Book of Abstracts

International Conference
on English Historical Linguistics 20

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

db JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

EDINBURGH University Press
Layout of John McIntyre Conference Centre

Note: St Trinnean’s Room and the Nelson Room are located in St. Leonards, next door to the John McIntyre Conference Centre.
## Conference Programme ICEHL XX

### Monday, 27 August 2018

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>8.30-9.30</td>
<td>Pentland E</td>
<td>First floor foyer, Registration</td>
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<td>9.30-10.00</td>
<td>Pentland W</td>
<td>Pentland Suite, Conference opening</td>
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<td>10.00-11.00</td>
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<td>Plenary: The threshold of productivity and the “irregularization” of verbs in Early Modern English. <strong>Chair: Honeybone</strong></td>
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<td>11.00-11.30</td>
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<td>Coffee</td>
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<td>11.30-12.00</td>
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<td>Workshop 9: The Foot in the hist of Eng</td>
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<td>12.00-12.30</td>
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<td>Workshop 5: Paratextual Communication</td>
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<tr>
<th>Chair/theme</th>
<th>Syntax: ArgStr (eModE)</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>The long view</th>
<th>Workshop 5: Paratextual Communication</th>
<th>Syntax: AUX</th>
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### 12.30-14.00

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<th>Session Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>12.30-14.00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>case study of thirst</td>
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### Monday (cont’d)

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.00-14.30</td>
<td>Mendez Naya: Synthetic intensification devices in Old English</td>
<td>Nevalainen et al.: History of English as punctuated equilibria?</td>
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<td>Brinton: “He loved his father, but next to adored his mother”: nigh, near, and next (to) as downtoners in the history of English</td>
<td>Schneider: Syntactic changes in verbal clauses and noun phrases from 1500 onwards</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.30-15.00</td>
<td>Ghesquière: A good many functions and great big potential: On the development of good and great</td>
<td>McGillivray &amp; Jenset: Is historical linguistics catching up with quantitative corpus linguistics?</td>
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### 15.00-15.30

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.00-15.30</td>
<td>Oudesluijs et al.: Broadening the horizon of the written Standard English debate: a view beyond the metropolis</td>
<td>Shiina &amp; Nakayasu: Speech acts and modals in the trial record of King Charles I</td>
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<td>Varila: “Set in suche order”: Book producers’ descriptions of the organisation of information in 16th-century printed paratexts</td>
<td>Hundt &amp; Zehentner: Prepositions in Early Modern English</td>
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<td>Tyrkkö: “What a scene of confusion and confabulation”: Exploring the applications and integration of May and Can in Directive Speech Acts in Older Scots and Early Modern English Correspondence</td>
<td>Sairio &amp; Kaislaniemi: Charting spelling variation and editorial reliability in English historical letters</td>
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<td>15.30-16.00</td>
<td>Argument Structure limits of paratext with (a) Punch</td>
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<td>16.00-16.30</td>
<td>González Díaz: “A great big small world”: Tautological intensification in the English NP</td>
<td>Rodriguez Puente: Frequency and productivity of nominalizations in law reports: A diachronic perspective</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.30-17.00</td>
<td>Adamson: From ‘your very very Rosalind’ to ‘my very very sweet queen’: a case-study in the rhetoric of intensifiers and the socio-stylistics of grammaticalisation</td>
<td>Kalaga: On morphosemantic properties of zero-derivation in Early Modern English</td>
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18.30-20.30  Conference Reception at the Informatics Forum, sponsored by EUP and the AMC
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<tr>
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<th>Workshop 1 Standardization after Caxton</th>
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<td>Pentland E</td>
<td>Aijmer: ‘That’s well good’. A re-emerging intensifier in current British English</td>
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<td>10.30-11.00</td>
<td>Pentland W</td>
<td>Wischer: <em>Menn mete etda</em> and <em>fuglas corn fretap</em> - The Lexical Field of Eating and Drinking in Old and Middle English</td>
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<td>10.30-11.00</td>
<td>Prestonfield</td>
<td>Lukaszewicz: Does history come full circle? The loss and reinstatement of /r/ and /l/ in the varieties of Scottish English</td>
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<td>Duddingston</td>
<td>Álvarez Gil: An analysis of hedging in Modern English history scientific texts: a corpus-based approach</td>
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<td>Rodriguez Ledesma: The extension of genitive singular –es in the Gloss to the Durham Collectar</td>
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<td>Plenary: Hendrik de Smet: Was want willing when will was wanting? Chair: Trousdale</td>
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<td>Stenbrenden: Grimm’s Law and Verner’s Law changes revisited: towards a unified phonetic account?</td>
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<td>Syntax: Constructions</td>
<td>Zamecnik &amp; Denison: A quantitative exploration of SKT constructions</td>
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<td>Prosody</td>
<td>Feulner: 125 years after: Sievers and the system of Old English verse</td>
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<td>Syntax: OE and Latin influence</td>
<td>Eseleva: How does causal connection originate? Evidence from translation correspondences in the <em>Old English Boethius</em> and the <em>Consolatio</em></td>
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<td>Wild &amp; Dallachy: Semantic Distribution of Antedated Senses in the Oxford English Dictionary and Historical Thesaurus of English</td>
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<td>Prescriptivism</td>
<td>Schwarz: Relativizer <em>that</em> with human antecedents in ideology and in practice</td>
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<td>Vartiainen: Brickhard and Kardashian big: common and proper nouns as intensifiers in English</td>
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<td>Calle Martín: From demonstratives to degree words: On the origin of the intensifying function of <em>this/that</em> in American English</td>
<td>Laker: Early English phonology as revealed through British place-names</td>
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<td>Fanego: <em>Frank found his way to New York</em>: The history of the <em>Way</em> construction revisited</td>
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<td>Werthmüller: Réson and corâge – stress placement and word-final <em>e</em> in late Middle English iambic poetry</td>
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<td>Taylor: Understanding translation effects: Lessons from the Old English Heptateuch</td>
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<td>Molencki: From <em>eadig</em> to <em>happy</em>: the lexical replacement in the field of Medieval English adjectives of fortune</td>
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<td>Anderwald: Non-standardization: How wide-spread features of English became stigmatized</td>
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<td>Syntax: gerunds</td>
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<td>Tagliamonte:</td>
<td>What was very before is so today! Scrutinizing synchronic corpora for degree adverb differentials</td>
<td>Hauf: The Direct-Speech Construction in Old and Middle English</td>
<td>Laing &amp; Lass: Voiced or voiceless? Old English f in Middle English - <em>fd</em>-sequences</td>
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<td>16.30-17.00</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Fonteyn: Doing their own thing with <em>ing</em>? – Population- and individual-level changes in Modern English <em>ing</em>-forms</td>
<td>Petré &amp; Standing: Early Modern English Lifespan change versus intergenerational incrementation in the schematization of syntactic constructions</td>
<td>Versloot: The Anglo-Frisian hypothesis revisited: new evidence from Early Old English</td>
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<td>10.00-10.30</td>
<td>Reed: Medieval Contact Pragmatics: Potentials and Pitfalls</td>
<td>Pahta et al.: Multilingual practices in Late Modern English medical writing</td>
<td>Dolberg: Looking further afield: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Language Contact and Grammatical Change</td>
<td>Nykiel: The DP cycle arrested: reduced th’ in EModE</td>
<td>Ciszek-Kiliszewska: Degree of grammaticalisation of behind, beneath, between and betwixt in Middle English</td>
<td>Froehlich: The Semantics of Whorishness in Jacobean drama</td>
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<td>10.30-11.00</td>
<td>Tantucci: An evolutionary approach to information transmission: The semasiological change of the existential</td>
<td>Marcus: Exploring the development of English prose writing from a contact perspective: connectives in</td>
<td>Struik &amp; van Kemenade: Change and Continuity in English OV/VO variation: Information Structure as a</td>
<td>Sprau: Binomials and Multinomials in Early Modern Pedagogic Literature: Sir Thomas Elyot’s The Boke Named</td>
<td>Adamczyk: Futurate presents in Old English: Patterns of distribution and their conditioning</td>
<td>Schneider: Systematically detecting patterns of social, historical and linguistic change</td>
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<td>Time</td>
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<td>Workshop 2 Qualitative Evidence</td>
<td>Workshop 6 Qualitative Evidence</td>
<td>Workshop 8 English as a synt. outlier</td>
<td>Syntax: ArgStr (OE/ME)</td>
<td>The Hamilton Papers</td>
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<td>11.30-12.00</td>
<td>Chapman: Language Change in Prescriptivist Discourse</td>
<td>Adamson: Questions of (e)quality: methods and evidence in IModE research</td>
<td>Crisma &amp; Pintzuk: Middle English is not that odd: evidence from the noun phrase</td>
<td>van Gelderen: Reflexive Pronouns in the Lindisfarne Glosses</td>
<td>Gardner: Courtship, corrections and censorship: Mary Hamilton’s diary letters to her fiancé John Dickenson</td>
<td>Stojaković: The emphatic use of the present perfect</td>
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<td>Syntax</td>
<td>Social networks</td>
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<td>Change: Is historical perceptual dialectology possible?</td>
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<td>adverbial subordinators? Evidence from the history of English</td>
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<td>English: the rivalry between be about to, be upon the point of, and be ready to</td>
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<td>co-occurrence clusters as discursive concepts: evidence from EEBO-TCP</td>
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<td>English: a global variant diffusing through low frequency words</td>
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<td>Culpeper &amp; Guardamagna: Shakespeare’s Latin: A pragmatic perspective</td>
<td>Tieken: Published in America — but is it an American usage guide?</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Konarski: The development of SVO in late Old English and early Middle English relative clauses</td>
<td>Grund &amp; Smittenberg: “I dare say however that what I have got is enough”: Conjunct placement in nineteenth-century English</td>
<td>Sierra Rodriguez: The schwa problem in Old Northumbrian: Evidence from the glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Collectar</td>
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<td>Coffee</td>
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<td>16.00-17.00</td>
<td>Plenary: Marc Alexander: Lexicalization Pressure: From Frequency to Linguistic Trauma. Chair: Alcorn</td>
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<td>17.00-18.00</td>
<td>Business Meeting</td>
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<td>19.00-23.00</td>
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<td>Workshop 2 Qualitative Evidence</td>
<td>Workshop 7 (AMC) Visualizations in Hist Ling</td>
<td>Lexicon</td>
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<td><strong>9.00-9.30</strong></td>
<td>Grund: Function-to-Form Mapping in Historical Pragmatics</td>
<td>Evans: Authorial style, literary fashions and language change in Restoration drama</td>
<td>Lubbers: Visualising the interaction between grammar and style: a data-driven approach</td>
<td>Klemola: On the origin of ain’t</td>
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<td><strong>9.30-10.00</strong></td>
<td>Kähm: Directives in Old English and Their Manifestations across Different Religious Text Types</td>
<td>Ratia: Arguing for &quot;the most humane Treatment of the present Sufferers&quot;: Changing attitudes in 18th-century medical discourse</td>
<td>Schätzle &amp; Butt: HistoBankVis: Visualizing Language Change</td>
<td>Pagan:A historical AND and the implication for Middle English lexicography</td>
<td>Yadomi: Language Change and Social Evaluation of Linguistic Features in Religious Communities of Practice in Seventeenth Century England</td>
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<td><strong>10.00-10.30</strong></td>
<td>Leitner: Moving beyond speech-acts: the make-up of 18th-century advice-seeking</td>
<td>Percy &amp; Hyett: Theatrical Practices and Grammatical Standardization in Eighteenth-Century Britain: you was and you were</td>
<td>Molineaux et al.: Sound change vs. orthographic remapping: Visualising ‘excrescent’ &lt;t&gt; and &lt;t&gt; deletion in fifteenth-century Scots</td>
<td>Stange &amp;Wagner: This is so totally pathetic! – On the diachronic development of so totally</td>
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| 10.30-11.00| Higashizumi: Sequentiality and monoclausal because-clauses from Early to Late Modern English  
|            | Hodson: Novels as evidence for language attitudes: a qualitative approach  
|            | Mäkinen: Stylo visualisations of Middle English documents  
|            | Ronan: The rise of expressive much structures  
|            | Pentland E  
|            | Pentland W  
|            | Prestonfield  
|            | Duddingston  
|            | Salisbury  
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|            | Nelson  
| 11.00-11.30| Coffee  
| 11.30-12.30| Plenary: Devyani Sharma: A typology of syntactic change in Postcolonial Englishes  
|            | Chair: Gisborne  
| 12.30-14.00| Lunch  
| 14.00-14.30| Workshop 4 Historical Pragmatics  
|            | Orthography  
|            | Workshop 7 (AMC) Visualizations in Hist Ling  
|            | Lexicon  
|            | Workshop 2 Qualitative Evidence  
|            | Syntax: Adj (OE)  
|            | Syntax: Word order  
| 14.00-14.30| Kopaczyk: Scottish burgh laws in transmission from a diachronic pragmaphilological perspective  
|            | Stenroos: Late medieval English documentary and literary language: how different are they?  
|            | Sirtola et al.: Fingerprinting historical texts in TVE2  
|            | Vasiljevic: The Developments of This, That, and Yon  
|            | Discussion  
|            | Bech & Breban: Position of attributive adjectives in Old English  
|            | Chankova: Information Structural Properties of Constructions Derived by Double Object Scrambling  
| 14.30-15.00| Mäkilähde: On the metatheory of pragmaphilology  
|            | Vankova: Successors of OE (c) and (g) in the Texts of Poema Morale: A Computer-assisted Spelling Analysis  
|            | Dallachy et al.: Visualizing Semantic Category Development Using the Historical Thesaurus of English  
|            | Allan: The semantics of loanwords in Early Modern English  
|            | Discussion  
|            | Grabski: Two types of Old English adjectival postposition  
|            | Takahashi: Discourse organising strategies in Old English: The case of verb-final word order  
| 15.00-15.30| Smith: From new philology to historical pragmatics: the transmission of Geoffrey Chaucer  
|            | Hotta & Iyeiri: The Taking Off and Catching On of Etymological Spellings in Early Modern English:  
|            | Mois: How to visualize high-dimensional data: a roadmap  
|            | Discussion  
|            | Valentinyova: Transitive Adjectives in Diachrony: a Case Study of Tóeward  
|            | Pérez Lorido: The role of (the avoidance of) centre embedding in the change OV \(\rightarrow\) VO in English  

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<td>15.30-16.00</td>
<td>Pentland E</td>
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<td>16.30-17.00</td>
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<td>Tyrrkö &amp; Nevala: Lunatics, crackpots and maniacs: Mental illness and the democratization of British public discourses</td>
<td>Schlüter &amp; Vetter: On the fringes of silence: Creating interactive visualizations of big datasets to explore the re-emergence of initial /h/</td>
<td>Michiko Ogura: Verbs with negative import introducing an affirmative or negative part-clause</td>
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Friday, 31 August 2018 – Social Programme. Morning and all-day events: departure outside Edinburgh First Reception at 9.30. Afternoon event (Inchcolm Island): check departure point with Laura Arnold.

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<td>9.30-12.00</td>
<td>Guided Walk through Edinburgh</td>
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<td>9.30-18.00</td>
<td>Day Trip to Holy Island, two coaches, packed lunches</td>
<td>Claire Graf</td>
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<td>9.30-18.00</td>
<td>Day Trip to Inveraray Castle, one coach, lunch at Castle</td>
<td>Siqing Li</td>
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<td>9.30-12.30</td>
<td>Rosslyn Chapel</td>
<td>Claire Cowie</td>
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<td>14.30-18.30</td>
<td>Inchcolm Island – Contact person: Laura Arnold</td>
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Plenary Sessions
Lexicalization Pressure: From Frequency to Linguistic Trauma

Marc Alexander
University of Glasgow

Much of the skill of historical corpus research is in finding good, robust, and reliable lexical proxies to the information we require. The strongest of these is frequency; the raw counts of word frequency are relatively uninteresting in their own right, but they become much more important when we take relative frequency as a proxy for how interested a text, writer, or culture is in the concept to which that word refers.

In this paper, I will discuss some further proxies of relevance to lexis in the history of English which arise from the Historical Thesaurus of English. These include both polyseme density measures and lexicalization measures, the latter developed further as part of the AHRC Linguistic DNA project. Finally, by visualizing the measures of lexicalization in the Thesaurus, I demonstrate some areas where these additional measures show us new ways of looking at the language, and reveal some areas of trauma in the history of English.

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Was \textit{want} willing when \textit{will} was wanting?

A quixotic perspective on the dynamics of variation and change

\textit{Hendrik De Smet}

\textit{KU Leuven}

Language change is generally assumed to start from synchronic variation triggering gradual replacement of one variant by another over time. At the same time, it is clear that the exact relation between variants is often very complex (Leech et al. 2009; Van de Velde 2015; De Smet et al. 2018; Reinöhl & Himmelmann 2018). Formal variants typically have only partially overlapping functional profiles. As a result, diachronic replacement, too, may be only partial, or it may be accompanied by functional reorganization. Moreover, variation is often between more than two variants. Finally, the causal relationship between the demise of one variant and the rise of another remains controversial. To some extent, these challenges defy the traditional methods of corpus based historical research. At the heart of the problem is the difficulty of operationalizing functional equivalence, such that variants can be identified also in situations where multiple variants coexist whose functions only partially overlap.

Therefore, a somewhat different approach is proposed here. A corpus has been compiled consisting of eight English translations of Cervantes’ \textit{Don Quixote}, together covering the entire period from the early seventeenth century to the present day. Because these are translations of the same source text, linguistic variants can be defined as those forms used in the same context by different translators. This way, it is possible to assess to what degree different forms are in fact functionally equivalent, as well as to capture the full range of variant forms potentially entering into competition. In this paper, the potential of the corpus is demonstrated with a case study into the relation between two historical developments: the demise of volitional \textit{will} / \textit{would} and the rise of \textit{want to}. Evidence from the corpus supports an interpretation of these two changes as a drag chain. 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th}-century translators show signs of struggling with the syntactic defectiveness of the modal \textit{will} / \textit{would}, which lacks non-finite forms. They come up with a range of alternatives, including other volitional verbs, periphrastic expressions, and the more drastic solution of leaving volition to be inferred. In this period, the frequency of volitional \textit{will} / \textit{would} is already on the demise. However, \textit{want to} is not yet available as a viable alternative. Only in the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th}-century translations does \textit{want to} emerge as the new default marker of subject-volition. While there has been no or little direct competition between \textit{will} / \textit{would} and \textit{want to}, the eventual distribution of \textit{want to} resembles the earlier distribution of volitional \textit{will} / \textit{would}. This indicates that, even though there is no perfect functional match and no direct relation of replacement, the rise of \textit{want to} met a functional need created by the decline of volitional \textit{will} / \textit{would}.

