailey Proceedings)

Both forms function as "indirect conditions" "dependent on the implicit speech act of the utterance" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1089, 1095). This paper first examines whether it is diachronically possible to "reconstruct" the implied apodosis:

(5) If you ask me, **I will tell you (that)** it's all the mother's fault
(6) If I may say so, **I will say (that)** that's totally unrealistic

It then turns to the semantic/pragmatic development. Here we see (inter)subjective meanings (which are pragmatically inferrable from the construction) becoming the coded meanings (see Traugott 2010: 35, 54). *If I may say so* is subjective. It explicitly mentions only the speaker (the "I" subject); while it conditionally requests permission, the giver of the permission is not explicitly evoked and might be quite general. *If you ask me* is intersubjective. It explicitly mentions both the addressee (the "you" subject) and the speaker ("me"). The focus is on what the hearer did or might do. Since 1980, the usage of *if you ask me* has surpassed *if I may say so*. This change may thus be part of a more general shift from positive to negative politeness (Jucker 2011).

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Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2010. “(Inter)Subjectivity and (Inter)Subjectification: A Reassessment.” In: Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.). *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 29–71.

Notions of (im)politeness and intersubjectivity

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This paper critically explores how notions deployed in the theorisation of (im)politeness (a) are currently deployed or reflected in studies of intersubjectivity or intersubjectification, or (b) might have potential in the study of intersubjectivity or intersubjectification. We will examine in particular three areas. The first is 'face'. Discussions of language change have drawn on the traditional politeness model Brown and Levinson (1987). It has been suggested that politeness oriented to positive face promotes language change, whereas politeness oriented to negative face retards language change (Wheeler 1994). However, the categories positive and negative politeness have been criticised for including within them disparate elements (cf. Jucker 2008, 2011; Leech 2014) (see also: Beeching 2007, linking aspect of face to propagation/innovation in semantic change, and Traugott & Dasher 2002: 228, on the semasiology of honorific social deictics in Japanese). Moreover, they ignore the 'intersubjectivity' captured in Goffman's (1967) original definition of face. The second is reciprocity. The notion of reciprocity in social interaction perhaps evolves from Gouldner (1960), a social psychologist. Reciprocity has been somewhat underplayed in studies of politeness, but its importance is acknowledged (cf. Culpeper 2011; Leech 2014). Put simply, a speaker who produces an utterance in a particular context with a certain level of politeness puts the addressee under pressure to reciprocate in kind. A diachronic approach to reciprocity can be operationalized by looking at the ‘resonance’ of constructions of politeness throughout a speech event. In dialogic syntax, resonance is intended as the catalytic activation of constructional affinities across utterances (cf. Du Bois & Giora 2014). We will explore the potential of this model for incorporating the crucial role played by reciprocity in the study of politeness within a usage-based framework to language change. The third is the role of conventionalised politeness expressions. Although there is some debate about whether politeness can be inherent in language, most researchers accommodate the idea that particular expressions become at least semi-conventionalised for certain politeness values in specific contexts. Watts (2003) refers to this as 'politic behaviour'; Terkourafi (e.g. 2001, 2005) accounts for such expressions in her 'frame-based' theory of politeness. The important point here, as Terkourafi (e.g. 2001) points out, is that the usage of such expressions demonstrates to others knowledge of community norms.

During our discussion we will draw examples and mini-case studies from historical English data, especially the diachronic 1.6 billion word Hansard Corpus (British Parliament), 1803-2005.

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Du Bois, John W. & Rachel Giora. 2014. "From Cognitive-Functional Linguistics to Dialogic Syntax." *Cognitive Linguistics* 25 (3), 351–357.

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Compensation as a motivation of change: a case study of the Early Modern English address system

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Explanations of language change often invoke compensation – i.e. a linguistic innovation happens to compensate for an earlier loss. However, the concept is controversial. It generally rings of the teleological fallacy (Croft 2000) and compensation as a motivation of change has also been criticized in many specific cases (De Smet 2009; Lorenz forthc.; Himmelmann & Reinohl subm.). One problem is that the functions of lost and alleged compensatory forms often do not

exactly match (Van de Velde 2014). However, the notion of compensation may simply be in need of refinement.

