SECTION PAPERS

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The inflectional history of Old English minor vocalic stems: the case of the i*-stem nouns*

The present paper focuses on the *inter*paradigmatic developments which affected the early English nominal inflection, bringing about far-reaching changes to the system inherited from Proto-Germanic and resulting in the eventual disintegration of the original inflectional pattern. The English nominal system, even in its earliest attested stage, was characterised by an appreciable degree of instability which is best manifested in the paradigm of minor declensional types. The extent of the disintegration of these paradigms seems to vary, ranging from moderate (as in the case of nouns of relationship) to almost complete or advanced (as in the case of *u*-stems). One of the minor consonantal classes which bear evident marks of decomposition is the Old English *i*-stem nominal paradigm. The available early English textual material proves that members of this numerous class tended to fluctuate between the inherited and innovative paradigmatic patterns already in Old English. Analogical formations on the pattern furnished by the productive *a*- or *ō*-stem declension can be found in such forms as nominative/accusative plural (masculine) *winas*, *mettas*, *hetas*, attested alongside the expected *wine*, *mete* and *hete*, or (feminine) *cwēna*, *tīda* - alongside the inherited *cwēne*, *tīde*. The attested lack of cohesion of the *i*-stem paradigm, evinced in its gradual submission to the productive inflectional pattern bears witness to an early presence of the disintegrative tendencies in the paradigm.

The present investigation, conducted on the *Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus* (Healey 2004), is intended to be a comprehensive study of the fate of the *i*-stem paradigm in Old English. The aim of the present research is twofold. Firstly, it seeks to explore the extent and pattern of dissemination of the innovative inflection in the Old English *i*-stem paradigm, allowing for the chronological perspective, i.e. the shape of the paradigm in Early and Late Old English material. Secondly, it examines the consequences (e.g. typological) of the process of gradual reorganisation of the Old English inflectional system, as well as its wide-

ranging, theoretical implications. Central to the present investigation is the diatopic dimension which will afford insights into the subtleties of the process, and is, in fact, expected to have had a more general bearing on the pattern of preservation of the original *i*-stem inflection in Old English.

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Punctuation and readership of Middle English gynecological manuscripts

The purpose of this paper is to examine the punctuation and layout in the Middle English gynecological texts known by the name of *Trotula*. The varying punctuation practices in the manuscripts can contribute to our understanding of the texts and of the ways in which they were read. What can the manuscript evidence, punctuation and layout tell us about the reception and readership of these medical texts? Were the texts intended for specialised, professional audience (doctors) or lay audience? Combining textual evidence with the evidence the manuscripts themselves offer can clarify not only the reader- and ownership of the texts and manuscripts and their intended purpose, but also contribute to our understanding of medieval

punctuation practices. It has been shown that the pragmatic aspects of manuscript punctuation and layout more broadly can shed light on cultural variables and the situational context (the intended/real audience and the intended purpose of the texts) (cf. Parkes 1978; Alonso-Almeida 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008; Lucas 1971, 1997).

Concentrating on the differences between the five surviving manuscript versions of the Middle English version of *Trotula* known as *Knowyng of Womans Kind and Chyldyng*, the purpose of the paper is to explore the manuscript punctuation and layout and suggest the possible significance these might have on the study of audience and the purpose of the texts – who were they addressed to and how were they intended to be used? I will explore the ways in which, through a close examination of the manuscripts, we might enhance our understanding of how medieval practices of mise-en-page including punctuation, can be related to their contemporary reception in this particular genre or text-type. The differing practices show varying responses on the part of the various actors (scribe and readers, whether lay or professional) involved in the production of the manuscripts and how the scribes used such features in a very sophisticated way to guide the reader's interpretation of the text.

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A dull *paper: an example of proportional analogy in semantic change?*

One of the most significant aspects of diachronic work on lexical semantic change is the way that assumptions based on synchronic observations can be at odds with the historical record. It is generally accepted that metaphorical mappings are unidirectional and most commonly follow a concrete > abstract path. However, a small number of cases which appear synchronically to fit in with this pattern of meaning change can be shown to be problematic from a diachronic perspective, and an alternative account of their semantic development is needed.

This paper will explore the semantic development of the lexeme *dull*, and consider what this can tell us about cognitive and historical semantic processes. As noted in Allan (forthcoming), the history of *dull* shows an apparently counter-intuitive development: both the history of the lexeme in English and evidence from etymological cognates indicate that the earliest sense was 'stupid', and the physical senses 'not sharp' and 'not bright' are attested very substantially later. An initial consideration of lexemes in related semantic fields (i.e. INTELLIGENCE, PHYSICAL SHARPNESS, PHYSICAL BRIGHTNESS) suggests the following:

- *sharp* originally had the meaning 'physically sharp'
- within the Old English period it developed the meaning 'intelligent'
- therefore it is tempting to explain the development of *dull* as showing traditional proportional analogy, once *sharp* had the meanings 'physically sharp' and 'clever', i.e. clever : sharp = stupid : blunt

By contrast, a comparison with *bright* does not support a similar account for how *dull* developed the meaning 'not physically bright'. *bright* appears to have developed the sense 'intelligent' much later than *dull* developed the sense 'not physically bright', therefore proportional analogy with *bright* would not provide a satisfactory explanation for this meaning.

This paper will examine these three semantic fields in detail and consider the role of proportional analogy in semantic change. It will draw on the resources of the recently published *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* alongside the full range of relevant historical dictionaries (the *Dictionary of Old English*, the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*).

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Representation of instrumental relations in the intended action in Old English

Instrumental functional semantic category (FSC) reflects mediate character of Subject (Agent) with respect to Object (Patient) by using material or non-material Instrument within an intended action. Instrumental FSC is realized in the Instrumental functional semantic field (FSF) that represents a system of multilevel language units (lexical, word-forming, grammatical) integrated by the common content [Iamshanova 1991].

The category is still debatable from the perspective of its content structure [see: Apresian 1995, Fillmore 1968, 1977, Nilsen 1973, Barðdal 2003, Heine, Kuteva 2004, Lehman 2006, Stolz 2006] as well as its formal representation means. The current research focuses on the category structure and manifestation of multilevel constituens in VII-XI cen., which furthers understanding the semantics and formal peculiarities of Instrumental FSC on the modern stage of language evolution. Therefore, one of the crucial issues in field historical approach is to investigate Instrumental FSF in OE. The topicality of the research is also determined by the system analysis of interrelation and interaction of the field with adjacent FSFs (e.g. Locative, Comitative, Time, etc.) in the highlighted language time frame. The study is based on the 1430 examples registered in the written records of VII-XI cen. (1631 pages).

The investigation shows that Instrumental FSF has a polycentric structure, i.e. it is represented by two micro-fields: Tool and Method. The semantics of Tool presupposes the usage of a material instrument by Subject to fulfill an intended action (*For þan ic hine sweorde swebban nelle*). Non-material Instrument is identified with Method of action implementation (*ic cweðe on wordum*).

Instrumental FSF units analysis is based on Instrumental Situation (IS), defined as a typical language structure that represents the instrumental category. The utterances with a dominant IS accentuate on a mediate moment in the intended action of Subject with respect to Object. IS functional semantic study of Old English written records allowed revealing syncretism of instrumental and non-instrumental content within one grammatical form (e.g. *Sume gaþ on twam fotum* - Instrumental and Locative features).

Thus, in series of IS Tool representation manifests non-categorical characteristics of Subject, Object, Locative and Comitative. For Method these are Cause, Locative, Condition, Time and Manner. Semantic syncretism is connected with the coexistence of dominant IS and background categorical situations in an utterance [PFG 2005]. Non-instrumental features of Instrumental FSC realization were determined by series of methods: transformation of depassivization (Subject features), experimental method (Locative), analysis of the intended action (Manner), compulsory/optional (Comitative) and subsidiary/independent (Object) role of the material Instrument in IS [Andrushenko 2008].

Instrumental FSF interrelation with other fields (Subject, Comitative, Time, etc.) is explained by cross-categorical interaction of grammatical units. Semantic syncretism in Instrumental FSF allows considering its constituents as the elements of several FSFs. Such interaction follows two lines: "nucleus-periphery" (e.g. constructions *mid+material Ndat (Tool) - Tool and Locative)* or "periphery-periphery" (e.g. *instrumental clauses - Method and Cause*), which testifies to the lack of distinct boundaries between adjacent FSFs.

The analysis proved that Instrumental field in Old English is not an isolated but an open system. Functional-semantic approach to language phenomena, Instrument inclusive, allows representing the system of the Old English language as interrelated FSFs with common semantic zones.

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The Bible in Standard English: An eighteenth-century correction of the Rheims Vulgate translation

The Latin Vulgate Bible is translated into English by Gregory Martin, and the New Testament portion is printed at Rheims in 1582. Almost two hundred years later, the Catholic bishop of London, Richard Challoner, undertakes a revision to this important translation, publishing his own versions of the New Testament between 1749 and1752. Challoner's task is to modernize the English of Rheims, not to produce a fresh translation of Scripture. The differences between his edition of the Bible and Martin's edition may be attributed to Challoner's pursuit of current and idiomatic, yet formal, English prose. Challoner revises the Rheims translation in order to account for developments in English, while smoothing awkwardness which have resulted from too-faithful renditions of its Greek and Latin

sources. This paper locates the most noticeable change to Rheims in a socio-linguistic context. From the perspective of Challoner's editing, the archaic tone of the older Bible might originate as much in its obsolete grammatical usage as in its historic vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. Challoner corrects the sixteenth-century text according to the emergent prescriptive tradition for Standard English. He imposes formal differentiation (e.g., *shall*/*will*, *for*/*because*, *as*/*like*, *who*/*that*). He supplies the requisite phrasing for comparisons and eliminates contractions and technical terms. He employs the subjunctive and tackles negation. Then he implements the rhetorical ideals of the grammarians through stylistic modifications to the prose, such as increased parallelism. Only another contemporary but often contradictory principle tempers his red pencil: Challoner also accedes to the custom of usage. To the extent that he borrows from the 1611 Authorized (or King James)Version of the Bible, he sometimes contravenes the rule books. Doing so, this paper concludes, Challoner attempts nothing less than to balance traditional usage and grammatical correctness.

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The development of the adverbial before *in Middle English*

Apart from prepositional and connective functions, Old English *beforan* (and its variants *ætforan, toforan, foran-to*) and *ær* could function as adverbials, that is objectless elements. The examples are given below:

(1) Ða eode se man in beforan to ðam cynge
Then went the man in before to the king
'Then the man went in before to the king'
(coapollo,ApT:14.15.265)

(2) & he onfeng þa ilcan gecynde for urum lufon þe he ær gesceop
and he received the same nature for our love which he before created
'and he received that same nature for love of us which he previously had created' (coblick,HomS_8_[BlHom_2]:23.161.308)

Their adverbial nature is corroborated by the fact that *ær*, but not *beforan*, could be modified by elements such as *long, soon* (cf. *That had happened long before*)

(3) ond he wæs longe ær swiðe earfaðcierre to Godes geleafan.
and he was long before very difficult to convert to God's faith
'and he was long before very difficult to convert to God's faith'
(comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]:Jy6,B.2.1071)

By contrast, *beforan*, but not *ær*, could function as a locative adverb:

(4) Ða het Thasia beforan gelædan Theophilum, Dionisiades gerefan,
Then ordered Tharsia before to lead Theophilus, the steward of Dionysias
'Then Tharsia commanded Theophilus, the steward of Dionysias, to be led before' (coapollo,ApT:50.21.545)

Finally, the combination of the two elements in question was also possible:

(5) Se æresta cyning wæs Ninus haten, swa we ær beforan sægden
The first king was Ninus called, as we before said
'The first king was called Ninus, as we previously said'
(coorosiu,Or_2:1.36.25.713)

In Old English, *ær* heavily outnumbered *beforan* in all its functions including the adverbial one. The Middle English period brings a dramatic change: within a very short period of time, *beforen* becomes more common than Middle English *er*. Interestingly, *beforen* could now be modified as in:

(6) King Alfred was wisost king þat longe was biuore
King Alfred was wisest king that long was before
'King Alfred was the wisest king that lived a long time ago'
c1325(c1300) *Glo.Chron.A* (Clg A.11) 5388 (MED)

This corpus-based study deals with the changes in 'before' adverbs and shows how *beforen* becomes the chief representative of the group.

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Native vs. French vocabulary in the field of the 15th century food industry

After the Norman Conquest, French became the dominant and prestigious language in England, which has been reflected in the number of loanwords present in English from the Middle English period on. According to Scheler (1977), French influence started growing in the 13th c., when the number of French loans amounted to 13.6%; in the 14th c. it equalled 31.8% and in the 15th c. – 15.7%. Due to the fact that the French formed the upper classes, a great deal of vocabulary were distinctly aristocratic. One of the fields highly influenced by French words, was the semantic field of 'food'.

This paper discusses the 15th –century vocabulary belonging to the semantic field 'food', found in *Two 15th-century Cookery Books*. First, we would like to show the ratio of native and French elements denoting various dishes and food products, and to estimate the amount of loans adopted to name novelties introduced by the French. Next, we would like to examine to what extent the origin of words depended on the refinement of a particular meal, i.e., to what extent simple meals and products were defined by native words and the more sophisticated ones by French words.

The corpus for the present study comes from *Two 15th-century Cookery Books*.

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Information structure in Old English

The relation between word order and information structure in the history of English has attracted increasing attention in the last few years. The project Information Structure and Word Order Change in Germanic and Romance Languages (starting on 1 April 2010), of which Bech is project leader, aims to chart the relation between information structure and word order change in English, German, Norwegian, Spanish, French and Portuguese. Even though these languages belong to two different language groups, they had certain common word order structures in their older stages, most notably verb-second order, and our main hypothesis is that the present-day word order variation is a result of historical changes in the dynamics between information structure and syntax in the different languages.

One of the aims of the project is to create a corpus of annotated texts using the corpus annotation method developed by the PROIEL project at the University of Oslo (Pragmatic Resources in Old Indo-European Languages: http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/proiel/). PROIEL compares the Greek text of the New Testament and its translations into the old Indo-European languages Latin, Gothic, Armenian and Old Church Slavonic. The corpus is annotated for morphology, syntax (dependency/LFG-based), and semantics, and is in the process of being annotated for information structure.

I will annotate the Old English version of the Gospel of Mark in basically the same way as PROIEL has done for their languages. As regards information structure, I will concentrate on word order, pronominal reference and expressions of definiteness. The aim of this paper is primarily to chart the information structure patterns of (parts of) the Gospel of Mark by means of this particular method, and I expect to find that there is indeed a relation between the information value of an element and its position in the clause. If there is time, I will also compare the Old English text to the Gothic text from the point of view of word order and information structure.

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A three-stage koinéization model of the formation of South African English: Reconstructing BATH-Backing

This paper offers a three-stage koinéization model of the formation of South African English in the service of providing a careful reconstruction of the (socio)linguistic history of this variety. The adoption of this model highlights the merits of viewing South African English (SAE) as a *late*-19th century (as opposed to early or mid-19th century) variety and of considering both endogenous and exogenous factors in the reconstruction of new-dialect formation and, for SAE in particular, strengthens the case for further investigation into the possible effects of 19th-century Afrikaans/Dutch, Yiddish and north-of-England dialects on the formation of modern SAE. More particularly, in its application to the etiology of BATH-Backing in SAE, it shows Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation to be inadequate and provides support for a model, such as that of Schneider (2003;2007) which emphasizes the important role of indexicality in the development of new varieties of English.

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Why can't you be once, twice, thrice a lady? Notes on the loss of an adverbial numeral

Present-day English has a set of mixed synthetic and analytic adverbial numerals: *once, twice, thrice, four times, five times, x-times.* However, *thrice* ceased to exist in the early twentieth century and practically does not exist anymore except for some very rare, mostly archaic uses. It was

replaced by the analytic numeral *three times* with which it was in competition up to then. Interestingly, this development only affected *thrice/three times.* Variation with *twice/two times* is rare, with *once/one time* almost non-existent in adverbial uses.

On the basis of corpus data and examples culled from literary texts, this paper traces the historical development of the adverbial numeral system, and in particular the loss of the synthetic numeral *thrice.* Moreover, it looks into factors that influenced this development. In particular, it needs to be asked why this loss happened at all and why it did not proceed further. Factors to be considered are analogy, isomorphism, and typological pressure.

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The OED *textual prototypes of verbs and deverbal coinages in the electronic framework: objects and queries*

The historical deverbal word-formation of English encompasses parent verbs and single/multiple suffixal realisations within a set of primary/secondary categories. The word-forming deverbal families expanded variedly over time. That is why the construed database of the dated textual prototypes of their constituents is relevant for historical word-formation and diachronic onomasiology.

Presented in the paper is an electronic framework for queries to over 17,700 deverbal word-forming families holding at least 70,000 parent and derived lexemes as regards the speed, succession and uniformity of their expansion. Parent verbs string into synonymously related lexemes that are open for rearrangement according to their textual prototypes. The attested categorial/suffixal types within deverbal word-forming families yield segments of a historical thesaurus containing approximately 30,000 parent and derived strings.

The paper presents an *on-site running of the respective queries* with the ensuing visualisation and precedent/exhaustive exemplification concerning the extent of representation of deverbal categories and their (paradigmatic) combining with single/multiple chronological filters for different periods or overall diachrony, retrospective (prototypical) and prospective (complementary) modelling of shared-root (verb-)deverbal sets, binary/multiple pre-emption line-ups of verbs or/and their coinages with

variedly set gauges of chronological heterogeneity. The reconstructed diachronic synonymy is assessed by the constituents' permutation effects for the present-day and chronologically rearranged sequences as well as by the similarity of constituents' positional or absolute dating expansion in the juxtaposed diachronic strings.

The framework admits of partitioning of the entire set according to the etymological, period, thematic or mixed criteria.

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Exploring Middle English turn*: A reconstruction of its phraseological etymology*

According to Burnley (2001: 415) about 28% of the Modern English lexicon have derived from a French origin, an enormous number of which entered the English language during the ME period. Haugen (1950) categorises these influences into three subgroups: loan words, loan translations and loan blends. In contrast to this purely lexical analysis, which bears potential for a few uncertain cases, this paper will show the advantages of adopting a broader phraseological approach to a word's etymology.

Loan words, on the one hand, are morphemic importations from a donor language. In our case these are French words that have been adopted into the English language in form and meaning, like the semantic field of titles and concerns of the feudal aristocracy. Loan translations, on the other hand, are morphemic substitutions without the importation of form. This means that the foreign French word is only translated into ME whereas the form of the French word is not adopted itself. Loan blends, as an intermediary borrowing of the former two strategies, show morphemic substitution as well as importation. These borrowings thus show new foreign French forms that contain the native meaning.

If we wanted to categorise *turn* accordingly, we would face the difficulty of its hybrid formal nature. The *MED* traces back the origin of *turn* to native (OE *turnian*) as well as French (OF *to(u)rner*) roots. This special situation has given rise to hot discussions about its definite origin (cf. Derocquigny (1904) or Onions (1966)). On the one hand *turn* might — descending from OE — be considered a loan translation for concepts that have entered via French. In this case it is just pure chance that the forms are

similar. On the other hand *turn* might have a French background in that it shows evidence as loan words that entered the English language including form and concept. As far as lexical studies are concerned, no definite answers have been achievable.

In order to identify the possible origins of verbal *turn*, the present study takes a phraseological corpus-driven[1] approach. As the lexical items alone do not provide the necessary material for analyses into their etymological background, the present approach via the surrounding co-occurrences with other lexical items will identify the loan strategy/strategies from its phraseological company. The paper will demonstrate the overall advantages of a phraseological modus operandi to etymology over the at times arguable lexical classification.

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Default preterite marking in dental-final verbs

Old English weak verbs formed the preterite most often by adding a suffix of the shape -Vde, e.g. *seowian ~ seowede*. Class 1, however, permitted syncope of the vowel in some environments, including verbs ending in

[1] A ME corpus is at the basis of this paper while an OE corpus provides evidence in favour of a possible native development and an OF corpus is taken into account to search for parallel constructions in the other probable donor language.

dental stops. Accordingly, the regular past tense of *blēdan* was not *blēdede*X but *blēdde*. Subsequent to Middle English vowel shortening, apocope, and degemination, the paradigm *bleed ~ bled* arose in the cases where the vowel of the present was long. In cases where the vowel of the present was short, the paradigm *set ~ set* arose. In PDE, by contrast, the default marking of the preterite for dental-final verbs involves a "buffer" vowel between the dental of the stem and the dental of the suffix: e.g. *threaded, roasted, wanted*.

The present paper addresses the question of why and when the default preterite suffix for dental-final verbs changed. The first step was the breakdown of the Old English prefix system and its replacement by phrasal verbs in Early Middle English. Henceforth, the vast majority of native verb stems were monosyllabic, unlike the primarily di- and polysyllabic verbs borrowed from French. Being recognizably foreign in their phonotactics, French dental-final verbs were exempt from the native phonotactic preferences, and they were all assigned the unsyncopated preterite suffix.

The second step was the increase in frequency of the unsyncopated preterite suffix, caused by the influx of French verbs taking that suffix. It soon became the preferred variant even for native verbs, because of its numerical dominance. The third step was the loss of final unstressed syllables, which caused the present and preterite of verbs like *set* to be identical. Verbs that overtly mark their past tense, like *thread*, are at a communicative advantage over those that do not.

This confluence of historical factors explains the rise of the suffix with the buffer vowel as the default for dental-final verbs.

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Ablaze *with meaning: The multi-functional Old English prefix* a-

This paper deals with an Old English prefix which is no longer productive in Modern English, but survives in a number of univerbated forms such as *arise, awake, asleep.* The purpose of this paper is to investigate the range of meanings and functions that the verbal prefix *a-* had in early English, using a corpus-based approach (York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English) in order to trace the varying distribution of the various uses of *a-*.

In Old English, the prefix *a-* was part of the system of verbal prefixes which was undergoing considerable weakening due to the lack of stress and semantic content (Hiltunen 1983:48, Elenbaas 2007:115-116). A preliminary analysis reveals that it was the most frequent prefix after the perfectivizing *ge-* and that it had a number of different functions. The verbal prefix *a-* signified motion onward or away from a position (cf. "directional and telic meanings" in Brinton 1988:211), so it could add the meaning of intensity (de la Cruz 1975:73) to many OE verbs of motion, as we can see in the verb ***ahebban*** in the following example:

þu eart to heafodmen geset, ne **ahefe** þu ðe
you are to leader of men established, not raise+up you you
'Are you established as a leader of men? Do not raise yourself up'
ÆLS (Edmund) 20

Sometimes the prefix *a-* appeared as an unstressed variant of other prefixes including *on-*, *of-* and *ge-*. We can find relics of this in PDE examples such as the adjective *aware*, originally coming from OE *gewær* that gave rise to two versions in Middle English, *iware*, *aware*, with the latter surviving to the present day.

This prefix was highly polysemous in Old English, but once a large number of foreign vocabulary started entering English after the 11th century, the future of this OE prefix was doomed, suggesting that multifunctionality often leads to semantic opaqueness (cf. Petré 2005:13, 50). The transparency of this plurivalent form was further reduced by the Latin homophone *a-*, meaning 'to', a shortened form of *ad-*, as in *ascend* or *aspire*, not to mention the Greek homophone *a-*, which has become a productive negative prefix in English whose function is similar to the prefix *un-*, as in *atypical* or *asexual.*

This paper is meant to contribute to a more encompassing diachronic analysis of aspectual preverbs and postverbal particles in English.

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A case study in diachronic phraseology: and so forth

In response to Markus's (2004) assertion that "much remains to be done in historical English phraseology", this paper traces the development of the fixed phrase *and so forth* in the history of English, from its literal use denoting spatial movement:

& swa forð þurh ælle þa meres (a1121 *MED Peterb.Chron.* an 656, s.v. *forth*)

through metaphorical extension and increasing idiomatization as an "extender tag" (Carroll, in press):

songs, skits, and so forth (1999 MICASE Transcript ID COL575MX055)

The approach is data-driven, analyzing tokens of the phrase (or "phraseologism": see, for example, Gries 2008) from historical dictionaries and corpora in order to chart its use throughout the history of English.

The focus of discussion centers on phraseology, lexicalization, and idiomatization. For example, these data support Akimoto's positing of "rivalry" as an important "pre-stage to idiomatization" (1999: 229), since variant forms for *and so forth* are attested in the Middle English period:

and so forþ of oþere (c1443 *MED* Pecock *Rule* s.v. *unliven*)

The paper also briefly explores some ramifications for grammaticalization studies, particularly with respect to the use of *forth*, which is now largely restricted to verb-particle constructions and other phraseologisms.

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"No Harm, nothing but Love": The use of narratives in sodomy trials in 17th and 18th century England

Historical courtroom discourse has received much attention in the last decade and has proved to be a fruitful area to explore issues such as discourse markers (Kryk-Kastovsky 1998), the use of hedges (Culpeper and Kytö 1999a), the use of reported speech (Culpeper and Kytö 1999b, Wlodarczyk 2007), and examination strategies (Archer 2003, 2005, Kahlas-Tarkka and Rissanen 2007). However, not much research has been done that examines the narrative structure of historical courtroom interaction (see, however, Wright 1995, who examines the syntax of witness narratives, and Grund 2009, who explores the narrative structure in witness depositions from the Salem Witchcraft Trials). It is, therefore, my intention of this paper to pursue this line of research further by exploring the ways in which witnesses in 18th Century England used narratives during both direct and cross-examination, paying particular attention to their structure and their pragmatic functions. My corpus includes ten trial transcripts of sodomy trials from late 17th to 18th century, compiled and reproduced in Norton (2009). Such a period saw the birth of relentless policing and surveillance of homosexual behavior and the exposure of such behavior in printed material such as newspapers and pamphlets.

In sodomy trials, the use of narratives is particularly critical, as sodomy was difficult to prove by court standards, and thus the information as to who said/did what, when the act happened, and where it happened needed to be established with precision to identify whether the defendant was guilty and to determine the level of punishment. Instead of using Labov and Waletzky (1967)'s widely-cited model, I follow Stygall (1994), who argues that in courtroom while the discourse processing of jury members does appear to follow a narrative schema, the evidential portion of the trial is "anything but a narrative" (1994: 118). For this reason, I adopt Harris (2001, 2005)'s recently proposed framework, which presents a simpler model of narratives in court, as courtroom narratives are essentially less complex than oral, personal narratives. Current findings include the use of both narrative and non-narrative elements in witnesses' testimony, such as evaluation/stance and direct/reported speech. These narrative and non-narrative elements function mainly as devices that the witnesses used for evidential, face-saving, and moral purposes.

This project not only enhances our understanding of historical courtroom discourse, but it also sheds light on how narratives are used and reveals the reason why they make the witness's testimonies more convincing.

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Aelfric's grammatical terminology and Winchester words

It has become increasingly clear that in the late tenth century, Old English vocabulary was becoming standardized, to a degree, by those connected with Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester. Scholars refer to some of these standardized words as "Winchester words," namely those words that consistently gloss or translate a given Latin word in Winchester manuscripts, while a synonym might be used in texts written elsewhere (Gneuss 1972; Hofstetter 1988). It appears that one of the aims of standardization was to provide a technical vocabulary for such realms as the liturgy (Gretsch 2001). Since the first grammar written in English also

proceeded from one of Aethelwold's students, Aelfric, we might well suspect that some of the 250 technical terms needed for rendering a Latin grammar into English would have been cultivated as standardized vocabulary. The question practically asks itself: how many of Aelfric's grammatical terms could be considered Winchester words?