\textbf{References}


The threshold of productivity and the “irregularization” of verbs in Early Modern English

Don Ringe
University of Pennsylvania

The replacement of regular past tenses and past participles (such as stringed) by irregular ones (such as strung) in Early Modern English offers a test case for the Tolerance Principle (TP, Yang 2017). Two relevant forms, strung and dug, are plausibly explained as native learner errors guided by the TP. Stuck cannot be so explained. However, stuck and struck—the latter replacing other irregular past forms—can be shown to have arisen in a context of competition between similar synonyms, in which one might expect the (completely different) process of lexical analogy to have operated.

Reference.

The birth of New Englishes offers an ideal testing ground for factors such as universals or language transfer in ‘offspring’ varieties. However, the tendency to compare a new grammar to its contributing systems overlooks a dynamic aspect of the actuation problem, namely ‘why certain instances of variation become changes and others don’t’ (McMahon 1994). I assess this question in relation to contact settings: Why does only a subset of variable usage become entrenched over time in a given contact variety? Comparing Indian English and Singapore English, an analysis of several distinctive syntactic features initially points to a substrate, rather than universalist, explanation. However, a closer examination shows that only some of these variable features have stabilised and become deeply embedded across the community. Substrates cannot fully account for this subtler distribution. To better understand this, I turn to a sociohistorical hallmark of postcolonial Englishes: diminishing input from the source variety. Integrating models of input sensitivity from Second Language Acquisition theory (the Subset Principle; the Interface Hypothesis), I develop a four-way typology along the two dimensions of L1-L2 difference and input demand (the degree to which rich input is needed for the acquisition of a specific syntactic form). Both contribute to stable outcomes in New Englishes, with substrates potentially the more powerful force. As contact is modelled here as dynamic phases of individual learning sensitive to the historically changing linguistic ecology, the typology allows us to pinpoint explanations for selective stabilisation over time within wider feature pools of variability.
General Sessions
A multifactorial account of analogical developments in Old English inflection

Elżbieta Adamczyk & Arjen P. Versloot
University of Wuppertal / Adam Mickiewicz University & University of Amsterdam / Fryske Akademy

Keywords: Old English, nominal inflection, analogy, frequency, multifactorial analysis

The variation in the early English nominal inflection, resulting from a range of phonological and morphological developments, was conditioned by an array of factors deriving from different linguistic domains. The present paper focuses on the examination of the interaction between the factors involved in the mechanisms of changes in inflection. Several of these factors emerge as crucial for the attested patterns of restructuring, namely (1) absolute and relative frequency of occurrence/use, operating on various levels, including the frequency of morpho-syntactic categories and lemmaspecific frequencies (Greenberg 1966; Bybee & Hopper 2001; Bybee 2007; Hawkins 2004), (2) the morpho-phonological salience of inflectional exponents (Goldschneider & DeKeyser 2001; Corbett et al. 2001; Dammel & Kürschner 2008), (3) functionality of morphological forms, (4) phonological characteristics (e.g. syllable structure; Lahiri & Dresher (1991)) and (5) the amount of neutral (overlapping) forms across the paradigms. All these factors either conspired or conflicted with each other in the competition between the morphological variants, exerting a major impact on the final shape of the nominal paradigms. It is the objective of the present study to evaluate the significance of these determinants for the existing variation in the early English inflection by applying a multivariate logistic regression analysis, where the above-mentioned factors serve as independent variables and can be ranked in terms of effect size. The raw data for the investigation come from the Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus (Healey et al. 2009), which was lemmatized and tagged for the purpose of this analysis. The study reveals that the scope and intensity of analogical developments in the paradigms is in most instances controlled by three factors, namely relative frequency of a paradigm form, salience of the inherited (archaic) and innovative (analogical) marker, and the percentage of neutral forms in the paradigms. The last two can be considered a proxy for the strength of the analogical pressure (see Versloot & Hoekstra 2016). However, a detailed analysis of the interaction of factors in individual declensional classes, each characterised by distinct phonological and frequency profiles, reveals different rankings of these factors, with some factors gaining momentum in the absence or rather in combination with other features. This implies that the ranking of factors cannot be perceived in absolute terms. A closer examination of the mentioned factors and their interactions will allow us to gain a better understanding of the processing mechanisms underlying analogical changes.

References


Futurate presents in Old English: Patterns of distribution and their conditioning

Elzbieta Adamczyk
University of Wuppertal & Adam Mickiewicz University

Keywords: futurate presents, future tense, aspect, Old English

In contrast to other Germanic languages, English does not make extensive use of the present tense to make reference to the future. From a diachronic point of view expressing the future by means of the present tense was the only available future construction in Germanic (e.g. Dahl 2000). This is well evinced in the historical corpus data from the earliest attested stages of English, where aspectual futures served as the prototypical means of expressing future tense, with a full range of futurate meanings (e.g. forpon gif ge lufigap þa þe eow lufigap hwylce lean habbah ge... “If you love those who love you, what reward will you get?”, MtGl(Ru) (5.46)).

With the development of a range of lexically-based future constructions, emerging in the grammaticalization process and involving modal verbs, namely shall and will, the use of futurate presents tended to gradually decline. The emergence and the development of the new future markers has been investigated in several studies (e.g. Wischer 2006, 2008, Ziegeler 2006, Hilpert 2008), however, little attention has been given so far to the conditions determining the dynamics of changes in the futurate presents from a diachronic perspective. The focus of this study is on examining the factors conditioning the use of futurate presents in the Old English period. The following factors may be expected to be relevant for the choice of one or another future marker: morpho-syntactic features, such as person, number, mood and aspect, syntactic features, such as transitivity/intransitivity of the verb, pronominality of the subject, semantic features including Aktionsart, as well as morphological complexity of the verb (simple vs. prefixed). The study addresses the following questions: (1) In what way did the development of periphrastic future markers affect the functional domain of futurate presents? (2) How did the process of gradual decline in the use of futurate presents unfold? (3) Which factors conditioned the changes and the (near-)decline of aspectual futures over time? One of the specific problems investigated in the study is whether the use of futurate presents as attested in the Old English material correlates with a perfective aspectual interpretation, as claimed for present-day English by Calver (1946) and Hilpert (2008).

The data for the analysis come from the Old English Bible translations (late 10th c.) (Healey et al. 2004), where the overt marking of the future tense in Latin will serve as a diagnostic for identifying the use of the present tense for the future contexts. The findings of the study indicate that the distribution of futurate presents and the emerging periphrastic constructions in Old English was determined by a combination of both semantic and formal criteria.

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References
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Wischer, I. 2008. Will and shall as markers of modality and/or futurity in Middle English. Folia Linguistica Historica 29. 125–43.
Wischer, I. 2010. On the use of bēon and wesan in Old English, in H. Sauer, U. Lenker & J. Huber (eds), Selected Papers from the Fifteenth International Conference on English Historical
The semantics of loanwords in Early Modern English

Kathryn Allan
University College London

Keywords: borrowing, semantic change, polysemy, Early Modern English

Although the significant influence of French and Latin on the lexis of English is widely recognised, there is still relatively little research that explores in detail the semantics of loanwords from these languages when they are first borrowed into English and subsequently (though a notable exception is Nevalainen 1999). This paper considers whether it is possible to account for and make generalisations about the meanings that either survive or die out when a lexeme is borrowed into Early Modern English. It is intended to be a pilot for a larger project exploring the relationship between borrowing and polysemy in the Early Modern English period.

Durkin (2009: 4) notes that loanwords with multiple senses in the donor language do not always show the same range of senses in the borrowing language. Often the most usual senses in French or Latin show more restricted use in English, and more minor senses in the donor language become more established. For example, *ardent* is rarely used with the sense ‘physically burning’, although this is a core meaning of its etymons in both French and Latin; in English, its occasional use in this sense is mainly restricted to religious and scientific texts or translations, and it is much more common in English in the sense ‘passionate’. Similarly, *dulce* and its sister form *douce* are attested very infrequently in the meaning ‘sweet-tasting’, a core meaning in the donor languages Latin and French, and surviving examples appear stylistically motivated rather than reflecting established use.

This study focuses on loanwords of Latin origin first attested in the ten-year period 1550 – 1559 as a sample, using data from the revised 3rd edition portion of OED. A search of the alphabetical range m* - r* recovers 180 entries. Many of these, such as *mediamnes* and *metropolical*, are rare and attested fewer than 4 times, and these will be excluded. For more established words, the senses in Latin (and French, where relevant) and English will be compared. Preliminary results confirm Durkin’s observation above and provide evidence of semantic specialization (as per Weinreich 1964: 54), but suggest that a complex range of factors account for the meanings that do or do not survive the transmission process in Early Modern English.

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Dictionaries and corpora


EEBO: Early English Books Online, see http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home


An analysis of hedging in Modern English history scientific texts: a corpus-based approach

Francisco J. Álvarez-Gil
University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria

Keywords: metadiscourse, adverbs, hedges, stance, evidentiality

The research conducted has focused on samples from English scientific texts from 1700 to 1900 in order to evaluate the uses and functions of adverbial metadiscourse devices in history scientific texts from the Modern English period. There exist previous attempts to study metadiscourse features in texts from diverse periods of the English language (cf. Moskowich and Crespo 2014; Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero 2014; Gray, Biber and Hiltunen 2011). Following this tradition, I focus on adverbials as metadiscourse devices in the sense in Hyland (2005).

I will also discuss some related features, such as evidentiality. Whereas for some scholars evidentiality represents a subdomain of epistemic modality, there are others who consider evidentiality as an independent category. In this context, Dendale and Tasmowski (2001) argue that the relation between these two concepts is divided into disjunction, inclusion, and intersection. I follow the disjunctive approach in this paper in line with Cornillie (2009) who argues that the mode of knowing should not be associated with the degree of authors’ commitment towards their texts.

The reason to choose adverbials as the target linguistic devices of this analysis lies on the fact that adverbials stand as one of the grammatical categories that most clearly contribute to the expression of interpersonal meanings (Biber and Finegan 1988). Their use by eighteenth and nineteenth century writers of history texts will be described so as to characterise them in terms of authorial presence, and to check how authors use those devices to negotiate interactional meanings with their potential readers, mostly colleagues.

My interest is to explore the use of these adverbs and the different pragmatic functions they fulfil in the history texts analysed. For this, I have interrogated the subcorpus of History of The Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing, i.e. CHET, which contains extracts of several historical texts written between 1700 and 1900, using its own retrieval tool, i.e. the Coruña Corpus Tool. Data are retrieved electronically by interrogating this corpus for potential adverbials found in a generated wordlist of all the words in CHET, e.g. presumably, and words likely to be found in adverbial phrases, e.g. with certainty and in truth. These adverbials are quantified and grouped according to degrees of assurance and probability. The results show that depending on the context, these modal adverbs can fulfil several pragmatic functions, such as the indication of different degrees of authorial commitment or detachment towards the information presented, persuasion, and politeness, among others. All of these functions have a hedging effect in the sense that they seek to mitigate the propositional content of the utterance.

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**Non-standardization**: How wide-spread features of English became stigmatized

Lieselotte Anderwald  
University of Kiel

In this talk, I will look at the "ugly" side of prescriptivism. While much previous work has concentrated on investigating the (potential) influence of prescriptive sources (especially normative grammars) on actual language change (e.g. Anderwald 2016; Auer and González-Díaz 2005; Yáñez-Bouza 2015); I will turn to the socio-psychological effects that the rise of prescriptivism in the nineteenth century has had (and arguably still has). It has always been taken for granted that with the narrowing of options in the process of standardization (Milroy and Milroy 1999), optional variability "was relegated" to the realm of, or "became", non-standard language (e.g. Stein 1994). However, this process has never been investigated in any detail, based on actual sources of the time. In order to fill this gap, I will look at some of the most widespread non-standard features of English today: multiple negation, the use of adverbs without –ly, the use of you was, and existential there is/there was with plural nominal subjects (Kortmann 2012; Schneider 2012; cf. also the earlier list in Cheshire, Edwards and Whittle 1993). These features have a very different status today, from highly stigmatized (MN) to almost acceptable (plural there's), and I will show how these differences can be traced back to their treatment in the nineteenth century. As my qualitative and quantitative investigation of over 200 grammars books from the nineteenth century shows, these features did not nebulously "become" non-standard, they were actively made non-standard, stigmatized, and their speakers denigrated – a process I will call non-standardization - in acts of gatekeeping the valuable resource of "correct English" over the course of the nineteenth century. In this regard, then, nineteenth-century prescriptivism can be shown to be – unfortunately – living on and having highly negative effects on speakers until today.

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Individual trajectories in constructional change: Special passives in early modern writers

Lynn Anthonissen
University of Antwerp

Keywords: individual grammars, passive, evidentiality, diachronic construction grammar, Early Modern English

This talk presents one of the first empirical attempts at exploring whether constructional change of syntactic constructions is possible within the adult lifespan of individual speakers. It does so by zooming in on diachronic changes in passives of the type *He is said to be a thief*, a construction known as the nominative and infinitive (NCI), which significantly expanded in Early Modern English (Los 2005, 2009, Dreschler 2015). By focusing on individual grammars, we put cognitive mechanisms of change centre stage and contribute to the discussion on the adaptive capacities of adult cognition (cf. Ramscar et al. 2014, Fruehwald 2017).

Until recently, grammatical change has been primarily described at the aggregate level of speech communities. However, grammatical changes ultimately represent recurrent changes across individual language users whose innovative language use reflects adjustments in the mental representation of their linguistic knowledge. As linguistic knowledge has been shown to exhibit significant degrees of idiosyncrasy (Chipere 2003, Dąbrowska 2012, Schmid & Mantlik 2015, Günther 2016), radically usage-based approaches to change should “constantly ask whether there is a solid internal basis for externally apparent semasiological developments” (Noël 2016: 48). So far, diachronic construction grammar has insufficiently operationalized the individual-cognitive dimension of change. The field of historical sociolinguistics arguably has a longer tradition of dealing with interspeaker variation and the role of individual speakers in ongoing change (e.g. Bergs 2005; Nevalainen et al. 2011), yet intragenerational changes relating to syntactic constructions remain largely unexplored (notable exceptions include Raumolin-Brunberg 2009, Petré and Van de Velde 2014).

Against this background, the present talk examines diachronic changes in the NCI’s constructional semantics and contrasts writers’ individual trajectories in the use of the NCI. Two main usage types are discerned: the evidential NCI (*He is said to be a sinner*) and the modalized NCI (*He may be said to be a sinner*) (cf. Noël 2008). Drawing on data from the longitudinal EMMA corpus (Petré et al. 2017), we observe linear shifts in the proportions of these usage types during the lifetimes of first-generation EMMA authors (ca. 4,000 instances of the NCI). The incremental entrenchment of the evidential NCI in the first generation paves the way for its growing acceptability with active dynamic verbs in younger generations (e.g. *the Basilisk is said to kill with her sight*, 1686). On communal level, the general increase in evidential uses is argued to reflect the construction’s entrenchment as a reportative marker.

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Exaptation, reanalysis, and analogy in Early Middle English

Raffaela Baechler
The University of Edinburgh

Keywords: inflection, exaptation, analogy, Early Middle English

Introduction: In Middle English (ME) gender is lost and nouns gradually lose their inflectional case marking due to changes in phonology and syntax (Allen 2006, McColl Millar 2000). However, it is shown in this paper that the changes in the paradigms of Early ME dialects are not only driven by phonological or syntactic changes, but also by purely morphological changes such as exaptation, reanalysis, and analogy. Moreover, inflection is not simply lost but instead a reorganisation of the paradigms is observed.

Method: The changes in Early ME are investigated using *Vices and Virtues* (first quarter of C13, Essex) and the *Poema Morale*: five manuscripts from the South-West Midlands (between 1200 and 1300) and one from Kent (the first quarter of C13). Direct transcriptions of each of these manuscripts are included in LAEME (A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English). Due to some tagging issues in LAEME a new analysis of each noun and definite article must be done by taking the following steps:

1. Extract each noun and definite article from the manuscripts.
2. Exclude the nouns occurring in a rhyming position (rhyme may influence the presence/absence of a suffix as well as the form of the suffix).
3. Identify the OE gender for each definite article and noun as well as the inflection class (IC) for each noun; group the nouns according to gender and IC.
4. Divide the nouns into two categories: those which end in a vowel in OE and those which end in a consonant in OE.
5. Identify the noun stems and suffixes.
6. Build new paradigms (nouns and definite articles) for each manuscript based on the findings.

Some results: LAEME classifies the nouns based on the following syntactic properties: subject (NOM), direct object (ACC), indirect object (DAT), possessive (GEN), following a preposition (PREPOSITION). For convenience, I refer to these syntactic properties by the usual OE cases. The plural of the definite article is not considered as the different forms cannot be attributed to any particular function. In *Vices and Virtues*, the uninflected *þe* and various inflected forms occur in the NOM, ACC, and GEN singular while the DAT only appears as *þe*. Forms corresponding to the Old English DAT forms, however, are found after prepositions and thus, are exapted. These results are supported by the *Poema Morale* manuscripts. The manuscript from Kent has *þe* and inflected forms in all morphosyntactic contexts except after a preposition where only inflected forms occur. The manuscripts form the South-West Midlands show *þe* and inflected forms after preposition but only *þe* in all the other morphosyntactic contexts. Additionally, in *Vices and Virtues*, the nouns after prepositions are also marked, namely with the suffix -e. Thus, the NP is redundantly marked. The suffix -e can also occur in the plural after preposition. As a consequence, nouns after preposition differ from nouns in the other morphosyntactic contexts. However, this is not a case of exaptation but of analogy as the dative singular is encoded with -e too (in variation with non-marking). It will also be shown that a thorough theoretical grounding, based on Stump (2016), allows one to clearly differentiate, analyse and explain exaptation, reanalysis, and analogy.