This paper explores whether language change can be motivated by compensation strategies by focusing on the changes in the pronominal address system in Early Modern English (EModE). We hypothesize that the communicative functions realized by the EModE *thou/you* contrast did not become irrelevant, but were actually compensated for by nominal address forms. For instance, *Mr. Drummond* in (1) might help mark social distance where EModE *you* is no longer distinctive.

(1) ***Mr. Drummond**, how can **you** encourage such–* (1743, CLMET3.1)

Compensation strategies are investigated in three EModE comedy plays. For each conversational turn, address terms have been identified, as well as the kind of speaker-hearer dyad in which the utterance is exchanged. The speaker-hearer dyads have been described in terms of the power and solidarity dimensions (Brown & Gilman 1960; Walker 2007; Norrby & Warren 2012) and include a gender variable and a contextual variable (Nevala 2004).

If the loss of social deixis as marked by pronouns is compensated by nominal address forms, the following tendencies may be expected. (1) Nominal address forms are increasingly used along with *you*, which would make sense, because *you* is the pronominal form that loses distinctiveness during EModE. (2) The number of turns including *thou*, which is the increasingly more marked and expressive form, in combination with nominal address forms remains more or less stable. (3) Nominal address forms most often combine with *you* when addressing social superiors, i.e. when the need for marking a power-relation is most acute. And (4) once *thou* has disappeared, nominal forms start increasing in contexts marked by high solidarity or social inferiority. Preliminary results already confirm hypotheses (1) and (3). In light of this, it is plausible that, at least in certain domains, compensation strategies might indeed motivate language change.

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A diachronic study of the final particle *but*

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There has recently been a growing interest in final particles from a synchronic point of view in non-Asian languages (see, for example, Hancil, Haselow & Post 2015) but no diachronic analysis has been pursued in these languages so far. The purpose of this paper is to close the gap and provide a diachronic investigation of the final particle *but* in a Northern English variety, Newcastle English, by relying on the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE) extending on a 50 years' span (1960-2010) :

A: was that the other night
B: ehm what day is it
A: it would have b
B: friday
A: it would have been not last night **but**
B: wednesday
A: yeah she said that she saw him
B: yeah
A: because i was out with her last night
B : because he rang up (DECTE)

It was shown in Hancil (2014) that the final particle could be associated with five semantico-pragmatic values : contrast, anaphor, cataphor, intensifier and phatic value. A quantitative study based on sociolinguistic parameters will be pursued to see how these values evolved through time and how they can be classified on Traugott & Dasher's (2002) subjectification cline and to what extent the right periphery is linked with intersubjectivity (Traugott 2010). This will lead us to reconsider the classification of the final particle *but* : the particle has functional properties of both a discourse marker – it is a « sequentially dependent element which brackets units of talk » (Schiffrin 1987 : 31) -- and a modal particle – it « expresses the speaker's attitude to the proposition, the relationship between the proposition and the real world, and the speaker's relatonship's with the hearer » (Hasselgård 2006 : 95) ; this hybrid classification will conduct us to postulate that there exists a category of final particles, whose members are communicatively obligatory and paradigmatically related.

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Formulaic speech, pre-fabs *and stuff like that* – Chunking as a mechanism of change in grammar

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One effect of an individual's experience with language is the development a broad range of habits that result from verbal routines. Certain sequences of forms are used over and over, that is, speakers do not always use the full creative potential of language to express their thoughts, but often resort to habitualized expressions, which have been variously referred to in the literature as *pre-fabs* (Erman & Warren 2000), *chunks* (Beckner & Bybee 2009), *formulaic language* (Wray 2002), and the like. Such units have been found to be processed faster (Arnon & Snider 2010) and to be produced more fluently than novel formations (Pawley & Syder 1983; Erman 2007). Moreover, there is robust evidence for neuroanatomic differences in the representation of formulaic expressions or chunks and that of compositional speech in the brain (Van Lancker Sidtis 2012). Recurrent sequences of forms thus tend to differ cognitively from creative language use or "novel" speech.