On the most basic level, it is hard to know, since very little of the English grammatical vocabulary was repeated anywhere outside of Aelfric's grammar. But we can still examine the words that Aelfric used to create his grammatical terms. One of Aelfric's main methods of creating grammatical vocabulary was to create complex words from English stock to render complex Latin words, like *betwuxaworpedness* to render *praepositio* (Kastovsky 1992). Those English words that form the basis of these complex creations tend to be the same as words used in other Winchester texts. Aelfric's term for *imperativus*, for example, was *bebeodendlice*. While this grammatical term doesn't occur elsewhere outside Aelfric's grammar, the term *bebeodian* indeed glosses the Latin term *impero* elsewhere (Chapman, forthcoming). A close examination of the words used in creating loan formations will give us a better idea of how wide ranging the Winchester vocabulary was. We know of the Winchester words that were cultivated for some domains; the domain of grammar is still waiting to be treated. This paper, then, will examine the extent to which Aelfric availed himself of Winchester words for creating an English grammatical vocabulary.

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"Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete": A comparative study of Latin influences on the word order of Old English and Old High German translations

The degree to which Latin influenced the syntactic structure of early English and German translations is still debated, though it is generally acknowledged that, because of the lack of native writing traditions, translations of semantically and syntactically complex Latin texts, including the Bible, must have been modelled on the Latin original:

> Als sich die christlichen Übersetzer Altenglands an die Arbeit machten, einen Teil der lateinischen Kirchenliteratur in ihre Muttersprache zu übertragen, besaβ das Altenglische noch keine Prosa, and der sie ihren Stil hätten schulen können. Der parataktisch-einfache ae. Satzbau reichte nicht aus, die prägnante nominale Ausdrucksweise der Vorlagen wirkungsvoll wiederzugeben. So ahmten sie, speziell in den sich eng an die lateinischen Quellen haltenden Übersetzungstexten, den lateinischen Satzbau nach (Scheler 1961: 103, emphasis mine).

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the syntactic dependence of selected Old English and Old High German translations on the Latin source texts and to determine whether (any) translations created in either of the two languages may be considered representative of the whole linguistic system. This question is especially significant, considering that the only existing comparative study of Old English and Old High German word order (Davis and Bernhardt 2002) is based on the Old High German Tatian Gospel Translation.

The presented conclusions will be based on the results of a corpus study, where samples of both early and late translations will be compared, with reference to another corpus study comprising original verse and prose texts (Cichosz 2009). Special attention will be devoted to the position of the finite verb in main and subordinate clauses (the clause being defined as the unit of language organised around the verb). The approach taken in the study is descriptive: clauses are annotated according to traditional grammatical categories, frequencies of selected patterns are measured, and their significance is checked with the help of statistical tests.

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The preposition ȝeond *in* Laȝamon's Brut

The present paper deals with the preposition *ȝeond* in the two preserved manuscripts of *Laȝamon's Brut.* My observation is that whereas the preposition is frequently attested in the Caligula MS (c.1275), it is almost completely absent from the Otho MS (c.1300). The aspects of the phenomenon interesting to me are the prepositions which were used instead of *ȝeond* as well as the range of meanings of *ȝeond* and its substitutes. Yet another appealing issue is a group of both nouns and verbs accompanying *ȝeond* and if and how they were altered together with the change of the preposition.

So far, my analysis demonstrates that there are 190 *ȝeond* instances in the Caligula MS. In the parallel fragments of the Otho MS, the preposition is preserved only in 12 cases. Otherwise, is quite systematically replaced with *ouer al*. This statement is valid for about 150 attestations.

Some of the other prepositions employed instead of *ȝeond* are, for example, *in* and *to*. Among the nouns forming prepositional phrases with *ȝeond*, *land* and *ærde* are the most frequent ones. As regards the verbs connected with the analysed preposition, *sende*, *ferde* and *wende* seem to be dominant.

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Origins of how come *and* what… for

Both *how come* and *what… for* are grammaticalized alternatives for *why* in modern English, but neither has received much attention in the literature. The present contribution will deal with the origins of these items, which may also shed some light on their present usage.

How come has been assumed to derive from *how comes it that* (Bolinger 1970) or from *how has it come about that* with subsequent reduction, and *what…for* is said to be based on *for what purpose* with later deletion and fronting (Zwicky & Zwicky 1973). These origins would also fit to the postulated semantic specializations for purpose (*what…for*) and for cause (*how come*). These assumptions will be investigated, using historical corpus data to chart the formal and semantic developments. Both prototypically written, public-language sources (e.g. HC, LC) as well as sources representing more oral and private linguistic forms (e.g. CED, CEEC) will be used, in order to determine potential register influences on the development.

Preliminary evidence points to *how come* in fact originating from the construction "how + COME + subject + *to*-infinitive", as in *how comes it to evaporate* (LC), *how came the other Princes … to own this Government* (LC PolB1690) – with various inflectional forms of *come* and without *do*-paraphrase. Reduction may have set in early and variably, cf. the following forms from the Helsinki Corpus: *How come you remember so particularly, that it was then*? vs. *How come you to remember those Days of the Month*? (HC cetri3a). In many EModE cases, meanings of process and manner seem to play a role, which gradually shade into cause.

Various nominal forms are attested following *for what* in historical corpora, e.g. *purpose, end, reason*, as is also bare *for what* (*Rejoice, Sir. – For what?*, CED d5cmille) and discontinuous *what…for* (*damn you, what do you get drunk for*, CED d5tswan). The precise connections between these co-occurring forms still need disentangling.

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Corpora
CED = *Corpus of English Dialogues*
CEEC = *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*
HC = *Helsinki Corpus*
LC = *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts*

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*haitan *in Early Germanic*

The descendant of the proto-Germanic verb **haitan* is exceptional among verbs, particularly among naming verbs; while most naming verbs include the agent of the action of naming (or at least the possibility of including it), the agent never appears with *heten* as illustrated in the following Modern Dutch examples.

(1) **Ik** noemde *hem* Jan.	'I named him Jan.'
(2) *Hij* werd Jan (**door mij**) genoemd.	'He was named Jan (by me).'
(3) ***Ik** heet *hem* Jan.	'I called him Jan.'
(4) *Hij* heet Jan (***door mij**).	'He is called Jan (by me).'
(5) *Hij* had/werd/was Jan (***door mij**) geheten.	'He had been called Jan (by me).'

These characteristics have proven problematic for syntactic analyses; the Modern Dutch descendant, for instance, has been analyzed as both a modal auxiliary and a copula (Haeseryn et al. 1997) and as a raising verb (Matushansky, to appear).

A look at Old English and Gothic, however, shows that **haitan* behaves quite differently in the older stages of Germanic than its modern descendants; contrasting with (3), **haitan* is used transitively in the Old English sentence in (6), and the sentence contains an explicit agent.

(6) *þa deor* **hi** hatað hranas
'Those deer they call "rein"' (OE2, *Ohthere* 10-12)

Moreover, as a transitive verb, **haitan* also occurs in periphrastic passive constructions where the agent is expressed in a prepositional phrase as seen in the Middle Dutch example in (7), unlike what was observed in (5).

(7) dat *si* willen ghezien worden vanden lieden,… ende gheheten worden **vanden lieden** meester.
'…that they want to be seen by the people,… and to be called master by the people.' (14C, Amsterdams Lectionarium)

A comparison of the behavior of Gothic *haitan*, Old English *hatan*, and Middle Dutch *heten* will give us a clearer understanding of how this verb expanded from its original use as exemplified in (6) and (7) to include and eventually be superseded by the inherent passive use as exemplified in (2).

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An investigation into -s/-th *variation in the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels*

This paper discusses the results of a quantitative analysis of *-s/-th* variation in the 10th c. Northumbrian interlinear glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels.* It forms part of doctoral work in progress, which looks at verbal morphology in the Lindisfarne Gloss using modern methods into variation. As is widely known, the glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* bear witness to an important change in progress whereby the - *th* forms of the present indicative are gradually replaced by *s*-forms. This morphological variation has been the object of several quantitative analyses (most famously Holmqvist 1922, Ross 1934, Blakeley 1949, and Berndt 1956 and more recently Stein 1986). The majority of these studies, however, are over half a century old and rely on the standard edition by Skeat, whose accuracy and editorial practice has

been questioned. The data for the present paper is thus drawn from the facsimile copy of the manuscript.

This fresh consideration of *-s*/*-th* variation analyses verbal morphology in the glosses from a new angle, that of subject-type and reveals that *s*-forms spread through the present indicative paradigm according to a graded subject hierarchy, which research into modern varieties of English has shown to condition modern-day processes of default singular levelling such as *was*-levelling (Feagin 1979, Eisikovits 1991), and points to a longitudinal constraint hierarchy being preserved through time for such cases of default singular levelling. The manner in which pronominal and nominal subjects govern verbal morphology in the glosses may also help shed light on related grammatical phenomena such as the northern subject rule.

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An Old English East Anglian dialect? The potential evidence of early Anglo-Saxon coins

Three assumptions are persistently expressed, more or less explicitly, in works on Old English dialects.

1. Evidence for Old English regional (diatopic) variation is provided by a body of manuscripts surviving from the period(s).
2. Of the kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, four are attributed with dialects supposedly represented by texts associated with them: dialects labelled by the names of the kingdoms. These are West-Saxon, Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian. The remaining kingdoms are Essex, Sussex, and East Anglia.
3. A manuscript whose production is localisable in a particular kingdom is taken as representative of the dialect of that area.

Each of these assumptions has, it is true, come under revision in scattered works. But they persist. This paper offers grounds for their further re-consideration in the light of non-manuscript spelling evidence.

The paper presents a body of texts, consisting of spellings of moneyers names on coins produced for kings of East Anglia in the eighth and ninth centuries. They are thus texts localisable to an area from which no known manuscripts survive. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret all the spelling variations as evidence of phonological variation within Old English. Interpretations of their possible value as evidence for (a) regional East Anglian dialect(s) are necessarily informed by recognition of the nature of the data: forms of personal names. They further invoke reconstructions of the systems of coinage, and of the nature of the personnel involved in the coin production. Many of the personal names under discussion appear to be English; but by the late eight-century, and into the ninth, they appear to have more in common with Continental Germanic names; and this, moreover, at a time when East Anglia was controlled by

the Vikings of the southern Danelaw, and North Germanic names might be expected. The origins of Anglo-Saxon coinage were heavily influenced by the Merovingian, itself largely based on models of Roman coinage. Given the Franks' renown as coin-manufacturers, it is not surprising that their expertise continued to be sought in England long after the first English coinage struck from gold in the sixth century.

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Prescriptivism as a sociolinguistic factor in the history of English

Historians of English have often been too quick to dismiss modern prescriptive efforts as a hopeless battle against the natural forces of language change, doomed to "failure." It is true that if success is defined as stopping language change, then prescriptivism fails. But it is a more complicated question the extent to which prescriptive efforts have shaped the development of English, written and spoken, particularly if prescriptivism is understood to be part of the codification involved in the standardization of English. A handful of interesting studies have examined the relationship of prescriptive grammar to usage (e.g., Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1982, 2002), but prescriptivism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon has not yet been effectively integrated into the study of the broader phenomenon of "language change" in the history of English.

In addressing the effects of prescriptivism on the history of English, this paper proposes three fundamental principles, specifically that the history of "the English language" should be seen to encompass: the development of both the written and spoken language; linguistic developments occurring both below the level of consciousness — or what some would call "naturally" — and above the level of consciousness; and metalinguistic discussions about language, which potentially have real effects on language use. The paper then presents two case studies to examine the effects of prescriptive efforts (both institutionalized and not, in keeping with Cameron's notion of verbal hygiene) on the development of English. The first explores the history of English dictionaries and speakers' relationship with this descriptive/prescriptive resource, arguing that the pervasive success of English dictionaries, which has engendered discussions such as whether a word "is really a word," has facilitated the divergence of many registers of spoken and written English. The second

case study examines the challenge to lexicographical prescriptivism presented by the reappropriation of specific stigmatized terms in the United States — a form of verbal hygiene that has both fundamentally changed patterns of usage and challenged established notions of which institutions have the power to prescribe. These case studies demonstrate the artificiality of studying the history of particular linguistic features in English without analyzing the discourses surrounding them.

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Variation and change in the distribution between that-*clauses and gerundial clauses as verb complements*

In recent literature, it has been suggested (Lehmann 1988; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Givón 2006) that clause linkage processes and in particular the development of verb complementation can also be seen as a grammaticalization process, in that verb complements may show 'decategorialization' (in a way similar to the decategorialization of lexical items) when being integrated with a main clause. As such, verb complements may show a path of development "from a loose, paratactic concatenation via syntacticization into non-finite embedding" (Givón 1979: 214), whereby the non-finite shows a reduction in tense-aspect morphology [and] lack of subject agreement, may (at least for English) have become reduced to a *to*-infinitive or gerundive *–ing* clause, and thus shows more unified/bonded clause combining (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003).

The purpose of this paper is to continue to show (see Author A & Author B., 2009a; 2009b), on the basis of corpus evidence, that the unidirectional, diachronic path presumed by this grammaticalization hypothesis is not wholly unproblematic. To that effect, we investigate change and variation, from EModE to PDE, in the finite *that*-complement clause (*that*-CC) and the non-finite gerundive *–ing* clause (-*ing*-CC), with

the factual verbs *report* and *imagine* and the suasive verb *suggest* (see Quirk et al. 1985). Each of these verbs is particularly suited because it shows over time, a shift from a relatively higher proportion of finite complements to a higher proportion of non-finite complements, and as such is an excellent candidate to test the aforementioned hypothesis.

While, over time, the share of *–ing*-CC tokens vs. *that*-CC tokens does indeed increase, it is argued that this relative increase does not necessarily represent a path of gradually stronger integration of the complement clause into the matrix, encoded by a shift from a finite (looser) *that*-CC to a more bonded/decategorialized *–ing* pattern. For one, an important factor co-constituting the increasing share of *–ing*-CC tokens is the *replacement* of the *that*-CC pattern by the *–ing* pattern, arguably due to the semantic and structural similarity between the patterns (compare *I can't Imagine Sarah running her own business* and *I can't imagine that Sarah is running her own business*). Then again, throughout the period investigated, *that*-CCs still retain a reasonable share of all complement tokens (in that respect, they are the preferred CC for structurally complex patterns). It would appear, then, that actual sentential decategorialization/ grammaticalization only occurs in those *ing*-CCs (i) whose syntactic complexity decreases from [S – V-ing – (O/Adjunct)] to [V-ing (O/Adjunct)] and possibly (ii) where there is a shift from past *ing*-CC > present *ing*-CC with past meaning.

In sum, the analysis of change and variation with these verbs shows that grammaticalization of lexical items/constructions cannot simply be transferred to processes involving sentential/clausal units (in particular, to verb complementation and clause linkage). Evidently, further analysis of several sets of matrices is needed to reach more definite conclusions. However, the results found in this study seem to confirm Fischer's uneasiness about the (alleged) grammaticalization path from *that*-CCs to non-finite *to*-infinitives with verbs of volition (cf. Fischer 2007: 221).

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Corpora

CEECS = Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler
CEMET = Corpus of Early Modern English Texts
CLMETEV = Corpus of Late Modern English texts (extended version)
COCA = Corpus of Contemporary American English
Time = Time magazine Corpus

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The 300 million word Corpus of Historical American English (1810-2009): A new tool for in-depth research on Late Modern English

The Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) will come online in Summer 2010. It is composed of 300 million words from 1810-2009, and it will be balanced by genre (decade by decade, and therefore overall as well). The corpus will complement our 400 million word Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA; www.americancorpus.org, online in 2008), which covers the period 1990-2009, and which is also balanced year by year for genre (see Davies 2009).

When finished, COHA will have the following composition:

DECADE	Fiction	Magazine	Newspaper	Non-fiction	TOTAL
1810	2,600,000	100,000		1,500,000	4,200,000
1820	4,000,000	1,600,000		2,400,000	8,000,000
1830	6,200,000	3,100,000		3,600,000	12,900,000
1840	6,200,000	3,200,000		3,500,000	12,900,000
1850	6,500,000	4,000,000	400,000	3,100,000	14,000,000

1860	6,500,000	4,000,000	500,000	3,100,000	14,100,000
1870	6,600,000	4,000,000	600,000	3,100,000	14,300,000
1880	6,600,000	4,000,000	700,000	3,100,000	14,400,000
1890	6,600,000	4,100,000	800,000	3,100,000	14,600,000
1900	6,600,000	4,200,000	1,000,000	3,100,000	14,900,000
1910	6,600,000	4,200,000	1,800,000	3,100,000	15,700,000
1920	6,600,000	4,200,000	3,800,000	3,100,000	17,700,000
1930	6,600,000	4,200,000	3,800,000	3,100,000	17,700,000
1940	6,600,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,100,000	17,800,000
1950	6,700,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,000,000	17,800,000
1960	6,700,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,000,000	17,800,000
1970	6,700,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,000,000	17,800,000
1980	6,700,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,000,000	17,800,000
1990	6,700,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,000,000	17,800,000
2000	6,700,000	4,300,000	3,800,000	3,000,000	17,800,000
TOTAL	125,000,000	75,000,000	40,000,000	60,000,000	300,000,000

COHA will serve as a highly valuable tool for research on Late Modern English. It will permit researchers to study a wide range of linguistic shifts during the past two hundred years with much more precision than is possible with any other historical corpus of Late Modern English. And because it has essentially the same genre balance from decade to decade (as shown above), researchers can be quite sure that it its data represent changes that have occurred in the "real world", rather than simple corpus artifacts that are a function of changing genre balance.

COHA will have exactly the same architecture as COCA. At the most basic level, this architecture allows users to see the frequency of any word or phrase over time. Users can also track morphological change (via substrings), syntactic change (because the corpus is tagged and lemmatized), and semantic change (via changes in collocates). Due to the unique relational database architecture, it is also possible to directly compare different sections of the corpus. For example, one could find those lexical verbs that are much more frequent in the 1920s-1940s than 1900s-1910s, sentence initial adverbs that increased markedly in the late 2000s, or collocates of *strike* or *clean* or *woman* that are more common in the 1900s than in the 1800s.

Note 1: Work on collecting the texts and converting these texts to electronic format is essentially done. We have been editing the texts for more than a year now, and this will continue through Summer 2010. The corpus will be online and functional by August 2010.

Note 2: When completed, the corpus will likely have 400 million words of text, rather than the 300 million mentioned here. However, we are erring on the side of caution, at least for the present time.

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Truth identifiers and intensifiers: tracing the diachronic steps of verily, truly *and* really

Synchronic research (Simon-Vandenbergen 1988; König 1991; Paradis 2003) has indicated that truth identifiers such as *really*, *truly* or *verily* can fulfil a varied number of truth-assessing functions in present-day discourse. These three selected forms in particular are used as emphasizers (e.g. *I verily believe…*), as intensifiers indicating degree or precision (e.g. *He really likes her*) or as attitudinal disjuncts strengthening the speaker's subjective assessment with regard to the truth of an utterance (e.g. *Truly, I don't think there's any difference*). Despite these shared uses, *really*, *truly* and *verily* differ in terms of frequency, register, and in their individual range of semantic-pragmatic functions, and diachronic data indicate that these differences are visible from the Middle English period onwards.

The semantic field of truth, in which *really*, *truly* and *verily* can be placed, is found to be a valuable developing ground for truth identifiers with increased epistemic, pragmatic and subjective properties (Swan 1988; Lenker 2007). This paper wants to trace back the forms' present-day uses to a semantic source with a shared notion of 'truth', and aims to show that their respective developments can be interpreted against the background of two diachronic hypotheses. In the frame of processes of grammaticalization

and (inter)subjectification, our findings can be related to the hypothesis that *really*, *truly* and *verily* follow a predictable path from manner adverb, via emphasizing use, to attitudinal disjunct. In addition, we will attest to what extent our data reflect the hypothesized development towards clear intensifier uses in present-day discourse (Bolinger 1972).

Our results are drawn from a detailed analysis based on corpus material from the *Helsinki Corpus* (c. 850-1710), the *Corpus of English Dialogues* (1560-1760), and the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (Extended Version)* (1710-1920). This analysis takes into account structural features (sentence position, structural colligations) and semantic-pragmatic features (semantic collocations, verb types, contextual variables). Specific attention will be given to the influence of genre-related differences.

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Modal adjectives in the history of English

I examine the structure of adjectival phrases in English containing modal adjectives such as *potential*, *alleged*, *possible*, cf. taxonomy of Partee (*Privative Adjectives: Subsective plus Coercion*, 2009). I propose that the

distinctive behavior of these adjectives results from the underlying structure of the adjectival phrases.

Modal adjectives are non-intersective: *John is a probable winner* does not entail that *John is probable* and *John is a winner*, but that the event JOHN IS A WINNER is probable. The adjective *probable* being predicated of the event, not of the entity JOHN, such adjectives cannot be used in predicative position to qualify entities: *alleged murderer* vs. **John is alleged*. I explain this behavior by the fact that modal adjectives combine with events, not entities, and are of semantic type *st*: [[*alleged*]] = λe_s[e is alleged]. This suggests that such adjectives have event arguments (complement CPs), therefore underlyingly AdjP is not an adjunct of NP; in this case, the adjectives combine not by predicate modification, but by function application (as defined by Heim & Kratzer: *Semantics in Generative Grammar*, 1997).

A clue to the structure of the adjectival phrases is provided by the history of these adjectives: In English, they started to be used to describe entities no earlier than the 18th-19th centuries (*possible*: 1736; *probable*: 1868, etc.); before then, the modal adjectives described only events, e.g. *probable victory*. The use of modal adjectives with entities appears to reflect a historically late phenomenon of movement of the DP denoting an entity out of the complement CP to check Case, followed by reanalysis. In the pre-movement period, all sentences with modal adjectives were like (1); once movement was allowed sentences like (2) became possible as well:

(1) *It is probable that John will be a/the winner.*
[TP it is [AdjP probable [CP that [IP John will be a/the winner]]]]

(2) *John is a/the probable winner.*
[TP … [AdjP probable [CP [IP John [DP (the) winner]]]]] >> [TP John is [DP a/the probable winner]]

In (2), reanalysis is followed by word-order change (*probable-the* > *the-probable* in the DP), as discussed by Harris & Campbell (*Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, 1995) and occurs synchronically, with the semantic compositionality operating on the underlying structure, prior to reanalysis. Semantically vacuous words (here, the copula and the indefinite article) are inserted at PF.

Many other languages do not allow the movement in (2). The Latin etymological counterpart of the English modal adjective in (1) and (2), *probābilis*, was used with entities only in the meaning 'worthy of approval, commendable, acceptable', or (with persons) 'praiseworthy, admirable', while its primary meaning 'which can be proved' (from the verbal stem *probā-* 'prove') was used only with events such as described in

reports or accusations. In Latin, as in English before the 18th century, movement of the entity-denoting DP as in (2) was not possible, and the adjectives qualified events – whether CPs, as in (3), or NPs, as in (4) –, but not entities (5):

(3) *Possibile est* [$_{CP}$ *Caesarem victorem fuisse*].
possible is Caesar winner have-been
'Caesar may have won.' (lit. 'It is possible for Caesar to have been victorious.')

(4) *Adventus eius haud possibilis est.*
arrival his not possible is
'He cannot possibly come.' (lit. 'His arrival is not possible.')

(5) **Caesar possibilis victor est.*
Caesar possible winner is
'Caesar is a possible winner.'

The movement-plus-reanalysis mechanism proposed in (2), if correct, suggests that it is worth exploring the possibility for other types of non-intersective adjectives (*skillful, former, counterfeit,* etc.) to have event arguments underlyingly, rather than being adjuncts of NPs, and thus for the underlying structure to reflect the historical source of these constructions. Correspondingly in semantics, predicate modification will be replaced by function application in such contexts.

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Pray *in Early Modern English drama*

The verb *pray*, first attested in the Middle English period, developed pragmatic marker functions in the course of the Early Modern English period, following a grammaticalization cline which moves from the polite request formula *I pray you/thee* to the reduced forms *I pray* or *prithee* and ultimately to *pray* (Akimoto 2000: 80), which is marked archaic in Present Day English.

The study at hand seeks to provide new insights into the development and use of *pray* in Early Modern English, when it was,

according to Busse (2002: 289), undergoing a process of grammaticalization. It is based on the sociopragmatically annotated *Drama Corpus*, which combines the drama text samples of three different corpora (the *Sociopragmatic Corpus*, *A Corpus of English Dialogues, 1560-1760* and the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*), resulting in a total of 238,751 words from a time span of 1500 to 1760. The present study thus focuses on a single text type – drama – which, although differing from natural speech in some ways (Short 1996: 173-179), is said to provide constructed "interactive, face-to-face, speech-related data, which has only a minimum of narratorial intervention" (Archer & Culpeper 2003: 43).

While the quantitative distribution of the different forms in which *pray* appears during the time span analysed will be taken into account, the analysis will mainly be concerned with their functions in relation to the sociopragmatic parameters 'social status' and 'gender', so as to discover potential similarities and differences in their use by male and female characters of different social rank. To date, there appear to be no investigations of the use of *pray* according to social status, and the few studies which include gender show varying outcomes. Thus, Demmen's (2009: 99-109) corpus study of Shakespeare's plays indicates that female characters use *I pray you* much more statistically frequently than do male characters, whereas Akimoto (2000: 79) found that "men use *pray* more often than women". The aim of the current study is consequently to shed more light on the sociopragmatic nature of *pray* forms, and to reach a more profound understanding of their use in the Early Modern English period.

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The diffusion of ing*-complements in English*

In Present-Day English a large number of verbs take their complements in the form of controlled non-finite clauses with a verbal form in *-ing*, as in (1). At the same time, as (2) shows, there are lexical constraints on the distribution of *ing*-complements, some of which are hard to account for from a strictly synchronic point of view.

(1) a. He imagined *opening* the drawing-room door. (BNC)
b. Phil intends *getting* away from it all for a week or two. (CB)
(2) a. *He thought *opening* the drawing-room door.
b. *Phil desires *getting* away from it all for a week or two.

As is well-known, the process that gave rise to today's situation involved lexical diffusion (Visser 1963-73; Fanego 1996). The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine how the present-day state of affairs came about, with a focus on how the diachronic process of diffusion interacts with synchronic motivation in the system of complementation.

Using corpus data (PPCME, MED, PPCEME, CLMETEV, OED), I start by establishing as accurately as possible when *ing*-complements appeared with the fifty most common *ing*-complement-taking predicates. The resulting time-line of diffusion provides a basis for examining the mechanisms by which *ing*-complements could spread from one predicate to

another. The results show how diffusional change manifests a tension between emerging regularity and a scattering of apparently unrelated innovations:

(i) *Regularizing forces*: analogical extensions, based on a number of different underlying analogies (which, moreover, shift in the course of time), go further and further in creating first local and than more global regularities in the use of *ing*-complements.