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Left-dislocation in Old English: CLD and HTLD

Artur Bartnik
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In the literature left-dislocated structures fall into two major types: Contrastive Left-Dislocation (CLD) and Hanging Topic Left-Dislocation (HTLD) (cf. Aoun and Benmamoun 1998, Boeckx and Grohmann 2005, Cinque 1990, Grohmann 2003, Sturgeon 2008). Each type has its own bunch of defining properties:

A. The resumptive is a weak demonstrative pronoun in CLD; in HTLD the resumptive is typically a personal pronoun.
B. The dislocated phrase must have the same case as the resumptive in CLD; in HTLD case matching is not obligatory.
C. The resumptive demonstrative must occur in the prefield of the clause in CLD; in HTLD the resumptive personal pronoun tends to appear lower in the clause.
D. There is no intonational pause between the LDed element and the rest of the clause in CLD; in HTLD there is a pause between the HT element and the rest of the clause.

Given the above, OE CLD is illustrated in (1) below, whereas (2) is an example of OE HTLD (cf. Taylor et al. 2014):

(1) ac Ḟone deað be he scencte þam frumsceapenum mannum, Ḟone he dranc ærrest him sylfum to bealowe. (coaelive,ÆLS_][Vincent]:86.7845)
(2) Se þe God ne ongít, ne ongít God hine. (cocura,CP:1.29.2.112)

A quantitative analysis of the data (YCOE) indicates that the parameters used for other languages must be modified in Old English. First, the demonstrative/personal pronoun distinction seems to be pragmatic rather than syntactic and is just a tendency not a hard and fast rule (cf. Los and Kemenade 2015). Second, case matching is important, but it should be more inclusive: apart from various examples of case mismatch, we also find gender and even number mismatches, as illustrated in (3) below.

(3) Eorðe. & eal hyre gefyldenys. & eal imbhwyrft. & þa ðincg þe on þam wuniað. ealle hit sindon Godes æhta. & na diofles. (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I_11:269.96.2067)

Third, there is no preference for any type of the resumptive in low position, because both types, i.e. demonstratives and personal pronouns, are equally rare low. Factor D is not verifiable in dead languages.

In short, the properties proposed for other languages to distinguish between CLD and HTLD will not work for Old English without certain modifications.

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Position of attributive adjectives in Old English

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Keywords: Old English, noun phrases, adjective position, early Germanic

Prenominal position is the default position for attributive adjectives in Old English, but there are exceptions: in the YCOE, 4.1% of adjectives occur postnominally (1,821 out of 44,196). We use the YCOE to investigate factors that favoured postnominal placement. Where relevant, we draw comparisons with other early Germanic languages (most prominently Old Icelandic) (Bech and Börjars 2015, Bech et al. 2016).

There is no agreement in the literature as to which factors condition adjective position in Old English. Fischer (2000, 2001, 2006, 2012) suggests that there is a relation between adjective position on the one hand, and definiteness, declension and linear iconicity on the other. Her main point is that postnominal strong adjectives are “functionally predicative”, i.e. they are rhematic and form a separate constituent. Haumann (2010) claims that systematic interpretive contrasts are reflected by pre- vs postnominal adjectives, such as ‘attribution vs predication’, ‘individual-level vs stage-level’, ‘given vs new’, and ‘restrictive vs non-restrictive’, and that these contrasts are independent of adjectival inflection.

We look at a range of factors including and going beyond those listed above. A first striking feature of our data is that a large part of the postnominal tokens represent the same adjective types, e.g. self, almighty in the phrase God almihti, full in anne cuculere fulne ‘a spoon full’, and adjectives ending in -wards. This type of recurring (lexicalised) pattern makes up 81.6% (1,186) of all postnominal examples. Compared to other early Germanic languages, English has the lowest percentage of postnominal adjectives, but the highest percentage of such lexicalised, and hence not fully productive, tokens.

When looking at the remaining 196 examples, semantic and information-structural factors seem to play a less systematic role, alongside other factors including weight. We find 20.6% of adjective phrases in post- rather than prenominal position as opposed to only 3.4% of plain adjectives. We also find distribution of weight between the two positions, as 49 of the 196 examples contain ‘flanked’ adjectives displaying the pattern A-N-A, making up 14.4% of all examples with two adjectives. Weight is a factor found to play a role in all Germanic languages.

We can conclude that postnominal adjectives are less productive in Old English than in other Germanic languages, and that a complex set of factors, including weight, are responsible for variation in placement without any of them being categorical.

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Competition of meanings and functions of the present perfect in the history of English

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Keywords: present perfect, preterite, semantics, history of English, variation of verb forms

The grammaticalization path of the present perfect (PP) is viewed as evolving from resultatives, through the anterior to simple past (SP) or perfective [Bybee 68-69, 104-105]. Unlike French or German, English is thought not to have reached that stage of grammaticalization where the PP assumes the functions of the SP. Nevertheless, it has been pointed out that in English and some of its varieties within texts of certain genres the PP is frequently found in past time narrative passages and with past time adverbs, the environment, which the PP in English strongly defies [Ritz 2010, Walker 2011, Elsness 2009, Schwenter 1994]. Even though such cases have been elicited and analyzed, there is no concord with respect to the mechanism, possible reasons of the process and semantics of the PP used in such context.

Our study analyzes functions of the PP in past time contexts from a diachronic perspective based on the sample retrieved from the following corpora: the York-Toronto-Helsinki parsed corpus of Old English prose, the Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of Middle English, the Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of early Modern English and the parsed corpus of Early English Correspondence. The scope of the investigation is limited to usage of the PP with temporal adverbs of the definite past time. The data is analysed from the perspective of field approach of Functional Grammar. It is argued that the resultative meaning of the PP constitutes the core functional-semantic field which remains intact throughout the history of English. Possible reasons are given to substantiate the point. Old English examples are restricted to what is called ‘commutation’ or ‘parallelism’ [Denison 1993: 352] which, as we show, yields ambiguous semantic interpretation due to immaturity of the PP. Further we explore the peripheral functional-semantic fields where starting from the Middle English period the PP comes to compete with the SP and past perfect. The specific pragmatic nature of the peripheral fields triggers the preterital use of the PP. Competition of the PP with the past perfect in the same contexts allows us to assume that the PP loses its current relevance through the shift of the reference point. Thus, semantic instability of the peripheral fields of the PP caused by pragmatics of certain contexts and coupled with functional richness of the preterit contributed to a high level of functional flexibility of the PP.

References

Modals on the move - On the inclusion of periphrastic *do* in the paradigm of the modal auxiliaries

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Keywords: Diachronic construction grammar, computational linguistics, modality, distributional semantics, Early Modern English

Construction Grammar conceptualizes constructions as nodes in a hierarchical network, the organizing principles being that 1) lower-level constructions display a lower level of schematicity than their parents, and 2) multiple inheritance links govern the flow of features from higher-level nodes to their children (Goldberg 1995: 72). While the role of such *vertical* inheritance links has received much attention in the past, a growing body of research within Diachronic Construction Grammar is currently devoted to the extent to which *horizontal* relations enable language change (e.g. Van de Velde 2014, Lorenz 2017, Norde 2017). If constructions are similar on a superficial level, speakers might confuse them and link them up in their mental grammars. We argue that the dynamics between such sister constructions are influenced by distributional similarity. When a construction enters a context typical of another (set of) construction(s), their increased distributional similarity creates an associative link which will affect their further developments.

An excellent case study to examine the power dynamics between sister constructions is the 17th-century integration of periphrastic *do* into the paradigm of modal auxiliaries. In Present-Day English, the modal auxiliaries show a remarkable distributional similarity with the verb *do* in its use as an operator:

a) *Do/Can/May/Must/Shall/Will you like eat pancakes?*

b) *I do/can/may/must/shall/will not eat pancakes.*

Periphrastic *do* spread to these different syntactic environments at different times (cf. Ellegård 1953, Kroch 1989). While some influence between *do* and the modals has long been recognized, ‘the nature of the connection is less clear’ (Warner 1993: 198). We model the various changes as an interconnected accumulation of associations between *do*-support and modal auxiliaries in similar contexts. The underlying assumption is that *do*-support in questions is associated with different (uses of) modals than *do*-support in negative statements, etc. To examine the role of these multiple connections between constructions in language change, we use methods based on Artificial Neural Networks (ANNs) which allow to holistically chart (changing) connections between all constructions.

Preliminary results indicate that the association between *do* and the modals was initiated in their past tense uses, spreading to present tense contexts only later on. In addition, the highest initial association scores are attested between periphrastic *do* and *will*, arguably the most factual among the modals. This suggests that *do* became associated with each one of the modals consecutively, rather than with all of them in one go.

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Does address reflect gender relations? The English address system over the twentieth century

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Keywords: address system, gender, 20th century, social change

British society has seen an increase in gender equality since 1890, according to different parameters including legal and political rights, life expectancy, and access to education and jobs (Thompson 1990; Mahood 1995; Holloway 2005; Davis 2014). Even though these parameters have been firmly established as indicators of gender equality, researchers still struggle to find accurate measures for comparative or historical investigations, as well as measures that more reliably reflect the attitudinal dimension of gender equality (Carmichael et al. 2014: 219). This paper wants to suggest a new, linguistic parameter, viz. that of address terms. Since address terms, as a core resource for realizing social deixis, code aspects of the speaker-hearer relationship, we hypothesize that shifting gender relations must be reflected in changes in the address system.

The connection between address use and gender has been considered before in different varieties of English and different social settings (e.g. Brown & Ford 1961; Ervin-Tripp 1972; Kramer 1975; Murray 2002; Walker 2007; Rendle-Short 2009). However, a systematic diachronic case study of address use depending on gender is lacking.

This paper investigates the address system in twenty-four British English plays, equally distributed over three periods: 1890-1915, 1950-1965 and 2000-2015. For each conversational turn, address terms are identified, as well as the relation between speaker and hearer. The speaker-hearer relation is described in terms of the traditional power and solidarity dimensions, but a gender variable and a contextual variable are included as well (Brown & Gilman 1960; Ervin-Trip 1972; Wales 1983; Culpeper 1996; Murray 2002; Nevala 2004), as in (1). Finally, address terms are categorized in terms of general categories, including titles, surnames, endearments, etc.

(1) I must not forget that I am a wife, Harry. (1899, Pinero)
[address term = given name, speaker = Sidonia, addressee = Harry, power = downward, solidarity = close, context = harmonious, gender speaker = female, gender addressee = male]

Using these parameters, address use is described for four types of speaker-hearer dyads, i.e. turns coded as male-male, female-female, male-female and female-male. If the changes in the address system reflect increasing gender equality, we can expect that, across the four types of speaker-hearer dyads, the use of nominal address terms becomes more similar over time. Such a tendency can confirm that the address system offers an independent view on changing social relations.

References


“I am a poor girl that has met with A Misfortune” and “We unfortunet suffers bow down to you”: similarities and differences in 18th & 19th century English petitions

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Keywords: Late Modern English, formal and informal petitions, lower social class, letter-writing manuals, politeness

In 18th and 19th century England communication by means of letters became common practice in most contexts and between different social classes. This resulted in an extensive publication of letter-writing manuals at the time. Recently, studies on letter writing in the Late Modern English period have proliferated (Auer & Watts, 2015; Blant, 2006; Dossena, M. & Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2008; Dossena, M. & del Lungo, 2012, Nevalainen & Tanskanen, 2007; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2014). However, letters written by those whose literacy skills were often poor, do not seem to have received the same attention. These letters can throw light onto how people communicated and expressed their politeness in earlier periods of the language.

The present paper compares two corpora of 50 letters each written by men and women of lower social classes. The first corpus contains petitions written by men prisoners, most of whom were waiting to be transported to Australia, whereas the second group is a collection of petitions written by single mothers in search of a home for their newly born babies. The petitions vary both in style and degree of formality within each of the groups, which means that different subgroups had to be established before the analysis was carried out, in order to compare parallel types.

Different research questions arise in this study. First, whether despite the many similarities in the context, social background and literacy skills of the people belonging to both groups, the petitions show more or less similarities or differences. Secondly, whether the similarities and differences are more present in the grammatical or the pragmatic features found, mainly in the politeness strategies used (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Finally, the extent to which the letter-writing manuals influenced the writers of these texts and contributed to the similarities found in the petitions.

The conclusions will show that the petitions that are more formal present more similarities in both groups because they also follow the prescriptive rules of the manuals. However, in the more informal petitions there are more differences. In general the differences are more significant in the use of politeness strategies, which means that from a pragmatic point of view the two groups are slightly different, whereas grammatically speaking there are more similarities.

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The development of formerly impersonal verbs of DESIRE in Early Modern English: A case study of thirst

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Keywords: Early Modern English, impersonal construction, Early English Books Online (EEBO), verbs of DESIRE, prepositional verbs

This paper is concerned with the development of formerly impersonal verbs of DESIRE, an example of which is given in (1):

(1) Hine þyrste hwylum [and] hwilum
he-ACC thirsted-3SG sometimes and sometimes
hingrode hungered-3SG
‘Sometimes he felt thirst and at other times hunger’
[WHom 6 [0063 (168)]; in Möhlig-Falke 2012: 122; emphasis mine]

The impersonal construction in (1) was frequent in Old and Middle English. Morphosyntactically, it contains a finite verb inflected for the third person singular, but lacks a subject marked for the nominative case controlling verbal agreement. The impersonal construction began to decrease in frequency between 1400 and 1500 (van der Gaaf 1904: 142; Allen 1995: 267-283, 441-442). Although traditional accounts generally link this decline to the deep morphosyntactic transformations that took place during Middle English (e.g., Jespersen 1961[1927], Allen 1995), recent investigations tend to place the focus on the interaction between impersonal verbs and constructional meaning (e.g., Trousdale 2008; Möhlig-Falke 2012; Miura 2015).

Miura (2015) performs a study in lexical semantics centred on Middle English verbs of EMOTION, excluding verbs of DESIRE from her investigation. In this light, the present paper approaches the study of thirst (< OE þyrstan) as representative of the latter class of verbs, identified in Levin (1993: 244). Thirst is an impersonal verb in origin (OED s.v. thirst, v. †1.) and, as it shifted to the personal construction, it also developed as an EXPERIENCER-subject verb. This syntactic development is the main focus of my research, which has the following aims: (i) to carry out a large corpus-based study of thirst in the Early Modern English period (c.1500 – c.1700), when the impersonal construction is claimed to have lost productivity; (ii) to observe the frequency of each of the complementation patterns documented with this verb; (ii) to provide a diachronic account of its syntactic development. The data have been retrieved from EEBOCorp 1.0 (525 million words), and the examples have been manually analysed.

Preliminary results show that patterns with a direct object (e.g., EModE ... but more ardently thou thursted our helth & saluacyon) decrease dramatically over time, whereas patterns with prepositional complements (e.g., EModE ... yr any man thyrste for the trueth) gain ground significantly. Thus, it can be observed that, as thirst shifted from impersonal to personal constructions, it also joined the prepositional class, a development that seems to have affected a good many verbs of DESIRE in the history of English (e.g., hope, pray, or wish).

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*OED* = *Oxford English Dictionary*. http://www.oed.com/


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On typological change in word-formation: the evidence of Updated Old English homilies

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The paper proposes to explore several structural tendencies at work in the English word-formation as reflected in the texts of the copies of homilies by Ælfric as well as of some of the anonymous Old English homilies preserved between 1066 and 1220 and catalogued and analysed now, along with other texts, as the so-called Updated Old English. In particular, these copies allow us to follow micro-processes through which 1) the introflectional typological principle as a structural strategy in the word-formation (Sgall 1995) was being given up, and 2) changes in suffixes implemented by the copyists reflected a competition along the typological cline of fusionality.

Proceeding by the method of manual collation of the Old English originals and their copies, the analysis will attempt to show several structural tendencies at work in the demise of the English vocabulary between 1066 and 1220, illustrating the devastating effect exercised by changes in word-formation patterns and their productivity on a vocabulary organized on the etymological (Mathesius 1939-40) or associative principle (Kastovsky 1992). Comparing the evidence provided by electronic The Dictionary of Old English (A-H) and The Middle English Dictionary with textual material of updated copies of Old English homiletic prose, attention will be paid to the interaction between incipient lexical losses (in nouns, adjectives and verbs) and the marginalisation of some of the word-formation patterns employing typological introflation (mainly ablaut and mutations) and of the suffixes that displayed a high degree of fusion with their respective stems (which resulted in greater transparency of the boundaries between morphemes).

The processes described will be shown to testify to small, slow, gradual but perceptible beginnings in the intertwined domains of lexis and word-formation of the well-known large-scale typological reshaping of English, at a time when much of the estimated 65-85% loss of Old English lexis (Minkova - Stockwell 2006:472) was taking place. Though this approach may appear, by objective necessity, methodologically antiquarian, it allows us to open up useful new perspectives on one of the decisive periods in the typological transformation of English over time, when so much happened offstage, and on the subtle quasi-synchronic mechanics of language change generally.

References


Intertextual practices in trial talk: A lesson from William Freeman’s trial (1846)

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Underpinned by the assumptions that a text, even a monologic one, is constructed from snatches of prior texts, thereby engaging and articulating a multiplicity of ideological perspectives (Bakhtin 1981; Fairclough 1992), and that incorporated perspectives are by no means neutral, but pragmatically motivated, this study examines lawyers’ intertextual practices in the nineteenth-century American courtroom. In particular, the study focuses on the practice of speech reporting to convey information that goes beyond simple repetition, or “active voicing” (Galatolo 2007), asking the following questions:

1) Whose voices appear in each side’s speech? 2) What are the frequencies of those voices, 3) What are the pragmatic functions of such voices, and 4) Are there any differences in the intertextual practices of the two sides?

This study draws upon the official transcript of William Freeman’s murder trial (1846), and focuses on the closing event portion—a final persuasive monolog in which each side combines all the fragmented pieces developed in witness testimony into a single unified discourse. The importance of this case is that it was the first case of insanity plea in American judicial history, with insanity being a very controversial issue at the time. The findings reveal how each side manipulates reported voices for different pragmatic purposes in arguing for or against the insanity plea, including legitimizing, deconstructing, narrativizing, and recontextualizing purposes (Rosulek 2010; Chaemsaithong and Kim in press). This study not only sheds light on the heteroglossic nature of early trial talk but also critically discusses lawyers’ intertextual strategies in the early American courtroom.

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Information Structural Properties of Constructions Derived by Double Object Scrambling

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Keywords: Scrambling phenomena; optional movement; semantic/information-structural/prosodic factors.