This talk will focus on a kind of change by which pieces of syntax, that is, sequences of constituents, over time lose their compositional character, undergoing an internal reorganization from free combination toward a single form–meaning unit that serves language-structuring and intersubjective functions, while still having parallel uses as constituents. I will show how frequency and usage in specific constructions affect mental representation, focusing on sequences of forms that developed into chunks through repeated use in highly particular contexts and that have come to serve the structuring of language on a macro-level. Examples discussed are the development of the discourse marker *anyway*, which originates from the serialization of an indefinite determiner and a concrete noun, and that of general extenders such as *and stuff like that*, which originate from coordinated noun phrases. The developments will be explained with the concept of *chunking*, which involves a change in representation from

analytic to holistic processing resulting from repetition. Corpus-data from different periods of the English language will provide evidence for the hypothesis that frequency has an effect on linguistic representation which, in turn, triggers important formal and functional changes of the emerging chunk, such as the reanalysis of morpheme boundaries and the loss of integration into clause-internal dependency relations.

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You may have a point there: On the development of intersubjective *there*

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In some uses of *there* in Present-Day English, the deictic potential of spatial *there* is used to relate an utterance to the preceding discourse by anaphorically referring to (a part of) the earlier discourse:

(1) A: What I'm **saying there** is that being ideological about where it's made isn't necessarily what's in the best interest of our customer. I'm more interested … (*NOW Corpus*, 13-08-19, US *OregonLive.com*)

(2) "… I do not believe that he seeks such a tipple". Mr. Banks: "The Minister **is wrong there**". Mr. Gummer: "In that case, the hon. Gentleman sets an example …" (*BNC*, 42 HHV, *W_hansard*)

In these anaphoric uses, *there* is employed for clause combining, a field in which English has seen a massive change in its development from Old English to Modern English. With the collapse of the inflection for case and grammatical gender in demonstratives, English speakers lost their main means of clause combining, namely pronominal connectors such as *forþæm, forþon, forþy* 'because; therefore'. Instead of these, Middle and Early Modern English speakers

chose lexical means such as *because* or *additionally* or they formed new connectors replacing pronominal deixis with demonstratives (*þæm, þon, þy*) by originally spatial *there* and *here*-compounds, which in the literature have been linked to the 'spatialization of language in literacy' (Ong 1982: 100).

While such an analysis holds for the *there*-compounds, which are – with the slight exception of *therefore* – mainly attested in written, even formal, genres, the use of *there* discussed in this paper, which is restricted to the spoken mode, can only partially be explained as a parallel to the *there*-compounds. In contexts such as *You have a point there*, *there* is content-procedural in that it anaphorically refers to the preceding discourse. In addition to this, there is a clear intersubjective meaning of emphasis in negotiating one's arguments (by relating it to the preceding discourse). Originally spatial *there* thus shows a path of development from content to content-procedural and procedural meanings (and from subjective to intersubjective ones), a path which in Traugott and Dasher (2002) is suggested as a regularity in semantic change.

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Workshop 4

Early American Englishes

Conveners:Merja Kytö & Lucia Siebers

Historical retention, progressive nation or the eye of the beholder? The evolution of morphological Americanisms

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When present-day morphological or grammatical differences between American and British English are discussed, researchers are quite quick at labelling American forms "historical retentions" should the historical facts fit, or (if they don't) as being more progressive and leading the change in Englishes world-wide. However, closer corpus-based investigations may call for a more differentiated picture (Anderwald 2012, 2013, 2014; cf. also Hundt 2009). In particular, what looks like simple historical retentions may turn out to be post-colonial revivals, or (even worse) follow a zig-zagging trajectory. Thus, the historical participle form *gotten* nearly died out in historical American English (as in British English), but was revived in the nineteenth century and has increased in frequency until today. Some new strong verbs have evolved that have no historical precedent (*drug* for *dragged*, *snuck* for *sneaked*, cf. Hogg 1988; Murray 1998; but also *dove* for *dived*, *pled* for *pleaded*) and that seem to be following individual trajectories of change over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some regularizing verbs have become more irregular again only very recently (*dreamt* for *dreamed*, *leapt* for *leaped*), reviving the former innovative form, rather than being a true historical retention. Establishing these different developments is of course a task for the historical corpus linguist. However, these recent changes also call for a closer investigation of the circumstances that have led to these revivals, and the factors that may have influenced them. In the linguistic discourse so far, the establishment of morphological differences has often been linked to the emergence of an American sense of nationhood (e.g. Kövecses 2000; Edwards 2013), and thus a deliberate dissociation from British English is postulated. Intuitively plausible as this may be, both the timing of the changes I have investigated so far and a closer look at prescriptive sources that are said to have "forced" these developments turn up very little in the way of substantiation. Instead, I will argue that what seems to have happened is that ("objective") linguistic differences became re-interpreted as embodying all-American principles once they became salient, and were labelled Americanisms (among others, by linguists) *after* the fact of their establishment. Both the linguistic facts and the concept of American English may thus be younger than we generally think, and may partly indeed lie in the "eye of the beholder".