(ii) *The role of contingency*: new uses of *ing*-complements arise more or less contingently through borrowing, lexical changes, and even phonological changes. Added to this is the effect of a blocking factor, which hinders the emergence of *ing*-complements in environments where they compete with some other already established complement-type.

The diffusion of *ing*-complements thus shows how diachronic developments give rise to synchronic systems whose organisation is in part functionally motivated but also in part irregular and unpredictable from a synchronic point of view. More generally, a case is made that diffusion proceeds by starting in environments where innovation is highly sanctioned and spreading to other environments (cf. Timberlake 1977).

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Data sources

CLMETEV = Corpus of Late Modern English texts.
MED = Middle English Dictionary.
OED = Oxford English Dictionary.
PPCEME = Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of Early Modern English.
PPCME = Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of Middle English.

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A database of English electronic texts: Demonstration and discussion of compilation and classification principles

The multiplication of diachronic electronic corpora (like Helsinki, ARCHER, ICAMET) and freely available internet resources (best known: Gutenberg) make a systematic, comprehensive description of the available material desirable. Such a description should include the interests of linguistic, literary and cultural studies and take the form of a database consisting of standardized text descriptors as used in various historical corpora.

The proponents have come to feel that need in the light of their own experience with privately compiled corpora from public-domain sources. These are valuable in view of the often considerable costs of commercial collections, but their reliability is often limited, and they lack descriptors to guide interested scholars. While the choice of primary texts must remain the individual scholar's responsibility, it is possible to provide information on existing texts and text collections and thus to enable scholars to build corpora tailored to their own specific needs. In this spirit, we have begun a database that gives scholars access to online material in a much more principled way.

Two main issues of compilation are:

1. Text selection: Our experience suggests that public-domain collections over-represent fiction and under-represent other literary and non-literary genres. Unguided selection from such collections will easily lead to a neglect of the corpus-linguistic requirements of diversity and balance (Biber et al. 1998: 246-53). Starting from our respective research interests and the compilation in CLMETEV (De Smet 2005), we present a balanced sample database of 500+ items.

2. Descriptors: We have so far applied the following, some of which require careful definition: Title; Author; Prototypical Text Category; Genre; Sub-genre; Verse or Prose; Relationship to Spoken Language; Author's Sex; Author's birth; Year of First Publication; Author's Death; Website; Others.

In our presentation we (1) discuss our approach to the two problems of compilation and descriptor definition, (2) demonstrate the workings of the database and the search engine(s) connected with it.

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Emotion vs. passion: *The history of word-use and the history of concepts*

The demise of passion as a superordinate of categories like joy, fear, sadness or anger is as well known as its replacement by emotion. The most influential accounts of the process (DeJean 1997; Dixon 2003) describe it in terms of discourse theory as the 'creation' or 'invention' of a new category, locating its beginnings in the 18th century. Dixon finds its completion in the establishment of the new scientific ('materialist') discipline of psychology in the early 19th century.

This explanation may be accurate as far as it goes, and it finds some support in existing corpora (de Smet, CLMETEV1; Diller 2008). But it neglects the 'pre-discoursal' use of the word emotion in the 17th century, and it fails to give an adequate account of its use by authors like Descartes or Hume, whom it serves as an 'undefined defining term', as a genus proximum for passion. In the spirit of Foucault (2002: 36) it thus over-emphasizes discontinuity and under-emphasizes continuity. In the same spirit it gives apparent support to the fallacy of the autonomy of discourse which has been exposed by Dreyfus & Rabinow (1982: xx–xxi).

It will be argued that a history of concepts, which has to find its data in discourses (however defined; cf. Burr ^{2}2003: 175; Taylor 2001: 8), has to be supplemented by a history of word-use. The contexts in which word-use is most profitably studied are of two kinds: the micro-contexts of syntax and the macro-contexts of genre. This makes a sufficient diversity of genres imperative for the compilation of such corpora.

The paper will end with a plea for a database of public-domain websites and suitable text descriptors which will facilitate the compilation of corpora meeting these requirements. (Cf. De Smet/Diller/Tyrkkö's joint paper.)

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Gender change in Late Old / Early Middle English

This paper investigates the transition from the grammatical gender system in Old English, with modifiers/anaphors displaying agreement with their head noun, towards the pronominal, natural gender rule operational from

Middle English until today. Quantitative analyses of texts from the relevant period (~750-1250) chart this development by cataloguing the incremental changes of transitory variation in this phase of grammatical upheaval to answer the question whether the change ensued in a rather smooth and orderly fashion, i.e. as a telic development from the old to the new system, or whether the demise of the grammatical system preceded the natural gender system's emergence substantially, effecting a period of chaotic/ad libitum gender assignment in between.

Concerning the contrast between the grammatical and the natural system, each noun belongs to one of two classes, taking its original grammatical gender as listed in the relevant reference works (e.g. Bosworth & Toller 1889/1921; Bright 1923; Hall 1916) as a base-line:

On the one hand, nouns whose gender does not reflect their referent's sex, for instance 'wif(neut)' [wife/woman] (lexical class). These nouns are incompatible with the natural gender rule and thus expected to occur progressively more frequently with modifiers/anaphors reflecting the referent's sex rather than the form's gender. If the 'telic development' hypothesis pans out, the example above should occur more and more often over time with feminine modifiers/anaphors (e.g. 'seo') rather than with neuter ones (e.g. 'þæt').

On the other hand are those nouns whose gender already reflects the referent's sex, for example 'man(masc)' [man] (referential class). Following the same logic, these should not occur with modifiers of a different gender than their own, as they already are compatible with the new paradigm. If they do so to a substantial degree, however, then this would provide evidence for an interim stage of disarray in gender assignment.

Results show gender mismatches between noun and modifier/ anaphor to occur in both classes, with those in class 1 being about five times as frequent as those in class 2 (63.24% vs.12.05%), indicating a fairly directed development with some concomitant dissolution.

Statistical analyses of these results revealed significant impact of both semantic and grammatical facilitatory and inhibitory factors, supporting and expanding previous findings (e.g. Siemund 2008, Curzan 2003, Corbett 1991), indicating implicational hierarchies to be at work on both sides of the linguistic sign.

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New data for an English usage puzzle: the long history of spelling variation in Canadian English and its linguistic implications

The study of spelling practices, while crucial in OE and ME, has been among the Cinderellas of Late Modern English linguistics: those who deal with them, often arbitrarily so, are not linguists and linguists often won't deal with them because of their apparent randomness. Therefore, they do not figure prominently in standard introductions (e.g. Beal 2004), and for Late Modern English, studies are few and far between. Some findings exist for British English, as Osselton (1963, 1984**)** and Tieken (2009: 43-4) have shown the linguistic significance of the phenomenon; for Australian English, there is Fritz (2006). Canadian English spelling is an especially interesting object of study as it has been exposed to both British and American English usage conventions since its foundation (Avis 1973, Dollinger 2008).

While studies have rudimentarily described the situation in Canadian spelling, they have not produced an explanation of the spelling heterogeneity in CanE (Ireland 1979), other than a suggested "lingusitic tolerance" in Canadian society (Chambers 1986). Since this tolerance is a relatively recent development, it cannot be applied to the 18th and 19th centuries (Dollinger and Percy 2009, Dollinger 2007). The hybrid spelling conventions in Canada, which often merge BrE and AmE patterns, have been considered Canadian as such (Avis 1973). The present paper argues for an explanatory line that has hitherto been entirely missing by providing a comprehensive picture of the development of spelling practices across Canada for major markers of CanE, such as the spelling of *-our/-or* in

neighbour, favour, honour etc. This is possible due to new research tools, such as the Bank of Canadian English (Dollinger, Brinton and Fee 2006--), which offers CanE data from the 16th century to the present day over an array of genres.

The results are linked to findings from the related fields of educational policy research and social history, which will show that the mixed Canadian spelling tradition, and its variation across the provinces, is – contrary to perceived linguistic wisdom – anything but coincidental: it is the outcome of a progressive 19th-century educational policy that was markedly different from the practices in the USA and Britain. As such, the lack of a unified spelling standard in CanE is not an expression of linguistic heteronomy (or lack of autonomy), but the result of an interesting historical accident.

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What should the parameters be for a survey of borrowing in Renaissance English?

Existing surveys of borrowing in Renaissance English (*c*1500-1667) are dependent on the *OED* for their data, whether directly (as Serjeantson (1935) or Barber (1997)), or indirectly via *SOED* and in turn Finkenstaedt et al. (1970) and Wermser (1976).

The data available today is changing:

- The *OED* is in the course of a major revision, with approximately 30% of words and senses being antedated, many changes to etymologies, and many re-datings of existing quotations. (Compare Durkin 2002, 2008.)
- *EEBO* can supplement the dictionary record in many ways.
- *HTE* can show whether a borrowing has (near-)synonyms, or how it relates to other items in a semantic field.
- Close attention to translated sources can cast light on routes of transmission.

The same data is used in attempts to answer a variety of different research questions, not all of which are always clearly articulated.

- Are we interested in all borrowings reflected in the dictionary record, or just those belonging to the 'common core' in this period? (Compare Nevalainen 1997.)
- Should Older Scots be included?
- Can we distinguish borrowing motivated by need, prestige, or the aesthetic and rhetorical demands of 'copy'? (Compare Adamson 1997.)
- Are we interested in the language of immediate or ultimate origin?
- Are we interested only in borrowed word forms (which are easiest to identify), or also in calques and semantic loans?
- Is our main interest in the actual historical inputs to the language, or in contemporaries' perception of 'latinate' and 'Saxon' components of the vocabulary?
- How sure a guide is morphology to either route of transmission or to degree of integration, in a period when e.g. *-ate* is often affixed even to French verbal borrowings (compare Reuter 1934, 1936), and conversely French-derived *-ity* is regularly substituted in borrowings of Latin words in *-itās*, *-itāt*, while Latin plural morphemes are often retained in borrowed nouns?

This paper will attempt to define these various questions more clearly, and to examine which resources and approaches can best be applied to answering them.

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Prefer*: the odd verb out*

In this paper I trace the complementation patterns of *prefer* since it first appeared in English in the fourteenth century, with a particular focus on verbal complements over the last three centuries. From the time it first appeared in the language until the seventeenth century, *prefer* occurred

primarily with nominal complements. In the seventeenth century it began to be used occasionally with verbal complements, at first mostly with the gerund. The *to*-infinitive form of complement only became common in the nineteenth century.

Studies of complementation in Late Modern English, such as Fanego (1996, 1997), Vosberg (2003) and Egan (2008) have demonstrated that, while there was a degree of flexibility in the use of gerunds and infinitives (and indeed finite clauses) in the period in question, it also witnessed a steady general increase in the use of the gerund. One exception to this general trend is *prefer*. The data in the Corpus of Late Modern English texts (see De Smet and Cuyckens 2005) show that in the period 1780 – 1850 the gerund outnumbered the infinitive after *prefer* by a margin of over ten to one. The exact opposite situation pertains in Present-day English, as is evidenced by data in such corpora as FLOB, FROWN and the BNC. Having first traced the development of *prefer* in Middle English and Early Modern English, I will examine the spread of the *to*-infinitive form of the complement at the expense of the gerund in Late Modern English and propose an explanation for this development.

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Remembering gemunan*: On the semantics and functional loss of the 'mnemonic preterite-present'*

Old English *gemunan* is one of the preterite-present verbs that was eventually lost in the (strongly debated) radical change of the other former preterite-present verbs to modal auxiliaries (see Lightfoot's seminal study of the modals [1974, 1979]; for critical responses inter alia Fischer/van der Leek 1981, Plank 1984, Denison 1993).

The proposed paper seeks to follow three aims, ultimately showing that the investigation of the semantics and the functional loss of OE *gemunan* – the 'mnemonic preterite-present', so to speak – is worthwhile:

First, the etymological analysis of *gemunan* reveals this verb to be a paradigm case of the preterite-presents, with the movement of the original strong past tense form into the present tense paradigm mirroring the characteristic change of focus, i.e. from the (past) cause to its (present) effect. Moreover, the semantics of *gemunan* indicates an act of memory the function of which is not so much (individually) reminiscing about the past, but rather (collectively) assessing the present against the backdrop of the past – an assumption which can be supported on the one hand by taking the etymology of the prefix *ge-* into account, namely its origin in the Germanic preposition ga ('with'; for the function of the prefix *ge-* see Kastovsky 1992: 380ff.), and on the other hand by reviewing usages of *gemunan* from Old English records and poetry.

Second, the semantic content of OE *gemunan* is contrasted with those Present-day English verbs that have replaced the preterite-present verb from Middle English times onwards: mainly *remember* (ca. 1300), *recollect* (1559) and *recall* (1582). All of them starting with the Romance prefix *re-*, these new 'mnemonic verbs' encode the act of memory as an iterative process, as a 'putting back together the pieces of the past'. This mnemonic concept is most drastically reflected in the folk-etymological interpretation of *remember* as *re-member*, an interpretation that ignores the common source of both *remember* (from Latin *rememorare*) and *gemunan* in the Indo-European etymon **men-* ('think', 'be mentally active'). The contrastive analysis thus casts etymological light on different conceptualizations of collective and individual memory and their verbalisations.

Third, the cross-linguistic analysis of *(*ga*)*munan*, i.e. the tracing of the preterite-present cognates in the related Germanic languages, allows

us to deduce reasons as to why the English form did not develop into a fully-fledged modal auxiliary (even though it had been used as a modal in some dialectal areas). In this respect, the study of OE *gemunan* helps us to understand which factors contribute to the development of certain verbs into modal auxiliaries by completing a story that, often tacitly passed over, has yet to be told: the story of the lost modals.

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Conservative Northern English? A language contact explanation for the retention of dative plural –um *in northern OE and ME*

Irrespective of whether we subscribe to a creolisation theory (advocated by e.g. Poussa (1982); but not supported by e.g. Görlach (1986), Allen (1997), and Thomason and Kaufman (1992)) for the present "creoloid" shape of English, the extensive language contact between the Scandinavians and the English must have at least reinforced and accelerated already ongoing processes in the Northumbrian dialect of Old English (Allen 1997). At all events, Northumbrian is regarded to have been highly innovative with its eroded nominal inflectional morphology. However, as regards the dative plural suffix *-um*, this dialect seems to have been conservative in that it preserved the old suffix variant intact at least up until the 1050/1060s

whereas the otherwise highly conservative West Saxon dialect had several reduced suffix variants in the same period.

By combining Lightfoot's (1999) and Görlach's (1986) position on a tendency for languages in contact to retain identical and to eliminate divergent suffixes when sharing a great amount of everyday words, it can be argued that the suffix variant *-um* could have been retained somewhat longer in Northumbrian than the other inflectional endings as it did not inhibit mutual intelligibility. By contrast, what we can find in West Saxon is the various reflexes of *-um*, all along the path of phonologically conditioned inflectional reduction.

The sociolinguistic argument advanced in the paper will be supported through (1) a quantitative analysis of Kristensson's entire Middle English place name evidence (1967, 1987, 1995, 2002), (2) a similar quantitative analysis of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and its West Saxon counterparts, and (3) the inscription on the Kirkdale Sundial.

The aforementioned detailed statistical analyses and the various matches made to Thomason and Kaufman's (1992) maps offer considerable departure from my previous study on the topic.

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The resilience of the Northern Subject Rule in 1st person sg. contexts in Early Modern English wills and testaments

One of the most salient features of northern English and Scots is a phenomenon generally referred to as the Northern Subject Rule (NSR), a grammatical constraint that governs present tense verbal morphology according to the type and position of the subject. According to this rule, in late Middle English northern dialects the present indicative plural marker is *-s*, except when the verb is a personal pronoun subject or the subject is adjacent to the verb. Although most accounts of the NSR refer only to the plural, there is evidence that the constraint also affects the first person singular, giving rise to a system in which all persons have verbal *-s* unless adjacent to a personal pronoun subject, in which case the plural and first person singular have zero or *-e* suffix. The sporadic extension of the *-s* ending to the 1st person sg. is believed to have taken place later by analogy with the other persons.

In an earlier study (Fernández Cuesta/Rodríguez Ledesma 2004), we showed that the NSR was operative (although far from categorical) in legal documents from Yorkshire as late as 1600, and that the 1st person sg. also seemed to come under the scope of the adjacency constraint of the NSR. Building on these preliminary observations, the present study aims to demonstrate that:

1. The 1st person singular comes under the scope of the NSR and is governed by the same syntactic constraint that applies to the plural.
2. In early Modern English legal documents the incidence of the NSR largely depends on the context: some environments (initial formulae modelled on Latin) trigger the NSR almost categorically, while other contexts show much more variation.

3. Quantitative analysis also shows that there is a steady, but irregular, decline of the constraint towards the end of the period under consideration, which needs to be accounted for.
4. The frequent occurrence of the NSR in the 1st person singular environment in this period and its almost total absence from the early Middle English corpus (cf. LAEME), and from 15th century English texts such as the Northern Prose version of the Rule of St Benet (de Haas 2006), might point to a relatively late development of the constraint in this context.

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Conditional or not conditional? A diachronic corpus-based study of abbreviated if-*structures.*

The subordinating conjunction *if*, as Veltman (1986) points out, must be open to different interpretations, since the original (and also well-accepted) idea that it usually "expresses a causal connection" (164) is not always true. In fact there are other, quite different ways to perceive the seemingly conditional statement that is introduced by *if*. Thus, it is well-advised to abstract *if* from being a device of setting a condition under which the protasis is true to a means of setting a pragmatic environment for the protasis, since "[s]ome arguments are logically valid but pragmatically incorrect. Others are pragmatically correct but logically invalid" (Veltman 1986: 147).

Quirk et al. (1985) set up two main categories when considering full *if*-clauses: one of them is what can be called "direct condition", with the implication of truth function (cf. Horn 1989). The other one is what can be referred to as "indirect condition", that is without truth function (cf. Horn 1989). Schwenter (1999) argues that a direct condition has *semantic* meaning and forms an integral part of the whole sentence, thus it is uncancellable. Whereas an indirect condition has *pragmatic* interpretation; it forms only a peripheric part in the sentence and is thus cancellable.

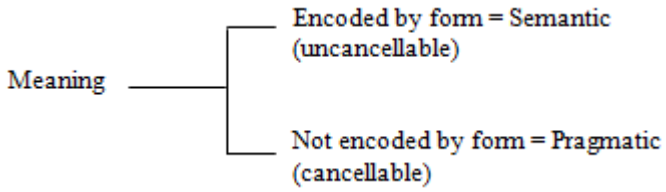

Figure 1
Two types of conditional meaning
(cf. Schwenter 1999: 23-24)

The main aim of the paper is to show and discuss the semantic polyfunctionality of abbreviated *if*-structures. Based on the distinction above, I differentiate between two types of these structures:

(1) These reasoners are ignorant, that the largeness of a room, **if tight**, is in this case of small importance, since it cannot part with a chimney full of its air without occasioning so much vacuum; which it requires a great force to effect, and could not be borne **if effected**. *<ARCHER: 1785fran.s4a>*

and

(2) Nevertheless it seemed to me desirable***, if possible,*** to bring this structure to view by reagents which I think cannot be charged with producing artificial appearances.
<ARCHER: 1894holb.s6a>

where the abbreviated *if*-structure in (1) is an instance of conditionality – what is *meant / meaning* (Comrie (1986) –, and in (2), it is an instance of non-conditionality, and it should be related to pragmatics – what is *implied / interpreted* (Comrie (1986).

In order to be able to delineate the diachronic development of the abbreviated *if*-structures as well as the variation between conditional and non conditional abbreviated *if*-structures, I use two historical corpora, the *PPCEME* (Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English) and the *ARCHER* (the Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers). With the help of these two corpora I am able to provide a diachronic perspective on the abbreviated *if*-structures from 1500 to 1990.

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Corpora

ARCHER. A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers. Comp. Douglas Biber et al. University of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, USA, 1994.

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Subject-verb agreement in a selection of the late 14th and the 15th century texts

Little consideration has been given to the study of the system of subject-verb agreement in the Northern English and Scots of the late 14th and the

15th centuries.[2] This period is linguistically interesting. One striking aspect of Older Scots was its distinctive morphology. The processes involved in its formation were similar to those of English in its transitional phase from Old to Middle and Early Modern English. This sometimes produced similar results (King, 1997: 158). However,

> the Scots and/or Northern linguistic input often differed from that of Midland, Southern and South-eastern dialects of Early Middle English; and, moreover, divergent developments occurred in Scots, so that features specifically characteristic of Scots emerged as the outcome (King, 1997: 158).

Furthermore, Murray (1873: 29) refers to the Scots of the late 14th and the 15th centuries as "the northern English, which was spoken from the Trent and Humber to the Moray Forth". However, the 15th century was a period of linguistic divergence within Lowland Scotland and Northern England (Williamson, 2002: 253). In the Northern English and Scots of the late 14th and the 15th centuries, the system of subject-verb agreement operated, which was different from that of the south because it was linguistically modern: only one inflection was used throughout; it was also more advanced: the verb was inflected depending on the type and position of the subject.

Given the above, the following research questions should, therefore, be addressed:

1) to what extent does this system operate in the Northern English and Early Scots of the late 14th and the 15th centuries?
2) to what extent does the type of the subject influence the system of subject-verb agreement in those varieties? And
3) does this system operate on all lexical verbs in those varieties?

A selection of texts from the late 14th and the 15th centuries from the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, 850-1700* (*HCET*) and a selection of texts from the late 14th and the 15th centuries from the *Edinburgh Corpus of Older Scots, 1380-1450* (*ECOS*) will be used to tackle these questions.

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Her shoes were perpetually slipping off*: the progressive in the Age of Sensibility*

Broadly speaking, there are two functions standardly associated with the English progressive (BE + *-ing*; e.g. *was eating*): aspectual marker (indicating notions such as duration, dynamism, imperfectibility, etc) and attitudinal marker (expressing the speaker's stance towards the situation cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 197ff. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 162ff.). The 'aspectual' use of the progressive has been widely discussed both synchronically and diachronically (see Kranich forthc.). By contrast, the study of the subjective progressive has mainly focussed on typological considerations, i.e. the establishment of subtypes of subjective constructions and of formal criteria to tease apart subjective from aspectual progressive uses (cf., among others, Wright (1995), Fitzmaurice (2004), Smitterberg (2005)). Strang (1982), Wright (1994) and Adamson (1998) should nevertheless be mentioned here, as they comment on the importance of the progressive in the construction of 'empathetic' narrative in the history of English style (Adamson 1995). The latter (more stylistically-oriented) approach is the stance I'd like to adopt in this paper.

Through a corpus-based study of selected epistolary novels by key authors of the Age of Sensibility (Richardson, Fielding, Mackenzie, Burney, Smith), the paper (a) charts the 'stereotypification' (Labov 1972) or 'enregisterment' (Agha 2003) of the subjective progressive as *the* signal of the discourse of Sensibility and (b) assesses the stylistic consequences of the process. A comparison of Richardson's *Pamela* with its satirical counterpart, Fielding's *Shamela*, suggests a decrease in the co-ocurrence of the progressive with other subjectivity markers (e.g. temporal deictics,

present tenses) in the latter work, as well as a greater association of the progressive with female character types. Furthermore, the corpus data indicates that the stereotypification of the progressive appears to not only have had an effect on the use of the subjective progressive for non-satirical purposes in subsequent writers of the Age but also have been concomitant with the semantic shift in the concept of Sensibility ('balanced association of reason and emotion' > 'excessive emotion'), as shown in a contrastive analysis of semantic fields of body-parts and emotions in the works of Mackenzie, Burney and Smith.

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Go on, then. - *The development of sentence-final* then *into a modal particle*

In my contribution I will address the function of sentence-final *then* as a modal particle in Present-Day English, focusing on the historical development of the formal and functional properties of this element.
Then has undergone a long grammaticalization process that can be retraced quite accurately: it developed from a deictic root in Indo-European (**to-*) and a demonstrative pronoun in Common Germanic (**þa*) towards a locative adverb in Old English (*þanon* 'from there') and a temporal adverb in Old and Middle English (*þanne/þonne* 'at that time'). From Early Modern English onwards, however, *then* began to be used not only as a temporal adverb, but also as a modal particle with a variety of pragmatic functions, above all that of modifying illocutionary acts.

Formally, the use of *then* has become highly restricted: in contrast to its non-modal counterpart, it has, for instance, a very limited syntagmatic variability (it can occur in sentence-final position only), its use is bound to particular sentence types only, it is never stressed, and it can neither be coordinated, nor modified, extended, negated or determined through questions. Functionally, *then* as a modal particle fulfils a modal function in that it modifies a speech act to make it compatible to a particular context. It refers to background information and can thus never be used without a prior pragmatic context, and it indicates the attitude of the speaker towards the proposition and the interlocutor, which tends to be negative.

The contribution will be based on a functional-pragmatic approach in the tradition of e.g. Koch & Oesterreicher (1990: 70ff.) and König (1997) and intends to negate the often repeated idea that English has no modal particles because it lacks a middle field similar to that in German. The empirical data that will be presented are part of a larger research project on modal particles in English that is currently carried out at the University of Rostock.

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The emotion talk of hope *in the history of English: A corpus study*

The aim of the present paper is to contribute to the research on the linguistic expression of the concept of HOPE. The paper is intended as an addendum to the (2004) study on *hope* in Present-day English (conducted by Heli Tissari), which it completes, in a sense, by furnishing the historical perspective. What it offers is basically an overview of the source domains and conceptual metaphors motivating the use of the lexeme *hope* and its selected synonyms in Old, Middle and Early Modern English. The paper begins with a short discussion of the status of hope as an emotion followed by the analysis of the data from the diachronic part of *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal*. For the purpose of the study, all instances of the OE *hopa*, *hopian*, *tohopa*, *tohopung*, *hyht*, *gehyhtan*, *tohopian* and *gewenan* (as well as their Middle and Early Modern English counterparts) have been extracted from the corpus by means of *Antconc*, a free concordance program, and later examined, the goal of the analysis being twofold. First of all, the investigation was expected to help identify the lexico-grammatical patterns into which the items in question fell before 1720. Further, the analysis was hoped to answer the question of how the conceptualisation of hope changed over the centuries. What follows, the study is essentially cognitive in nature but it is combined in the present contribution with the analysis of the sociolinguistic context (understood here as genre specificity) and general historical background for the formation of meaning.

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What determined the schedule of the s*-plural diffusion in southern dialects of Early Middle English?*

The development of the nominal plural ending *-s* is well known: during the Early Middle English period, the *s*-plural was generalised first in the northern dialects and then spread into the southern dialects. This is, however, such a rough sketch that it fails to show how the *s*-plural spread when it did, particularly in the more southern dialects where older plural endings such as *-n* were in competition with *-s* for a long time.

In my previous study investigating Early Middle English texts, it was made clear that the spread of the *s*-plural proceeded roughly in the way proposed by Lexical Diffusion, that is *-s* diffused gradually by a few words at a time, slowly at first, quickly in the middle, and slowly again toward the end. The S-curves of the *s*-plural diffusion for individual dialects are roughly parallel, at least to such an extent that they all tend toward the completion of diffusion, but S-curves for some southern dialects are partly skewed by the temporary revival of the *n*-plural, resulting in what might better be called N-curves.