The current proposal draws on theoretical assumptions borrowed from sources in the area of movement approaches to Scrambling phenomena. The claim that underlies this analysis views Scrambling as an optional displacement operation raising internal Arguments and Adjuncts into left-phrasally-adjoined targets whereby the T-head serves as barrier to movement. While Conservation of C-Command (Wallenberg 2009: 132) prohibits Scrambling from moving constituents across c-commanding functional heads, a variety of factors (semantic/information-structural/prosodic) step in to instigate movement out of the VP domain.

The proposed analysis has its focus on $V_{\text{fin}}$-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)-$V_{\text{non-fin}}$ and $V_{\text{fin}}$-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)-$V_{\text{non-fin}}$ orders in O(Id) E(nglish) and O(Id) Ice(landic) and invokes semantic and information-structural factors in an attempt to assess the extent to which the general linearization principles (weight, definiteness, pronominality) can be affected by some such factors. Data have been collected from: The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (2003) and the corpus of Íslendinga Sögur (1998).

Scrambled orders in canonical $V_{\text{fin}}$-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)-$V_{\text{non-fin}}$ and $V_{\text{fin}}$-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)-$V_{\text{non-fin}}$ constructions are straightforwardly accounted for. More pertinent to the analysis prove to be non-canonical examples, cf:

OE Nyle se Waldend ängum ánun ealle gesyllan gæstes snyttru. (Cri 683)
‘The Almighty Ruler will not give to anyone alone all wisdom of the spirit.’

OE Nu willic þeah be suman déale scortlice hit eow sum aseçgan. (VercB 50)
‘Now I will though in part and in short tell you some of it.’

Olce Nú skal veita svör þínu máli, að eg vil öllum ýður gríð gefa skipverjum. (Laxdæla 1564)
‘Now I shall give answers to your request that I will give mercy to all of you, shipmen.’

Olce Vil eg það ráð þér gefa sem hverjum öðrum að hann leiti sér þess ráðuneytis... (Fljót 723)
‘I will give that counsel to you as to anyone else that he should seek for himself this solution...’

Among the conclusions are the following:
1. Scrambling in OE and Olce targets XPs but there are cases when non-constituents are affected by Scrambling.
2. OE and Olce Scrambling mediates the way discourse roles correlate with constituent order either by invoking old, specific, topical, defocalized readings (unmarked interpretation) or by evoking non-presupposed, contrastive, focused, accentuated readings (marked interpretation).
3. A powerful trigger of Scrambling can be a possible inconsistency between the placement of the default sentence focus and the position of the focus expression, viz. Scrambling applies either to make accent by default obtainable or to make explicit that accent by default is undesirable.

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Language Change in Prescriptivist Discourse

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The relationship between language change and prescriptivist practice has been the subject of much recent interest, as several scholars have published book-length studies on the influence of prescriptivism on changes in English (Anderwald 2016, Yanez-Bouza 2015, Curzan 2014). This presentation looks at the issue from the other direction: what has been the influence of language change on prescriptivist discourse? This paper will examine the prescriptivist discourse over time found in usage handbooks and in popular discourse, from the perspective of both apologists (such as Garner 2016, Halpern 2001, Wallace 2001) and linguists (such as Pinker 1995, Aitchison 2001, Wardhaugh 1999). While prescriptivist discourse is more complex than our characterizations usually imply, this presentation will nevertheless note several strong tendencies that have emerged: language change is often seen as a nuisance; attempts to include language change in prescriptive discourse have been inadequate; and a better understanding of language change and its connection with language variation would lead to clearer discourse about prescriptive rules.

From the start, language change was a major impetus for prescriptivist practice, as Swift proposed a language academy and Johnson a dictionary to keep language from changing. Yet over the years, language change has largely become an embarrassment to prescriptivist discourse, for several reasons, such as the tendency for languages to change, regardless of prescriptivist efforts. Because of continuing challenges based on language change, the current practice of prescriptivism has engaged in more discussion of change. In 2009 Bryan Garner even added a “Language Change Index” to his popular usage handbook. Unfortunately, the discourse more often than not betrays an inadequate understanding of language change that leads to unfortunate confusions. Prescribers, for example, often efface the variation inherent in language change, just as they efface it in their discussions of correctness, so that change is characterized more as $A \rightarrow B$ rather than $A \rightarrow A/B \rightarrow B$. The prescribers are not the only ones to blame, however; challenges based on language change have also been muddled at times, especially those made in popular discourse, as when all prescriptivist advice is dismissed, since language changes anyway. I hope that this paper will contribute to this conference on English historical linguistics by showing how ideas presented and generated in conferences like this are received and applied.

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Degree of grammaticalisation of *behind, beneath, between* and *betwixt* in Middle English

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**Keywords:** grammaticalisation, adverb, preposition, Middle English prose

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the degree of grammaticalisation of four Middle English compound adverbs with the prefix *be-*. The analysed lexemes share structural, functional, etymological, semantic and frequency characteristics and include *bihînde(n), binêthe(n)*, *bitwêne* and *bitwix(en)*.

The grammaticalisation framework applied in the study relies on Hopper and Traugott (2003: xv) viewing grammaticalisation as “the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions”. Hence, the degree of grammaticalisation of ME *bihînde(n), binêthe(n), bitwêne* and *bitwix(en)* will be tested on the basis of the ratio of their use with a respective function. The decrease in the adverbial use for the benefit of the prepositional use of the lexemes will be a sign of a higher degree of grammaticalisation.

The special context examined here is intended to be the most natural, or neutral, i.e., closest to spoken Middle English. Thus, the selection of special prose texts will guarantee the exclusion of occurrences potentially motivated by such poetic devices as rhyme, rhythm or alliteration. “Prose, on an average, employed a language less stylised than verse and was, thus, relatively close to the language really used by people.” (Markus 2010b) The analysed material relies on Markus’s (2010a) *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose (IC)*, an extensive collection of complete texts. Our intention is to analyse the behaviour of *bihînde(n)*, *binêthe(n)*, *bitwêne* and *bitwix(en)* only in the texts with the most reliably identified localisation and dates. This will guarantee the highest reliability of the insight into the degree of grammaticalisation also viewed from the perspective of dialects and individual texts. The information concerning the provenance and dating of manuscripts has been derived from *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME)* and *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (eLALME)*. Thus, 56 out of 129 Middle English prose texts of about 2.5 million words have been selected. Other employed databases include the *Oxford English Dictionary online (OED)*, the *Middle English Dictionary online (MED)*, the *Dictionary of Old English (A-H online) (DOE)* and the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC)*.

The analysis shows that while *bihînde(n)* and *binêthe(n)* are still frequently used as adverbs in the whole Middle English period, *bitwêne* and *bitwix(en)* are predominantly used as prepositions already in Early Middle English. This clearly demonstrates that the degree of grammaticalisation of the latter two ME words was much higher than that of *bihînde(n)* and *binêthe(n)*.

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**Corpora**


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A Revised History for PDE *they, their, them*: the Middle English Midlands data

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**Keywords:** Middle English, demonstratives, personal pronouns, *they*

The conviction that PDE *they, their, them* are not descended from Old English, but are Scandinavian in origin, has been widely held in the literature since Kluge (1899: 940). It is a view propagated, not only by textbook descriptions of the history of English, but also by recent in-depth studies (Howe 1996; Morse-Gagné 2003).

The present study builds on previous work that opened the dossier on a possible native derivation for PDE *they, their, them*. Based on an analysis of the early northern evidence, I demonstrated morphosyntactic and phonological continuity between Old Northumbrian (ONbr) and Northern Middle English (NME), rather than the break in systems traditionally posited for the history of the third-person plural personal pronoun in English. I argued that 1) pronominal usage in the Lindisfarne gloss provides evidence of a cross-paradigmatic merger in function of the ONbr plural demonstratives þā, þāra, þām with the ONbr personal pronouns, which eventually led to the personal pronouns in h- being replaced by native þ- forms in the North, and 2) the differing vocalisms of the þ-forms in the North were the result of the fronting and raising of OE ǣ in NME and reflect the phonetic variation that characterises change in progress. Given the phonological similarity of the Scandinavian cognate þ-forms, a mixed origin NME personal pronoun paradigm in which Scandinavian variants coexisted alongside native þ-pronouns cannot be ruled out, but I show that NME personal pronoun usage can be accounted for from a native perspective without recourse to external influence.

The northern focus of the previous paper meant that questions pertinent to the development of personal pronoun usage in the Midlands during the Middle English period, such as the slow replacement of the inherited oblique h-pronouns in the East Midlands and a contrastive analysis of þ-forms in Northern and Midlands Middle English, compared to ONbr and Mercian, remained outside the paper's scope. Based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the available Mercian and ME Midlands data, the present study addresses this lacuna by exploring to what extent morphosyntactic and phonological continuity can be argued for third-person plural personal pronoun in the Midlands.

References
A diachronic account of the use of fronting and clefting in Cornish English

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**Keywords**: Cornish English, information structure, clefting, fronting, celtic substratum influence

This study attempts to give an account of the interaction between syntax, semantics and pragmatics in the different word order patterns exhibited by Anglo-Cornish, in comparison with Irish English and Welsh English, varieties of English influenced to a greater or lesser extent by Celtic languages. Although English has an unmarked surface word order SVO, it very commonly displays word orders other than the canonical one to assign salience or prominence to some constituent of the sentence. However, unlike Standard English, which makes a wider use of prosodic devices than structural ones, Southern English varieties show a clear predilection for the use of word order shifts or special syntactic devices, such as fronting or clefts, instead of prosodic means.

More specifically, this paper considers the derivation of each of these constructions, which is believed to be attributed to Celtic substratum influence (Filppula 1997 & 1999), and seeks to find out both the similarities and differences between these two types of constructions from the point of view of the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin, 1993, 2005; Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997) with the aim of explaining their structure as well as finding where the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features converge.

To this aim, the research will be based on an analysis of a corpus consisting of a great number of stories written in Cornish dialect by different authors in different periods of time. Accordingly, this study is, first, comparative in the sense that it aims to capture patterns of differentiation between different Cornish English dialects, on the one hand, and between Cornish English and other Celtic English varieties, on the other. Second, it is both synchronic and diachronic, since it sets out to describe some of the most distinctive features of Cornish English grammar and explain them on the basis of their historical, contact-linguistic or other background.

In conclusion, this paper shows the remarkable role that the interplay between several syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features plays in the formation of these grammatical constructions, which leads us to verify the close relationship that exists not only between the two types of construction but also between them and relative clauses. Finally, the results obtained in this paper will enable us to tackle the long-standing issue of whether these constructions share the same origin or not.

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“You Are Some Foreigner – You Are Not Even From This Country”: Comparative Perspectives on Historical and Contemporary Diasporas in an Irish Context

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Keywords: Globalization, identity, socialization, superdiversity, transculturalism

This paper is a comparative analysis of two corpora, one of which is diachronic and the other synchronic. Each of them can be mined for exploring topical issues connected with the sociolinguistics of mobility like identity, ideology, inequality, socialization and transculturalism (Blommaert 2010; Canagarajah 2017; Zhu & Li 2016). The historical database dates from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is a corpus of Irish emigrants’ personal correspondence capturing their transcultural experiences as conceptualized in their letters from Argentina and North America (USA and Canada). The contemporary corpus comprises sociolinguistic interviews conducted between 2014 and 2016 with indigenous and immigrant youngsters that include personal narratives of experience exploring the linguistic and sociological consequences of superdiversity (Vertovec 2014) in Northern Ireland.

In particular, the study described is a pragmatic investigation of the emotional load of identity nouns such as ‘country’, ‘community’, ‘foreign’, ‘family’ and ‘home’ in order to compare and contrast the experiences of the historical Irish diaspora with those of new migrants to Ireland in the twenty-first century.

Striving to shed light on the emotional repercussions of transculturalism, the present investigation addresses two main research questions. Firstly, what do personal historical correspondence and contemporary narratives of experience reveal about the impact of migration as a socialization process? Secondly, to what extent do such emotional experiences influence the way in which identity markers such as ‘Irishness’, ‘Polishness’ or ‘Foreignness’ are constructed?

The historical data for this study comes from three sections of CORIECOR, the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence (McCafferty and Second Author, in preparation). The contemporary material is drawn from 105 sociolinguistic interviews with 90 native and 90 newcomer participants between the ages of 5 and 19). For the purpose of this study, a total of 285 letters dated between 1870 and 1930 and all 90 newcomer interviews were mined for material connected with transcultural experiences as well as identity markers using Wordsmith Corpus Tool 6.0 (Scott 2012). Taking an interdisciplinary approach that combines methodologies from socio-historical linguistics (Chambers 2009), corpus linguistics and pragmatics (Romero-Trillo 2008), our ultimate objective was to comparatively analyze these migrants’ emotional experiences and identity marking strategies through the language used in either their personal correspondence or narratives of experience. Outcomes of the research include the fact that ‘home’ and ‘country’ in both datasets turned out to be the most frequent and highly salient terms in the sphere of diasporic identity construction.

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Accounting for the fronted BATH vowel in Indian English: a global variant diffusing through low frequency words

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It is widely assumed that Indian English, like other varieties from former British colonies, follows Standard Southern British English (SSBE) in its maintenance of the TRAP-BATH distinction, with TRAP fronted and BATH backed, although in IndE BATH is more central than in SSBE (Nihalani et al 2004). Recent studies of the influence of American English on varieties such as Singapore English and Hong Kong English have found fronted vowels in tokens such as gasp, although these are isolated items from reading lists (Tan 2016, Hansen Edwards 2015). In a perception study of TRAP-BATH among Singaporeans, Starr (forthcoming) finds that these speakers are not always able to discern the TRAP-BATH patterns of AmE and SSBE. It is possible that speakers of Asian Englishes associate these forms with “globalized variants” (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003), but are not able to assign them to canonical L1 accents. Cowie and Pande (2017) investigated IndE speakers’ imitations of the BATH vowels of AmE speakers in dialogue. Only certain speakers imitated, and imitation was more common in low frequency words. However, even in IndE baseline productions, word frequency and following nasal or fricative environments had effects on pronunciation, suggesting that the BATH set in IndE might be less predictable than previously thought.

In the current study 50 English-medium educated speakers of IndE in their twenties are recorded producing BATH vowels in a diapix task (Baker and Hazan 2009), in a reading task, and in casual conversation. Participants completed each task in pairs, without input from an interviewer. Preliminary results indicate that front vowels are more common among pre-nasals. This may be categorical for some speakers (i.e. they have a split in this lexical set), but it is not categorical for all speakers.

Front vowels are more common in low frequency words, but this was more evident in the reading tasks than the conversational tasks. Back vowels tend to be used in conversation with high frequency words, which supports the view of BATH back vowels in IndE, but it is striking that in formal or unfamiliar situations speakers are more likely to use a front vowel as their reference point. This variation is in contrast to control groups of SSBE speakers who consistently use back vowels, and AmE speakers who consistently use front vowels. We propose that globalizing or AmE influence proceeds through low frequency words, i.e. low frequency BATH words are the first words to be fronted. We also investigated some “foreign a” items which have been borrowed into English such as pasta (Boberg 2009), which pattern differently in SSBE and AmE. IndE does not seem to follow either the SSBE pattern or the AmE pattern for these items.

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The negotiation of (im)politeness in high treason (HT) and ordinary criminal trials (OCT) in the Early Modern English (EMoDE) courtroom

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

This study investigates the influence of trial participants’ social status and role on the negotiation of (im)politeness in HT (political trials) and OCTs (crimes against a person/property). In particular, it explores the way defendants are referred to by other court participants in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart time. In this period, society (macro-cosmos) was ruled by a strict social code which defined socially accepted behaviour based on honour, reputation, and courtesy (Whigham 1983: 631). However, these rules, which were connected with a certain (im)polite behaviour, will not have applied fully during trials. In these situations the courtroom functioned as a micro-cosmos with its own linguistic rules (e.g. institutionally-required formality, power positions).

The data is drawn from the extended version of the Socio-Pragmatic Corpus (SPC) trial component, which reaches to the beginning of the EModE period, i.e. from 1560-1760 (154,201 words). The SPC trial component includes the two new socio-pragmatically annotated sub-periods of the trial section of A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (CED), additional court records, and the trial section of the SPC 1640-1760 (cf. Archer 2005).

Although the current study examines the data quantitatively and qualitatively, it focuses in particular on qualitative micro-analyses to account for the choice of (im)polite address terms and the motivation behind the uses. The study blends form-to-function with function-to-form mapping to address the research topic. With the main focus on (im)politeness, the present work investigates address terms, honorifics, and second person pronouns (thou/you). By analysing different types of trial proceedings (HT/OCTs) and their historical context, the study is situated in a sociopragmatic framework as well as in the fields of historical pragmatics and discourse analysis. Drawing on the socio-pragmatic annotation, this study explores a possible influence of the participants’ social status (rank, political position), role, and type of trial on their power position in the courtroom and, thus, on the use of (im)polite address terms. Initial findings support this hypothesis and show that e.g. in OCTs, in contrast to high treason trials, defendants from the aristocracy/gentry were addressed with polite address terms (e.g. you, your Lordship) and used their social status, e.g. political influence, to their advantage. Consequently, the current study expands the view regarding EModE trial proceedings in general and the influence of social status in particular on linguistic behaviour.

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Therapeutic Plant Names: Neologising, Borrowing and Compounding in a Late Middle English Medical Corpus

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Keywords: Plant names, Middle English manuscripts, word formation

Sauer (2011: 57) estimates that about 1800 plant names are attested in Middle English, but both Hunt (1989: ix) and Sauer (1996: 136) admit that “a comprehensive linguistic analysis of the entire material has yet to be carried out”, since a lexical study of plant names will shed light on the development of botanical terminology (Norri, 1996: 159). Recently, Norri’s expectations were that the “study of untapped manuscript material would bring to light a vast number of words and phrases unrecorded in any of the historical dictionaries of English” (2016: 9). Despite the indisputable value of some of these works for the compilation of botanical lexicon, we will concentrate chiefly on unpublished material thus far to check whether the analysis of new data confirms the claims by previous scholars and can contribute to complete their view on the topic. In order to undertake such a task a unique corpus of Middle English therapeutic plant names preserved in several fourteenth and fifteenth century unexplored texts has been compiled. The corpus includes herbaries contained in Glasgow University Library manuscripts (Hunter 185 and Hunter 307), as well as recipe collections (Ferguson 147 and Hunter 328) and other related works, such as the Antidotarium Nicholai in Ferguson 147 and the Middle English translation of the Compendium Medicinae by Gilbertus Anglicus in Wellcome 537. This paper discusses the linguistic sources of the nouns as well as the processes of word formation found in the corpus. Our main interest is in compounding. The morphological analysis of the complex plant names is mainly based on Marchard (1969), Bauer (1983 and 2017) and Scalise and Bisetto (2011), but specific classifications for plant names are also used (Norri, 1988 and Sauer, 1995). We provide a survey of the composition types grouping them into the traditionally accepted categories paying special attention to the structure and the constituents present in nominal compounds. This paper constitutes a first approach to the topic, since our research is part of a bigger project that seeks to enlarge the corpus to include an ample selection of material representing each of the main relevant types of medical writing, which will help to complement the results from this study.