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Historical Canadian English lexis and semantics: an assessment in contrastive, real-time perspective

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The study of Canadian English prior to 1900 represents arguably one of the biggest research desiderata in North American Englishes. Challenges comprise both a relative lack of historical studies in comparison to the country's geographical scope (but see Dollinger 2008, Reuter 2015) and theoretical issues, e.g., a mismatch of formation models with newer data (e.g. Schneider 2007: 238-50 and Dollinger In press: 205-7). While a wealth of studies in apparent-time models is available (e.g. Chambers 2008, Tagliamonte & Brooke 2014), their temporal reach is limited to the 1930s, which makes assessments scenarios prior to the early 1900s especially important. The present paper aims at complementing historical work on morphosyntax (Dollinger 2008) and newspaper language (Reuter 2015) with a perspective of historical lexis, an area that has often defied linguistic theories (see, e.g. Harris 1975).

The data is the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (DCHP), which comprises c. 13,400 senses of historical Canadian English from the early 16th century to the present (Avis et al. 1967, Dollinger et al. 2013). DCHP is a contrastive dictionary, requiring the cross-checking of all terms and

meanings for their status as Canadianisms, which are defined as terms, meanings or expressions that originate in Canada or that are "distinctively characteristic of Canadian usage" (Avis 1967: xiii). The overall task of this paper is to trace and assess changes in the make-up of known Canadianisms over time. This will be measured with three parameters:

- a historical assessment of a six-tired typology of Canadianisms over time (Dollinger In press)
- an analysis of the major word-formation patterns
- an analysis of patterns of regional provenance.

Preliminary results show that only 50% of Canadianisms originated in Canada, but that N+N formations have consistently proven as most productive since the 18th century, with the regional dimension remaining a problematic issue. The latter problem will exemplarily be illustrated with material from the forthcoming Second Edition (Dollinger & Fee 2016), with its c. 1000 additional senses from mostly 20th-century terms and meanings. As a not insignificant number of terms and meanings is both attested in the US and in Canada, the vexing issue of "North Americanisms" is raised (Avis 1967). Generalizations from lexical changes are considered an important complement to descriptions of grammatical and phonetic change over time that may contribute to the description and theory of koinéization processes in the Englishes on the North American continent.

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"Gems of Elocution and Humour": Ideology, prescription and description of American English in nineteenth-century textbooks

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The link existing between ideology and the definition of language varieties is well-known. Beyond the often humorously proverbial remark that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy", this link is seen in the ways in which prescriptive texts, especially in Late Modern times, but not only, define language 'standards' and recommend usage. These remarks can be shown to rely on long-lasting 'myths', such as the ones identified by Watts (2011). As a result, varieties competing for viability with the supposedly 'standard' one have to rely on other (equally ideological) tenets for the establishment of their acceptability across registers, and not merely in colloquial, familiar, or other socially- or geographically-marked milieus.

In this sense the case of Scots and early American English is emblematic. Supporters of the former emphasized its antiquity, its greater purity (in the sense that it appeared to have acquired fewer Norman features than Southern English), and its importance as a language of literary expression – an overview of these attitudes across time is provided by Dossena (2005). The specificity of the latter, instead, was notably emphasized by Noah Webster for political reasons; indeed, the perceptual contiguity of the two varieties is well illustrated by the fact that John Witherspoon coined the word 'Americanism' on the basis of 'Scotticism' (see OED, s.v.).