The present paper investigates two issues about the *s*-plural in southern dialects:

1) how the innovative *s*-plural was in rival coexistence with older plurals such as *-n*;
2) what factors eventually determined the schedule of the spread of the *s*-plural.

I will suggest that the historical gender and plural type of nouns played a major role in directing the diffusion of the *s*-plural. To be specific, the weak masculines, the heavy-stem strong neuters, and the strong feminines tended to transfer to *-s* earlier than the weak feminines and the light-stem strong neuters.

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"And no man entreth in or out" – how are 'unfitting' French motion verbs integrated into English?

English and French are radically different in what is called the motion-verb typology (cf. e.g. Talmy 2000): Present Day French, like other Romance languages, typically encodes the Path of motion in the verb (***descendre*** *de l'arbre*), i.e. it follows the verb-framed pattern. In contrast, what is usually encoded in Present Day English verbs is the Manner of motion (***jump*** */* ***climb*** *down from the tree*). Here, Path is expressed in adverbs and prepositional phrases instead, a pattern that is called satellite-framed.

Brinton and Traugott (2005: 155) suggest that borrowing from another language type is an important factor for a language to change within this typology, but they note that English has stuck to its predominant satellite-framed pattern, despite having borrowed a number of Path verbs such as *descend*, *ascend*, *enter*, etc. This paper aims at investigating how these "typologically unfitting" loan verbs are integrated into the English language.

Studies from cognitive linguistics have shown that speakers are so trained in the characteristics of their respective language that English speakers interpret made-up motion verbs as encoding Manner, while Spanish speakers interpret them as encoding Path (Cifuentez-Férez and Gentner 2006). Also research into second language acquisition points to interferences between typologically different L1s and L2s (e.g. Cadierno 2004).

This suggests that the typologically unfitting loan verbs, originally only expressing Path, would acquire an additional Manner-meaning in Middle and Early Modern English. At least for Nehemiah Wharton, writing in 1642, *enter* seems to have meant something different than just 'move in':

> *The City gates are guarded day and night with four hundred armed men, and no man entreth in* ***or out*** *but opon examination*.
> (1642, CEECS: WHA 1642 NWHARTON, my emphasis)

This paper will investigate different stages in the integration of a number of French-borrowed Path verbs by their uses in Middle and Early Modern English texts. It will examine possible changes in meaning they might have undergone to become more fitting to the typical English pattern,

i.e. to the intransitive-motion construction comprising a Manner verb and an adverb or prepositional phrase expressing Path.

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Reconsidering Celtic influence on ME relative clauses – a corpus-based analysis

This paper presents the results of a quantitative analysis which seeks to examine the likelihood of early Celtic influence on (Old and) Middle English relative clause structures.

The Celtic Hypothesis has been a hotly debated subject over the last years; it claims that certain syntactic features of Modern and early English are, at least partly, due to Celtic (direct or indirect) influence, viz., the *do*-periphrasis, expanded tense forms, the use of *self*, etc. One intensely contested issue is the structure of relative clauses, particularly preposition stranding and resumptive pronouns, as well as contact clauses (i.e. zero-pronoun) and clefting, which opponents of the hypothesis prefer to attribute to language internal causes, or influence from languages other than Celtic varieties (cf. Isaac 2003, Poppe 2006).

The paper at hand reports on some findings from my PhD thesis, which investigates the frequency of certain relative structures in early and later ME, and by comparing them to frequencies in OE attempts to discover whether data elicited from corpora (*Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of ME*,

Innsbruck Corpus of ME prose) may provide any support for either of the two positions; to avoid direct influence from source language or metrical constraints, only original ME prose texts were considered in the study.

Due to the standardized language of most attested OE texts, and the resulting lack of local or dialectal material, it is assumed that influence from below would only become visible after the OE standard had been withdrawn. Hence a significant rise in usage of these features during the ME period may point to Celtic influence, particularly in areas generally claimed to have been "Celtic" for a longer period, or where Celtic varieties were (and still are) spoken in the closer vicinity, i.e. the south-west, mid west and north (cf. most recently Filppula et al. 2008). The present approach consequently provides a new perspective by supplying further data and assessing the probability of such an influence by quantitative means.

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Contact influence of French on English: the Modal + 'have' auxiliary

Molencki (2001) showed that in the apodosis clause of a counterfactual conditional Early Middle English consistently used the pluperfect e.g. (1),

but that in later ME a trend developed towards the use of a modal + auxiliary *have* in the apodosis of counterfactual past conditionals, e.g. (2):

(1) *& ȝef an miracle nere … ha hefde iturpled wið him … dun into helle grunde* (CMANCRIW,II.195.2804)
'And were it not for a miracle she would have toppled with him down to the bottom of hell.'

(2) *He wald haue forced me in…* (*Cursor Mundi* ms. C 4399 (Southern))

Southern *Cursor* mss make more use of modal + aux *have*, whereas Northern mss keep the pluperfect. He argued that the change spread from Southern to Northern varieties, a direction that is unusual in the earlier history of English.

In this paper it is proposed that the source of the innovation was Anglo-Norman, the insular variety of Old French. Fischer (1992: 257) believed that 'it is unlikely that either Latin or French played any role', but Old French (cf. Brunot & Bruneau 1949), commonly used the modal + perfect infinitive with *avoir* to express counterfactual past, e.g.:

(3) *Il deussient avoir receu les deniers…* (Monfrin, *Haute Marne* 77)
'They should have received the money'

Old English did not have a 'have' perfect infinitive, so the ME trend towards modal + *have* is a candidate for contact influence from French. The source structure was present in Anglo-Norman at the beginning of the ME period:

(4) *Ke vus dussez aver dyst issy adeprimes* (*Jeu d'Adam*: 31 (c. 1150))
'That you should have said so first'

Anglo-Norman was stronger in southern England than in the North (Rothwell 2001), lending support to seeing the change in terms of French source language agentivity on English. This proposal is discussed against the background of persistent but poorly supported assertions in the History of English literature regarding the status of Anglo-Norman in the 13th century and after.

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The function of the possessive morpheme in relation to the possessive pronouns in various text types in Late Middle and Early Modern English

The use of the possessive morpheme, or the s-genitive, has been analyzed in relation to the of-genitive in a number of corpus studies on genitive variation. These studies (for example Altenberg 1982, Rosenbach 2002, Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi 2007 and many others) have shown that a range of factors influence the choice between the genitive variants. Topicality and text type, in particular, have a profound impact. This paper aims to contribute to the study of the possessive morpheme by expanding the range of analysis to the possessive pronoun, in particular the third person singular and plural. Possessive pronouns are structurally and functionally similar to the possessive morpheme (cf. Taylor 1996 and Allen 2008), but differ in terms of reference and thus, by extension, topicality. Ideally, topicality should include both the entire text and the contextual level. This, however, poses a number of methodological problems. Identifying the referents and their local and global topicality is extremely time consuming. Thus this paper also considers a number of methodologies using tagged and parsed corpora, combining automated information structure search patterns, random sampling and qualitative analysis. The corpus material, approximately 500,000 words in size, is selected from *the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (PCEEC), *the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, second edition (PPCME2) and *the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME). The use of the possessive morpheme and the possessive pronouns is correlated to topicality, syntactic placement and a number of text type features (cf. Biber 1992, Diller & Görlach 2001, Pérez-Guerra 2005 and others for the study of text type and language change). The aim is to both analyze the effect of topicality on the use of the possessive morpheme in detail and to compare the function of the possessive morpheme to the possessive pronouns.

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Lexical conversion in Shakespeare's language

The problem of morphological conversion has frequently been confronted in studies on English word-formation, usually from the perspective of its usual

place in the general theoretical framework of word-formation. Despite the fact that the process of conversion, whereby a new word is derived from the already existing one with no accompanying change of morphological form, has been an inherent part of the English word-formational system since Old English (cf. Kastovsky 1968, Biese 1941), there is still a lot of controversy regarding the systemic nature of the process. The debate mostly focuses on the problem of zero-affixes as formal exponents of the process; linguists who view this process as a derivational technique analogical to affixation operationalize the term "zero affix" and, consequently, apply the term "zero-derivation" (e.g. Marchand 1969, Kastovsky 1968, 2005).

Another approach treats this morphological process as a kind of syntactic recategorization within a single paradigm (cf. Vogel 1996, see also objections towards zero-affixes raised by Štekauer 1996). Also, more recently, it has been suggested that conversion can be accounted for within the cognitive linguistics theory and here it is likened to metonymic shift (cf. Schönefeld 2005).

In the present paper, I take up the issue of morphosemantic properties of conversion by discussing innovative conversions sampled from Shakespeare's plays. I have chosen Shakespeare's plays as the corpus, because the flexibility of the process is illustrated better nowhere else; Shakespeare is known for extending the availability of the process to the limits of rule-governedness (as Crystal (2008:149) points out: "lexical conversion has become one of the trademarks of his style"). Altogether, about 200 first attestations of lexical conversions in the OED are attributed to Shakespeare, some of the most famous examples of which are:

I warrant him Petruchio is ***Kated*** (Tam. Sh. 3.2.244)
Tut, tut, ***Grace*** *me no Grace, nor* ***Vncle*** *me,* (Rich. II 2.3.86)
Fro their own misdeeds ***askaunce*** *their eyes?* (Luc. 637)

Shakespeare's lexical creativity provides valuable data which can be successfully employed as an illustrative material for the methodological problems inherently bound with the notion under inspection. I discuss in detail semantic properties of the types sampled in the corpus, and relate my findings to the problem of the theoretical approach towards conversion in general.

Primary Source

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The influence of morphology on the evolution of English phonotactics

This paper deals with the evolution of lexical phonotactics in the history of English. We start by looking at well-described co-occurrence restrictions on final consonant clusters in Modern English, and focus on three related observations. (a) Most complex coda clusters in Modern English involve coronals (e.g. *strengths*, *blinked*, *sounds*, *whilst*, *against*, *text*, *next*, etc.), (b) most of them "signal an inflectional (or occasionally derivational) suffix" (e.g. *sulk+ed*, *film+s*, cf. e.g. Spencer 1996:99), and (c) even those that are morphotactically simple (i.e. purely phonotactic) in synchronic terms (such as *against* or *next*) often go back to historically complex (i.e. morphotactic) ones. Together, these observations lend themselves to a rather straightforward historical interpretation (cf. Dressler and Dziubalska 200 for the underlying theory): while consonant clusters are phonologically

dispreferred, the very fact that they are avoided morpheme internally makes it possible to utilise them for signalling morphological complexity. This makes morphotactic clusters historically more stable than phonotactic ones. At the same time, diachronic lexicalisation processes may phonologize morphotactic clusters and thereby expand the design space of phonotactically licensed configurations. Thus, the lexicalisation of irregular past tense forms such as {kept} from originally regular {keep}+{t} may have contributed to making purely phonotactic final /pt/ clusters (as in *apt*, *adapt*, etc.) grammatical in English. While this fairly straightforward scenario appears to work quite well for cases in which originally morphotactic clusters were phonologized, we shall pursue the slightly more general hypothesis, that highly frequent morphotactic configurations may contribute to the emergence and historical stability of structurally parallel phonotactic ones without becoming lexicalised and phonologized themselves. Thus, rhymes of the structure VVnd (*pound*), VVld (*child*), VVnt (*pint*), VVNs (*pounce*), or VVlt (*default*) have become possible in English even though there are practically no clear cases among them, which represent phonologized lexicalisations of morphologically complex sequences. We attempt to test the plausibility of this hypothesis by means of a quantitative diachronic analysis of dictionary and corpus data.

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Ambivalent para-hypotactic structures in annotated corpus linguistics

In our paper we discuss structures whose status is ambivalent and which we call ambivalent para-hypotactic structures (PH structures). Such structures are ambiguous because they find themselves in an intermediate stage between parataxis and hypotaxis, which means that on the one hand they seem to behave like main structures in parataxis and on the other hand they seem to behave like dependent structures in hypotaxis. This fact means that the structures can be analysed in two ways, namely, either as paratactic structures, being in paratactic relation to the immediately preceding

structures, or as hypotactic structures, being in hypotactic relation to the structures immediately preceding them. These structures pose a problem to a corpus linguist dealing with their annotation. To our knowledge, in annotated corpus linguistics when texts are annotated for the analysis of word order configurations the common trend is to annotate them only in one way, that is, either the way that the structures are treated as paratactic, or the way that they are treated as hypotactic. In other words, the annotated corpuses that are produced for the analysis of Old English texts, as well as texts written in other languages, are not flexible, do not reflect the dynamic and changeable nature of language and thus do not allow one to grasp the ambivalent. Languages, both spoken and written, should be treated as living organisms because they are in a constant state of flux and they refuse to be perceived in one way or another. They must be perceived in multiple ways, or otherwise the linguist will end up obtaining a distorted picture. In the light of this, we would like to suggest how to annotate and then analyse the linguistic material in order to reflect the dynamic and changeable nature of language in the analysis of word order configurations. Namely, we annotate the ambivalent para-hypotactic structures from both the point of view of parataxis and from the point of view of hypotaxis. Afterwards we analyse them accordingly and then compare the results. So apart from demonstrating how ambivalent para-hypotactic structures can be annotated, we also present the results of such a dual analysis and discuss its implications for corpus linguists. Although we basically employ our own terminology in the classification and annotation of para-hypotactic structures, we draw a lot on the achievements of structuralism and generative grammar. We also employ our own annotation system.

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Verbal zoosemy from a panchronic perspective

As postulated by Kleparski (1996), Łozowski (1999, 2000) and Kiełtyka (2008) among others, the cognitive framework may successfully be applied to the analysis of linguistic phenomena that fall into the area of overlap between synchrony and diachrony; that is those phenomena whose explanation should be sought in language panchrony. Since, as cognitive linguists claim, there is no clear-cut boundary between synchrony and diachrony in linguistic investigation, it seems plausible that an adequate semantic analysis of historical data cannot be carried out successfully without reference to both synchrony and diachrony. The present article is a pilot study, the aim of which is to formulate some remarks which emerge from a historical analysis of selected English verbal zoosemes (animal verbs targeted at the category HUMAN BEING). The major point of reference here is Stekauer's *et al* (2001) morpho-semantic study of the transfer of animal names to human beings in which verbal zoosemy is viewed as based on various combinations of processes of word-formation and semantic formation.

Throughout the analysis, an attempt will be made to show that a panchronic perspective – viewed as an overlap between synchrony and diachrony – is the only method of analysing historical data in an adequate way. It will be shown that it is possible to assert that a plausible onomasiological analysis must take the diachronic aspect into account and – therefore – none of the zoosemes subject to our analysis could have been adequately examined semantically by means of the synchronic approach only. One feels justified to agree with Kleparski's (1996:82) views that phraseological idiomatic expressions, archaisms and dialectal expressions are precisely those areas where synchrony meets diachrony and since the cognitive approach to language analysis makes no strict diachrony/synchrony division, *[…] it makes it possible to show that, although such idioms* (but also proverbs/sayings/adages) *function in present-day English, they have scraps of history built into their conceptual structure*.

Thus it seems that a historical analysis of verbal zoosemy may be indicative of the fact that panchronic investigations should be and – perforce – are more detailed and more explanatory. This is not, of course, to say that any attempts at synchronic semantic investigations should be abandoned altogether. Quite the contrary, the merits of synchronic analyses

are not to be underestimated, but as far as semantic change is concerned one feels justified to claim that reference to panchronic phenomena is indispensable.

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English intrusive liquids

A well-known fact about Modern English is that there are two general patterns concerning the distribution of *r*. In the literature these patterns have been described as the rhotic and non-rhotic dialects. Moreover, in the non-rhotic dialects there are some *r*-zero alternations, i.e. linking and intrusive *r* (Jones 1989). Another, this time less-known and hence more interesting, observation is that there are dialects (in the north-eastern parts of the United States) where the lateral behaves almost identically to *r* (Gick 1999, 2002; Bermúdez-Otero 2005). Thus, similarly to *r*, the lateral occurs in the processes of linking and intrusion, e.g. *drawl* [drɔ:] – *drawling* [drɔ:lɪŋ] and *law is* [lɔ:l ɪz] respectively. Moreover, historically both liquids vocalise and influence the preceding vowels both qualitatively and quantitatively. The *l*

vocalisation can also be observed synchronically, for instance in Estuary English where *milk* is realised phonetically as [mɪok].

Most previous analyses (e.g. Kahn 1976, Gussmann 1980, Lodge 1984, Mohanan 1986 see also McMahon et al 1994) account for the liquid-zero alternations either as the case of deletion or epenthesis or both. In this paper I show that neither of them captures all the relevant facts. I propose an alternative solution which explains, in a uniform way, both liquid-zero alternations and historical liquid breaking leading to various later repercussions in the form of different vocalic reflexes.

More specifically, in this paper I address the questions concerning the distribution and internal structure of liquids and their various interactions with the preceding vowels. I explain the mechanics behind the liquid-zero alternations and explore the problem of lexical representation of etymologically liquid-less and liquid-full forms participating in such alternations. I provide the analysis of historical facts which are the cornerstone of the solution proposed here. Thus, for example, I argue that the first step in the historical developments of *r*-full forms was *r* defusion as a reaction to positional plight (before the empty nucleus). The weakened *r*, in order to avoid negative consequences, migrated to the left and invaded the preceding nuclear position ([ə] development), merged with the preceding vowel or both. These changes gave rise to various vocalic reflexes found in many different dialects. It is claimed here that historical *r* has never been lost from the lexical representation of etymologically *r*-full forms. Quite the opposite, it has existed in many different ways ready to surface whenever the conditions are satisfied. This can be observed in the case of linking *r* but also *l*. On the other hand, intrusive *r* and *l* are analyzed as a similar process in which a part of the elemental make-up of non-high vowels spreads and surfaces under the onset position of the following morpheme.

The analysis of both diachronic and synchronic facts is couched in the recent development of Government Phonology known as the Strict CV model (Lowenstamm 1996, Rowicka 1999, Cyran 2003, Scheer 2004) and the Element Theory which deals with the elemental make-up of phonological segments (Harris 1994, Harris and Lindsey 1995, Cyran 2003).

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"I feel I am understanding it more now." A web-based study of stative verbs in the progressive in PDE

It has been suggested that the English progressive construction is gradually grammaticalizing from a progressive aspect marker to a general imperfective marker (as one finds e.g. in the French *imparfait*) (e.g. Goosens 1994). Put differently, the construction has been said to be losing its association with dynamic processes and states of limited duration and to be used as well for states of unlimited duration. Examples brought forward as evidence are of the type seen in the title (from the data sample retrieved for this study), an example of a mental state in the progressive, or the notorious McDonald's commercial in which a (presumably tastebud-deprived) speaker is claiming "I'm loving it", presenting evidence of an emotional state predicate in the progressive. It has been claimed that such occurrences represent innovations or, at least, to be on the rise in recent times. The present paper will scrutinize the validity of such claims.

A recent investigation into the development of the progressive from 1600 to 1999 has shown that stative predicates are indeed on the rise in 20th century English. Still, their use remains almost completely restricted to situations of limited duration (Kranich forthc.). But the change might be too recent to be fully understood on the basis of ARCHER-2, used by Kranich (forthc.). For the present paper, I have thus collected native-speaker data from the internet using *WebCorp*. 407 instances of progressive uses of *love*, *hate*, *like*, representing emotional states, and of *understand*, *know* and *believe*, representing mental states, all not supposed to occur easily in the progressive (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 203), have been collected and analyzed according to the categorization of Kranich (forthc.). The results show that, while the progressive does occur with these verbs, it is not losing its association with dynamism. All of the instances are either analyzable as special subjective uses (e.g. interpretative), or the situations referred to are characterized by certain dynamic properties, as the example in the title illustrates: the progressive is used in this case to refer to a gradual development of understanding. The English progressive, even in its apparent spread into less usual contexts, is thus still far from turning into a true general imperfective and can still be called, as Heine (1994) and Comrie (1995) did, an extended progressive.

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On the phonology of Old English weak verbs: A Strict CV approach

The aim of this presentation is to analyze the Present Tense forms of two classes of weak verbs in Old English (more precisely, the Anglian dialects), viz. those which are traditionally labelled "Class II" (such as *lufian*) as well as those which are members of "Class I" but are never affected by West Germanic Gemination (such as *nerian*, i.e. *r*-final stems). I shall claim that the phonology of these verbs can be analyzed quite conveniently even in a rather restrictive model which does not permit derivations in the SPE sense. The framework I use is known as Strict CV, in which derivations of the SPE kind are forbidden, and the primes of phonological representation are unary elements. In this presentation, I point out the following:

1. The Imperative Singular form of *any* Old English verb can be treated as a free stem to which suffixes (if any) are added (e.g. *nere*, *lufa*, etc.), at least in a model that allows ordered rules.
2. In Anglian dialects, Class II weak verbs add the preterite suffix to this stem (e.g. *lufade*); the present tense forms are, however, apparently "misbehaved", cf. *lufie*, with <i> rather than <a>.
3. Nonetheless, such forms — which all appear to be vowel-initial — also occur, not infrequently, with a <g>, e.g. *lufige*.
4. In unstressed syllables, Old English seems to have had only one vowel before Yod; this vowel was most probably /i/.

Based on these observations, I wish to make the following claims:

1. There are no vowel-initial suffixes added to Class II weak verbs, or those of the *nerian* type. All suffixes which appear to be vowel-initial are actually Yod-initial.
2. The above claim is supported by the fact that Old English seems to have disfavoured hiatus, cf. the contraction of the "*seon* type" upon the loss of intervocalic /h/, for instance.
3. Since there appears to be no vowel other than /i/ before Yod in Old English, it is reasonable to assume that *any* unstressed (underlying) vowel is replaced by /i/ in that context. That is, forms such as *lufie* and *nerie* are lexically /luva-je/ and /nere-je/, respectively; the Yod is part of the suffix.
4. Those vowels of Old English which seem to be elementally complex (headed) never occur in unstressed syllables (e.g. /y/, /æ/).
5. Conclusion: there is a limit to the complexity of Old English unstressed vowels; in other words, such vowels are either simplex or unheaded, and, as such, they are prone to be deemed to remain silent. The Yod spreads into the unstressed — and unheaded — vocalic positions; the lexically given content of these vocalic positions remains uninterpreted.

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Null objects in the diachrony of English

The aim of this paper is to examine change and stability in null objects availability in the history of English. Null object availability in particular syntactic contexts differs crosslinguistically (Huang 1984; Rizzi 1982, 1986),

and depends on inflectional properties of the clause and the status of the null object. Modern English generally disallow null definite objects or topics of Portuguese (Raposo 1986; Farrell 1990) or French type (Cummins & Roberge 2004), and require an overt pronominal (ex. 1). Furthermore, discourse-linked null objects are more productive in Modern English than in Modern Greek (ex. 2, Giannakidou & Merchant 1997; Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2006):

(1) Mary said that John knows *(her)
(2) a. Your book, I bought (it)
b. To vivlio su, *(to) aghorasa
the book.ACC your it.ACC bought.1SG

Old English is different from Modern English in allowing null definite objects, especially in the following cases: when a main clause has a direct object, this object may be omitted in a following coordinated clause, or when a ditransitive verb has an indirect object, there may be a null direct object (van der Wurff 1997):

(3) Her for se here of Cirenceastre on East-Engle ond gesœt þœt lond ond gedœlde
here went the army from Cirencester to East Anglia and occupied the land and divided
'In this year, the army went from Cirencester to East Anglia and occupied the land and divided it' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* A [Plummer] 880)

On the basis of the distribution of null objects in the diachrony of English (in comparison to null objects in the diachrony of other languages), we attempt to show that there is a diachronic correlation between the availability of *null objects* and: (a) the development and the changes in *tense and aspect* (cf. Pesetsky & Torrego 2004 who provide support for the hypothesis that structural case features are actually Tense-features); (b) the emergence of *clitics*; similarities between the emergence of null objects and the emergence of null subjects (Haider 1994, Roberts & Roussou 2003: 185f., Fuß 2004, 2008) can be explored: null subjects and objects seem to have been licensed in case there was no weak type stored in the lexicon.

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A quantitative analysis of the development of whether *in Mediaeval English*

In Present-Day English *whether* normally functions as a conjunction indicating a doubt or choice between two or more alternatives (*I wondered whether or not he would get there*) or indicating a statement that applies to whichever of the alternatives whatever the situation is (*Everyone, whether liberal or conservative, celebrates*). In mediaeval English, however, the range of possible uses of *whether* was much wider. In addition to the senses present in Modern English (*woldon cunnian hwæðer cwice lifdon* 'They wanted to find out whether they were alive' And 129, and s*e ðonne ne recð hwæðer he clæne sie, ðe ne sie* 'He does not care whether he is clean or not' CP 54.421.14), in Old English *whether* was used as a conjunction in direct questions (*Hwæþer þu nu fullice ongite forhwy hit þonne swa sie?* 'Do you then fully understand why it is so?' Bo 33.74.25). *Whether* could also be employed to render the meaning of a pronoun 'which of the two' (*þa beag þæt land þær eastryhte, oþþe seo sæ in on ðæt lond, he nysse hwæðer* 'Then that land there turned eastwards, or the sea into the land, he knew not which' Or 1 1.14.11), 'either' (*forðæm simle bið se modsefa miclum gebunden mid gedrefnesse, gif hine dreccean mot þissa yfla hwæðer* 'Because the mind is always very bound with confusion in which either of these two ills may afflict' Met 5.38), or 'whichever' (*nim ðonne swa wuda swa wyrt, swa hwæðer swa þu wille, of þære stowe* 'Take then any tree or plant whichever you want from this place' Bo 34.91.19). Finally, *whether* could function as an adjective modifying nouns (*He nuste to 3weþer do3ter betere truste þo.* 'He did not know which daughter it is better to trust then' Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11) 773) or an adverb in the meaning of 'yet', 'however' (*hwæðere ðu meaht me singan* 'However, you could sing for me' S. 596, 39).

This paper shows how the various uses of *whether* changed in the history of the English language. Apart from the quantitative analysis of the particular senses of *whether* from Old English through early and late Middle English to early Modern English on the basis of the representative sample of the written corpora, an account of the semantic and syntactic developments of *whether* is offered herein.

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The demise of Gog and its phraseology in dramatic discourse: a study into historical pragmatics of a tabooistic distortion

The use of linguistic forms derived from the lexicon denoting sacred entities will often be subject to tabooing behaviour. In the 15th and 16th century phrases like *by gogges swete body* or *by gogs soule* allowed speakers of English to address God without really saying the name; cf. Hock (1991: 295). The religious interjections based on the phonetically corrupted *gog* are evidenced to have gained currency in the 16th century, with expressions such as *Gogs woundes*, *Gogs flesh*, *Gogs hart*, *Gogs Nailes* or *by gogges blod*. The earliest use of such phrases in English dramatic texts is in *Mactacio Abel* of the *Towneley Plays* at the turn of the 15th century when *Gog gif the sorrow* and *Gog of heuen* are recorded. In the 17th century all interjections based on religious appellations ceased to appear on stage in accordance with the regulations of the "Act to Restrain Abuses of Players" of 1606 and supported with the "Blasphemy Act" of 1650; cf. McEnery (2006). The surprising fact is that *Gog* phraseology never returned to stage while, with the loosening grip of censorship, the *God* and *Gad* interjections are abundant in drama texts of the 18th century.