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Whence does all of this come from, and whither does all this go?

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Keywords: eModE, lModE, variation and change, discourse organisation, anaphoric/deictic pronouns

Contemporary variation between the pronominal constructions all this and all of this warrants some closer look at the diachronic development of the two. Serving as “discourse deictic demonstratives” (Diessel 1999:100-105) in “‘strict’ anadeictic” (Cornish 2011:757-758) reference to propositions within the preceding discourse, the two appear functionally equivalent, yet display a different head-modifier order: all this consists of a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative determiner in a fused head construction as NP-head, predetermined by the universal quantifier, while all of this is a partitive construction comprising a universal pronoun serving as NP-head, postmodified by a prepositional phrase containing a pronominal NP (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002:374-378).

A first aim is to establish for how long this variation has been going on and how it developed over time, not least to find out whether one variant derives from the other. Second, do/did the two occupy different functional/stylistic niches and did these change over time? Finally, do the frequency distributions in present and past use of all this and all of this relate to other instances of variation and change and/or conform to large-scale trends such as developments towards or away from pre- or postmodification?

One such instance is the well-known dynamic variation between the Saxon genitive and the of-possessive throughout lME and eModE (cf. e.g. Rosenbach 2002:177-264). It is potentially relevant here as it too involves a premodified and a postmodified construction, likewise with the former being shorter and the latter containing a PP headed by of. These could hence serve as ‘supporting constructions’ (cf. De Smet & Fischer 2017) for all (of) this.

Quantitative and qualitative corpus analyses ascertain which of the factors known to influence variation apply in this case and in which relative strength. Comparisons within and across several diachronic eModE and lModE corpora (e.g. EEBO, COHA, Hansard, TIME) elucidate how varieties, registers and periods differ in the factors underlying the choice between all this and all of this.

EEBO data indicates that the partitive of-construction occurs several decades later and only sporadically – merely two dozen instances throughout 1470-1690 compared to several thousand hits for all this. Current British (BYU-BNC) and American (COCA) English both prefer the of-less version, with the preference being much stronger in BE (6.3:1) than in AE (1.4:1). This suggests that the partitive construction gained some popularity only in lModE, and rather more in America than in Britain.

References
Locative inversion vs late subjects: a similar information-structural function?

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Keywords: Middle English, Early Modern English, locative inversion, late subjects, information structure

Locative inversion in Present-day English (PDE) – illustrated in (1) – is a non-canonical word order with a specific information-structural function: presenting new information to the discourse (Bolinger 1977, Bresnan 1994) or ensuring that old(er) information occurs before new(er) information (Birner & Ward 1998).

(1) Among the guests was sitting my friend Rose. (Bresnan 1994: 75)

Locative inversion becomes a recognizable pattern in Early Modern English (EmodE), when the verb-second type of inversion is lost and remaining instances of inversion have the properties of PDE locative inversion: locative PPs in initial position and unaccusative/passive verbs (Dreschler 2015). Yet even before this period, inversion of subject and the full verb phrase was already a separately identifiable pattern, the ‘late subjects’ (Warner 2007), illustrated in (2).

(2) In here hous was nevere i-herde crye noþe noyse
in their house was never heard cry nor noise
‘In their house (neither) cry nor noise was ever heard’ (Trevisa Polychronicon 331.6; Warner 2007: 85)

Warner’s data for Middle English (ME) suggest that late subjects, like subjects in PDE locative inversion, are new – they are longer and often indefinite – but he does not analyse their information status as such. At the same time, while locative inversion clearly stands out as a non-canonical pattern in PDE, its status within a system that still allows more types of inversion is likely to be different.

Using data from the PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000) and PPCEME (Kroch, Santorini & Delfs 2004), I will present two corpus studies of late subjects, focusing on unambiguous cases where the subject either follows both the finite and non-finite verb or follows other VP-internal material. The first study will be based on texts from 1350–1420, when V2 was still a common pattern, while the second will focus on the period 1640–1720, when only some remnant inversion patterns are still present. By analysing the information status of both the clause-initial elements and the subjects, I aim to answer the following two questions: (i) do the late subjects have an information-structural function comparable to PDE locative inversion? (ii) are there differences between the two periods in both the grammatical and information-structural properties? The results will shed light on the function of this word order pattern in earlier English as well as its status within the grammatical system in two different stages of the language.

References


New light on early Middle English borrowing from Anglo-Norman: investigating kinship terms in *grand-*

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Keywords: lexical borrowing, Middle English, Anglo-Norman, kinship terminology

Middle English change in kinship terminology has attracted considerable scholarly attention; in particular, the replacement of four distinct terms for paternal and maternal uncles and aunts by the two terms *uncle* and *aunt* has been linked to change in the conceptualization of family relationships (see e.g. Anderson (1963) and Goody (1983), Fischer (2002)). However, the introduction of new terms for grandparents, formed either from Romance elements (*grandsire*, *grandame*) or hybrids (*grandfather*, *grandmother*), has attracted much less attention. While it is true that these forms show only onomasiological change at a point in the system where the structure remains the same, nevertheless the introduction of *grand-* to English kinship terminology presents some puzzling aspects:

- *grandame* first appears in English in early c13th, *grandsire* c1300, *grandfather* and *grandmother* both early c15th.
- The apparent donor forms/models, French *grandsire*, *grandame*, *grand père*, *grand mère*, are patchily attested in continental French until c15th, in the case of *grandame* nearly two centuries later than the English word. (These are new formations in medieval French, and I will suggest that they may be based on forms in continental Germanic languages, rather than vice versa as often assumed.)
- None of these forms are attested in the presumed donor Anglo-Norman, which instead shows the older terms *ael* and *aele* (continental *aieul* and *aieule*, based ultimately on Latin *avus*), in literary texts as well as in legal formulations such as *bref d’ael*, writ of *ael*.
- As simplex, *grand* does not appear in English until late c14th, and is poorly attested in Middle English.

I will argue that close examination of this data is hugely revealing of gaps in our knowledge of early Middle English contact with Anglo-Norman, where a more limited evidential base provides a much less detailed picture than is available for c14th and c15th (compare Durkin 2014). Trotter (2003) investigates evidence of confident trilingualism as reflected by the English vocabulary of *Ancrene Wisse*; it is notable that the earliest evidence for *grandame* comes from a text of the closely associated Katherine Group, *Seinte Marherete*. In this instance we see borrowing of key kinship terminology from French; additionally, (unlike in the case of *uncle* or *aunt*) careful consideration of Anglo-Norman texts and documents suggests a borrowing from a register not reflected by surviving literary or legal texts.

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Two phases of *do* auxiliaries in Early Modern English: evidence from priming data

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Since Ellegård (1953), the development of *do*-support in English has been researched extensively. Most analyses treat it as an integral development, part of a larger schema of grammatical changes. (Two prominent examples are Kroch 1989, linking *do*-support to the decline of verb raising past adverbs, and Biberauer and Roberts 2008, positing a final stage of a “cascade” which begins ca. 1100). Comparatively little attention is paid to whether or how auxiliary *do* in 1500 differed in its grammatical particulars from *do* in 1700 or indeed today. In this paper, we will present one piece of evidence that there are two distinct phases of the emergence of *do* in English. Specifically, we will look at *do*-support in light of priming data.

The term “priming” refers to the broad tendency to repeat recently encountered stimuli. “Structural priming”, repetition of a single syntactic variant, occurs in both written and spoken corpora (Bock 1986, Gries 2005, Szmrecsanyi 2006). According to Branigan et al., “if the processing of a stimulus affects the processing of another stimulus, then the two stimuli must be related [...] if the relationship between the two stimuli is syntactic, we can use this relationship as a way of understanding what syntactic information is represented” (1995:490).

In present-day English (PDE), *do*-support is licensed (and mandatory) in NICE contexts (negation, auxiliary inversion, “coda” = ellipsis, and emphasis). In Early Modern English, not-NICE affirmative declaratives could have auxiliary *do*, a configuration which PDE disallows. Based on the logic above, if affirmative declarative *do* and NICE *do* prime each other, we can infer that they share an underlying syntax. Conversely, if there is no priming, these two *do* contexts are derived differently.

In fact, we find priming from NICE *do* to affirmative declarative *do* only in the earliest time period of the data (1500-1575; PCEEC and PPCEME). In later periods, the effect disappears. This suggests that in the early sixteenth century, auxiliary *do* is generated freely in all contexts. Only late in the sixteenth century is a differentiation made between affirmative declarative *do* (which becomes extinct) and auxiliary *do* in NICE contexts (which is generalized, and can be properly called *do*-support).

The results of this study have two-fold importance. Firstly, they enrich the literature on *do*-support in English, offering further details about the fine-grained development of this construction in PDE. They also demonstrate how priming analysis can be a powerful tool for historical linguistics, supplementing other methods for probing the formal syntax of historical language varieties.

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Let me Intreat your Excellence that I May Know... – The Use of May and Can in Directive Speech Acts in Older Scots and Early Modern English Correspondence

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Keywords: can, may, modal auxiliaries, directive speech acts, Older Scots

In both Early Modern English and Older Scots, the modal auxiliaries can and may differ considerably in use. Can is almost exclusively employed to denote ability and dynamic possibility, mainly referring to present time. May, by contrast, expresses dynamic, deontic and epistemic possibility (Rissanen 1999: 237–238, Facchinetti 2002: 54–55, DOST, s.v.v. may v.1 and can v.). Moreover, its use in letter-writing shows that may frequently refers to future time and features in interpersonal contexts, e.g. occurring with second-person subjects, irrespective of the modal meaning it denotes. Hence, it is often found in directive speech acts such as ye may advertis the kyng of France, quhilk is verray necesser to be done.

For Early Modern English, both the semantic development of can and may and their pragmatic force in epistolary prose have been investigated (Dury 2002, Facchinetti 2002, Kytö 1991 and Fitzmaurice 2000). Older Scots is still under-researched in this respect, and to date, no comprehensive analysis comparing the semantic-pragmatic uses of can and may in Older Scots and Early Modern English is available. This paper seeks to fill this gap by comparatively analysing the use of the two modals in Older Scots and Early Modern English official letters (1500–1700) drawn from HCOS, ScotsCorr, HC and CEECS. A particular focus is placed on the exploration of the motivations underlying their use in directive speech acts.

The examination of the corpus material reveals that in the sixteenth century, may frequently occurs in directive speech acts in both Scots and English correspondence. The modal auxiliary expresses e.g. the goal of a request as in beseking zoure grace that wee may be advertsist of zoure plessour. By employing may in a passive construction, avoiding the more direct you, the letter-writer presents a non-imposing request, which leaves the possibility open for the king not to comply. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, the use of may in directive speech acts declines in the English letters, whereas it remains strong in Scots. In this period, can, which gradually expands it functional range, is occasionally found in directive speech acts, e.g. in intensifying constructions such as I hoope yowr Lordship will doe all yow can to see me fred thereof, lending force to the indirect request. It will be investigated to what extent can takes over pragmatic functions of may in the two varieties studied.

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How does causal connection originate? Evidence from translation correspondences in the *Old English Boethius* and the *Consolation of Philosophy*

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**Keywords:** Old English Boethius, Consolation of Philosophy, causal connection, translation studies

Causal connection in European languages, particularly in English, has been studied from contrastive, typological, and diachronic perspectives. Observations on Cause – Result relationship most important for the present study are found in e.g. Kortmann 1997, Lenker 2010, Couper-Kuhlen & Kortmann 2000. This paper focuses on just one Old English causal connector, *forþæm/forþy*, and its use in a single text, namely the Alfredian translation of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*. The OE Boethius contains ca. 300 instances of *forþæm/forþy* in various spelling forms (DOEC 2009). The text of the OE adaptation is well-structured and highly argumentative, though quite distant from its source.

The aim of the study is to trace how the Cause – Result relationship evolves within the process of translation. The paper discusses correspondences between OE structures with causal connection and the Latin text (e.g., *Forþam ne mæg nan man on þys andweardan life eallunga gerad beon wið his wyrd*. ‘So no-one can be wholly settled with his fate’ – *Idcirco nemo facile cum fortunae suae condicione concordat* ‘So none is readily at peace with the lot his fortune sends him’). The OE examples fall into three groups according to their conformity with the Latin source as displaying either (1) close or (2) partial correspondence, or (3) no correspondence at all. Absence of close correspondence in the Latin text signals a new causal link, which appeared in the process of composing the OE text. At this point, translation solutions are discussed in the light of the works by Chesterman 1997, Károly 2017, and Pym 2016. The emergence of new structures with causal connection suggests that the OE translator certainly deploys the argument in a different way, and that the Cause – Result relationship is quite easily modified in the process of translation.

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Frank found his way to New York: The history of the Way construction revisited

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Keywords: Way construction; Intransitive Motion construction; force-dynamics; networks; British and American English

The emergence and development of the Way construction, exemplified in (1) and (2), was famously examined by Israel (1996) in a study which traced the modern form of the construction to three senses or subschemas, namely manner of motion (He stumbled his way to the back of the room), means of motion (cf. [1]) and incidental activity (cf. [2]).

(1) With swerdis dynt behuffis ws, Throw amyddis our ennemys red our way.
‘[It] behoves us by force of arms, [to] clear our way through among our enemies.’
(1513 Douglas tr., Virgil Æneid x. vii. 30; OED redd v.$^2$1.c.)
(2) A favourite animal, white as snow, brought by one of the visitors, purred its way gracefully among the wine-cups, (CLMET3.03 1885 Pater, Marius the Epicurean)

Subsequent diachronic research has largely built on Israel’s proposal, adding details on the historical links between the Way construction and the transitive and intransitive constructions (Traugott & Trousdale 2013), or focusing on recent changes in the construction’s productivity (Perek 2018). The present paper moves beyond the late Middle English period – the starting point of Israel’s research – and looks at the precursors of the Way construction since Old English times and at its interaction with another major motion construction in English, the Intransitive Motion construction (He walked into the room; for discussion see Fanego 2012, 2017). By approaching the data in terms of Goldberg’s typology (1997) of verb- construction relationships, which is finer grained than Israel’s tripartite division above mentioned, the analysis identifies the areas of conceptual and constructional overlap that have existed between the Way construction and the Intransitive Motion construction in the course of time and shows that the Way construction has gradually specialised in the expression of those relations which could not be coded in the Intransitive Motion construction (such as incidental activity) or could be coded only sparingly (such as means of motion). The study thus seeks to contribute to a better understanding of how the constructicon, the repertory of constructions making up the grammar of a language, may change over time.

The analysis is based on a vast collection of historical materials, such as Bosworth & Toller’s An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (B&T, 1898–1921), the Dictionary of Old English (DOE, Cameron et al. 2016), the quotation databases of the Middle English Dictionary (MED, Kurath et al. 1952–2001) and Oxford English Dictionary (OED), and on three large corpora of British and American English, namely the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET3.0, 34,386,225 words; De Smet et al. 2013), the Corpus of Early American Literature (CEAL, 13,544,297 words; Höglund & Syrjänen 2016) and the Fiction component (12,152,603 words) in decade 1980–1989 of COHA (Davies 2010–).

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The preface of Kendall’s detailed book on *Beowulf* metre ends on a melancholy note:

‘I began this study many years ago in the fond hope of reducing to a neat system […] the seemingly endless varieties of rhythmic possibilities in *Beowulf* – […] That goal now seems to me a will-o’-the-wisp’ (1991: ix f.).

Like Kendall, generations of metrists have followed this ‘will-o’-the-wisp’, and our knowledge of Old English metre has been considerably refined – only the ‘will-o’-the-wisp’ escaped catching.

In 2018, it will be 125 years since Sievers’s *Altgermanische Metrik* was published, the classical formulation of his famous Five-Types system of Old Germanic alliterative verse which was a major breakthrough in the history of Old Germanic metrical theory. It described Old Germanic verse with an accuracy hitherto unknown. However, after the first enthusiasm for the descriptive value of Sievers’s system had died down, scholars began to search for a theoretical basis for the five types, a ‘neat system’ transcending Sievers’s description and explaining why certain combinations of lifts, drops, and alliteration patterns occur and others do not.

‘The absence of scores of pattern in Old English meter must be attributed to the paradigm of meter. Yet of the many modern descriptions of Old English meter […] none lays out in a descriptively adequate way the principles that regulate the paradigm’ (Cable 1991: 7).

Prevailingly, metrists have been looking for an explanation ‘from within’, i.e. a unifying metrical principle or a coherent system of metrical rules causing the patterns. It is only recently that the explanatory value of metrical universals has been stressed once again (Russom 2017).

On the basis of data taken from the whole of OE alliterative poetry, my paper will show how a set of different factors stemming from traits inherited from Old Germanic, specifics of the OE language system and important metrical universals combined to make OE verse evolve quite naturally.
Evolving identities: The Economist’s viewpoint on Australia, India and New Zealand throughout Britain’s Imperial Century

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The time span running between the first half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century is probably the most relevant in the long and far-reaching colonial history of the British Empire, because Britain could count both on its pre-eminent position in the international scenario and on its undisputed sovereignty of the seas. Along with the acquisition of new and strategic colonies, like India, a defining feature of this period is also the strengthening of Britain’s already existing overseas links, such as Australia and New Zealand, thanks both to industrialization and to the introduction of steam ships and the telegraph. Keeping this in mind, it should not come as a surprise that some historians (Smith 2004, Hyam 2002, Parsons 1999, among others) have labelled this time span “the Imperial Century”, a ‘golden age’ that preceded the inexorable falling apart of the Empire. In this period, not only was the British press one of the few filters between the motherland and these countries, but journalistic texts, as means of popularised knowledge dissemination, necessarily contributed to a broader discourse on exploration that inevitably ended up shaping different identities in the eyes of Britain.