The prescriptive tradition that has often been associated with Late Modern times is often blamed for the persistence of both myths and ideologies; however, grammarians, lexicographers and orthoepists are not solely responsible for language perceptions and evaluations. In order to become pervasive, ideologies need to percolate through to those users who may not owe many books, but who do get (at least partly) schooled, and in this sense the role of textbooks and usage guides in the circulation of ideas concerning appropriate usage cannot be underestimated.

In addition to the works discussed by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2015), Ruano-García et al. (2015) and Busse (2015), examples can be found both in the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* and in the digitized collection *Nineteenth-*

century Schoolbooks. My contribution will rely on these materials for an analysis of the ways in which American distinctiveness is emphasized; by focusing on comments on geographical specificity and the use of historically-marked examples, derived for instance from American literature, Presidential addresses, or local newspapers and periodicals, I expect it will be possible to assess the connections existing between cultural attitudes and recommended usage.

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Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing, www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/cmsw/ (accessed October 2015) *Nineteenth-century Schoolbooks*, http://digital.library.pitt.edu/n/nietz/ (accessed October 2015)

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Dossena, Marina 2015. *Transatlantic Perspectives on Late Modern English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

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Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid 2015. *Five Hundred Mistakes Corrected*: An early American English usage guide. In Dossena (2015), 55-71.

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Observations on a few adjective complementation patterns in early American English

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Grammatical variation is an area of linguistics that has been studied extensively, and the advancements in computer technology have brought about increasingly more efficient methods of corpus linguistics with which variation can be studied in more detail than before. One particular area that has benefited from the rise of corpus linguistics is complementation studies. By using electronic corpora it is possible to extract examples of complementation patterns, and uncover and quantify different variables that might contribute to complement variation.

The majority of complementation studies in the past have focused on the complementation of verbs, while adjective complementation has received less attention. There are, however, studies that discuss adjective complementation as well, for instance Kjellmer (1980), Rudanko (1999, 2006, 2010, 2011, 2012), Van linden and Davidse (2009), Van linden (2010), and Havu and Höglund (2015).

The present paper examines non-finite adjective complementation in early American English, and the aim is to observe the development of a few different complementation patterns in the 18th and 19th centuries. The material for the study is collected from the Corpus of Early American English Literature (CEAL; 1690-1920, 13.5M words) and the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA; 1810-2009, 400M words).

The patterns under investigation have one common denominator: the adjective is complemented by a *to*-infinitive. This superficially simple pattern can have different semantic and syntactic manifestations, for instance the extraposition construction (*It is easy to play cricket*), the *tough* construction (*Cricket is easy to play*), and the control construction (*I am eager to play cricket*). In addition, up until the 19th century a passive version of the *tough* construction was still used (*Cricket is easy to be played*), whereas in present-day English it can only be found with adjectives that may yield ambiguous interpretations in the *tough* construction (*Chicken is ready to eat* → *Chicken is ready to be eaten*) (Höglund 2014ab). The present paper aims to chart possible changes in the frequencies of different patterns and reasons behind the variation. It has been observed previously (e.g. Vosberg 2003, Rohdenburg 2006) that the English complementation system has gone through notable changes in recent centuries, and one of the goals here is to see whether this is seen in the complementation patterns under investigation. In addition, one particular point of focus is the disappearance of the passive *tough* construction, and the factors that affected it.

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Dialect in early African-American plays: A qualitative assessment

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The sources for the historical reconstruction of African-American English (AAE) are manifold, ranging from ex-slave narratives and interviews with hoodoo doctors to blues lyrics and letters authored by semi-literates (cf. Kautzsch 2012a). In addition, literary dialect has been used to make claims about the history of this variety, especially in the heyday of the creolist hypothesis, where scholars used “literary representations of AAE […] to emphasize the idea that [this variety] did not derive from British dialects (alone), but rather from pidgins and creoles spoken in West Africa and in the Caribbean.” (Kautzsch 2012a: 1795). But literary dialect as a reliable source has fallen into disrepute, since it “represents language constructed by an author of a literary work as quasi-authentic speech uttered by fictional characters” (Schneider and Wagner 2006: 46–47) and thus is likely not to mirror the variability found in real speech. Another issue is that the use of AAE in fiction often reflects “amused superiority” (Krapp 1924: 29) on the side of the author. This might be different, where the authors are African-American themselves, but it turns out that many early works of African-Americans show no sign of literary dialect, at all (cf., e.g. Douglass 1845). One exception, however, are early plays, thirteen of which, written between 1858 and

1938, have been published in Hamalian and Hatch (1991) and make pervasive use of literary dialect, but not "to degrade the characters or to make them appear comic" (Hatch 1991: 19).