The present paper attempts to explain the reasons for the disappearance of *Gog* and its phraseology in the course of the 17th century. The distribution of terms in the researched texts points to homonymic rivalry and a semantic clash between religious conceptual domains. Additionally, the paper contains remarks on the socio-pragmatics of *Gog* and its phraseological productivity. The corpus of the study consisting of stage plays available from the Literature Online database is supplemented with lexicographic information from *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Middle English Dictionary*.

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Corpus

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https://han.buw.uw.edu.pl/han/LiteratureOnline/lion.chadwyck.co.uk/

Dictionaries

The Historical Thesaurus of English. University of Glasgow.
Middle English Dictionary. University of Michigan
http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med
http://libra.englang.arts.gla.ac.uk/historicalthesaurus
The Oxford English Dictionary New Edition online
http://dictionary.oed.com

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The þurfan / need *replacement: Has morphological productivity anything to do with it?*

OE preterite-present *þurfan* was a prominent pre-modal verb which might have developed into a PDE modal auxiliary (compare OE **sculan* > PDE *shall*, OE *cunnan* > PDE *can*, etc.), had it not been replaced by *need* in Middle English times (see Loureiro-Porto 2009, among others). Several reasons have been adduced for this replacement, the most common being of a phonological nature (Visser 1963-1973: 1423, §1343, Molencki 2005). According to this hypothesis, ME *thurven* disappeared because it was phonologically confused with *durren* (<PDE *dare*, another preterite-present verb). The literature has also proposed syntactic factors to account for the replacement, as is done in Loureiro-Porto 2005, which studies the grammaticalization of *need* as possibly filling the functional gap left by *thurven*.

The present paper hypothesizes that, in addition to phonology and syntax, to fully account for the *þurfan / need* replacement, a third type of linguistic determinant needs to be considered, namely, morphological productivity. According to productivity theory, the most productive morphemes occur in low-frequency words, because these words are stored as decomposed morphological elements in the mental lexicon, and this in turn reinforces the morphemes’ psycholinguistic weight and makes them

readily available for the formation of new lexical items (cf. Baayen 1993, Plag 1999, 2003). Based on a preliminary overview of *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Edmonds *et al.* 2005), our hypothesis is that the morpheme *neod- / nead-* (and its variants *ned-*, *nyd-*, *nied-*), was far more productive than the morpheme *þurf- / þearf-*. This might have made it psycholinguistically more active in the mental lexicon of speakers and might have played a role in the triumph of *neod- /nead-* to the detriment of *þurf- / þearf-*, which was already phonologically and syntactically endangered. Following Plag (2003), the productivity of these two morphemes is measured by counting hapaxes, tokens and types. The data are taken from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (diPaolo *et al.* 2000), which contains the totality of extant texts from this period.

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Middle English causatives and complement types

In this paper, we propose to examine the distribution and properties of Middle-English analytical causatives, as well as the complements with which they occur.

This is a field which displays a considerable degree of variation, in terms both of the choice of causative and also in the choice of complement. Such variation is not entirely free, however: we shall endeavour to show that stylistic, diatopic and especially semantic features have an important role to play in determining which combination of causative verb and complement type will be used to express a given causative situation, and that certain parameters, such as agentivity and genericity, seem to be of particular significance.

Part of the paper will be devoted to an examination of the changes which occur within the restricted group of implicative causatives. Indeed, the period from c1100 to c1500 sees a number of significant developments take place, certain verbs leaving the causative sub-system while others enter. We shall look particularly at the conditions under which new elements become part of the group, seeking to identify features shared by verbs integrating the system at different stages of the history of English. Special consideration will be given to the evolution of causative *make*, which begins to establish itself as the 'central' causative during the Middle-English period.

We shall also focus on complement types, in an attempt to determine how the choice of complement is related to individual causative verbs, and how verb and complement combine to produce causative meaning.

Finally, from a methodological point of view, we shall insist upon the need to take variation into account when assessing phenomena such as those discussed in our paper, and the advantages of considering as broad a sample of attested occurrences as possible in order to highlight general trends and changes in progress.

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Syntactic structure in Elizabeth Talbot's letters, with reference to the conjunction and

According to Culpepper and Kyto, 2010: 167, 'the incidence of clause-level AND has decreased in some varieties of English since the Early Modern English period'. It is plausible that 'some of the functions of AND were taken over by other forms of conjunction' (Culpepper and Kyto, 2010: 167). However, it is still unclear exactly why this reduction in the use of clause-level AND took place.

Currently, scholars such as Lennard (1995: 67) and Robinson (1998), date the shift from 'periods' to sentences, from an oral to a literate style, to the mid-late 17th Century. I argue that this is likely to have been a much more gradual shift. Indeed, Culpepper and Kyto state that a look 'at the frequencies - raw and unscreened – of the instances of AND in the Helsinki Corpus' throws up 'a steady decline from the Middle English period through to the Early Modern English period' (2010: 170).

Were there sociolinguistic factors that influenced this arguably more gradual shift from 'periods' to sentences, from an oral to a visual, literate style? Who or what was responsible for it? My data is a large body of letters and estate documents by Elizabeth Talbot, nee Elizabeth Hardwick, popularly known as Bess of Hardwick, c.1527 to 1607. The co-ordination and conjunctions used in this data will be looked at from a qualitative perspective, using micro-level, local analysis.

Findings will be reported in relation to Elizabeth Talbot's sociolinguistic profile, her age and location at the time of writing each document, scribal, production and sociopragmatic factors. The role of punctuation in relation to co-ordination and the conjunction AND in this data will also be considered.

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'Gode', 'faire' and 'fresshe' food: Adjectives and their collocation patterns in Middle English culinary recipes of the Potage Dyvers *family*

Adjectival modification in Middle English recipes, culinary or medical, has received relatively little attention in previous studies of the genre, which have focused on features like information structure, special terminology and genre characteristics (see e.g. Stannard 1982, Norrick 1983, Görlach 1992 & 2004, Carroll 1999 & 2006, Taavitsainen 2001, Grund 2003, Alonso-Almeida 2008). This is understandable since the focus on process and product tends to highlight the verbal and nominal aspects of recipes, relegating adjectives to a secondary status. Furthermore, the study of adjectives in Middle English recipes may have been discouraged by the perception that a large proportion of them are ones considered semantically generic (e.g. 'gode') or contextually relative (e.g. 'smale', 'grete'). Such expressions, at least to the modern reader, convey rather an impression of vagueness than specificity (Carroll 2009).

This paper is based on the premise that due to their strictly delimited field and well-established genre features, Middle English culinary recipes offer an excellent context for the study of these semantically generic and context-bound adjectives and their meanings. Thus it is the aim of this paper to provide an overview of the syntactic and semantic functions of adjectives in Middle English recipes, focusing on the collocation patterns of semantically generic adjectives and the ways in which their meanings are restricted and specified by their collocational context.

The material used for this study consists of a family of six related fifteenth-century recipe collections commonly known as *Potage Dyvers* (Hieatt 1992, Marttila 2006). These collections, while not direct copies of each other, contain several parallel versions of each recipe, allowing the study of variation in the use and collocation patterns of adjectives not only between individual recipes - themselves of varying origins - but between linguistically variant parallel versions of these recipes by different scribes. This two-dimensional variation also allows us to examine whether the

selection between seemingly interchangeable attributes (such as *good*/*fair*) seems to be conditioned by collocational preference, the original source of the individual recipe, or individual scribal preference, thus offering a rare glimpse at the linguistic practices of medieval scribes.

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Progressive forms in Early Modern English

Jespersen (1965:168) noted that the phrase *is being* such as in *is being built* does not make its appearance until the end of the 18th century. Moreover, he mentioned *is being* does not appear with an adjective, such as in *is being polite*, until the end of the 19th century. Núñez-Pertejo (2004) also agreed with this. But according to Visser (1984: 1954), *is being* with an adjective had already appeared in the last quarter of the 15th century, and *Chadwyck-Healey's Early English Prose Fiction* database (*EEPF*)1500-1700, shows that instances of *is being* with an adjective can be found as early as the 16th century, as in . . .*are being now but meane by virtue* (1580 J.Lyly, *Euphnes and his England*), and that *is being built* appears in the 17th century as in *as it were being perswaded by the strength of her imagination* (1661 Sir P. Herbert, *The Princess Cloria*). We can see the continuity of the progressive of the verb *be* from the 15th century through the 17th century.

According to Visser, the phrase *is having* appeared in Old English(OE), but the meaning of this verb 'have' meant 'possess'. The progressive form of the verb 'have' such as *have a look* appeared in the Late Modern English (LModE), and anyway the progressive form of the verb 'have' is not found in the *EEPF*. Verbs such as *be* and *have* belong to the basic verbs in Present-Day English (PDE). I would like to explore the behavior and circumstances of the progressive forms of such basic verbs, including *get, give, keep, let, make, put, take*, and so on, and the stative verbs such as *remain, sit*, and others in Early Modern English (EModE)between 1500 and1700 by using the electronic database Chadwyck-Healey *EEPF*.

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Attenuating degree modifiers: examining English rather

Attenuating degree modifiers, specifically 'moderators', have received little attention in comparison to reinforcing ones (most notably 'boosters') in studies of the history of English (cf. e.g. Peters 1992, 1994; Lorenz 2002; Méndez-Naya 2003, 2007).

The present paper begins to address this imbalance through a corpus-based case-study of *rather*, one of the most common moderators in present-day English (cf. e.g. comments in Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Bolinger 1972; Paradis 1997).

The development of *rather* from the OE adjective *hræd* ('quick', 'prompt') and subsequently from its original (temporal) adverbial meaning (e.g. '*your…Suppliaunt...dar nethir ride nor go late nor* ***rathe[early]*** *in to Essex*') to its moderator one (e.g. '*some* ***rather*** *severe remarks*') has been charted by Rissanen (1994, 2008). However, no previous studies satisfactorily detail the specific context(s) in which this moderator function arose and later extended. Furthermore, indications in some of the literature (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985; Traugott 2007) suggest that *rather* may have developed additional modifying functions (i.e. booster and emphasizer) alongside its widely acknowledged moderator one, yet these developments have not been investigated systematically.

The present work proposes that degree modifier *rather* emerged in the context of gradable verbs in the 18th century and subsequently extended to modify other constituent types, viz. adjectival and adverbial elements. In this process, the additional 'emphasizer' function (observed in the 17th

century) appears to have played a key role in facilitating the transition from the comparative adverb to a degree modifying one. Furthermore, the data analysis reveals another function of *rather*, viz. 'answer particle' or 'emphatic affirmative' (Quirk et al. 1985), indicating that speakers have developed a more pragmatic use of *rather* along the lines of Traugott's (2003) subjectification > intersubjectification cline.

Whilst providing further insight into the interplay of grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification in the development of English degree modifiers, this paper also contributes to recent discussion regarding the nature of grammaticalization clines, supporting the notion that certain developments may be better described as a series of 'interlocking' changes (e.g. Vandewinkel & Davidse 2008), rather than according to the linear cline of traditional approaches.

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The emergence of domain-specific styles in scientific writing

The replacement of Latin by the vernacular languages and the replacement of scholasticism by empiricism had a far-reaching and long-lasting impact on scientific writing in the Middle English and Early Modern English periods. The two domains to be compared in this paper are medicine and the natural sciences. The first originally English medical text is Lanfrank's *Cirurgie* from the beginning of the 14th century. The first English treatments of topics from the natural sciences date from the second half of the 16th century, e.g. John Maplet's *A greene Forest, or a naturall Historie* (1567). So far empirical studies on register properties of scientific texts included texts of both domains (González-Álvarez and Pérez-Guerra 1998, Taavitsainen 1994), or they were restricted to the natural sciences (Moessner 2008, 2009). Long-term diachronic studies are based on data from two journals, the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* (Atkinson 1992) and the *Philosophical Transactions* (Atkinson 1999).

The present paper promises new insights into the development of scientific writing. Assuming that the linguistic profiles of the texts of the domains of medicine and the natural sciences were similar in the second half of the 17th century (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1995: 525) and that the

sciences underwent a gradual process of separation (Atkinson 1999: xix), I will analyse a corpus of texts from both domains ranging from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century with the method of multi-dimensional analysis. Two hypotheses will be tested, namely that the linguistic profiles of the texts of the two domains become more different and that the developments on the individual dimensions will go into different directions. On the basis of results from a pilot study I expect that neither hypothesis can be unreservedly supported, but that the general trend points towards the emergence of domain-specific styles in scientific writing after the 17th century.

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Providing/Provided that*: Grammaticalization or loan translation?*

Conjunctions *provided/providing (that*) are apparently clear examples of grammaticalization down the verb-to-conjunction cline (cf. Alvarez&Cruz 2003). There are, however, certain problems with such simple explanation. The first instances of the quasi-conjunction uses appear in the 1420s and are contemporary with the first English occurrences of the verb *provide*, the more Latinate counterpart of its earlier Romance doublet *purvey*, which came into English c1300. The Central French form was *pourvoir* while its Norman cognate was *pourveir* (first attested c1180 in the Anglo-Norman dialect). Both in Old French and Middle English the verb developed multiple senses, one of which was 'to consider', 'to make provision'. Its French passive participial form *pourvu* came to be combined with the conjunction *que* resulting in the formation of the grammaticalized conjunction phrase in the 15th century that developed both temporal (*=dès lors que, du moment que*) and conditional (*=en cas que, à condition que*) uses. It is very likely that the first Middle English uses of the conjunction were calqued among bilingual Anglo-Norman speakers in the Chancery milieu at the turn of the 15th century, e.g. *The Conservatours..sal be haldin to do..in the manere forsaid of bath the Partize;* ***purvait that*** *Heritages on bathe the Syds stand in the fourme and vertue as is compris'd within the Trewes; The kyng..shal graunte of newe by his letters patens the foreseid xxij li. vn to the seid Thomas and John..****prouidet*** *alweys* ***that*** *this surrendur and newe patent be haid wytheinne towe yere*). In the paper we will also refer to the gradual replacement of *purvey(-ed/-ing)* with *provid(-ed/ing*) and the competition between the two participles (*providing* vs. *provided*) in the conjunctive phrase. The language material comes from various late ME and early ModE corpora, as well as from the Anglo-Norman Online Hub.

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A history of the Auxiliary do *Occurring in Affirmative Imperatives in Late Modern English*

Following on from Nakamura (2001, 2004, 2008) the present paper focuses on the history of the auxiliary *do* occurring in affirmative imperative sentences. For a general idea of its chronological trends, we can gather information from Ellegård (1953), Visser (1969), etc. and, through studies devoted to a particular writer or text such as Söderlind (1951), we can gain a synchronic understanding. With special regard to post-1700 English, however, large-scale historical studies on this subject seem not to have been undertaken.

As a supplement to the previous studies, this paper seeks to provide the audience with data collected through the analyses of 150 volumes of primarily private diaries and personal correspondence written mostly between 1500 and 1900. For this purpose I shall demonstrate under what semantic and syntactic conditions the affirmative imperative *do* was used and to what extent, showing not only the variety and frequency of verbs co-occurring with it but also the type and frequency of ten variants including Type 1 (*do* V), Type 2 (*do you*/*thou* V) and Type 3 (*do* Adv V), according to the texts examined and every 50 years.

Evidence suggests that the affirmative imperative *do* continued being used in Late Modern English, but that it was far from a rival of the *do*-less affirmative imperative. It was arbitrarily or optionally used when advice, suggestion, encouragement, persuasion, entreaty, request, etc. were enthusiastically conveyed, typically accompanied by words of urgency, tenacity and entreaty such as *quickly*, *for god sake*, *please* and *pray*, with the repetition of *do*, with the addition of an exclamation mark, and by the accentuation of an underline beneath *do*. The adjacency of *do* and V as shown in Type 1 above, the most representative form in Present-day English, took precedence over all other variants in the second half of the 18th century.

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Modals, speech acts and (im)politeness: A new look at interactions in Shakespeare's plays

The purpose of this paper is to account for how modals are interrelated with pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects, i.e. speech acts and (im)politeness, to offer a new perspective to the interaction in Shakespeare's plays.

It is widely accepted that modals are closely connected to the speaker's attitude and have unique functions in discourse. Although speech acts in relation to modals is a topic relatively easily accessible to historical researchers, politeness study in history focuses little attention on modals, since it is not only a matter of polite expressions, but a principle relevant to whole language use.

The modals under investigation are the proximal and distal modals SHALL/SHOULD and WILL/WOULD. Placing the modal as a pivot, I analysed the utterance and discourse in which the modal appears. Both politeness and its negative counterpart, impoliteness, are examined within the frameworks of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Culpeper (1996). A variety of strategies to save or attack the interlocutor's positive or negative

face are taken into account, and not only the interplay between the modal and the (im)politeness strategy but also the interplay among several strategies are observed. Statistical analysis was also conducted on how the strategies are exploited in relation to the sociolinguistic characteristics of the interlocutor.

Furthermore, I analysed how speech acts performed with the aid of modals are associated with (im)politeness strategies, based on the inventory of speech acts extracted from Shakespeare by Nakayasu (2009). A stronger connection is found between positive politeness strategies and the speech acts performed with modals.

To summarise, there are more strategies to save or attack the interlocutor's positive face employed with modals in Shakespeare. My analysis confirms that the social interaction in Shakespeare's time was positive (im)politeness-oriented, which is in line with the proposal by Kopytko (1993), and suggests the interrelated nature of modality, speech acts and (im)politeness.

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A bit of this and that: On social identification in early English

The dynamic nature of reference means not only that terms are used to shift between different deictic positions but also that they can be used to express the speaker's attitude towards the referent. Stivers (2007), for example, has found this to be true of the so-called alternative recognitionals in particular. Whereas the name is considered the unmarked reference form for

recognitionals, alternative terms not only refer to a person but are also markedly used to perform a certain pragmatic action, such as complaining. Demonstrative prefaced descriptions like *that next door neighbour* do not actually associate the referent to either the speaker or the addressee; the demonstrative *that* is used to show that the referent is outside the speaker's interactional focal area. It not only asserts that the neighbour is not in the "here-space", but may also foreground a complaint sequence before any actual complaint has been made. Gernsbacher and Shroyer (1989) have also found that the indefinite *this* is used as what they call "a cataphoric device", in that it often influences the way in which the referent is mentally represented and thus makes it easier for the listener to access that mental image in the subsequent narrative.

This paper deals with the use of deictic indexicals *this* and *that* as a part of a person referential term in early English texts (1600–1800). The purpose of the study is to show the link between the use of such demonstratives and what e.g. Hogg and Abrams (1988) call social identification, which concerns when and why individuals identify with social in-groups and adopt shared attitudes to members of the out-group. Moreover, the study concentrates on the diachronic use of referential expressions, influenced by the social and societal change during the Early and Late Modern English period.

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Time's arrow reversed? Progressive vs. conservative individuals in real-time language change

In this study we analyse individual language users' participation in morphological and syntactic changes in English as they unfold in real time over three centuries. Our data come from the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, which enables a diachronic comparison of the linguistic output of hundreds of individuals. The study of real-time processes of language change allows a closer examination of the question of whether linguistic change in progress always follows a regular path of transmission. This path is expected to form an S-shaped pattern, with time plotted on the horizontal x-axis and frequency of use on the vertical y-axis, showing how the incoming variant starts off as a minority form, and then rapidly gains momentum, but takes some time to become categorical.

The general question we investigate is how to identify progressive and conservative individuals in these processes of change, and whether the majority of the people who participate in an ongoing change can be identified as in-betweens, as is typically the case with Present-day English sound changes. Our presentation focuses on the extent to which processes of change are propelled by progressive individuals outnumbering conservatives in the various stages of these changes in progress ('*progressive pull*'), or whether indeed these real-time S-curves of change contain both categories in equal measure. This study is part of our project which develops quantitative techniques for the study of language change in progress in real time.

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The effects of analogy and token frequency on allomorphy in the plural morpheme of Old English disyllabic neuter a-stem nouns

Many instances of plural number marking in Old English disyllabic neuter *a*-stem nouns remain ambiguous. This is due partly to an absence of evidence revealing more about the nature of what appears to be a tension between a high vowel deletion process, by which some disyllabic neuters containing a long root vowel failed to attach the nominative/accusative plural number marker *-u*, and one or more of several analogical extension processes which resulted in irregular attachments of the plural markers *-u*, *-ø*, *-a*, and others. However, our understanding of allomorphic patterns in the plural forms of these *a*-stem neuters is also hindered by a lack of agreement about how best to subclassify many nouns of this type. Sievers's groupings are guided primarily by reference to the number of syllables each of these neuters contained originally and secondarily by root vowel length (Sievers 1903: 174-175). Campbell's system focuses on base-final consonants and anaptyxis but does highlight one set of *a*-neuters which were originally trisyllabic (Campbell 1959: 227-229). Wełna's categorization uses root vowel length as the single criterion (Wełna 1996: 21). In addition, Lass suggests that root vowel length (weight) and foot configuration may be crucial to the patterns evident (Lass 1994: 100-102). Mainly for these two reasons, determining which disyllabic *a*-neuters attached the *u*-plural allomorph regularly and which attached it by analogy as well as which of these neuters suffixed the *ø*-allomorph regularly and which did so analogically is problematic. Also troublesome is delimiting and explaining related analogical extensions, such as that of the plural allomorph *-a*. This paper considers token frequency as a force causal to the pluralization patterns of the disyllabic neuter *a*-stems in an attempt to clarify the picture of analogical extension and allomorphy in these Old English nouns. Data examined were culled from various Old English textual sources including *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*,

Wulfstan's Homilies, *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, *Beowulf*, and *The Old English Chronicle*.

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On concessive markers developed in Middle English: notwithstanding *and* maugre

Alongside concessive markers inherited from the earlier times such as *though* (a continuation of Old Norse *þo,* which by the end of ME ousted native *þeah*, cf. Molencki 1992, 1997a), or *nathelese* (OE *naþelæs*), Middle English sees the arrival of a few French–inspired forms with concessive function, e.g. *albeit*, *notwithstanding*, and *maugre.* With an insight into the development of *albeit* provided by Molencki (1997b) and Sorva (2007), the latter two are the focal point of attention in this paper. While

notwithstanding is calqued from Latin *non-obstante* via Middle French *non-obstant/nonobstanté, maugre* is a direct French loanword (Middle French *maugré, malgré*). The concessive preposition *maugre* becomes obsolete after the 17th century and is outlived by *notwithstanding*, which continues up till PDE. Unlike *maugre*, *notwithstanding* already in ME develops use as both a concessive preposition and conjunction, the latter, however, fading away in the 19th century.

The aim of this paper is to trace the evolution of both *maugre* and *notwithstanding* with evidence from semantic-pragmatic developments pertaining to concessive markers and grammaticalization. As for the former, it is Sweetser (1990) who remarks that concessive conjunctions show polysemy, or pragmatic ambiguity, in that their meanings can be interpreted as having content, an epistemic function, or a speech-act function. Needless to say, the epistemic and speech-act functions are canonically expected to emerge only after the content use is established. Grammaticalization has also been shown, for example by Chen (2000), to apply to concessive markers.

This being a corpus-based undertaking, I make use of a variety of electronic corpora such as the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, the Helsinki Corpus, the Complete Works of William Shakespeare, the Lampeter Corpus, and other corpora of modern English.

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The Stressed Syllable Law in the diachronic stages of English as a counterevidence of Preference Laws: phonetic bases and the shift from syllabic to prosodic approaches

Preference Laws (Vennemann 1988 and his relevant works) have the diachronic doctrine that syllabic organizations shift from worse to better. Despite the general tendency, the Stressed Syllable Law (dimoraic rhymes in stressed syllables) in the diachronic stages of English, unlike those of some other languages, contradicts with the Vennemann's doctrine owing to the one from better to worse (three or four morae in the later stages), whereas the majority of consonantal phonotactics remain identical. The paper investigates why the counteractive process regarding the historical direction and phonological generalization has happened. It argues that phonetic bases (see Hall 2004, Howell and Wicka 2007) and the diachronic shift from syllabic to prosodic approaches to variants (for the latter Jensen 2000) are capable of giving the clue to this counterevidence.

A violation of the law is represented as coda maximization where the second consonant is a voiceless stop (/mp/, /st/). In contrast to fortition in stressed syllable initials, lenition has repeatedly happened following stressed vowels (intervocalically). The sound changes have lead to the different articulations, in relation to the syllabic environments, of voiceless stops. Given the coda-final plain or unreleased stops and the onset-initial aspirated ones, the opposite process has facilitated the shift of syllable structures from onset-initial to coda-final because stops following a stressed vowel do not undergo aspiration for the majority of the cases and because such weak stops are intrinsically affiliated to the coda.

In Modern American English /t/ preceded by a stressed vowel plus /l/ or /n/ surfaces as the tap (i.e. the increase of morae meaning commonly from two to three). For both of the clusters, the articulatory movements do not have difficulty owing to the two alveolar consonants and no incompatible movement. This facilitates the emergence of the variant and the subsequent resyllabification. (The cases of voiced stops and glottal stops in second coda and of a dimoraic vowel plus a coda have also phonetic conditionings.)

Following recent works, the English language is assumed to have the diachronic, gradual shift from syllabic to prosodic approaches to syllabifications. OE can be explicitly accounted for solely by syllabic ones. The later stages of the language require prosodic hierarchies other than the

syllable to be introduced in the analysis of allophones. In PDE several categories including foot, prosodic word, phonological phrase and utterance provide the sufficient account. The reason for the difference between the Stressed Syllable Law and others consistent with the direction of historical phonology derives from this language-specific syllabification. The necessity of the prosodic approach in the later periods means that consonants following a stressed vowel are not, without exception, analyzed by either the Stressed Syllable Law or ambisyllabicity and that the number of rhymes in the environment does not count as much. In the history of English the violation of the law and the explanatory adequacy employing prosodic, not syllabic, generalizations have the parallel changes.

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Building social identities of early English governing elites and developing early English institutions through the discourse of 15-17th-century public correspondence

The performative role of discourse that is able to produce, modify and change the social reality, and that is itself established and remodelled under the influence of the external world is not a new phenomenon typical of the modern times. It can also be traced in written records from before the centuries, which reveal plenty of evidence for this interactive and mutual relationship between language and the socio-cultural space. The rise and functioning of Late Middle and Early Modern English institutions – the focus of this research, as stimulated by professional activities of early English public figures, can be said to have been mediated by their discourse, which transmitted formative processes in this domain, simultaneously affecting the growth of the people's identities as players on the diversified scene of official life. This dialectic holding between the public sphere and discourse in the Late Middle and Early Modern English reality is approached in the present project from the social constructivist perspective (e.g., Berger & Luckman 1967; Sarbin & Kitsuse eds. 1994; Burr 1995), in view of which the processual nature of the social world is performed by and reflected in the creative nature of discourse – itself being a socially constituted and socially constitutive factor (see also Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995; van Dijk 1997a, 1997b; etc.).