The aim of this study is to understand how and to what extent different communicative strategies of evaluation – both overt, i.e. by means of adjectives and adverbs, and covert, i.e. by means of figurative language – contributed to shaping such identities. To this aim, a corpus has been compiled drawing on The Economist Historical Archive 1843-2013. Following a selection of relevant colonies in the Southern Hemisphere, the archive has been screened for the keywords “Australia”, “India” and “New Zealand”, featured in the title of each news piece published between 1843 (first issue) and 1943, yielding a total of 318 texts and c.a. 200,000 running words that have been analysed both manually and with the software tool Sketch Engine. The study finds its methodological base in the relatively recent but prolific traditions of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) and of corpus-based approaches to figurative language (metaphors).

The quantitative analysis of the corpus highlights the newspaper’s attitude to exploit a covert kind of evaluation engaging the reader in a deep process of comprehension transaction that perfectly reflects The Economist’s up-market collocation and the relationship with its intended audience. In turn, the qualitative analysis of metaphorical expressions, adjectives and adverbs brings to the fore a subjective representation of the economic and socio-political facts pertaining to the colonies and, ultimately, to a form of discourse in which the identity of the other is influenced by the specific relationships at stake, with their own specificities, moments of glory and, eventually, relentless deterioration.

References
Tense and aspect in Hebridean English: Scots, Gaelic or English sources?

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Keywords: Hebridean English, Gaelic, Scots, angloversals, progressive

I will use the term ‘Hebridean English’ to refer to varieties that have evolved in the formerly Gaelic-speaking areas of the north-west of Scotland (cf. Sabban 1984). The advance of English into these areas was much slower than into other parts of Scotland, and although seriously under threat of dying out altogether, Gaelic has managed to retain some limited positions as a second language. The long contacts between Gaelic and English have left their mark in Hebridean English, with Lowland Scots providing an additional source. Because of this multiple linguistic heritage, Hebridean English is a prime example of a ‘high-contact’ variety (cf. Trudgill 2011).

This paper will focus on the tense and aspect systems of Hebridean English and especially the use of the progressive in contexts where a simple present or past would be used in standard English and most other varieties. Such are inherently stative or relational verbs such as believe, belong, and verbs of perception like see, hear. From a contact-linguistic point of view, one can argue for a source in the Scottish Gaelic substratum, in which a simple present (or past) is often replaced by a periphrastic construction involving the verb ‘be’, preposition ‘at’, and a verbal noun, e.g. tha mi a` smoineachadh (gun) ‘I think (that) (lit. ‘I am thinking (that)’ (Gillies 1993: 204). Another possibility is an indigenous source, as similar usages are found in Lowland Scots. Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997: 269) describe them under the heading of “free use of progressive aspect". The Electronic World Atlas of Vernacular English (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013) reveals that the same kind of “free” use is found even in some other far-away varieties of English. I will adopt a holistic approach to language contacts (à la Thomason 2001), arguing that, seen as whole, the tense and aspect systems of Hebridean English cannot be explained without acknowledging at least some input from the Gaelic language. This does not exclude the possibility of ‘angloversal’ developments (cf. Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2009), but in the Hebridean setting the substratal source, with its close parallels, offers itself as the most likely explanation. An analogous case would be Irish English where the role of the Irish substratum is equally obvious and has now been generally accepted.

As my database, I will use a rare collection of recordings of dialect speakers from the Inner Hebrides. These were made by Eric Cregeen, a professional fieldworker working for the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh in the late 1960s through to the early 1980s. The interviews were informal in nature and loosely structured. The informants selected for this study were bilingual elderly dialect speakers from the island of Tiree. The amount of material currently transcribed consists of some 80,000 words and as such makes a good addition to similar recordings made by Annette Sabban at about the same period (see Sabban 1982 for details).

References


Doing their own thing with *ing*? – Population- and individual-level changes in Modern English *ing*-forms

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One of the most striking properties that sets English apart from other Germanic languages is its extensive use of deverbal *ing*-forms, including progressive *BE* *Ving* (1), adverbial uses of the present participle (2), and the so-called English verbal (3) and nominal gerund (4) (VG and NG).

(1) ... *his Mother and Crimalhaz are plotting his death* (John Dryden, *EMMA*, 1674)
(2) ... *his wife, ... much detesting Her husband's practises, had willingly Accompagni'd their flight* (JD, *EMMA*, 1673)
(3) ... *the Heroes of all Poets, and have been renown'd through all Ages, for destroying Monsters* (JD, *EMMA*, 1683)
(4) ... *At the Drawing up of the Curtain, Veramond King of Aragon appears* (JD, *EMMA*, 1694)

The prominence of *ing*-forms in English is traced back to the formal merger of present participles (formerly –*end(e)*; e.g. Lass 1992) and gerunds, followed by a substantial rise and functional expansion of *ing*-forms in Middle and Modern English. While it has proven difficult to pin down exact causality in the interrelated developments, the consensus reached in the literature is that, given the increasing overlap in form and function between them, it seems likely that “the different constructions have influenced and reinforced each other in various ways” (Killie & Swan 2009: 359; Fonteyn & Hartmann 2016; van de Pol & Petré 2015). In particular, it is suggested that the increased formal identity of present participles and gerunds have at least helped ‘prime’ the rise of VGs (e.g. Jack 1988; Fanego 2004), which became a new functional competitor for NGs (e.g. De Smet 2013). This growing competition between NGs and VGs then led to a gradual reorganization in the functional-semantic factors determining the choice between NGs and VGs (Fonteyn 2016).

However, even though the observed developments are explained with concepts that pertain to the grammatical knowledge of the _individual_ speaker (e.g. analogy, priming, functional-semantic motivation), the English *ing*-network is predominantly studied as it emerges in population-level language (Fonteyn 2017). This study is the first to systematically investigate whether (and to what extent) the suggested cognitive associations in the *ing*-network can be attested in an individual’s language by analysing a comprehensive set of 17th century *ing*-forms extracted from the Early Modern Multiloquent Authors corpus (Petré _et al._ 2017), controlling for genre by focusing on prose texts and letters. Factors under investigation are syntactic function (e.g. _subject, object, adverbial clause_), verb type, and discourse function (e.g. _reference, givenness_, cf. Fonteyn 2016). The nature and size of EMMA allows to set out and compare ‘individualised decision trees’ of the functional-semantic properties each individual associates with NGs or VGs. Preliminary results indicate that the differences between individualised decision correlate with more general frequency patterns in individual grammars, suggesting that the popularity of VGs might be related to structural priming by present participles.

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AUTHOR 2016

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From *leech* to *doctor*. Investigating the lexical and semantic evolution of general terms for 'physician' in non-medical prose texts

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**Keywords**: medical terminology, medieval medicine, professions, semantic change

Medical terminology is a very attractive and fertile field of research. As the history of medicine dates back to the ancient times, its vocabulary was subject to frequent changes determined by various beliefs, practices and professions connected with health treatment.

Different medical practitioners worked in medieval England. This type of career was popular among all social classes. The success of a physician depended on his wide practice, educational background, successful treatment and popularity among common people. With time a certain hierarchy of professionals emerged, with the university-educated physicians and clergy at the top and self-taught leeches and barbers near the bottom.

Due to the religious devotion of the society and superstitions, the majority of illnesses and ailments were considered to reflect God’s will and regarded as a form of punishment for sins. Quite often it was a priest and not someone with the knowledge of medicine who was summoned to the bedside of a suffering man, and a treatment using herbs and folk remedies was considered devil’s work, in spite of their successful administering.

The study examines five names of medieval medical practitioners: *leech, barber, physician, surgeon, doctor*. The data come from the *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* (2008), which is searched both manually and using the freeware AntConc computer programme, with the support of *Oxford English Dictionary*, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and *Middle English Dictionary*.

The aim of this study is to view the semantic change of the aforementioned five names in non-medical prose texts from the Middle English period. The analysis also considers their origin, semantic fields, function and both metaphorical and non-metaphorical meanings in contemporary English. Furthermore, I would like to verify to what extent the findings of Sylwanowicz (2003) obtained on the basis of a strictly medical corpus are confirmed by the results of a similar examination of a non-medical corpus.

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The lemmatisation of Old English class VII strong verbs on a lexical database

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Keywords: Lemmatisation, Old English, Lexical Database, Corpus Linguistics, Lexicography

This paper aims to describe the procedure and results of the lemmatisation of Old English strong VII verbs on a lexical database. This work is part of a larger project called Nerthus Project which applies the advances of Digital Humanities focusing on the relations of data. The goal of the project is to create a database in which the language itself is the object of analysis. Linguistic analysis is carried out taking into consideration not only textual but also lexicographical and linguistic sources. One of the main tasks the Nerthus Project is developing is the lemmatisation of the Old English verbal forms.

A full inventory of inflected forms and lemmas based on a corpus of Old English is not available yet, which makes lemmatisation a pending task of English Historical Linguistics. Moreover, the lemmatisation of strong VII verbs of Old English can contribute to theoretical studies in the linguistic analysis of Old English as well as to applied works of Corpus Linguistics or Lexicography of the language of the Anglo-Saxons. This analysis assigns a lemma to the attestations of the inflectional forms of the strong VII verbs found in The Dictionary of Old English Corpus by means of the lemmatiser of the lexical database of Old English Nerthus, called Norna. The methodology comprises two basic steps. Firstly, automatic searches are launched on Norna, and secondly, the hits are checked with the available lexicographical and textual sources. To begin with, the results are contrasted with the Dictionary of Old English if they start with the letters A-H, and the rest of the alphabet is revised with the help of the standard dictionaries of Old English (Bosworth-Toller, Sweet and Clark Hall). After that, still some doubtful cases need to be disambiguated and to do so, the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, which is parsed syntactically, and Old English glossaries are used. The results of this research provide the lemmatisation for the strong VII verbs in Old English, including the patterns of variation and normalisation for the verbs under analysis. The conclusion insists on the problems of automatic lemmatisation and on the necessity of manual revision when dealing with a language with a remarkable degree of spelling variation. However, the gradual improvement of automatic searches, based on the comparison of the initial results with the available lexicographical and textual sources, maximises automatisation.

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Grammaticalization of *Gan* and *Can* in the Northern English and Scots of the Late Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Centuries

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In Middle English and Scots, instances of *gan* and *can* behave differently from etymologically related *beginnen* in that they are mainly, or exclusively, found with the plain infinitive and with a non-ingressive meaning. They also occur in narrative verse (rhymed and non-alliterative), where they have a metrical, intensive-descriptive or textual function. All of this suggests that *gan* and *can* are more advanced in the divergence of their development towards auxiliation than the verb *beginnen*.

Earlier studies mainly concentrate on the meaning and/or function of *gan* and *can* in verse (Wuth 1915, Beschorner 1920, Funke 1922, Mustanoja 1960, Kerkhof 1966, Visser 1969 and Brinton 1981; 1983; 1988 amongst others), whereas investigations by Brinton (1981; 1988; 1996), Ogura (1997; 1998; 2013) and Sims (2008; 2014) address the divergence in the development of this verb and its variant in terms of grammaticalization, but with references to Middle English in general. Studies by Los (2000; 2005), on the other hand, deal with the grammaticalization of *onginnan* and *beginnen* with the plain infinitive in Ælfric’s works. However, no studies have been carried out on whether *gan* and *can*, as well as *beginnen* develop differently in terms of grammaticalization in the ‘English’ of the six northern counties of England and of Scotland in the late 14th and the 15th centuries, conventionally referred to as Northern Middle English and Early Scots, respectively.

With the aid of Northern Middle English and Early Scots texts from computerised corpora (*The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, The Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose and The Teaching Association for Medieval Studies*, as well as *The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots and A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots*), this paper looks into whether: a) *gan* and *can*, as well as *beginnen* differ with respect to their morphological paradigms, in view of what we know about grammaticalization and the development of invariant forms? b) these verbs differ with respect to their complements, in view of claims in the literature that the more grammaticalized variant takes the plain infinitive; and c) *gan* and *can* are a development from *onginnan* and *aginnan*, originally expressing ingression but shown in the literature to have undergone semantic bleaching in Old English and in early Middle English period? The results suggest that in Northern Middle English and Early Scots, *gan* and *can* display characteristics of grammaticalization, while *beginnen* participates in global language changes affecting the category of the verb in Middle English and Scots.

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In the summer of 1784, Mary Hamilton (1756–1816), a member of the Bluestocking Circle and former governess at the court of King George III and Queen Charlotte, became engaged to John Dickenson, whom she had known since the early 1770s, and they got married the following year in June. Most of their engagement was spent apart as she lived in London, while he was based in Derbyshire, and a major part of their courtship therefore took place on paper. This study explores Hamilton’s diary letters to her fiancé which cover the final six months of their engagement and survive in manuscript form in the collection ‘Mary Hamilton Papers’ held by The University of Manchester Library (HAM/2/15). The aim is to examine how their relationship is maintained and developed on paper. As Hannan (2016: 156) states, “letters carried the heavy emotional investments of the people who penned them”, and the “process of sitting down and writing encouraged the necessary reflection and introspection to speak openly about important topics such as religion, philosophy, love or friendship”.

Hamilton’s diary letters portray this kind of epistolary relationship. This study explores, on the one hand, which pragmatic strategies Hamilton employs to express her personal interests and attitudes to her fiancé – her writing exhibits both meek submission to her fiancé’s will and, at times, seemingly face-threatening directness. On the other hand, Hamilton also undertakes self-corrections which sometimes border on censoring, undermining the ideal of openness. The diary letters contain a high number of self-corrections made while writing (e.g. omissions, spelling mistakes and content changes), which indicates that Hamilton writes spontaneously, and without preparing clean copies of previously drafted texts (cp. Auer 2008, Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014). However, language and content are not entirely unmonitored in that there are two layers of censoring self-corrections. The first layer concerns expressions of emotion and stance which Hamilton adapts, where the original phrasing presumably does not convey adequately what she wants to express. The second layer sometimes obliterates what Hamilton has written, but in other cases adds clarification – interestingly, these corrections appear to have been made only after the marriage. This paper tries to uncover what the motivation behind these various self-corrections may have been, with a focus on alterations concerning emotion and stance, and what these textual alterations reveal about the developing relationship between Hamilton and Dickenson. Exploring self-corrections in autograph letters, a recently emerging topic of linguistic enquiry, this study contributes to our understanding of writing practices and linguistic self-discipline (Sairio 2013) in eighteenth-century England.

References
The Great Complement Shift and the role of understood subjects: a diachronic case study

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Keywords: Great Complement Shift; subject control; tough movement; understood subject

This paper reports on a corpus-based case study of diachronic change and constructional competition in the system of English complementation. The study examines variation in non-finite complements of the adjective fearful, based on data from COHA and COCA. Consider the examples in (1a-c), all from COHA.

(1) a. The final struggle was fearful to behold, and even now Nina is haunted night and day by the scene. (1910, FIC)
   b. if it wasn’t for Iosefo he would be fearful to stay in my house a minute (1921, FIC)
   c. He is timorous and fearful of beginning a campaign in the enemy’s country (1917, MAG)

The examples show that fearful occurs with both to-infinitives (1a, 1b) and prepositional gerunds (1c). Amongst these patterns, there is variation in the grammatical function of the NP whose referent is shared between the main clause and the lower non-finite clause. As illustrated in (1a), fearful occurs in the tough-movement construction, in which the subject of the main clause is co-referential with the object of a predicate or preposition in the lower clause. The examples in (1b-c) exemplify subject control patterns, which involve co-reference between the main clause and lower subject.

The paper begins with a brief review of the three constructional patterns exemplified in (1a-c), including the evidence for understood subjects in infinitival and gerundial complement clauses. It then tracks the evolution of these patterns in the decades of COHA and COCA. It is observed that, especially in the first half of the 19th century, all three constructional patterns are found in sizeable numbers, which may be viewed as a state of constructional coexistence. More recent decades show major changes, including the drastic decline of the to-infinitive.

For the two subject control patterns, the study further examines potential factors motivating the choice for the to-infinitival or gerundial variant. Besides well-known factors, e.g. the role of horror aequi and extractions (e.g. Vosberg 2003; 2006; Rohdenburg 2016), the study further examines, and provides evidence for, the role of the degree of volitionality/agentivity of the understood subject in the event described by the lower clause. In this way, the study adds new explanatory factors and descriptive insights to our knowledge of the broader diachronic change known as the Great Complement Shift.

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Two types of Old English adjectival postposition

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Keywords: Old English, syntax, noun phrase, corpus linguistics

Old English used two strategies for postposing adjectives against nouns: the adjective was either contiguous with the preceding noun or additionally separated from it by a conjunction, in a construction also involving a prenominal adjective; examples of both structures are shown in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) scytan gearwe
    sheet prepared
    (cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:57.343.4.5195)

(2) hefige synne & myccl
    heavy sin and great
    (cogregdC,GDPref_and_3_[C]:15.207.25.2737)

These constructions are discussed, most notably, in Haumann (2003, 2010), Pysz (2009), and a series of articles by Fischer. For the former two authors, who deal with deep-structure syntax, (1) and (2) represent two discrete types, labeled “true postposition” and “false postposition” respectively. However, in Fischer (2012), it is proposed that (1) (simple postposition) and (2) (and-adjective construction) be treated on a par, on grounds that both involve predicative adjectives, whose postposition results from the non-topicality of the information conveyed.

This paper is a comprehensive corpus study, based on examples extracted from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE, Taylor et al. 2003), which are eventually interpreted within the framework of construction grammar (Traugott & Trousdale 2013). The study aims to establish if the constructions illustrated above are best treated uniformly or rather as instances of two separate types of postposition. The following study questions have been formulated:

a) What are the semantic characteristics of postposed adjectives in (1) and (2) (with particular focus on the stage- and individual-level reading)?
b) What syntactic factors are correlated with the postposition in (1) and (2) (with particular focus on further modification of the postposed adjective)?
c) How do the constructions in (1) and (2) compare to their preposed counterparts frequency-wise?