The aim of this paper thus is to look into the representation of AAE in these plays and to give a qualitative account of non-standard morpho-syntactic features found in these imagined instances of AAE speech. A helpful tool for this task is the list of 235 features used in the *World Atlas of Varieties of English* (WAVE; Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2012, 2013). In a first step, based on the WAVE categories "pervasive or obligatory" (A), "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" (B), "exists, but rare" (C), and "attested absence" (D), the analysis will shed light on which non-standard features are used and to what extent. In a second step, the results will be compared to the WAVE features found in the more traditional sources of earlier AAE speech (Kautzsch 2012b), which ultimately tackles the question of how close the dialect used in these plays matches non-invented earlier AAE.

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Coordination in the courtroom: The uses of AND in the records of the Salem witchcraft trials

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The use of AND to coordinate clauses and phrases is one of the characteristics of spoken face-to-face interaction. While a good deal of attention has been paid to AND in Present-day English (see, e.g., Chafe 1982; Chafe and Danielewicz 1987; Schiffrin 1987; Biber 1988; Biber *et al.* 1999), the history of its uses has received much less attention. Exceptions in this respect are e.g.Traugott (1986) on the origins of AND and BUT connectives in English, Culpeper and Kytö (2010, Chapter 7) on data drawn from the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760* (CED) and Smitterberg (2014: 321–328) on *Corpus of Nineteenth-century Newspaper English* (CNNE).

The present survey pursues the issues raised in the study on the CED, turning to the use made of AND in another source of early 'spoken' interaction, the records of the Salem witchcraft trials (1692–1693). The various text categories represented in this collection – both speech-related and non-speech-related – provide an opportunity to make comparisons, on the one hand, across the different genres represented in the collection and, on the other hand, across the results obtained for the CED materials. An additional parameter of interest is possible regional variation between contemporaneous records representative of one and the same category (e.g. depositions) produced in the colonial context and those produced in the mother country.

Among the research questions to be addressed are the following: What are the functions of AND in the Salem records? Is there any early evidence of the functions of AND that have been identified for Present-day speech, e.g. coordination of idea units (Schiffrin 1987) or fragmented style (Chafe 1982)? Do witness depositions give more room for clause-level coordination than other text categories as was the case with the CED materials? Finally, as regards the occurrence of AND in collocations (e.g. AND THEN, AND THERE, AND WHEN), does the use of AND resemble modern speech more closely than modern writing in terms of frequency and function as was the case with the CED materials?

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***Will*/*shall*/*be + going to*: Future time reference in nineteenth-century American Englishes**

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Recent studies of Canadian English (Dollinger 2008, 2015) and Irish English (McCafferty and Amador Moreno 2014) have provided eighteenth- and nineteenth-century evidence from vernacular letter corpora for the frequent use of first-person *shall* in vernacular letter writing. Such use is remarkable, as scholars have generally associated the phenomenon with more formal language and attributed its rise in frequency in the nineteenth century to normative influences from prescriptive grammarians, who frequently cited *will* in the first person as being incorrect (Facchinetti 2000). Further support for the frequent use of *shall* comes from three recently compiled corpora of nineteenth-century American English, the Corpus of Older African American English, the Corpus of American Civil War Letters and the Southern Plantation Overseer Corpus. This paper analyzes the use of *shall*/*will* as well as *shant/wont* in these corpora. Apart from Kytö (1991), very little is yet known about these markers of futurity in earlier American Englishes.