A historical insight into early English correspondence reveals the way in which key figures of the periods studied, including kings, cardinals, members of parliament, or army leaders, built their multiple professional identities through the discourse of epistolary exchange. It will be shown, in the light of 'positioning theory' (Davies & Harré 1990, Harré & van Langenhove 1991, Harré & van Langenhove eds. 1999), how selected higher-ranking state officials used letters as a viable means to dynamically enact and discursively legitimize their interactive 'positions' as actors in the network of complex interpersonal relations in public life. The research material involves over 200 epistles representing the generic category of the *directive letter* (Okulska 2008), which functioned within the mode of public correspondence of the periods under scrutiny. The texts come from the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* (1999), and they illustrate formal communicative practices in the fields of the crown, government, state administration, church, and defence. The letters are

explored in terms of the authors' rhetorical gambits of establishing positions of power and authority by, first, building various kinds of relations with their readers, and second, by executing institutional procedures through specific discursive means. The former includes the use of the so-called 'us vs. others' as well as 'us vs. you' approaches to the interacting parties, which in combination with deictic expressions, contrasting rhetoric and evaluative speech acts construct the writers' 'directive' stance (cf. also Hunston & Thompson eds. 2000, Martin & White 2005), as a marker of their dominant discursive positions. The latter, in turn, involves the use of typically directive rhetoric, e.g., in the form of performative and (strictly) directive speech acts, which are employed by the senders especially to assign their addressees professional duties and tasks. By executing their rank-appropriate institutional powers through epistolary discourse, the LME and EModE authors located themselves (and their interlocutors) both in structures of administrative hierarchies as well as in administrative systems, thus establishing and shaping early public institutions. Moreover, they often created and demonstrated their official self-portrayals purposefully with an aim to devise and control administrative procedures, which enabled them to identify, manage and solve institutional problems. Finally, they evoked their social self-disclosures in order to hold sway over their professional rivals, and used these images as elements of their strategies of running the political contest, as a hallmark of the (often highly) competitive style of interaction that constituted the English institutions in the 15-17th centuries.

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The Loss of Lexical Case in the History of English: What is behind "Transitivation"?

In this paper, I claim that the productivity of transitive constructions in Present-day English is due to the loss of lexical case. More specifically, it is because cases of arguments are separated from their thematic roles and are assigned syntactically by case assigning categories such as T and small *v* (former AgrO), which emerged in English (Osawa 2003).

The transitive construction is the most productive construction in PDE. This is because a large-scale of transitivation (Visser 1970: 99) happened. The factors such as phonological reduction and morphological simplification have been discussed so far (Visser 1970: 99, 127). PDE transitive sentences can encode a wide range of states of affairs from prototypical to marginal examples, like (1) and (2) below. (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Taylor 2003):

(1) He resembles his father. (*His father is resembled by John.)

(2) The auditorium holds 5000 people. (*5000 people are held by the auditorium.)

However, in Old English, this deviance from transitivity was not possible, as OED shows. The meaning equivalent to (1) was supposedly expressed in adjectival sentences. In the absence of case-assigning functional categories, a case system was thematically motivated: morphological case was assigned to thematically associated NPs only. The prototypical transitive verb such as *ofslean* 'kill' took a nominative-marked subject with an agentive role and an accusative-marked noun as its object, with a patient theta role.

Verbs such as *andswarian* 'answer', *togeþeodan* 'be faithful' *þancian,* 'thank', took dative nouns as their object arguments.

(3)	Ða	andsuarode	he	him	
	Then	answered	he	him-DAT	(CP 304, 12)

A co-operative patient role or a recipient role was realised as dative object, while an adversative patient role was realised as accusative object, and an agent as nominative subject. Then, it was not so easy for a nominal with a recipient semantic role to carry nominative case. This is the reason why subject-less constructions like impersonal sentences were allowed in earlier English. This thematic-motivated case system is also consistent with the claim made by Plank (1981, 1983).

This thematically-motivated case system demised and the functional categories, T and small *v* emerged. T can assign (check) nominative case to a thematically-unrelated NP and small *v* assign accusative case to a thematically-unrelated NP. There is no semantic constraint any more. Case is exclusively assigned under structural conditions by T and small *v*. Then, the sentences like (1) and (2), which have no transitivity semantically, are made possible. The transitivation is a process in which an NP argument with any semantic role can occur as subject or object.

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Person reference in early advertisements

Early advertisements in *The Times* (1785–1890) contain frequent reference to people including the advertiser, the audience and various third parties. Partly, person reference has an informational role e.g. in identifying the seller of the product, and would thus be an obligatory component in the genre. But person reference may also be used for interpersonal purposes to create a socially advantageous position for the possible customer and the advertiser as a means of persuasion. For example, overt address to the upper echelons of society was not infrequent in early text-based ads and may have served to evoke an image of social respectability: *Mr: Brookshaw acquaints the Nobility and Gentry…* (Gieszinger 2001; Gotti 2005). Advertising discourse employing frequent person reference, however, waned in the course of the nineteenth century, and results point to a change in advertising discourse from a person centred, interactive style to product centred, impersonal style.

In my presentation, I'll explore variation and change in the form and functions of person reference in a sample of 317 advertisements from *The Times*. The aim is to understand observed linguistic practices in relation to several immediate and more abstract contexts including the advertisers and the readership of *The Times*, the genre of advertisements, the history of newspapers, as well as broader socio-economic factors and identities. The period is historically interesting, as Britain was increasingly becoming a market economy where the appearance of gentility could be bought, and class identities were being re-evaluated as a consequence of industrial developments (cf. Cannadine 1998: 24–103; Rappaport 2000). The readership of newspapers widened and advertising increased (Görlach

2002). Such social changes may have influenced consumer identities as well as effective persuasive strategies in advertising.

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Borrowed derivational morphology and perceived productivity in English letters, 1400-1600

This paper examines how borrowed derivational morphemes such as *-age*, *-ity*, *-cion*, and *-ment* became productive in the English language, particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It endeavors to expand our current understanding of morphological productivity as a historical phenomenon--to account for not only aggregate quantitative measures of the products of morphological processes, but also some of the linguistic mechanisms that made those processes more productive for language users. Judgments about the productivity of different suffixes in this period cannot be made on counts of frequency alone, since the vast majority of uses were not neologisms or newly coined hybrid forms but rather borrowings from Latin and French. It is not immediately clear to the historical linguist if English speakers perceived a derivative such as *enformacion* as an

undecomposable word or as a morphologically complex word. By examining usage patterns of these derivatives in the register of personal letters, I argue that several mechanisms helped contribute to the increased transparency and perceived productivity of these affixes. These mechanisms include the following: the use of rhetorical sequences of derivatives with the same base or derivatives ending in the same suffix; the lexical variety of derivatives ending in the same suffix; and, as studied in PDE by Hay and Baayen (2002), the more frequent use of certain bases compared to their derivatives. All of these textual and linguistic features increased readers' and listeners' ability to analyze borrowed derivatives as suffixed words. Ultimately, I find that increases in the analyzability of borrowed suffixes during this period coincided with more general increases in the production of neologisms (observed in Anderson (2000)) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The paper speculates that such increased productivity likely depended, at least in part, on increases in the perceived transparency of borrowed suffixes in English.

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Grammaticalization of OE whether *in the Left Periphery*

The cyclical changes of complementizers have been studied under the framework of grammaticalization (Chappell in the Sinitic languages, Yeung about the properties of grammaticalized complementizers, and many others). Under this framework, it is assumed that certain lexical forms may acquire, in time, grammatical functions in certain linguistic environments, and once grammaticalized, they may continue to develop further grammatical functions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003 [1993]). For example, *whether* started out as a pronoun in Old English, developed into a yes/no question marker later on, and finally became a constituent of the CP (Complementizer Phrase) over time as it was topicalized in the sentence

being reanalyzed as a higher element in the derivation (van Gelderen, 2004). In the present work, I describe under this framework the development of *whether*, paying special attention to its incipient use in Old English. Despite the amount of literature on the grammaticalization of complementizers in general, a detail chronological account of *whether* as it grammaticalized has so far been neglected. Thus, the present work addresses this vacuum by analyzing its use in a variety of texts from different periods. This analysis uses a Minimalist approach in that it investigates the grammaticalization processes affecting *whether* in terms of Economy Principles and how the edge of the CP is renewed via grammaticalization.

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The emergence of the Modern English system of stress assignment: a game-theoretical approach

This paper outlines a game-theoretic approach to the emergence of the Romance (i.e. strongly weight based) system of lexical stress assignment that is generally assumed to have replaced the Germanic (morphology based) system during the Middle English period. While this contribution will refer to well established notions such as a preference for trochees, the stress-to-weight principle, or the preference for root stress over affix stress (cf. e.g. Minkova 2006), it will depart from established accounts by taking assuming that lexical stress not only constrains the roles which a word form can play in rhythmically structured utterances but at the same time

represents an adaptation to those roles. In other words, it will be usage based, variationist, and inherently historical, and will obviously have to take context into account. Since established phonological theories have restricted themselves to the word level when discussing lexical stress patterns (e.g. Chomsky & Halle 1968, Dresher & Lahiri 1991, Burzio 2005), the mathematical theory of games will be used to model interactions between words in context and how they can account for stress assignment.

Basically, stress assignment will be constructed as a game in which neighbouring words play against one another and in which stress assignment strategies are rewarded (and therefore stabilised) when their interaction results in rhythmically well-formed utterance strings. It will be shown that this approach yields some interesting, non-trivial predictions. For instance, it suggests that iambic patterns can emerge under an evolutionary pressure generated from a preference for trochees, if that preference is assumed to affect utterance stretches rather than isolated words, because then a word which is non-trochaic in isolation can acquire evolutionary stability if there are enough words in the language with which it can combine to build trochees on the utterance level.

Since the mathematical modelling of word-word interactions becomes highly complex when a large number of word types is taken into consideration, the present contribution will restrict itself to a discussion of disyllabic words only. Surprisingly, already a very simplified and abstract model allows one to see under what conditions iambic word forms can become evolutionarily stable in a language where trochees are generally preferred. A precise mathematical analysis will show under which conditions one effect dominates the other.

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What you want to do is not tell me what I want to do. On the development and pragmatics of want to *as a quasi-modal*

In the field of modality English has developed many ways to express deontic necessity, as found in expressions involving the modal auxiliaries *must* and *shall* as in (1) below, or such semi- or quasi-modals like *ought to*, *need to* and *have to* as in (2). This paper is going to deal with yet a third quasi-modal construction – the *want-to* construction, as commonly found in colloquial speech in its function to express obligation, such as in (3) and (4):

(1) You *must/should* take a left at the traffic light.
(2) You *ought/need/have to* take a left at the traffic light.
(3) You *want to* take a left at the traffic light.
(4) You *don't want to* put more sugar on your cocoa krispies.

Quasi-modal *want to* is interesting from both, a semantic as well as a pragmatic perspective. For one thing, it reflects the polysemic nature of the verb *want*, in terms of volition as its core-meaning on the one hand, and the more peripheral obligative meaning on the other. Also, being considered a feature of polite request the construction seems remarkable in so far as the oppositional pairing of the two notions of volition and obligation seems a rather unnatural linguistic choice: being told about one's very own desires should, if anything, appear intrusive and offensive rather than overly polite.

It is the aim of this paper to trace the historical development of obligative *want to*, so as to account for the polysemy of *want*, which may in turn have led to the acquisition of its pragmatic function. I will argue that the modern obligative reading can be explained in terms of an instance of grammaticalization, whereby an older, pre-volitional layer of meaning *be lacking*, *be in need of* dating back to the Middle English period as in (5) gave rise to the modern obligative reading.

(5) Middle English (Ancrene Wisse, c. 1230)

a	*word*	*ne*	*schal*	*þer*	*wontin.*
a	word	NEG	shall	there	miss.PROG.INF

'not one word shall be missing there'

To this end I will also compare English quasi-modal *want to* with a German construction which in a similar way involves a verb of volition being utilized in an imperative-obligative context:

(6) German
Der Chef sagt, Du möchtest sofort in sein Büro kommen.
the boss says you want at once in his office come
'The boss wants you to come to his office at once.'

Thirdly, I will discuss in how far parallel developments of e.g. *need to*, *shall/should* and *will/would* can be said to have influenced and possibly facilitated the emergence of obligative *want to*.

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*"þa næhstu **æreste** & þa **eristu** næhstu": ǣ ~ ē in the Rushworth1 Glosses*

Kuhn (1945: 655), on <æ> for expected <e> in Farman's 10th century Rushworth 1 Glosses, states that "Henry Sweet noted that a large proportion of the *æ*'s for WG. *ā* appear before *r* or after *w*. That is true, but why? What other Mercian text possesses this feature? What have *r* and *w* in common that would cause a shift of *ē* to *ǣ* or prevent a shift of *ǣ* to *ē* ? Sweet neglected to explain." He suggests that "the abundance of *æ*-spellings before *r* and after *w* is due not to any phonetic tendencies, but to the frequency with which Farman used the adverb *þer* (or *þær*) and the preterite forms of two common verbs, *wesan* and *cweþan*."

This paper revisits Farman's spellings, using current insights provided by lexical diffusion and exemplar theory (e.g., Phillips 2006; Pierrehumbert 2002; Port & Leary 2006). It argues that the Rushworth 1 spellings do reflect Farman's pronunciation, with phonetic environment, word class, and word frequency all playing a role. His use of <æ> before /r/ is similar to that of the scribes of the *Continuations* to the *Peterborough*

Chronicle, whose "hypercorrect" forms in <æ> for expected short <e> most often occur before /r/, a practice which Phillips (2007) suggests might well indicate that the /r/ encouraged lowering of the preceding vowel. It also parallels the retention of [æ] before /r/ in the Northern Cities Shift in some individuals (Kenyon 1994: 35). With /r/ and /w/ both being approximants, it is not surprising that they would join in such phonetic conditioning. The suggestion that this is what is happening in the Rushworth 1 glosses is also strengthened by the fact that such changes typically affect frequent words and function words (Phillips 2006).

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Early borrowings between English and Celtic

For a long time the received view about Celtic borrowings in Old and Middle English was that the number of these loans was very small (e. g. Kastovsky 1992), although so far no satisfactory explanation has been proposed for this phenomenon. In a recent book entitled *English and Celtic in Contact* (Routledge 2008), Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto reassess the Celtic influence on English including phonology, morphology, syntax and

the lexicon, and come to the conclusion that this influence has been underestimated so far, and further research is necessary in this field.

This paper tries to take Filppula's, Klemola's and Paulasto's argument on more extensive langauge contact further in the following way:

a) by examining those sections of the 3rd edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* which have become available since the publication of their book;
b) by looking at the linguistic shape and textual context of lexical items the Celtic etymologies of which have not yet been established with certainty; and
c) by looking at early borrowings from English into the various Celtic languages in order to see to what extent the borrowing processes may have been bidirectional. The investigation mentioned last may help us to draw up hypotheses as to what levels of contact may have existed between the various communities in the various geographical areas, and thus may bring us closer to a reassessment of early Celtic-English language contacts.

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OED2 and OED3 online

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Northern Early Middle English texts: A linguistic analysis

This paper is part of a larger project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education aiming at analysing the linguistic features of Northern English texts from the Old English period to the present day, and creating a parsed electronic corpus (see http://ingles3.us.es/).

The paper will explore the linguistic features of the Northern early Middle English texts included in *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*

1150-1325, particularly their phonology and morphology, although some lexical issues, such as Norse-derived loans, will also receive some attention. The results of this analysis will be compared with the Old English (see Fernández Cuesta et al. 2008) and Late Middle English data (see Fernández Cuesta and Rodríguez Ledesma 2008). By doing this, the paper will contribute to painting a more complex picture of the Northern English varieties than is traditionally presented.

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High vowels in Middle English vowel lengthening and the avoidance of morphotactic ambiguity

This paper discusses an unresolved issue concerning the long-term implementation of Middle English vowel lengthenings. Older accounts used to treat them in terms of two separate changes, namely Open Syllable Lengthening as in *maken* > *m*[a:]*ken* 'make', *hopen* > *h*[ɔ:]*pen* 'hope', *eten* > [ɛ:]*ten* 'eat', and Lengthening before Homorganic Clusters as in *binden* > *b*[i:]*nden* 'bind', *comb* > *c*[ɔ:]*mb* 'comb', *cild* > *c*[i:]*ld* 'child'. More recent approaches (e.g. Ritt 1994, 2004) treat them both as reflexes of a single more general development in which vowels came to assume the phonological quantities that were least likely to be distorted through post-lexical, rhythmically induced adjustments of their phonetic duration.

Although there is much statistical evidence for such a unified treatment, one issue has basically remained unresolved, namely the fact that

while hardly any high vowels were affected by what is traditionally called Open Syllable Lengthening, Lengthening before (at least some) Homorganic clusters seems to have affected high vowels more strongly than others. This paper will propose the hypothesis that the puzzling implementation of lengthenings among high vowels may have had an indirect morphological reason. It is based on the strange fact that before the cluster /nd/ only high vowels have come to be stably lengthened, while lengthened variants of non-high vowels (e.g. loond for 'land') have not remained stable in the long run. (cf. Stockwell and Minkova 1997) As will be shown, this had the consequence that (a) late Middle English word forms which ended in a long vowel followed by [nd] were morphologically complex if the vowel was non-high (e.g.: [grɔ:n+d] 'groaned', [mɔ:n+d] 'moaned', etc.), and morphologically simple if it was high ([wi:nd] 'wind', [bi:nd] 'bind', etc.). This distribution, which is partly due to the accidental absence of verb stems ending in [i:n] and [u:n], appears to be part of a more general pattern in the distribution of final [nd] clusters, which made it possible to unambiguously identify morphological complexity in {Xn+d} forms by their phonotactic shape.

It will be proposed that the apparent absence or reversal of lengthening of non-high vowels before reflected a natural tendency to minimise the number of word forms with morphotactically ambiguous phonotactic shapes. Since this hypothesis implies that (in contradiction to the assumption established since Luick 1914/21) Homorganic Lengthenings cannot have been stably implemented until well into the Middle English period (i.e. when schwas in the past tense {-ed} morph started to be deleted), an attempt will be made to review and re-asses empirical evidence for the timing of the change.

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On using shallow time depth evidence in historical semantics

Studies in historical semantics have mainly been concerned with the investigation of completed changes that took place centuries ago. Researchers have had to deal with data incompleteness and scarcity which has made the study of meaning quite a challenging task. One of potential solutions to this problem would be to look into semantic changes that are happening as we speak. In this way, one could have access not only to various spoken corpora that could be tagged for numerous linguistic dimensions but also to detailed information on social contexts and speakers' metalinguistic interpretation of variation. As a consequence, such an approach could provide a number of new insights into processes of meaning development.

Unfortunately, investigating semantic change in progress is not entirely a straightforward task either. How may one decide whether observed variation indicates a genuine change in progress or is merely a temporary ephemeral fluctuation in language use?

We here suggest employing socio-cognitive experimental methods that help elicit meaning changes in progress. Apparent time construct - one of the most successful variationist tools for investigating linguistic variation - will be used in the study of English evaluative adjectives. The talk will be based around conclusions drawn from survey data collected in 2005-2006.

Several English evaluative adjectives for which a change in progress is hypothesised were investigated in semi-structured interviews with 72 speakers from South Yorkshire. The most significant results of the sociolinguistic analysis of meaning variation explored with multivariate statistic techniques demonstrate that:

1. Semantic change in progress can be successfully detected.
2. We can locate where (socio-demographically) in a community particular polysemous variants are innovated and where semantic innovation is resisted.
3. We can trace innovation and diffusion of semantic change.
4. Present-day models of semantic change can be projected to investigate semantic problems of deeper time depths.

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I'll ring you or I'll ring you up? A preliminary approach to the semantics of English phrasal verbs

Traditionally, phrasal verbs have been classified within one of three semantic groups, namely literal (1), figurative (2) and idiomatic (3) (cf. Hiltunen 1983: 147-148, Quirk et al. 1985: 1162-1163).

(1) *The blunt-talking Yorkshireman has been **voted out** as chairman of the Umpires' Association by his fellow pros. BNC* CH3 W_newsp_tabloid
(2) *Britain **threw away** all the achievements of the last decade. BNC* AHF W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc
(3) *Don't let yourself be **put down** like this! BNC* G0F W_fict_prose

Quite recently, two new semantic categories have been introduced into the picture, namely aktionsart/aspectual phrasal verbs (cf. (4) and (5)) (Dehé 2002: 6; Thim 2006: 221-225) and redundant phrasal verbs (6) (Hampe 2002; Thim 2006).

(4) *We had to **write up** the parrot sketch in English. BNC* KPT S_conv
(5) *The humming and buzzing sounds of summery woods **faded away** into a dreadful silence. BNC* ADA W_fict_prose
(6) *He **rose up** on tiptoe, looking round for James, Allan, and the rest. BNC* A0N_W_fict_prose

All these five semantic categories of phrasal verbs are well attested in the history of English, though only literal and redundant types are recorded at

the earliest stages. In Present-day English, however, it is possible to find recent combinations which are hard to classify within one of these five categories. This is the case of, for example, *ring up*, which is semantically equivalent to its simplex counterpart (compare *ring* and *ring up*) and which does not seem to fulfill any of the tests of telicity proposed by Brinton (1988: 171-172). The main aim of this paper is to investigate this and other features of the semantic component of phrasal verbs in order to establish a more fine-grained semantic division of the category. In particular, I will try to answer the question of whether some contemporary idiomatic phrasal verbs can be said to have developed diachronically from a literal origin or if it is possible to maintain that certain phrasal-verb particles have acquired properties typical of derivative affixes and can be used synchronically for the creation of new phrasal verbs and, if so, how and when this phenomenon may have taken place.

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Litteral substitution sets in d-MSS of the "Man of Law's Tale"

Middle English manuscripts have been appreciated as linguistic informants not so much by virtue of their textual inscription in itself, as for the potential phonic signification of their orthographic layer. However, although "spellings do have a real relationship to the sound values they conventionally imply" (Laing 1999: 251), a phonic interpretation of Middle English texts is inherently limited: on the one hand, some aspects of phonic meaning are not inferable from the graphic data, on the other – the prodigality of Middle English spelling systems means that "considerable multivocal relationship in the mapping of sound to symbol" (Laing–Lass 2009: 2) is likely to occur. However, descriptions of Middle English spelling systems in terms of graphemic/graphetic oppositions, analogous to the phonemic/phonetic contrasts in the sound system are indicative of modern preconceptions about the discreteness of the elements of speech and writing rather than of the systemic properties of written Middle English or the scribes' understanding of that system. Therefore, Laing (1999) and Laing–Lass (2003) point to the medieval doctrine of *littera* – which comprehends the letter as a unit of *both* writing and speech, comprising the properties of *figura* (graphic form) and *potestas* (sound value) – as a framework most compatible with medieval ideas on the relation between spelling and sound. This framework resolves the problem of "multivocal relationship" in the spelling-to-sound correspondence by means of *Litteral Substitution Sets* (Laing 1999) and *Potestatic Substitution Sets* (Laing–Lass 2003), invoked to deal with "set[s] of *litterae* in variation for the same *potestas*" and its inverse (Laing–Lass 2009: 2) respectively. The two types of scribal prodigality can be illustrated by the practice of hand D of MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323) (cf. Laing–Lass 2009). Accordingly, the scribe's use of 'g' for the sound values [h], [x], [j], [w] and [ɣ] is an example of a Potestatic Substitution Set. On the other hand, spellings like {'t', 'st', 'cht', 'ch', 'ct', 'd', 'th', 'tht', 'ȝt', 'dt', 'tf', 'tt'}, attested for the reflexes of Old English *–ht*, comprise one Litteral Substitution Set (Laing–Lass 2009: 2). By investigating the latter type of variance in a group of genetically related manuscripts of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale,* the following paper seeks to unpack the complex network of letter-to-sound mappings so as to test the "extensibility' of Litteral (...) Substitution Sets" (Laing–Lass 2009: 1) in the studied corpus. Accordingly, a comparative analysis of the LSS in question will be carried out with a view to

recounting the kinds of linguistic analyses performed by the scribes working on their respective copies, which determined the make-up of manuscript-specific substitution sets.

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«Doubleness» in Middle English: modals and complementizers

The Middle English period shows great changes in the language, on different levels, whether syntactic or semantic. What we shall underline in our paper is the status of the so-called «double modals» and «double complementizers» at that stage of the language, knowing that the preterite presents and complementizers *to* and *for* have begun undergoing syntactical and semantic changes, and that the word «doubleness» is mainly syntactic.

As Nagle stated (1994), «double modals» in Middle English are nothing like their contemporary counterparts: the «first» modal has no specific reading (root or epistemic), and neither has the «second» one. It then implies that the double modal constructions found in some varities of American or Scots English are not related to the ME constructions since no reading can be attributed to one modal or the other.

Searching the PPCME2, the «double modal» constructions could mainly be found with *will*, *shall* or *may*, as examplified in (1), (2), (3) and (4):

(1) þu [schalt *not*] mowe seye þat he is vnriȝtful. (CMAELR3,58.999)
(2) elles [schuld] he [*not*] mow bere þe pyne (CMCLOUD,84.454)

(3) I [shal *nat*] koone answere to so manye faire resouns
(CMCTMELI,236.C1.742)

(4) it may *not* kon worche þis werk (CMCLOUD,116.593)

When a negation is found, we shall hypothesize that the «first» modal has indeed gramaticalized, and could hence have a modal reading; as for the «second» modal verb, it seems to function as some kind of adverbial whose scope we shall discuss.

We could also say that they behave the same when they are found with an adverb, as in (5) and (6).

(5) he [schal] *lyghtly* mowen seen that thise two thinges ben dyvers
(CMBOETH,451.C2.465)

(6) and þou schalt wel kun beginne & ceese in alle þin oþer werkes wiþ a grete discrecion (CMCLOUD,81.399)

Yet, as far as grammaticalization is concerned, we could then consider this «double» modality as a step towards the grammatical change of these items. And see those two modals under different lights, both syntactically and semantically

As for the «double complementizers», that is FOR/TO, do their syntactic and semantic paths follow the grammaticalization of the particle TO itself, in parallel with the one of the modals we have just mentioned ?

In underlying those two occurrences of «doubleness», we shall try and explain how the process of grammaticalization affected the English language, not only in late Old English and Middle English, but also in some varieties of Present Day English which can display some of those «double items».

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Bridging the gaps of early modern regional lexis:
The case of White Kennett's Etymological Collections of English Words and Provincial Expressions

Our knowledge of regional dialect 'vocabularies' during the Early Modern period is still deficient, as no comprehensive survey in the tradition of the impressive *Survey of English Dialects* (1962-1971) has hitherto been undertaken. The dearth of regionally-anchored material comparable to Middle English documents or literary artefacts such as Meriton's *A Yorkshire Dialogue* (1683) and the anonymous 'A Lancashire Tale' (c.1690-1730) has rendered any attempt to map the geographies of Early Modern provincial words virtually unfeasible. Recent research has demonstrated that non-literary texts such as depositions or inventories provide provincially restricted data which contribute to filling the *lacunae* still existing in this field (e.g. Kytö, Grund and Walker 2007; Ruano-García 2010). Yet, as is the case with other textual supports, they do not yield systematic accounts of regionalisms that might sketch the lexical geography of England in detail. So far, John Ray's canonical *A Collection of English Words Not Generally Used* (1674), Meriton's 'Clavis' to the second edition of his *Dialogue* (1685) or Bishop White Kennett's glossary to *Parochial Antiquities* (1695) remain the most conspicuous sources where localised information from this time span is recorded (Ruano-García 2009). Side by side with these word lists, there exists another valuable specimen compiled in the 1690s which has gone relatively unnoticed as a source for provincial vocabulary: Bishop White Kennett's *Etymological Collections of English Words and Provincial Expressions* (BL, Lansdowne MS, 1033). To my knowledge, Fox (2000: 66-67) or Griffiths (2005: xv) are amongst the very few for whom this has deserved scholarly comment, although no linguistic evaluation of the piece has been provided.