The results indicate that while the postposed slot in (1) may have specialized in housing adjectives describing temporary states, no such rule holds for postnominal adjectives in (2), which mostly refer to inherent properties. Also, simple postposition correlates with the presence of additional heavy elements modifying the adjective, while the and-adjective construction takes further complementation significantly less frequently. Finally, adjectives in simple postposition make up only 1% of all adnominal adjectives in the corpus, whereas the and-adjective type postposition is much more popular than two adjectives separated by a conjunction before the noun. All these suggest that simple postposition and the and-adjective type postposition show different information-structure sensitivity and should be treated separately (pace Fischer 2012), as belonging to different constructions, defined in Traugott & Trousdale (2013) as pairings of form and meaning.
References
Move analysis has over the last three decades become a well-established and widely used methodology within the field of genre studies (Tardy & Swales 2014). The aim of move analysis is to identify conventional rhetorical structures within generic textual forms. The analyst begins by studying individual exemplar texts qualitatively, breaking each text down into a sequence of distinct and describable ‘moves’, understood as “stretch[es] of text serving a particular communicative (that is, semantic) function” (Upton & Cohen 2009: 588). Once this process has been iterated over a large number of exemplar texts within a given genre, the analyst can then aggregate their observations into generalizations about what seem to be the most common move sequence type(s) for that genre, and about which moves appear to be obligatory and which appear to be optional.

Whilst most of the work done in move analysis thus far has been synchronic in orientation, there is now growing interest in the question of how and why particular generic moves and move structure types appear, develop, change and/or disappear over time (e.g. Berkenkotter 2009; Gillaerts 2014). Our paper contributes to this emerging research frontier by carrying out the first ever diachronic analysis of a historically significant, and yet currently under-researched, legal/technical genre: the patent specification. Our analysis focuses on a corpus of 277 British patent specifications ranging from the early eighteenth century to the present day. The methodology of the study involves reducing exemplar texts to simple code strings representing individual move sequences, which can then be processed using a variety of quantitative methods. The main findings of our study are that while patent move sequence types usually change very gradually, individual moves within these sequence types tend to change very abruptly; they do not usually appear or disappear gradually over a number of years, as might be expected. The explanation for this somewhat counter-intuitive pair of observations is that individual moves fall in and out of usage at different points in time, thereby leading to a more gradual overall change profile. We conclude by considering the broader significance of our study for current theoretical debates about the nature of genre change. We argue that our results lend support to the ‘evolutionary’ model of genre change proposed by Gross et al (2002), but also that, somewhat paradoxically, this gradual evolutionary process is driven by very sudden changes at the individual move level.

References


“I dare say however that what I have got is enough”: Conjunct placement in nineteenth-century English

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Keywords: Late Modern English, genre variation, syntax

The aim of this paper is to examine the placement of clause-level conjuncts in nineteenth-century English. Conjuncts (e.g. however and therefore) are adverbials which are comparatively detached from the rest of the clause structure (Quirk et al. 1985: 631) and which indicate how a language user “views the connection between two linguistic units” (Quirk et al. 1985: 632).

Conjuncts in Present-day English display a preference for clause-initial position (Biber et al. 1999: 772), and several conjuncts, such as so, are even restricted to this position (Greenbaum 1969: 37, 70). Nevertheless, c. 40% of conjuncts occur in medial or final position (Biber et al. 1999: 772). There are indications in previous scholarship that the distribution of conjuncts across clause positions has not remained constant across time. The results in Lenker (2010, 2011, 2014) show conjuncts in medial position becoming increasingly frequent between the Early and Late Modern English periods, but Lenker (2011) also notes the need for more quantitative research in this regard. Lenker (2011: n.p.) argues that clause-medial conjuncts fulfill important discourse functions in written Late Modern English: depending on the type of medial position, such conjuncts may focus attention on the preceding unit or “function as partitioners of given and new information”.

In this paper, we explore these tendencies in more depth by looking at shifts in conjunct placement over the nineteenth century and at the functions of conjuncts in different positions. Using the CONCE corpus, we contrast the beginning and end of the nineteenth century to shed light on trends in usage across time. We compare the different genres or groupings of genres in the corpus (e.g. speech-related vs. non-speech-related: expository vs. non-expository), and we consider patterns for different semantic groupings of conjuncts (contrastive, resultative, etc.). Our preliminary results suggest that, when all genres are taken together, it is conjuncts in clause-final rather than medial position that become more frequent across the century. However, we also demonstrate that there are clear genre differences in the data, which makes it less meaningful to discuss developments in written English as a whole. This result tallies with earlier work on conjuncts in nineteenth-century English (Grund and Smitterberg 2014), where genre emerged as a key parameter. We consider several possible reasons for these genre-related differences.

References


CONCE = A Corpus of Nineteenth-century English, compiled by Merja Kytö (Uppsala) and Juhani Rudanko (Tampere).


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Is it very or uery? The dynamics of the <u>/<v> alternation in Early Modern English manuscripts

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Keywords: Early Modern English, orthography, historical sociolinguistics, manuscripts

In the early modern period, <u> and <v> developed from positionally constrained variants (allographs) of the same letter (grapheme) into two separate letters corresponding to vowel and consonant values respectively (Scholfield 2016:149). In previous research, the 1630s is often mentioned as the date by which the present-day usage had been established for the lower case forms (McKerrow 1974 [1910]:35, 1994[1928]; Görlach 1991:48; Salmon 1999:39; Scholfield 2016:149). Most of this scholarship appears to have focused on printed text, while manuscript materials remain largely unexplored. Paleographic studies indicate that much more variation was present in the period in handwritten sources (Hector 1966:40; Petti 1977:119; Stryker-Rodda 1986:19), and spelling patterns have been shown in other cases to vary significantly between print and handwriting (Osselton 1984; Salmon 1999).

To further our knowledge of the dynamics and development of the <u>/<v> alternation in manuscript materials, this paper explores the use of <u> and <v> by 50+ individuals who recorded legal documents during the witch trials in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692–93 (Rosenthal et al. 2009). The writers exhibit a wide range of variation in their use of <u> and <v>, in what appears to be a marked contrast to contemporaneous printed texts. Some writers wholly conform either to the ‘modern’ vocalic/consonantal system or the older positional usage (i.e., using <v> word-initially and <u> medially/finally); other writers can in various ways be situated between these two poles; and yet other recorders seem to operate on other principles. To account for this variation, we consider a number of linguistic, extralinguistic, and paleographic factors, including the occupation/training/status of the writer (where known), the category of text written (witness deposition, arrest warrant, etc.), type of word, and paleographic realization (e.g., surrounding letter forms). Our preliminary research suggests that these factors interact in complex ways to create different scribal patterns among the Salem recorders.

In addition to giving us a new and more nuanced perspective on the well-known phenomenon of <u>/<v> variation in the history of English, the paper also contributes more generally to research on the history of orthography from a sociolinguistic perspective (Rutkowska & Rössler 2012) and to scholarship that integrates paleographic and linguistic methods (Thaisen & Rutkowska 2011). We also bring early colonial sources into the <u>/<v> discussion, which has so far focused on printed sources from the British Isles.

References


The Direct-Speech Construction in Old and Middle English

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**Keywords**: direct-speech construction, speaking verbs, Old and Middle English, Construction Grammar

In recent years, the application of Construction Grammar to diachronic linguistics has opened up novel ways of studying language change. The present study focuses on the changes affecting one particular construction, namely the direct-speech construction (CxDS), in Old and Middle English. The construction has been visualized using the following schema (Stefanowitsch 2008: 255):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Syntax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Say’</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quotation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (1) and (2) represent prototypical examples of the CxDS in Old and Middle English, respectively:

(1) & eft he cuæð to Petre ðæm apostole: Petrus lufastu me? (*YCOE*, cocura,CP:5.43.3.230)
(2) He sayde: ‘Nay!’ (*PPCME2*, cmedmund,165.47)

Using the *YCOE*, *YCOEP*, and *PPCME2*, my study combines quantitative and qualitative approaches to explore a) which verbs occur in the CxDS, b) how the structure of the CxDS is realized, and c) how these patterns change from Old to Middle English. I will also discuss possible processes behind these changes, i.e., stylistic developments and, in particular, patterns of language change such as pragmatisation (cf., e.g., Brinton 2017). In addition, the theoretical implications of the detected patterns for the schema of the CxDS will be examined, especially of non-prototypical instances (cf. Ðæt ilce cuæð Sanctus Paulus: Se ðe God ne ongit, ne ongit God hine with additional cataphoric ðæt ilce; *YCOE*, cocura,CP:1.29.2.112).

Regarding verb choice, my first results show that the most common option for the verb slot of the CxDS in Old English, *cweþan*, is replaced by *seien* in Middle English; *quethen* (*cweþan*) is restricted to the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. past *quoth* after 1250 (cf. Moore 2011 and Ogura 1981). We also see striking changes in the realization of the CxDS: In Old English, *cweþan* mostly occurs in sentence-initial *inquit*-formulas, sometimes in combination with other verbs, e.g., *andswarian*. In Middle English, by contrast, *quoth* is almost exclusively used in parenthetical *inquit*-formulas that separate (inter-)subjective material (interjections, vocatives, etc.) from the rest of the quotation: “Lordynges,” quod he, “‘ther is ful many a man […]’” (*PPCME2*, cmctmeli,219.C2.86). Comparable structures with *seien* partition off propositional material, thus fulfilling a different textual function: ‘[O]f a thousand men,’ seith Salomon, ‘I foond o good man [...]’ (*PPCME2*, cmctmeli,220.C1.111).

From these first results, it is clear that the CxDS is affected by complex patterns of change that are influenced not only by frequency but also by factors at the interface of morphosyntax, semantics, and discourse pragmatics.

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The emergence of the vernacular in 15\textsuperscript{th}-century Scottish legal texts

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Keywords: Scots, legal texts, fifteenth century

During the 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Scots started to be used in an increasing number of functions (Smith 2012: 6), including legal ones. From 1390, the Acts of Parliament of Scotland began to be recorded in Scots (Corbett et al. 2003: 8), starting a shift towards the vernacular in the previously Latin sources. Scots became the more dominant language in the records of parliament after 1425 when the earlier Latin Acts were translated into the vernacular (ibid.). This happened during the reign of King James I, who composed original poetry in Scots (Kopaczyk 2013: 89). The vernacular did, however, not emerge at the same time in all legal texts. In this paper, I will examine the use of Scots in three 15\textsuperscript{th}-century legal sources: the Aberdeen Council Registers (1398–1501), the Haddington Common Buke (1423–1463), and the Newburgh Burgh Court Book (1459–1479).

Code-switching is common in these sources, and sometimes it is difficult to establish whether a word is Scots or Latin due to the frequent use of abbreviation marks. The matrix language of the entries is, however, usually clear. Therefore, I will carry out a quantitative analysis of the entries with Scots or Latin as the matrix language, rather than using the number of words in Scots versus Latin as a measure for the increase of Scots. Preliminary findings indicate that Scots was clearly dominant in the Newburgh Burgh Court Book by 1459, with 98\% of the entries having Scots as the matrix language between 1459 and 1479, while we find less than a quarter of the entries having Scots as the matrix language in the Aberdeen Council Registers during the same time period. In the latter records, Latin remained dominant for longer. A qualitative analysis of the entries will further reveal whether the content influenced the use of a particular language.

The comparison between these three legal sources will address the following questions:

- To what extent does language choice differ in these legal sources?
- Why are there differences in language choice?
- To what extent did the content determine the use of a particular language?
- How did the use of the vernacular spread in Scottish legal texts?
- What do these sources reveal about the emergence of Scots in legal texts more generally?

References


A diachronic assessment of rhythmic alternation in English

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Keywords: corpus linguistics, historical linguistics, rhythmic alternation, stress

The proposed paper examines to what degree the prosodic preference for rhythmic alternation is realised in the English language and whether net rhythmicality has changed since Middle English. This empirical study draws on historical corpus data and relies on quantitative and statistical methods of analysis.

Previous studies have suggested a universal rhythmic preference for sequences of prominent and less prominent syllables, known as the Principle of Rhythmic Alternation (Selkirk 1984; Schlüter). Stress clashes (sequences of stressed syllables) and lapses (sequences of unstressed syllables) are rhythmically dispreferred. Rhythmic alternation has been invoked to account for aspects of word stress (Schane 1979) or phrasal stress shifts (as in thiréen vs. thírteen mén; Liberman & Prince 1977; Selkirk 1984). Alternation has also been named as the driving factor behind diachronic changes such as the loss of prefixes in Early English (Molineaux 2012) and the emergence of contrastive stress in nouns and verbs (Kelly & Bock 1988). However, English has also witnessed various diachronic developments which had the opposite effect of jeopardising rhythmicality by increasing the occurrence probability of dispreferred rhythmical patterns. The latter changes include phonological reductions and loss of inflectional morphology, as in ME Góð(e)s són(ne).

It is therefore reasonable to ask to what extent the preference for rhythmic alternation is realised in the surface structure of English utterances and whether the incidence of dispreferred clashes and lapses has changed over time. The study adopts an evolutionary perspective in that it regards language as a complex adaptive system, in which linguistic units adapt to one another to facilitate expression and learnability (Ritt 2004). Thus, changes which contravene the natural bias for rhythmic alternation – e.g. schwa loss in ME Góð(e)s són(ne) – present an irritation to the system, calling for resolution through other changes – e.g. analyticisation in PDE són of Góð.

The prose texts for the study are provided by the Penn-Helsinki corpora of historical English (PPCME2, PPCEME, PPCMBE2). Additionally, verse evidence is used to calibrate stress-likelihoods of morphemes, words and word classes in historical data (Minkova 2013; Kelly & Bock 1988). The quantitative evidence is subjected to tests of statistical significance and multivariate statistical methods (nuria 2015). Preliminary results suggest that the net rhythmicality of English has not varied dramatically over time and that strains on rhythmic alternation created by some diachronic changes were offset by others.

References


Resumptive *it* in Late Modern English

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**Keywords**: resumptive pronouns, corpus, Late Modern English

Resumptive pronouns have received a fair amount of attention in discussions on English syntax, and they are usually defined as pronouns that appear in a gap position in relative clauses (Jespersen 1927, Prince 1990, Huddleston & Pullum 2002, McCloskey 2006), exemplified in (1):

(1) I have a friend who she does all the platter. (Prince 1990: 2)

As Jespersen (1927: 71) states, the function of a resumptive pronoun is to clarify a long or otherwise difficult structure. In an investigation of adjectives complemented by *to* infinitive clauses, a similar phenomenon crept up. Consider examples (2)-(4):

(2) A more complete picture of terror than the little man presented, it would be difficult to imagine. (CLMET3, Dickens 1839)
(3) How long this state of things might have lasted it is difficult to say; (CLMET3, Blind 1885)
(4) David recommenced and finished his strains, with a fixedness of manner that it was not easy to interrupt. (CEAL2, Cooper 1826)

As we can see in the examples, all of them include a clause in which *it* occurs in an unusual position between the subject and the verb. Even though only (4) would fall into the traditional definition of resumption, also the *it*s in (2) and (3) can be called resumptive, as they fulfil a similar function.

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the historical use of the resumptive *it* in contexts illustrated in (2)-(4). For this purpose, data from historical corpora including material from the 18th and 19th centuries (CLMET3.0, CEAL, OBC, COCA) will be examined, and the goal is to chart the usage and development of the resumptive *it* in British and American English. In addition, comparison will be made to constructions with the non-resumptive, anticipatory *it*.

The results from the corpus study show that the resumptive *it* was quite common in BrE in the 18th century and up until the middle of the 19th century, after which its usage started to decrease. It seems that the resumptive *it* was never very frequent in AmE. For instance, whereas in the CLMET3.0 (BrE) data from 1780–1850 the frequency of the resumptive *it* is 13 instances per million words, the same number in CEAL (AmE) is 4 instances per million words. In addition to this, the paper will further discuss the contexts in which the resumptive *it* occurs, its functions, and possible reasons why its use started to decrease.

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**References**

CEAL = *Corpus of Early American Literature.*
CLMET3.0 = *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0.* Available at: https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/clmet3_0.htm

OBC = *Old Bailey Corpus. Spoken English in the 18th and 19th centuries*. Available at www1.uni-giessen.de/oldbaileycorpus.

“What are you doing with $d$ supers(i)pt $þ(t)$?!” - A Corpus Approach to Romance and Germanic Abbreviations in Early Middle English

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Keywords: corpus linguistics, manuscripts abbreviations, graphemics, Middle English, quantitative methods

My paper examines the distribution of Latinate and Old English abbreviations in the early Middle English period, 1150-1350. The period is of interest as it was a formative one for the writing systems of English. Linguistic situation in England changed dramatically after the Norman Conquest of 1066, which introduced a new ruling class and relegated English to a tertiary role after Latin and Anglo-Norman French. The writing system of English underwent a great deal of innovation and experimentation with new spelling systems introduced by Anglo-Norman scribes.

I focus on two types of abbreviation, one of them originating in Germanic vernacular languages and the other taken over from Latin system of abbreviating. The Germanic feature is the letter thorn with a stroke through the ascender ($þ$), standing for $þæt$, a word with three distinct uses in Old English, as it could be used as a demonstrative pronoun, a conjunction or as an adverb. Moreover, thorn with a stroke through the ascender, albeit of slightly different shape, was also used in Old Norse, in which it could stand for the syllables $þæt$, $þess$, $þor$, $þæt$ (cf. West 2006). The Latin feature are the various superscript abbreviations, which were initially used for Romance loan words such as $gæce$ 'grace' or $p$'de 'pride', but also "commonly adopted in the writing of the vernacular", including a superscript abbreviation for 'that': $þ$ (LAEME: 3.4.7).

The data comes from the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME), a corpus of ca. 650,000 words divided into scribal samples of localised Middle English. LAEME is well-suited for the present research questions, as each text in LAEME is based on a diplomatic transcription from manuscript facsimiles, not editions, and using a mark-up system that encodes abbreviations rather than their expansions (LAEME 3.3.1).

The methodology is based on corpus linguistics, statistical analysis and historical dialectology. I will use corpus enquiries to compile a dataset of the findings, then subject the dataset to statistical analysis using R, in order to discover regional or genre variation. The features encoded in the dataset are the lexel and the grammel, the localisation, date, script, the language of other texts in the manuscripts and etymological origin of the word – whether it is Romance or Germanic. In addition, I will use the mapping function in LAEME to examine the regional distribution of the different types of abbreviation.

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Etymological spellings such as *doubt* and *verdict* never fail to be mentioned in histories of English. They have, however, rarely been examined but superficially. Previous studies (e.g. Scragg, Barber, and Upward and Davidson) are agreed that the etymologically affected spelling practice became particularly popular in the sixteenth century, but the details are left to be described as to when the etymological spellings of individual lexical items were first attested and how they became accepted for general use over time. There are indeed some studies, including Hotta and Iyeiri, that have attempted to clarify the way spellings of certain items were etymologised, but such studies, often relying on limited resources, inevitably remain suggestive at best of the etymologising process. The recent public release of the Early English Books Online corpus by Mark Davies has expanded methodological horizons such that the process can now be investigated closely.