To complement the picture for future time reference, the analysis also includes the variant *be going to*. While it is a minority variant compared to *will* and *shall*, its use offers important insights into processes of grammaticalization (cf. Poplack and Tagliamonte 2000). In addition to the semantics and pragmatics of the three variants in question, the syntactic constraints on their occurrence, e.g. context of negation and subordination, will be examined (Szmrecsanyi 2003).

This paper argues that vernacular letter corpora offer a much-needed empirical basis for the developmental paths of American Englishes. In doing so, they enable us to study the contact between closely related varieties. Further, they very usefully complement, if not also form a corrective to, studies based on printed sources.

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Enregisterment processes of American English in nineteenth-century U.S. newspapers

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The question of when and how American English emerged as a distinct variety of English has recently been addressed again within more general discussions of the emergence and evolution of new varieties of English (Schneider, 2007; Kretzschmar, 2014, 2015). I argue that these discussions would benefit from a clear and consistent differentiation between the emergence of varieties as concepts or discourse constructs on the one hand and as distinct structural systems on the other hand. Even though there are numerous accounts of the history of American English (e.g. Mencken, 1963 [1919]; Krapp, 1960 [1925], 2003 [1919]; Read, 2002; Dillard, 1975, Simpson, 1986; Algeo, 2001) which are based on a wealth of material and address a variety of developments of the English written and spoken in America as well as changing language attitudes and language policies, there is no study so far which has systematically explored the discursive construction of "American English" or, as it was frequently labeled, the "American language".

In my talk, I will present a study which is a first step towards closing this gap. It is based on the theory of enregisterment developed by Agha (2003, 2007), which is a suitable framework for such an analysis because it explains how a register, defined as a differentiable set of linguistic forms that is recognized by speakers, emerges as a product of processes that link linguistic forms to stereotypic indexical values and circulate them in public discourse. My analysis traces these enregisterment processes in nineteenth-century American historical newspapers. Newspapers were read regularly because they were an important source of information, which makes them a valuable resource for the

identification of ideas on language circulating in nineteenth-century American society. The databases *19th Century U.S. Newspapers* and *America's Historical Newspapers* provide electronic access to searchable full-texts of several hundred newspapers, which makes it possible to identify articles containing discussions on and evaluative characterizations of the language in America and its forms. Based on such articles, my aim is to show the extent to which a *concept* of a distinct American language or variety becomes visible and how the language forms and values on which this concept rests emerge and also change in this process.

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Dialects as a mirror of historical trajectories: Canadian English across Ontario (North America)

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In this paper I present an over-view of results arising from a large-scale project on dialects in Ontario, Canada that shed light linguistic change. I target a suite of linguistic features with varying trajectories of change, including retention of preterit *come* (1), the a myriad of referents used for 3rd person singular males (*fellow, gentleman, dude, man),* as in (1-5), the choice of subject relative pronoun (*who, that* or zero), as in (2, 3, 5) and others.

(1) I'm the only *fellow* <u>*that*</u> *come* out of a home to go hunting
(2) Oh, we had a *gentleman* <u>*Ø*</u> *come* in here just at supper time.
(3) This *little* fat white *dude* was calling us names.
(4) My grandfather was a *little*- a *small man.*
(5) The *man* <u>*who's*</u> a utility man, he brings the garbage out eh?

Using statistical modelling and comparative sociolinguistic methods I examine these variable systems by geographical location, date of birth and test for the influence of social and linguistic factors. Comparing the results across dialects exposes varying trajectories of change. Some features are stable, providing a foundation of constancy. Other features are changing but are distinguished by locale. For example, the adjectives of smallness are stable with strong and parallel internal constraints: *little* is favoured in attributive and *small* in predicative position across the board. The variants for singular male 3rd person vary by locality, but are converging towards a single form — *guy*. Overall innovations are most frequent in the urban centre and diffusing outwards by population size rather than geographic location (Labov 2007; Trudgill 1974) while conservative variants persist in peripheral locations with strong internal allegiances. Surprisingly, males lead some of these changes, exposing a rare trajectory for linguistic developments. Taken together, the results highlight how synchronic dialect data reveal the trends and currents in contemporary English. Furthermore, studies of linguistic variables from different levels of grammar applied to dialect data offer important new insights into the impact of divergent social and geographic mechanisms on processes of linguistic change.

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