Given these circumstances, this paper endeavours to make a descriptive analysis of Kennett's unpublished document, with a view to bridging the gaps of Early Modern regional lexis. In particular, our aim is twofold. Firstly, to ascertain the extent to which Kennett's data shed light upon the lexical ascendancy of English counties. Secondly, to evaluate Kennett's possible indebtedness to earlier works, as well as his impact on later dialect sources. In this way, we hope to somehow extend our understanding of old provincialisms, with the purpose of putting a remedy to this great deficit in historical and diachronic linguistics.

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Graphemic and orthographic developments in the early editions of The kalender of shepherdes

This presentation will discuss results of my research on the orthography in sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century editions of *The kalender of shepherdes*, a comprehensive compendium of prose and verse texts on a variety of subjects. The analysed editions comprise those printed by R. Pynson (1506), J. Notary (1518), W. de Worde (1528), W. Powell (1556), and J. Wally (1580). The corpus for the study contains over 300,000 words, and is a self-compiled electronic database of transcriptions of the editions based on the facsimiles available at *Early English Books Online* (at http://wwwlib.umi.com/eebo/).

The focus of the paper is the analysis of the realisation and development of selected variables in all the editions under consideration. The set of variables includes: distribution and functional load of graphemes and allographs, indication of vowel length, orthographic distinctions between homophones, the establishment of etymological spelling, morphological spelling (see Salmon 1999). The choice of the variables has been motivated by their importance for the process of standardisation in Early Modern English.

The main aim of this discussion and comparison is to present the degrees of consistency, graphemic and orthographic standardisation and variation in the selected early English printed texts. In this connection, it is also argued that many principles developed for the study of medieval manuscripts (see, for example, Nichols 1990) can also be applied to the examination of early printed editions of particular books.

The study discussed in this paper is part of a larger project that aims at analysing the orthographic systems of the early printers of books in English. The advanced stage of the project has enabled the present author to draw cross-comparisons between the editions analysed for the purposes of this study and those of other books issued by the same printers.

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Cleanliness is next to godliness: the lexis of personal hygiene and beauty in Old and Middle English

The present paper attempts at providing a lexical and semantic analysis of the lexical field referring to personal hygiene and cultivation of beauty. Particular attention will be paid to examining various uses of the key terms and their literal and metaphorical meaning. For instance, Old English *clæne* was either human-centred (describing the condition of the body – 'free from dirt, injuries, diseases' and the state of the soul - 'free of sins, morally pure, innocent') or used more objectively as a technical term, to measure or judge material things ('pure metal, pure water, laundered clothes, washed utensils').

In addition, in the investigation conducted an attempt is made to classify the selected items into a number of subcategories such as cleansing substances, rooms, pieces of furniture, fittings, accessories and activities related to the cultivation of beauty in mediaeval times.

The study will also present the semantic developments of some key notions in the lexical field in question, e.g. the earliest meaning of the word *lavatory* was that of 'a vessel for washing' (cf. L *lavare* 'to wash'), which by metonymic extension started to be used with reference to a room for washing hands, then a similar room with a water closet, its current sense 'loo' appearing in the twentieth century (Room 1991: 163).

Moreover, the analysis will help to shed some light on the nature of foreign influences and word-formation processes occurring in the lexical field referring to personal hygiene and cultivation of beauty in Old and Middle English.

The data for the paper come from the *Dictionary of Old English* (A-F), the *Middle English Dictionary*, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *A Thesaurus of Old English* and *The Historical Thesaurus of English.*

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Text-organising devices and interaction in The Owl and the Nightingale

The objective of this paper is to investigate whether and how interaction is used as a text-organising device in early Middle English dialogues, using *The Owl and the Nightingale* as a case study. So far most analyses of historical dialogues in English have focused on later periods – for instance, the five articles dealing with English in Jucker, Fritz and Lebsanft's *Historical Dialogue Analysis* all address later periods.

My starting point is the observation that colloquial features in *The Owl and the Nightingale* seem to cluster near turn change: either at the very end or near the beginning of a speech turn. For this study, a number of colloquial features have been selected on the basis of previous studies (especially Koch and Oesterreicher 1985), including questions, imperatives, address forms, interjections, insults, cross-reference, ungrammaticality, repetitive word-pairs and loanwords. The method of analysis is deep reading – some manual form-counting is involved, but the emphasis is qualitative rather than quantitative. The distribution of the features within turns is examined, showing that interactive features in particular (questions, imperatives, address forms and interjections) tend to cluster at turn change. In particular, turn beginnings show high numbers of interactive features.

This clustering tendency probably reflects the need for marking turn change clearly for the sake of an audience hearing the poem read

aloud. This and other ramifications of my findings are discussed in the paper's conclusion.

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The Westmoreland dialect in Three Dialogues (1790): *The contribution of Ann Wheeler's* Dialogues *to Joseph Wright's* The English Dialect Dictionary.

Joseph Wright's monumental work *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905), the most comprehensive dialect piece hitherto compiled, is much indebted to thousand of works, both literary and non-literary pieces, as he himself acknowledges in the preface to his work 'upwards of three thousand dialect glossaries and works containing dialect words have been read and excerpted for the purposes of the Dictionary' (vi).

As it is well known, the volume of works corresponding to the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire exceeds the number of works of the other four northern dialects for evident reasons. There are emblematic pieces corresponding to Lancashire and Yorkshire thoroughly analysed and studied while other important pieces of the many other dialects remain almost unnoticed. If there is an emblematic work representing the dialect of Westmoreland that is Ann Wheeler's *The Westmoreland Dialect in Three Familiar Dialogues* (1790). Commentaries to this work such as that appeared in Russell Smith's list of "interesting books" included in his *Bibliographical Lists* (1839): "The philologist will find numerous examples of words and phrases which are obsolete in the general language of England, or which are peculiar to Westmoreland and Cumberland from

time immemorial" (7) have made us consider the importance of undertaking and in-depth analysis of this dialogues.

This paper tries to evaluate the contribution made to Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* by Wheeler's dialogues, considering not only the first edition (1790) but also later editions of this work (1802) and (1840) to which there are important additions. This undertaking has been much more feasible thanks to the digitised version of Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* being prepared by the research team at the University of Innsbruck (Markus 2007, 2009, Markus & Heuberger 2007). Our aim is twofold. Firstly, to ascertain the entries from Wheelers's dialogues included in Wright's masterpiece and to analyse the treatment given to this information. Secondly, to contribute to a better knowledge of one of the northern dialects which traditionally has received poor attention, the Westmoreland dialect.

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Twentieth-century borrowings from French into English

English has acquired a considerable part of its vocabulary from French. French borrowings have been adopted into English throughout the centuries since before the Norman Conquest. French influence on English and on its vocabulary in particular occupies a significant place in descriptions of the language and its history. Yet little research has been so far done on the French borrowings introduced into English during the twentieth century.

The paper will focus on the body of twentieth-century French borrowings found in present-day English. I intend to show how I have collected and researched the various borrowings by using the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a basic source of information. Thanks to the *OED*, which has proved to be a real treasure-house of the language, it is possible to give a rounded picture of the wealth and diversity of the words and phrases taken over from French in the twentieth century. The results presented in this paper are based on the analysis of approximately 1500 lexical items. The words under consideration will be classified according to semantic categories so as to give an overview of the different subject fields influenced by French in the twentieth century. French has long been the donor language for many terms in various semantic areas such as fashion, cuisine, art, literature, love, etc. We will not only look at the numerous "traditional" subject fields to which French has continued to add words in the twentieth century, but also at the "modern" domains influenced by French, some of the most notable ones being science and technology, motoring, aviation, telecommunication, cinema and television.

A comparison will be made between the semantics of the borrowings and their sources in the donor language. This raises the question of whether a particular meaning a word adopts after its first attested use in English is taken over from French or whether it represents an independent development within English. A number of French borrowings are subjected to changes in meaning after their introduction into English. The word *garage*, for instance, was taken over from French at the beginning of the twentieth century in the sense of 'a building for keeping vehicles in'; 'a place where vehicles are repaired and where petrol, oil, etc. is sold'. *Garage* has developed quite a range of meanings over time. In present-day English, the word can also be applied to various styles of modern music which originated in the United States and in the UK. As the French source term does not show an equivalent meaning, the semantic change of *garage*

seems to be an independent development within English. We will also look at examples where the sense development of a borrowing in English is paralleled in French. The borrowing *romaine*, for instance, is first attested as a term in American English for cos lettuce. Some years after its adoption into English, the item assumes a second sense which may have been borrowed from French: *romaine* can be used to designate a crêpe fabric, just as its French counterpart can.

Emphasis will be placed upon looking at what types of words and sense developments are the most numerous and the most typical of the twentieth century. The study will show that in the twentieth century, French has continued to enrich the English language with a host of words which seem indispensable to modern users of English.

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Please tilt me-ward by return of post: *A marginal pronominal construction revisited*

This study is aimed to examine one type of pronominal constructions that have not come under close scrutiny due to their extreme infrequency, despite their uninterrupted use up until the twentieth century. They are *me-ward*, *us-ward*, *you-ward*, *thee-ward*, *him-ward*, *her-ward* and *them-ward*, including their variants such as *me-warde* and *you-wards* as well as corresponding unhyphenated forms like *mewardes* and *youward*.

In OE, *-ward* denoted some direction of movement; it was added to locative adverbs deriving compounds, primarily adjectives, such as *foreweard* (> *forward(s)*), whilst gradually expanding lexical types for the head: adverbs > prepositions > proper and definite nouns > pronouns > nonce words. One alignment common among these constructions is *to* + (determiner) + head + *ward(s)*. That is, heads circumscribed by *to* and *-ward(s)* are definite or identifiable.

The *(to)* + personal pronoun + *ward(s)* construction started with third person forms that are cross-linguistically associated with locative adverbs. In Late ME and Early EModE, first and second person forms as well as third person forms, either singular or plural, were utilized for this construction. However, the paradigmatic inner-stability began to collapse in the eighteenth century, limiting its usage to first and second person, almost

exclusively to first person. While person forms are all deictic-oriented, the deictic center has shifted towards the territory of speech-act participants.

I argue that (inter-)subjectification has an important bearing on the historically skewed distribution with respect to grammatical person in the construction. First person forms have been stable in terms of frequency; the speaker viz. first person has continued to give due weight to the part of the interlocutor viz. second person as a fundamental feature of communication, realizing the rise of second person constructions in the fifteenth century. The philological fact that the deictic center has moved from more locative-oriented i.e. third person to more speech-act oriented i.e. first and second person reflects the increasing amount of (inter-)subjectivity in it.

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From head-marking to dependent-marking in the early English pronominal paradigm: A case of degrammaticalization?

This study is aimed to examine a radical change in the morphosyntactic marking or orthographic rules of English personal pronouns i.e. from head-marking (*icham* 'I am') to dependent-marking (*I'm*), which happened in the transition periods from Late Middle English (here after, Late ME) to Early Modern English (hereafter, EModE).

Nichols (1986) introduces one typological methodology viz. head-marking vs. dependent-marking. According to Nichols, the most common tendency is that pronouns have head marking, while nouns do not: pronominal dependents are cliticized or affixed to the head instead of being separate words, as in the agreement systems, for example, of many European languages.

The head-marking pattern can be attested in the history of English personal pronouns as follows.

(1) a. *ichil* (< ich 'I' + wille) 'I will' (2) a. *wiltou* (< wilte + tow 'you') 'you will'
b. *icham* (< ich 'I' + am) 'I am' b. *artow* (< are + thou) 'you are'

Like the majority of European languages, English used to follow this grammatical marking approximately up until the very early EModE. In the sixteenth century, however, the head-marking of the first person form e.g. *icham* 'I am' began to disappear almost all of a sudden, while the

dependent-marking counterpart e.g. *I'm* rose rapidly, getting stable soon and conventionalized in later centuries. The same scenario applies to the second person form.

The morphosyntactic change from head-marking to dependent-marking peculiar to Late ME and EModE cannot be accounted for only by language-internal factors such as inflectional loss and information-chaining: we need to investigate some language-external factors such as a sizeable social trend in the direction of standardizing the English language, settling its variant forms of spelling, orthography and grammar. In short, the shift from head-marking to dependent-marking in the English pronominal paradigm is closely related to both linguistic and socio-cultural factors.

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Aspectual cycles: the history of English inceptives

In this paper, we examine the grammaticalization of inceptive markers in Old and Middle English. We argue that, unlike e.g. modals or future marking, inceptives never grammaticalize completely but are continually renewed in a cyclical fashion. Our focus is this cycle of renewal and loss. We then compare the development of inceptives with that in other Germanic languages.

There are (at least) five verbs that are used to indicate the beginning of an action in Old English, namely *-ginnan (onginnan, āginnan, beginnan)*, *weorþan, fōn (gefōn, onfōn, underfōn*), *tacan*, and *niman* (see Brinton 1988: 116; Sims 2007). In Middle English, there are numerous new candidates, namely *commencen (comsen* and *becomsen) prōcēden, fallen, gōn, grouen, setten, brēken*, and *bresten.* In Late Middle English, *start* is introduced. These verbs all differ slightly in syntax (and semantics).

We look at the complementation patterns of these (e.g. bare infinitive or *to*-infinitive or *-ing*), the types of main verbs they accompany, and the presence of aspectual affixes on the inceptive (e.g. *on-ginnan* or *be-ginnan*). For instance, in Old English, *-ginnan* is used with both bare and *to*-infinitives; however, the *on*-prefixed variant more frequently selects the bare infinitive (96%) while the *be*-prefixed variant selects the *to*-infinitive (67%) (see Sims 2007: 113; Los 1995). *Onginnan* also experiences morphological reduction, becomes a frozen preterit construction, and disappears during the ME period; *beginnan* does not experience this reduction and continues into Modern English, where it `competes' with a new verb *start* which in the Modern English period becomes more frequent (as is obvious from comparing spoken and written corpus data). Figure 1 shows some of this. The complementation patterns also change drastically.

The purpose of the paper is to give an overview of the syntactic and aspectual characteristics of the various inceptive markers in the history of English (building on work by Brinton, Los, and Sims). The focus is the cyclical renewals.

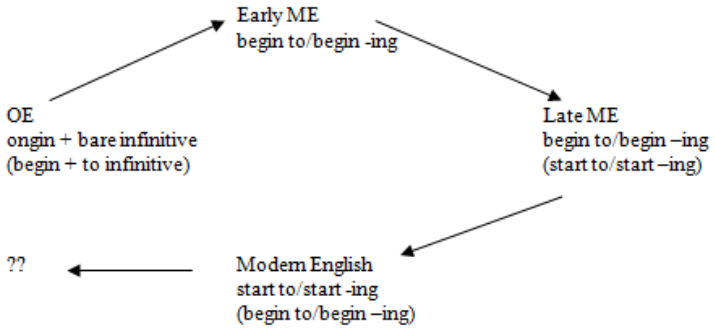

Figure 1: The Inceptive Cycle

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A comparative study of shall *and* will *in Shakespeare's and Marlowe's tragedies*

The paper is an effort to provide a brief account of the use and function of two Early Modern English modal verbs: *shall* and *will*.

The analysis of Early Modern English texts shows that the two verbs were used in contexts much broader than merely predictive or deontic. The occurrence of the verb *shall*, for instance, served different functions such as foretelling, insisting, asking for orders, asking for advice or suggestions, giving permission, forbidding, obligation, conditions of agreement, cry to God, and many others. In many cases it is difficult to draw a clear-cut division between them, they intersect and create hybrid functions.

The choice of the Early Modern English texts is not random. For contrastive reasons, it embraces the works of the two most prominent writers of the Renaissance, Shakespeare and Marlowe. The texts under analysis represent the same genre and were published around the last decade of the sixteenth century.

The data base analysed consists of five history plays written by William Shakespeare between 1589-1594 namely *The First Part of King Henry VI*, *The Second Part of King Henry VI*, *The Third Part of King Henry VI*, *The Tragedy of King Richard II*, *The Tragedy of Richard the Third*, and three tragedies, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Caesar*, written between 1593-1599. As for Christopher Marlowe, the material under analysis comprises seven tragedies written between c.1585-1592, including *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, *The First Part of Tamburlaine the Great*, *The Second part of Tamburlaine the Great*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Doctor Faustus*, *Edward the Second*, and *The Massacre at Paris.*

The research is a contrastive study of the modal verbs used by the two writers, and may add an argument in support or undermining the Marlovian theory of Shakespeare authorship.

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Old English Bare NPs in definite contexts

A question which has been discussed extensively in the literature on nominal determination is if Old English already had an article/ DP structure with DP as a universal projection of the functional category determiner or if it still had a rather flat NP structure where a D-projection (with D as an emergent, non-universal category) did not exist yet, where demonstratives or other elements only modified the nominal (as an adjunct) (cf. Christophersen 1939; Mitchell 1985; Yamamoto 1989; Kemenade van & Vincent 1997; Giusti 1997; Lyons 1999; Roberts & Roussou 2003; Osawa 2003, 2007; Abraham 2007).

What has often been adduced as evidence for the latter hypothesis, is that the Old English demonstrative *se* does not fulfil some of the necessary criteria (e.g. obligatoriness, non-interativeness) to qualify as a true determiner (cf. e.g. Traugott 1992; Dennison 2006; Van de Velde *in press*). Whereas in Present Day English the article *the* is the default marker with singular common nouns when expressing definiteness, (referentiality, specificity, etc.), in Old English the use of *se* appears to have been optional when it comes to marking definiteness overtly. Thus, Old English seems to have

allowed 'bare' NPs in definite contexts, where one would expect an article today ((1) & (2)).

(1) Her **sunne** aðeostrode on xii kalendæ Iulii.
Here **the sun** grew dark on [20 June].
(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:540.1.183)

(2) stonc ða æfter **stane** stearcheort onfand **feondes fotlast**
moved then quickly along by **the rock** stouthearted, found **the enemy's footstep** (Beowulf 2288)

Against this view, an analysis of several Old English prose texts from the o.2/ o.3 period of the *YCOE* (using *Corpus Search*) will show that (a) such NPs were very rare and that (b) most apparent instances may have to be excluded from evidence and interpreted as frozen idioms. Additionally, in several apparently 'bare' NPs one can argue for an inherently definite reading of the common noun in the first place, making overt marking redundant (e.g. in the case of *sun* in example (1)). Finally, most 'bare' NPs are found in poetry.. Therefore, it will be suggested that overt definiteness marking was much more consistent in Old English than most handbooks suggest At the same time, it will be discussed whether the observed distribution of overtly marked vs. 'bare' NPs represents sufficient evidence for assuming the existence of D in Old English.

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'Aus we do in Scotlaun...': *Dialect representation in* Courtship a la Mode *(1700)*

The comedy *Courtship A-la-mode*, written by the Ayrshire-born David Craufurd (also spelt Crawford), premiered in London at Theatre Royal Drury Lane on 9 July 1700, and was printed that same year. The play remains forgotten to most critics, and Craufurd is now more famous for the literary forgery within his 1706 history of Scotland than for his dramatic works.

However, *Courtship A-la-mode* is notable for providing the earliest dramatic depiction of a Scottish dialect that was composed by an actual Scot, the only such example in the Early Modern period. Other contemporary dramatic depictions were written by playwrights from a

variety of backgrounds and with varying levels of exposure to Scotland and Scotsmen. Jones (1997: 280) finds 'phonetic' representations of Scots dating only to the late eighteenth century.

In John Lacy's play *Sauny the Scot* (printed 1698), the speech of the titular character is depicted by a non-Scottish playwright, and its Scottish flavour depends to some extent on traditional dramatic conventions. In Craufurd's *Courtship A-la-mode*, the dialect speaker (Willie Beetlehead) is in much the same mould as Lacy's Sauny. He works as a servant to the main character in the play, is unabashedly proud to be Scottish, and refuses to speak 'English'. However, Willie's speech is represented in a markedly different way from that of Sauny, or any other Scottish character in contemporary dramas, differing from all these other depictions in terms of the dialect features chosen and in the method of their realisation.

This paper will offer an analysis of the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic forms in the representation of Willie's dialect. An analysis of this hitherto unanalysed material will provide information about Early Modern Scottish dialects, as well as about the methods of representing regional variation in literature.

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Shedding light on Old English Dry-Point Glosses

Old High German studies have seen a remarkable increase in their corpus of known dry-point glosses in recent years. The fact that even well-documented manuscripts that had been pored over by generations of palaeographers and philologists could be shown to contain unedited dry-

point material is largely due to the somewhat obscure nature of dry-point glosses. It is usually only under felicitous lighting conditions that dry-point glosses can be made out on the parchment and, as a consequence, they are usually not detected unless they are specifically looked for.

On the other hand, virtually all scholars that have dealt with Old English dry-point glosses – both relatively recently (e.g. Gwara 1997, Rusche 1994) and in the now somewhat distant past (e.g. Napier 1900, Meritt 1945, Page 1979) – stress the fact that there must be a good deal of unedited material out there. At the same time there is evidence that dry-point glosses could possibly represent some of the earliest records of vernacular written material in English, which definitely makes them worth looking for (Muller 1983).

In this paper I would like to address some of the many technical and methodological problems that surround the study of dry-point glosses in general and Old English dry-point glosses in particular. Furthermore, I would like to present the database on manuscripts known to contain Old English dry-point glosses that I am currently compiling in connection with my dissertation project.

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The Development of OE /ɑ:/ > ME /ɔ:/ in lightly stressed words

It is generally known that during the Early Middle English period, OE /ɑ:/ was rounded to ME /ɔ:/, most prominently so in the South and the Midlands (e.g. Brunner 1963: §11.4). This change has been well studied, most recently by Liebl (2008), who concentrated on dating of the change based on onomastic evidence. What has been neglected so far is the role of language internal factors and this paper looks at the function of stress.

I present some first results on OE /ɑ:/ > ME /ɔ:/ in words that carry lighter stress, such as OE *ān* or *nān.* The database searched is the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (Laing and Lass 2008-) that allows us to gain a better understanding of the spatial and temporal development of the change. Furthermore, I will also address whether the change has different effects on the separate elements of compounds that might have distinct stress level.

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"A most vvicked worke of a wretched Witch"*: Attitude in Early Modern English witchcraft pamphlets*

This paper outlines how attitude was portrayed in Early Modern English witchcraft pamphlets. Pamphlets were a new genre that started to proliferate

from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. They were cheap and easy to print and distribute throughout the country, and their intended audiences consisted of people with varying literacy skills and educational levels. Even the illiterate could be reached by the practice of reading pamphlets out loud. Pamphlets can thus be called one of the first true forms of mass media (Bach 1998: 97). The audiences of witchcraft pamphlets were from the less learned end of the spectrum that witchcraft pamphleteers were keen to educate about the perils of the heinous crime. Influencing the audience by subtle methods such as authorial attitude was preferred over expounding demonological theories.

Attitude in witchcraft pamphlets will be analyzed using Martin and White's appraisal theory (2005). According to this framework, attitude is concerned with emotional reactions as in *I was scared* (labeled the sub-system of AFFECT), judgements of human behavior as in *a wretched witch* (JUDGEMENT), and evaluation of things, as in *a wicked work* (APPRECIATION). JUDGEMENT can be divided into judgements of social esteem and judgements of social sanction, both with further subcategories. The material for this study consists of the Corpus of Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets 1566-1697, comprising of 32 pamphlets that add up to a total of almost 100,000 words. Structurally witchcraft pamphlets evolve from trial documentaries to trial narratives to narratives and, finally, to news pamphlets (Suhr 2008). This paper will compare the uses and frequencies of the three sub-systems of attitude in these four categories of witchcraft pamphlets to find out how the portrayal of attitude evolves over time.

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The historical development of No sooner … than *and its semantic change*

The aim of this paper is to trace the development of the construction *no sooner ... than* from various perspectives. I analyze corpus data in order to discuss in what stages this development took place and how it has changed in meaning over time.

According to Rissanen (1999), the earliest instances of *no sooner (...) than* found in the Helsinki Corpus date from around 1600, while concerning *no sooner (...) but*, Poutsma (1929) points out that we frequently find *but* instead of *than* after *no sooner* in Early Modern English. Despite the fact of the replacement of *but* by *than*, the process of the shift has not been described in detail in the literature. This paper, therefore, provides some new insights into the development of *no sooner ... than*. One finding is that a steady decline of *but* over time is marked, whereas a significant increase of *than* can be observed in the early 18th century, based on the OED quotations database as a historical corpus. The use of the database, covering more than a thousand years of English usage, enables us to examine a wide range of linguistic changes. The focus is, then, placed on the occurrences of *no sooner ... than/but* with the synonymic expressions such as *immediately*, *instantly*, *at once*, *presently*, and so on.

Another finding will be interpreted from the viewpoint of semantics, in particular, discourse function. Though *no sooner ... than* is, as Fischer puts it, the negative counterpart of *as soon as* in written Present-Day English, I suggest that a semantic change of *no sooner ... than* took place in Present-Day English, making use of TIME Magazine Corpus. The factors to be considered for this purpose are

(i) in what position *no sooner* occurs,
(ii) whether the subject in the first clause is a pronoun or full NP, and
(iii) whether it co-occurs with discourse marker.

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The Medieval dress and textile vocabulary in unpublished sources project

This paper will introduce the initial findings of the Medieval Dress and Textile Vocabulary in Unpublished Sources project (funded by the Leverhulme Trust, beginning November 2009). The objectives of this project centre on the assembly of a corpus of unpublished and/or unedited documents relating to the use, trade and processes of production of dress and textiles in medieval Britain. It is hoped that the corpus will supplement the resources of the ongoing Lexis of Cloth and Clothing in Britain c.700-1450 project. The main aim of this new project, however, is the examination of language choices in the macaronic documents of the corpus in order to interrogate the motivations for codeswitching and the degree of 'foreignness' of loan words in Middle English in the light of work on Anglo-Norman which indicates that while some French terms are deployed for their exotic, foreign qualities, others were in regular use in the business documents of the period (Burnley 2003; Schendl 2000; Trotter 2000, 2006; Rothwell 2000, 2007). Secondly, we address the question of whether there are detectable patterns in language choice within these documents. The mixed-language texts relating to wardrobe accounts and the medieval petitions to Parliament, for example, contain both definite references and a wealth of noun phrases within a specific semantic field. Focus on a single semantic field enables the testing of theories relating to lexical hierarchies and language choice (see, e.g. Wright 1995, 2000, 2003). The documents provide a range of terms at various levels of the lexicon, subordinate, basic and superordinate, which may be categorised according to their place in the taxonomy set alongside the language used in each case and the matrix language of the relevant document.

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NOW: A topic shift marker in late medieval and early modern medical writing

One of the defining features of late medieval scholasticism was an absolute reliance on written sources of knowledge. Vernacular English scientific texts convey this modality with various means, including the adverb

forsooth (L. *vero*; Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998). It occurs with high frequency in learned writing, in both surgical treatises and specialised texts, but there is variation. For instance, the newly-discovered commentary on the Hippocratic *Prognostics* (ed. by Tavormina 2006) has developed a system of its own. In contrast, this word is rarely found in the remedybook tradition. *Forsooth* seems to be a highly specialised genre and register marker in the late medieval period.

This study sets out to chart the spread and functions of *forsooth* in late medieval and early modern periods. The focus of the assessment will be on generic patterns and stylistic marking in the register of scientific and medical writing. Our hypothesis is that in the course of time its stylistic value changed, and it may have found its way to less learned layers of writing, as some other features of high scholasticism have done (Taavitsainen 2009). But it is also possible that no such downward movement took place, and its use may have died out as the attitude to the sources of knowledge changed. Other relevant linguistic expressions with a similar function, such as *indeed, certainly, the truth is,* and the grammatical category of amplifiers (Pahta 2006), will also be examined for complementing patterns.

Our material comes from the corpus of *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT, 2005) supplemented by recently edited texts of the highest level of learning (Tavormina 2006). For the early modern period, we use the corpus of *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (EMEMT, forthcoming).

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Plundering, pillaging & foraging. Linguistic innovations in times of war. A case study

Contact situations have always played a decisive role in the development and change of the English lexicon. These contact situations mostly come about through people travelling more or less peacefully from one place to another thereby getting in touch with speakers of different languages. One of the most intense and extreme ways of getting in contact with other nations and their languages, however, is warfare. Britain witnessed a period of far-reaching social and political unrest as well as a series of dramatic military conflicts from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Following the socio-linguistic principle that language change is very often socially conditioned, we assume that the years of changing enemies, battlefields and military tactics may have had a significant impact on the English lexicon.

The present study is therefore devoted to a very small segment of the English vocabulary which focuses on the life beyond the battlefields and on the practices of feeding the army. It investigates the development of the French loan word *forage* in the English language from a semasiological and onomasiological point of view. This paper also intends to analyse the verb's relation to other borrowings of approximately the same period, such as *plunder, pillage* or *ravage*, within the word field 'rob'. The current study will furthermore aim to place the loan words' usage within their socio-

historical contexts and it will discuss some possible language external and internal motivations for their borrowing.

The data for the current study will be primarily drawn from the *OED Online*, the *MED Online* and the Early Modern English part of the *Helsinki Corpus*, but additional data will be drawn from the standard historical dictionaries and individual texts.

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The comment clause in Late Middle and Early Modern English correspondence: Gender difference

Comment clauses (Quirk et al., 1985), or parenthetical phrases such as *I think*, *I mean*, *I suppose*, have been extensively studied in recent years in search of their origin, development and functions from both syntactic and semantic viewpoints. According to Brinton (1996, 2008), the early examples are already found in ME.

The previous studies conducted from a diachronic perspective suggest that a difference seems to exist in the use of comment clauses; by

quantitatively surveying 17th century correspondence Palander-Collin (1999) discovered that women are more frequent users of 'I think' and other first-person evidential expressions. Tanabe (forthcoming) investigated the occurrences and functions of the comment clause in 15th century *Paston Letters*, and revealed that 'I suppose', 'I trow', 'I trust', 'I understand' have higher frequencies among the 14 verbs examined. Interestingly, almost all women who use comment clauses use 'I suppose' and 'I hope' fairly often, showing uncertainty or tentativeness about the statement they make or trying to mitigate the impact the statement might have on the addressee.

These findings are in line with the discussion about Present-day English hedges such as *I think*, in that they have been repeatedly pointed out to be characteristic of women's speech (Lakoff 1975, Coats 1995). However, as well as *tentative* use, some comment clauses have *deliberative* use which signals the speaker's authoritative attitude (Aijmer 1997). This difference in function has not been sufficiently considered in the previous studies.

The purpose of this paper is to explore quantitatively and qualitatively how the pragmatic uses of comment clauses differ between men's and women's language, expanding the data from 1st person 'I+verb' type to 2nd and 3rd person types (e.g. 'you know', 'God knows') in *Paston Letters* and Corpus of Early English Correspondence covering the 15th to 17th centuries.

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Selling the anti-Catholic ideology: a critical analysis of Henry Care's political rhetoric

This study focuses on the political writings of Henry Care (1646-1688), who was a Restoration publicist and propagandist. He had a leading role in the popular press of his time and greatly contributed to the development of political rhetoric (for an overview of Care's life and career, see Schwoerer 2001). From December 1678 to July 1683, Care published the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, which popularised the history of Roman Catholicism and at the same time functioned as a propaganda instrument. In the *Weekly Pacquet*, Care attacked popery and the idea of a Catholic succession to the English throne.

Critical discourse analysis offers an approach with which the ideological work of texts as well as their social effects can be tackled (see e.g. Fairclough 2003). More specifically, we can investigate the linguistic and discursive tools of manipulation and propaganda operating in texts (de Saussure & Schulz 2005). Through a critical analysis of the *Weekly Pacquet*, I throw light on how Care tries to sell his anti-Catholic ideology to his readers and what rhetorical devices he uses to achieve his aim. The analysis shows how Care's manipulative discourse created a religious enemy and contributed to the political crisis in the country.

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New native prefixes in Middle English

Histories of English word formation tend to sketch neat unidirectional accounts of the development of derivational affixation in the language. Whilst Old English is (justly) presented as the period where native prefixation thrives, the following periods are said to be characterised by a dramatic decrease in native word formation, both with regard to the inventory of native affixes and with regard to their role in forming new words. But although these traditional accounts may to some extent be regarded as justified, a closer look reveals a number of remarkable inconsistencies. These are, one may presume, at least partly due to the predilection in linguistics for teleological paths of development, with a marked consequent neglect of historical changes that cannot be easily fitted into such a long-term picture.

The fate of the native prefixes is usually presented as sealed by the Middle English period (cf. e.g. the standard accounts by Kastovsky 1992 and Burnley 1992). Whilst many of the prefixes are phonologically and semantically weakened to a considerable degree already towards the end of the Old English period (see also the critical discussion by Lutz 1997), the subsequent 'depletion' of the language of native prefixes is somehow metaphorically regarded as connected to the influx of borrowed prefixes from French and Latin. This is by no means a satisfactory explanation (not least since most of the borrowed Romance prefixes can clearly be shown to belong to different functional domains; cf. also Adamson 1999).

I should like to focus in my paper on the widely ignored observation that the Middle English period witnesses, in fact, the rise of a number of new native verbal prefixes, in particular *down-*, *out-*, *up-*. Marchand in his classic handbook (1969) treats them as elements in verbal compounds, and so do most later accounts of word-formation in present-day English. It can be shown that such analyses are unsatisfactory, since the phonological, morphological and semantic properties of these elements clearly show them to be prefixes. I will discuss the Middle English development in some detail, but, perhaps more importantly, explore the implications of this development for our perception of English word formation from a typological and historical point of view.

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Literal to metaphorical bounded landmarks: On the prepositions in *and* into *in Early Modern English*

Tyler and Evans are mainly interested in embodiment and spatiality as the basis of prepositional meaning (2007 [2003]), while Huddleston and Pullum rather focus on the development of prepositional phrases (2003 [2002]: 597–661). Tyler and Evans consider how senses of prepositions develop from concrete to abstract and metaphorical, as in *She is in prison, She is in medicine, She wrote it in ink, Turbans are in (this season)!* (2007: 188–193).

Tyler and Evans suggest a proto-scene for the preposition *in* where a trajectory is located inside a landmark (2007: 183). Their proto-scene for *in* is not very different from Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik’s dimensional presentation of *in*, a dot within a square (1985: 674). The only difference between the two figures is that Tyler and Evans’s container is more open at the top. As regards the figures for *into*, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik situate the head of an arrow inside a closed container (1985: 674), while Tyler and Evans’s trajectory is only on its way there (2007: 199).

The idea of this paper is to consider the following questions, as regards selected corpus data on Early Modern English:

1. What kind of phrases do *in* and *into* occur in?
2. How close is the meaning of *in* and *into* to the proto-scenes presented by Tyler and Evans?
3. How concrete versus abstract is the meaning of *in* and *into*?

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Signs, symptoms and observations during the Enlightenment

The English Enlightenment grew out of a myriad of coinciding factors ranging from increasing vernacularization to the rise of the empirical method in the sciences (Porter 2000). Semiotics, the study of signs and signification, became current in the philosophy of the eighteenth century through the work of Locke and Berkeley, and in medicine, theories arising from the first-hand observation of signs finally suppressed the last echoes of medieval scholasticism (French 2003; Hess 1998; Kelly and von Mücke 1994).

The central issue explored in this paper is the extent to which signifier terms such as *sign* and *symptom* were used in different genres of Late Modern English, and whether their use in non-academic genres reflected the empirical and semiotic styles of thought so popular among the learned? It may be argued that medicine in particular introduced empiricism to the general public (Vila 2003), and this paper builds on a previous study of the terminological and semantic changes of signifier terms in ME to EModE medical texts (Tyrkkö 2006). The focus is broadened here to include a much wider range of primary data, drawn principally from the 500+ genre-defined texts described in the EuDaBaDEET database, and extended to the Late Modern era. Methodologically, the paper makes use of corpus linguistic approaches to the analysis of lexical fields, and touches upon statistical issues related to the frequency comparison of lexical items in extralinguistically defined text categories.

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European Database of Descriptors of English Electronic Texts (EuDaBaDEET). Developed by Hans-Jürgen Diller, Hendrik De Smet, and Jukka Tyrkkö.

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Extension in the peripheral modifier slot: a constructional approach to noun phrase modification

In their outline of the English NP, Payne & Huddleston (2002:436-439) distinguish a slot for what they call *peripheral modifiers*. This slot hosts adverbial modifiers, such as focus particles, attached to the NP. An example is given in (1).

(1) And so it has gone on, although by the end of the 1980s it was evident that the patience of **even** a government as dedicated to the eventual triumph of nuclear power as Mrs Thatcher's was showing signs of severe strain. (BNC)

The slot for peripheral modifiers is of relatively recent date. Corpus inquiry reveals that the first unequivocal peripheral modifiers did not emerge before the Early Modern English period. Later, in the late 19th century, the slot underwent a rapid *extension* (in the sense of Harris & Campbell 1995), as it was filled with increasingly complex elements.

This paper inquires into the diachrony of one specific kind of peripheral modifiers, viz. what has in formal theories of synchronic grammar been called *transparent free relatives* (see Wilder 1999). In Van de Velde (2007, 2009a, b) it is argued that they can function as peripheral modifiers in cases like (2), where *what is known as* is in the same slot as *even* in (1).

(2) On this account, therefore, it was determined that the balloon should be fitted with **what is known as** a solid or rending valve (…) (Clmet – 1902)

On the basis of corpus data drawn from the Clmet Corpus, the rise of the construction in Modern English will be traced. It will be shown how this rise fits in with other changes that have occurred in the noun phrase. On the theoretical side, it will be argued that the process described here calls for a constructional approach to syntactic change, in line with recent ideas in the literature on grammaticalisation, see e.g. Traugott (2007), Bergs & Diewald (2008) and Trousdale (2008): what we have here is the emergence of an abstract modification slot, rather than a lexically specific slotfiller, as is clear from the paradigmatic variation that transparent free relatives display.

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The role of gender-assignment as a marker of Different Object Marking

The phenomenon whereby direct object may be case-marked depending on its semantic and pragmatic properties is well known as differential object marking (DOM) and has been studied in detail in the functional-typological literature (Bossong 1985, 1998; Comrie 1979; Croft 1988). According to these studies, properties influencing differential object marking include animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality.

It has been claimed that DOM represents a grammatical strategy to mark the marked status of highly definite and animate direct objects (markedness approach; see Croft 1988, 2003) or a high degree of affectedness (indexing approach; see Næss 2004, 2007) or the pragmatic role of secondary topic (Nikolaeva & Darymple 2007). However, they all exclusively take into account case-marking in their analysis.

In the present paper on the basis of Old English data I would like to investigate the role played by gender assignment in DOM. Like other Germanic languages, Old English is characterized by a formal gender assignment system based and differentiates feminine, masculine and neuter nouns. However, it is less widespreadly acknowledged, yet undeniable, that

there are nouns with more than one assigned gender. This phenomenon has been connected with the degree of individuation a noun has in a specific textual context (Vezzosi 2007). Given that animacy, definiteness, topicality are all properties that might be relevant in gender-assignment, ultimately I would like to show the relationships between an 'aberrant' gender of a given noun and its grammatical role (subject vs. object): more precisely, whether un-prototypical direct objects, or objects with particular properties, can favour the assignment of a different gender from the grammatical gender pertaining to the corresponding noun.

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"Degrammaticalization" and mechanisms of upgrading changes

A number of recent publications (most importantly, Norde 2009) have brought the notion of 'degrammaticalization' back on the agenda. Although there is no doubt that linguistic changes by which an expression or construction gains in autonomy (in whatever respect) are attested, it remains disputed whether or to what extent alleged cases of "degrammaticalization" have common properties, except for the rather vague notion of a 'movement up the cline'. The central question of this paper therefore will be: which properties (if any) do cases of "degrammaticalization", or rather 'upgrading changes', have in common.

In this paper I will argue that 'upgrading changes' – heterogeneous though they may be – have at least one feature in common: the linguistic expression which undergoes an upgrading process profits from the loss or breakdown of some other, concomitant element with which it used to co-occur or with which it used to be incorporated into one construction.

I will try to demonstrate that whenever a linguistic development gains in substance or autonomy, it is primarily the loss or the obsolescence of other, concomitant elements that causes its upgrading. It is thus not the upgraded element which becomes "degrammaticalized", but a change which affects primarily its surrounding. The "degrammaticalized" element is forced to take on functions or meanings previously carried by the lost element. It thus becomes upgraded only as a consequence of some previous change. This assumption would account for the fact that instances of "degrammaticalization" are so heterogeneous.

For instance, the fact that the English possessive marker *'s* appears to gain in syntactic scope is not due to a change of that morpheme, but to the collapse of the system of nominal inflectional in English. Only the loss of inflectional categories allowed the possessive marker to expand its scope from 'masculine singular' to all nouns, and from an exclusively nominal affix to a phrasal marker (*the King of England's eyes*) and further to some adverbials (*today's newspaper*).

A completely different case of upgrading is the use of adverbs and prepositions as nouns and verbs. This is possible because the accompanying verb is elliptically dropped, as in *drink down* → *down* (verb), *shoot down* → *down* (verb) or as in *She went/stepped back into the doorway.* → *She backed into the doorway*.

If this hypothesis can be confirmed, we will gain an explanation of why there are linguistic changes that run counter to a number of strong tendencies in language change such as loss of autonomy. This explanation would be more uniform than Norde's (2009) "parameter analyses", which reveal the heterogeneity of these changes but do not offer a common explanation of all upgrading changes under discussion.

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Quantifying the effect of the development of negative auxiliaries on the distribution of periphrastic do *in negative clauses*

During the 16th and 17th centuries, periphrastic *do* (1) is introduced into English (Kroch 1989, Warner 2005) in interrogative, negative and imperative clauses. At the same time, distinct forms of negative auxiliary verb develop, in which the verb and *not* behave as a syntactic unit rather than as independent elements. This is indicated by the position of *not* in negative interrogatives: in (1) *do* and *not* are syntactically independent, in (2) *do+not* behaves as a syntactic unit.

(1) Did you not drink in the house? (LISLE-E3-H,IV,114C1.29)
(2) Did not she send her? (GIFFORD-E2-H,E1R.308)

The impact of each change on the frequency of periphrastic *do* in negative interrogatives is quantified using data from the PPCEME corpus (Kroch, Santorini & Delfs 2004). Based on these data, a quantitative model of the frequency of periphrastic *do* in negative declaratives and negative imperatives is proposed which takes into account the interaction of the two changes. This model explains some peculiarities in the distribution of periphrastic *do* during the 16th and 17th centuries.

PPCEME data demonstrate that the stylistic evaluation of *do* in 17th century negative clauses (Warner 2005) is a constraint on the use of all negative auxiliary verbs not only *do+not*. This variation is crucial to the quantitative model, which succeeds only when the stylistic evaluation of negative auxiliaries is taken into account.

Kroch (1989) argues that periphrastic *do* is a reflex of the loss of V to I movement until c.1570. Around 1570, the rates at which *do* is introduced in negative clauses diverges from other contexts. The quantitative model I present demonstrates that after 1570, the grammaticalisation of periphrastic *do* in negative declaratives is a consequence of competition between negative auxiliaries and spec,NegP *not*. Within this model, the sequential loss of verb movement hypothesis proposed by Han (2001) is not required to account for the distribution of *do* in 17th century negative declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives, and is in fact problematic. Observed differences in the frequency of periphrastic *do* in negative declaratives, negative interrogatives and negative imperatives follow from the interaction between the two sources of periphrastic *do* in negative clauses.

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The semantic analysis of OE munan

The aim of this paper is to analyse Old English preterite-present verb *munan*, which denoted cognition and ability. It should be emphasised that no empirical investigation concerning the semantics of *munan* has been published. This verb, similarly to other preterite-present verbs that have not survived, has not received the attention it deserves. It needs to be asserted that the concept of *munan*, which is interpreted in terms of ' remember' (Campbell 1959: 345), was conceived differently from the way it is in Present Day English. Therefore, the aim of this study will be to show the

differences in the conceptualisation between OE *munan* and the corresponding PDE 'remember'. Nevertheless, this analysis will not focus on the semantics of 'remember' but on the semantic attributes of *munan*. The semantics of PDE 'remember' may serve only as a background to illustrate better the differences in the conceptualisation of its seemingly corresponding OE equivalent.

Moreover, the analysis will seek to distinguish between root, hence objective senses, and the epistemic senses, thereby subjective and individual.

Furthermore, the study will illustrate the mechanism that may account for the development of the epistemic senses and the time when such senses were first recorded.

The analysis will also show the morphological forms that developed speech-act function and the way these forms were used in Old English.

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The grammar of compound adjectives in Shakespeare's word-formation: corpus analysis

The paper considers the main formal characteristics of Shakespeare's compound words in adjectival sentence positions (e.g. *eagle-sighted* eye in Love's Labour's Lost, IV, iii.23 or *snow-white* dimpled chin in Lucrece, 420) systematized and based on language corpus analysis. The corpus of the compound adjectives in the study has been compiled on the basis of the *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, the Norton Facsimile, Second Edition. The analysis of the internal structure of compounds, namely the constituent elements and the relationships observable among them is accompanied by numerous contextualized examples adopted from Shakespeare's selected plays. I also survey the productivity of compound adjectives which constitute quite a quantitative gain in Shakespearean word-formation *as* well as examine certain important orthographic implications in creating compound adjectives. The approach adopted in the paper is eclectic and the major theoretical framework I operate on is transformational grammar; however, so as to make the study as detailed as possible I intend to elaborate on the semantic properties of compound adjectives. It is due to the fact that the semantic interpretation of compounds which undoubtedly plays a prominent role has frequently posed a problem not only for linguists but also for discourse participants. I demonstrate the morphosyntactic mechanisms of compound creation, as well as the stylistic cohesion and stylistic function of compound adjectives in Shakespeare's texts. Despite the fact that the character of the study is synchronic, I place the research findings in a diachronic perspective, comparing them to the techniques of compound formation operating in Old English and Middle English, as well as those which are present in Modern English word-formation theories. In this way I hope for the aforementioned analysis of Shakespearean compound adjectives to complete the missing link in the diachronic development of compound words in English.

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The temporal and regional contexts of the fates of the numeral two

Like other „small" cardinal numbers ('one', 'three' and 'four') also the numeral denoting '2' has had a complicated history. In Old English it exhibited different forms depending on gender; cf. *twe3en* masc. (modelled on OE *be3en* 'both'; Brunner 1965: 252), *twā* fem. (also neut.) and *tū* neut., the last form confined to Old English. The Middle English period witnessed the split of the continuation of the masculine forms into those with <ei/ey> (South/Midland) and <ai/ay> (North; cf. Brunner 1963: 55). The subsequent evolution led to the elimination of the former

masculine and neuter forms, except in some specific uses (cf. *twain* used by sailors on the Mississippi) and the survival of the earlier feminine form reflecting *twā*. But a competition between the historical masculine with its reduced form *twei/twai* and the "regular" *two*, was in full force before 1500, although these two types ceased to demonstrate gender distinction. As the standard English historical grammars devote little attention to the evolution of the numeral system the present study will be aimed at determining the exact distribution of the forms of the numeral denoting '2' in Middle English and specifying the period and the area where modern *two* began to predominate in the language. The present paper is part of a major project whose purpose is to reveal the circumstances of the rise of the modern system of English numerals.

The data chiefly come from the Innsbruck sources: *Corpus of Middle English Prose* and the Middle English part of *Corpus of English Letters*, with occasional references to other corpora (OED, Helsinki, etc).

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Word-final -e *in ME verse, with focus on Gower*

In ME, words with an etymological final *-e* (such as *name* < OE *nama*) still had the final *-e* underlyingly; and it could be realised (as schwa, here marked as @) when the metre required that syllable. The most frequent way of dropping *e* in ME iambic verse was by means of elision: if it was followed by #V, it was dropped *(name^0 of)*. However, in apocope the dropping of *-e* was not conditioned by the immediate rightward context *(name^0 was)*.

The dropping of *-e* is not only a metrical phenomenon but a concurrent grammatical one, too. The paper will show that in Gower, apocope does not exist – all dropped final *-e*'s are dropped through elision. Among Germanic and Romance nouns there is only one that seems to behave differently, as shown in (1) (CA = CONFESSIO AMANTIS).

(1) a. The distribution of *manere* in CA

- *máner#V* 11
- *máner#C* 39
- *manére*^{0}*#V* 34
- *manére*^{0}*#C* 0
- *manér@#V* 0 (for aesthetic reasons)
- *manér@#C* *3*

(1) b. The distribution of stress in *manere*

- *máner@* 0 (for metrical reasons)
- *mánere*^{0} 50
- *manére*^{0} 37

Examples such as those in (2) are impossible for Gower:

(2) a. *natúre*#C (0 instances – artificially constructed example)

x / x / x / x / x

*|It is |nature^{0} |which hath |the lo|re|

"It is nature that has the lore"

(2) b. *nátur*#C (0 instances – artificially constructed example)

x / x / x / x / x

*|It can |be na|ture^{0} which |me te|cheth|

"It can be nature that teaches me"

I shall also introduce – and argue against – Smithers's (1983) claim that *-en* instead of *-e* functions only as a hiatus filler, and I will show (in agreement with ten Brink, 1901), that the distinction may have had a grammatical function (no participial forms of short-stem strong verbs such as [*com@*]). Finally, the question of schwa in a strong position will be analysed (ten Brink 1901, Robinson 1971, Guthrie 1983). I will suggest that Gower used two variants of the article *the* – since in Gower (unlike in Chaucer) *the* would be the only syllable with a schwa that occurs in a strong position.

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'yr Scribe Can proove no nessecarye Consiquence for you'?*: The linguistic implications of using a scribe in Early English correspondence*

Matching aspects of language found in historical texts with the social characteristics of their writers is of central importance to the fields of historical sociolinguistics, pragmatics and to the development of historical corpora. This pairing of language and 'author' is, however, problematized when a text was composed by a scribe – a practice particularly common for early English letter-writing, especially from women. Previous studies of the fifteenth-century letters of Margaret Paston suggest that her scribes for the most part copied language verbatim, yet no work of this kind has been done for the early modern period when we first have clear instances of a woman's holograph letters surviving alongside scribal examples for comparison.

This paper will focus mainly on a cache of forty surviving familiar letters from Joan Thynne of Wiltshire, written 1575-1611, which contains both holograph and scribal examples to her husband and (estranged) son. In conjunction with the socio-familial significance of using scribes and in addition to paleographic and orthographic differences, comparative analysis of Joan's writing reveals lexico-grammatical variation between holograph and scribal language, including the use of anaphoric reference terms (e.g. *the said* and *thereto*) and the formal speech act verb *advertise*. Such variation complicates Joan's letters' inclusion in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* as it relies on a previous edition of her letters that does not distinguish between holograph and scribal productions. Furthermore, by briefly citing some other groups of letters (including those from Elizabeth I), the present study strongly suggests that the variable *holograph/scribal* needs to be recognized in historical linguistic analyses of early modern letters more generally and that more research of this type be conducted in other instances where both holograph and scribal letters have survived from a single writer.

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Nominalization of there *in existential sentences*

Breivik (1981) argues that *there* in existential sentences (i.e. *there*+*be*+NP) behaves as an NP in Present-day English through the long process of grammaticalization, by providing the evidence such as subject raising, subject-auxiliary inversion, etc. This study elucidates the chronological order of how the availability of syntactic slots for *there* increased over time, through the analysis of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the Helsinki Corpus, and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (extended version).

Subject Position ⟶ Object Position ⟶ Object of Preposition

It is a widely accepted view that *there* in the subject position came to be reanalyzed as expressing nominal property. This study reveals that such nominalization subsequently induced development of more complicated existential structures such as tag questions, object raising, object of the preposition, etc., following the above order. Indeed, the result suggests that the completion of nominalization of existential *there* is attested in Present-day English. Interestingly enough, the nominalization order of existential *there* seen above is in reverse order of that of locative *there*. This finding supports Brevik's (1981) insistence that Lyon's hypothesis (1977), i.e. the synchronic identification of existential *there* with locative *there*, should be abandoned. Based upon the above order of the diachronic development of existential *there* and the analysis of *lest*, this study also proves that *let*+*there*+*be*+NP has been a formulaic structure since its emergence in written texts and that *let* functions more or less as a conjunction, which does not coincide with the conventional explanation provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Hosaka (1999).

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Discourse strategies in Margery Kempe's Descriptions of her Pilgrimages

This paper analyzes *The Book of Margery Kempe* (hereafter *The Book*) and some travelogues written in Middle English from a diachronic pragmatic viewpoint and discusses three discourse strategies which Virtanen (1995) investigates in several Early Modern English travelogues. They are temporal, locative and participant/topic oriented strategies and we examine them by observing sentence-initial adverbial phrases and references to the author or to participants in the discourse in the texts we survey.

The purpose of this study is to find out how much *The Book* contains travelogic elements in the discourse compared with typical travelogues of that time. *The Book* is often classified as mystical writing, but its text genre is rather an autobiography and her stories contain many descriptions of her travels to holy places. Yoshikawa (2008) examined those discourse strategies in *The Book* and in Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*, and showed some resemblances and differences in the two Middle English mystical works. In general, both texts showed narrative characteristics, but a difference in the use of locative strategy was recognized, and the difference seemed to have come from the travelogic content of *The Book*, though this is not seen in *Revelations*. Lacking any comparison with typical travelogues, however, Yoshikawa (2008) could not capture the total picture of the discourse strategies in *The Book*. Therefore, this paper will attempt to complete that project by comparing *The Book* with Middle English travelogues including *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

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