Under these circumstances, the first aim of our paper is to make it clear, by means of the corpus, when and how individual items acquired their etymological spellings. A preliminary survey of a number of items from our list of relevant words has confirmed the general concentration of transitions to etymological spellings in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In the meantime, it also pointed to significant variation among items.

To take a few examples, *admonish* follows a fairly standard path of development, showing a rapid growth of etymological forms with their *d*’s from the sixteenth century, although their first attestation goes back to the Middle English period. By contrast, *phantom* was rather slow to displace *fantom*, which remained in use well into the seventeenth century.

Our paper also aims to discuss concerns about the use of the corpus for the study of orthographical variation and change. The methodology of the present study may seem straightforward enough, but a number of points need to be made. To begin with, a large number of spelling variants must often be searched for because lemma searches are not necessarily helpful in retrieving many of the relevant variants. In addition, concordance lines from searches can contain texts of foreign origin, especially ones written in Latin, which must be removed manually. These and other difficulties aside, however, the corpus, if carefully used, will prove to be an extremely promising tool for investigating spelling variation and change.

References
Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names

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Keywords: Old English, Old Northumbrian, Older Scots, place-names, Scottish Borders

Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names (REELS) is a research project funded for three years by the Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow: http://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/. The project team is using place-name survey of the historical county of Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders, the heartland of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Scotland from the seventh to eleventh centuries, to investigate the Old Northumbrian dialect of Old English and its development into Older Scots. Six parishes along the Anglo-Scottish border have been selected for full survey (Coldstream, Eccles, Foulden, Hutton, Ladykirk and Mordington), to be published within the Survey of Scottish Place-Names as The Place-Names of Berwickshire Volume 1: The Tweedside Parishes. In addition, broader coverage of all Berwickshire place-names on the OS 1:50,000 Landranger map (over 1,000 names) will be made freely available as a searchable web resource. The place-name data are being analysed for evidence of the lexis, semantics, morphology and phonology of Old Northumbrian, a language variety poorly attested in other (written and epigraphic) sources. The project is due to conclude in December 2018, and this paper will present some of the results in advance of publication.

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Agreement and the Grammaticalisation of Perfect and Passive Constructions in the
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

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Keywords: grammaticalisation, perfect, passive, agreement, Old English

The English perfect and passive go back to copular and possessive constructions, with lexical verbs meaning 'be', 'become' and 'have' combined with participles which originally showed agreement either with the subject or with the object. For instance, Old English habban 'have' was used as a lexical verb taking an accusative object and a past participle which functioned as an object complement agreeing with the object. Later, such complex transitive clauses (SVOC) were gradually reanalysed as perfects, with 'have' as an auxiliary and the participle as a lexical verb (SV\textsubscript{AUXOV\textsubscript{MAIN}}).

Even in the earliest texts, the participle did not always agree. It is then an open question whether we have an SVOC\textsubscript{O} clause or SV\textsubscript{AUXOV\textsubscript{MAIN}} (see Strang 1970: 311, Traugott 1992: 190, Denison 1993: 340–341). The reanalysis of the participle as part of the verbal group, rather than as an adjectival object complement, is traditionally assumed to have been enabled by constructions with neuter accusative singular objects, which had no overt marking on the object or on the participle, making them ambiguous (Mitchell 1985: §709, Traugott 1992: 192, Denison 1993: 364, Łęcki 2010: 152).

In the present paper, we look at a selection of entries from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (MS. A: 703–924; MS. E: 991–1012). Both have- and be-perfects are examined and compared to passive or potentially stative constructions with beon 'be' and weorðan 'become'. The material is divided into three categories – examples where overt agreement is present, examples where overt agreement is missing, examples where zero-marking is expected anyway.

The study confirms that there is a lot of expected zero-morphology in the perfect, as well as in beon- and weorðan-passives. However, while the prevalence of expected zero exponence may appear to have led to an almost complete loss of agreement in the perfect, particularly evident in the plural, this is certainly not the case in the passive. In both types of passive, with beon and weorðan, zero-morphology is used in the singular (legitimately with the masculine and neuter, not so with the feminine), whereas -e appears consistently in the plural (unlike the perfect), even in the latest entries from the selection (MS. E for the year 1012). The same lexemes (i.e. beon or weorðan) behave differently in terms of agreement depending on the construction they occur in – perfect, passive or copular. Inflectionless perfects often coexist side by side with inflected passives and/or adjectival modifiers.

These findings call into question the claims that ambiguous cases of expected zero-morphology were responsible for losing agreement across the board, and point to different rates at which the grammaticalisation of these constructions proceeded. Rather than being a trigger for reanalysis, the absence of inflection appears to be an outward sign of more advanced grammaticalisation. The gradual grammaticalisation of verbal periphrases has resulted in gradience regarding the entrenchment of each type of periphrasis – passives remain closer to genuinely adjectival constructions with more robust agreement morphology.

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References
Keywords: prepositions, verbal argument structure, bottom-up approach, constructional network, Early Modern English

Previous research on prepositions in Early Modern English has typically focused on their use in specific constructions such as prepositional and phrasal verbs, the prepositional passive or prepositional gerunds (see e.g. Claridge 2000; Denison 1993; Dreschler 2015; Rohdenburg 2007). This has usually been done in a top-down manner. By contrast, we use a more bottom-up and exploratory approach in retrieving all clauses featuring verbs and PPs from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME). We do so with a view to describing the full range of prepositions in verbal argument structure in this period. Our expectation is that this set includes most of the patterns identified by Hoffmann (2011) for Present Day English, ranging from entirely optional adjuncts (1) to fully obligatory complements in tightly connected verb-preposition combinations (2).

(1) **O’th’ tenth** at night the gods brought me to land.  
(1675, T. Hobbes tr. Homer *Odysseys* (1677) 154; OED, s.v. *on*)

(2) The tender Twig [...] on the Faith of the new Sun relies.  
(1697, Dryden tr. Virgil *Georgics* ii, in tr. Virgil *Wks.* 84; OED, s.v. *rely*)

Nevertheless, slight differences are likely to hold between EModE and PDE argument structure grammar. Even in case of overlap in pattern types, we still anticipate that changes in the token frequency of individual constructions can be observed. Similarly, we expect to find variation with respect to individual lexical items and their complementation preferences.

In a second step, we aim to model these structures as part of the constructional network of complement constructions (cf. Traugott & Trousdale 2013). This also includes non-prepositional alternants: for example, transitive verbs like *congratulate* could variably occur with the object marked by a preposition (3) or without one, i.e. with an NP-object (4).

(3) And they [congratulated] with her.  
(1609, *Bible* (Douay) I. Luke i. 58; OED, s.v. *congratulate*)

(4) All the world...did congratulate me.  
(1668, S. Pepys *Diary* 5 Mar. (1976) IX. 103; OED, s.v. *congratulate*)

Starting from a verb-specific level, we then attempt to find more systematic correspondences and patterns guiding this variation, and discuss how such generalisations can be captured in an adequate way.

References


English epenthesis in IC and rC clusters: areal effect or drift?

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The insertion of an unstressed vowel in IC and rC clusters of non-rising sonority (fil[ə]m), is widely known as characteristic of Irish English. It is frequently cited as a substrate feature carried over from Irish, where this process is productive (Ní Chiosáin 1999), as it is in the related Scottish Gaelic. However, this feature is also known from Older Scots, modern Scots dialects (Maguire 2017), and traditional varieties of English. Therefore, it might be an areal effect in the British and Irish Isles; notably, a similar phenomenon is also attested in Welsh (e.g. Schumacher 2011, Iosad 2017).

We reconsider whether areality best explains the prevalence of epenthesis in English. Epenthesis in various rC and IC clusters recurs throughout the history of English: Luick (1914) identifies two separate sound changes involving this epenthesis in Old English, with a third one in Middle English (Jordan 1934), all with different trigger contexts and patterns of quality of the epenthetic vowel. In fact, epenthesis in such clusters is extremely common across West Germanic (cf. Howell & Somers Wicka 2007): it is attested in Old High German (Reutercrona 1920, Braune 2004) and retained in Middle High German (Michels 1979) and many modern dialects (Schirmunski 1962); in Old, Middle, and Modern Dutch (van Loey 1976, Warner et al. 2001), and in Frisian (Steller 1928, Visser 2017).

Epenthesis appears rarely in ancient North Germanic, but is widely attested at least in Danish dialects (Hansen 1962). Common to Germanic epenthesis patterns are a diversity of affected clusters and qualities of inserted vowel, a lack of regularity of epenthesis as a sound change, and erosion over time due to syncope processes targeting both epenthetic and original vowels. This makes it clear they cannot all be inherited from a single sound change in the protolanguage.

We argue that parallel developments of post-sonorant epenthesis across (at least West) Germanic represent an instance of drift arising from variation at an earlier stage (e.g. Joseph 2013). The recurring epenthesis ‘events’ are not separate, but instead are best seen as attestations of a variable phenomenon always present to some extent in the West Germanic languages. This makes them distinct from exceptionless excrescence, which arises from retiming of vocalic gestures (Hall 2006), as attested in Scottish Gaelic and in the Sámi languages. We argue that these differences undermine the case for epenthesis as an areal feature in the British and Irish Isles.

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References


Languages of Scotland and Ulster triennial meeting, Ayr 2015, 156-183. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen.


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Keywords: Code-switching, community of practice, Early Modern English, manuscripts, palaeography

Code-switching in historical texts is a vibrant emerging field (Schendl & Wright 2011; Pahta et al., In press). One largely uncharted but significant question in the field is, can visual features in manuscript texts be used as linguistic evidence? Researchers working on code-switching in contemporary texts have found visual and multimodal aspects to be linguistically relevant (Sebba 2013), and preliminary studies on historical texts appear to corroborate this finding (Kendall et al. 2013). This paper contributes to this discussion by looking at multilingualism and scribal practices in early English East India Company (EIC) merchant letters.

Early EIC trading posts in Asia worked in multilingual environments, and in relative isolation from each other. This environment is reflected in high levels of code-switching in texts produced by EIC merchants. These texts, and in particular their letters, show that the early EIC can be seen to have formed a linguistic community of practice (see Wenger 1998: 72–85; Kopaczyk & Jucker; Kaislaniemi 2017a).

There are indications that linguistic choices can be accompanied by scribal choices (e.g. Machan 2011). The everyday practice of typographical flagging for textual emphasis—the use of markers such as Capitalisation, italics, or underlining—stem from historical typographical practices, which in turn partly derive from older scribal traditions. And one such tradition was the association of scripts with languages. Just as Tudor English books printed in black letter use Roman typeface for Latin words and passages, contemporary manuscripts written in English Secretary script switch to Italic for Italian. In analogy of the term code-switching, this practice can be called script-switching.

A previous study of a scribal idiolect found a strong correlation of code- and script-switching (Kaislaniemi 2017b). This paper looks at the code- and script-switching practices of a community of early EIC merchants. I chart and analyse the use of script-switching in a small corpus of sixty letters (c. 70,000 words) written by English East India Company merchants living in the East Indies, 1613-1623. The discussion of results will focus on the correlation of script- and code-switching and its implications, both from a linguistic and a palaeographical perspective. Preliminary findings suggest that the co-occurrence of script-switching with code-switching is by no means a straightforward practice.

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References
On morphosemantic properties of zero-derivation in Early Modern English

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The process of zero-derivation, whereby a formation of a new lexeme is not accompanied by any change in its overt morphological structure, is one of the most productive word-formation techniques in the English language, and yet its development is rather scarcely represented in scholarship. Very little attention has been paid so far to the properties of zero-derivation in historical studies on English morphology, and with the exception of the book by Biese (1941) and several articles by Kastovsky (e.g. 1978, 2005), no comprehensive studies have been published in English.

The present paper discusses the results of a historical corpus-based study of zero-derived types sampled in the language of Shakespeare’s plays. It surveys quantitative tendencies of zero-derivation patterns, looks into the directionality of the process in question, and makes an attempt at estimating its availability and productivity. As the most frequently represented pattern in the corpus is verbalization, the qualitative aspects of the N→V types have also been accounted for. The results of the present study reveal a high availability of the process in the corpus, with a wide range of motivating bases, even including closed-class items, a high rate of neologistic types, which is indicative of high productivity of zero-derivation in the epoch, and also a considerable scope of directions represented in the corpus (N→V, A→V, Adv→V, V→N, A→N). The most distinguished feature of the sampled types is, however, their non-transparent semantic relation with respect to their motivating bases, which is best evidenced in the semantic analysis of N→V types. The manifold semantic effects of zero-derived verbs discussed in the paper render zero-derivation of the Early Modern English epoch difficult to operationalize within the framework of semantic categories suggested by, e.g. Clark and Clark (1979), Plag (2003), and Lieber (2004), since in the corpus the zero-derived types are highly noncompositional and semantically unpredictable, especially when compared to affixal derivatives.

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Modal verbs in historical Latin-English code-switching

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Keywords: historical code-switching, MLF Model, modal verbs, finiteness marking

This contribution addresses modal verbs and their complements in historical code-switching (CS) in mixed clauses from Middle English and Latin sermons (MS Bodley 649; Horner 2006). The theoretical basis for the full-text analysis is Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 2002), which predicts that in mixed clauses the syntactic frame is provided solely by one of the two languages involved, the so-called Matrix Language (ML). A second language (Embedded Language, EL) can supply additional content words but cannot add certain grammatical morphemes, e.g. case markers on nominals or tense markers on finite verb forms (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2017). I will show that the application of a model developed for modern oral CS provides evidence for the diachronic stability of CS patterns and supports the uniformitarian principle (Labov 1994) from a rarely explored angle.

With respect to finite forms of modal verbs on the one hand and infinitives on the other, the data show the following typical mixing pattern (Latin in roman and Middle English in italic font; relevant verb forms in bold):

(1) nec hostis aliqua cautela guerre potest\textsubscript{V,Mod.} illud wynne\textsubscript{V,Inf.} vel asaile\textsubscript{V,Inf.} it.

nor can an enemy by any trick of war win or assail it.

(2) Iste ramus non potest\textsubscript{V,Mod.} flecti\textsubscript{V,Inf.} ne be\textsubscript{V,Inf.} crocud, …

This branch cannot be bent or twisted, …

(3) … set it most\textsubscript{V,Mod.} grow\textsubscript{V,Inf.} furthe.

… but it must grow forth.

Overall, the data suggest that a finite modal is consistently supplied by the ML of a clause, whereas an infinitive can also be supplied by the EL. This suggests that the morphological expression of finiteness on the verb is regulated exclusively by ML grammar – as predicted by the MLF model. I argue that the cases which the MLF model cannot explain or predict (cf. Auer & Muhamedova 2005 on Latin EL case markers in historical CS) are highly informative with respect to socio-pragmatic context and mode of L2 acquisition, yet in terms of relative frequency they are marginal (in MS Bodley 649 about 2.5% for nominal inflection and less than 1% for verbal inflection). I conclude that even though individual languages are subject to continuous change, the nature of the abstract “bilingual grammar” which organizes how two languages are woven together by a bilingual speaker or writer has remained unchanged.

References


On the origin of ain’t

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Keywords: Historical dialectology, Survey of English Dialects, ain’t

Ain’t is a very widespread negative form in many non-standard varieties of English, where it has a double function as the negative form of both present tense BE and present tense HAVE. No consensus exists, however, over the question of the origin of ain’t. A number of etymologies for ain’t have been offered: the OED considers ain’t to be a contracted form of are not, while some other dictionaries prefer a derivation from am not. Jespersen (1940) and Pinsker (1973), on the other hand, have preferred a theory according to which ain’t has its origins contracted forms of HAVE in the 17th century (for discussions on the origin of ain’t, see e.g Francis (1985), Anderwald (2002), Liberman (2014) or Donaher and Katz 2015)).

This paper argues that the proposed etymologies for ain’t suffer from what Milroy (1992: 50) calls unidimensionality, “an inclination to think of the history of a language as the history of a single homogeneous variety.” Attempts to explain the origin of ain’t tend to derive the form from present-day Standard English forms such as have not, am not, are not or is not without paying sufficient attention to either present-day or historical dialectal variation in the forms of the verb BE. While it is probably true that the form ain’t is best seen as the convergence of multiple derivations, as Francis (1985: 151) suggests, this paper shows that dialectal variation in the forms of the verb BE, as recorded in the SED (Orton et al. 1962–1971), must be considered of central importance in any explanation of the origin of ain’t.

References
Step by step towards a history of English N₁PN₁ constructions: Early Modern English

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Keywords: Early English Books Online corpus; NPN construction; constructional change; inheritance hierarchy; phraseology

Research on two identical bare nouns combined by a preposition (henceforth: NPN construction) in English has so far been limited to non-corpus based studies of Present-day English (in particular Jackendoff 2008, Lindquist and Levin 2009, Matsuyama 2004; cf. also Jackendoff 2013). It has been found that the construction’s tokens (henceforth: constructs) may function as adjunct (1) or subject/object (2) in a sentence. Semantically, the construction types may be between literal and figurative, and regarding their productivity between fully productive and phraseologically fixed (2,3 vs. 1,4,5, respectively).

(1) Pomposity and you go hand in hand I mean and if not people wouldn’t love you as they do. (British National Corpus, BNCweb spoken; italics in all examples mine)

(2) For the first time in all these barren weeks, she wrote poem after poem, cursed that Interflora wasn’t a 24-hour service and swore never to doubt again. (BNCweb fiction)

This paper presents one of several steps towards a full evaluation of the development of the NPN construction and its constructional changes in English, based on a novel grouping of English NPN subconstructions in a semantic inheritance hierarchy. The focus is on an analysis of a randomized selection of c. 2000 Early Modern English NPN constructs from the late 15th to the 17th centuries extracted from the Early English Books Online (V3) corpus, CQP version.

Research questions include:

- the correlation between the factors syntactic use, semantics (a cline from dynamic to static senses), and productivity;
- special syntactic structures, such as postmodified NPNs (3); and
- the rise of NPN as premodifier (4) possibly through reanalysis of potentially ambiguous instances (5).

(3) 1692 The Calcination of these Bodies by the Acuity of Salt, is, the quantity after quantity of Salt be very often cast upon them in their fusion ... (Salom, Medicina practica)

(4) a1616 Methinks as fair, and as good, a kind of hand in hand Comparison were somewhat too good for any Lady in Brittany; ... (Shakespeare, Cymbeline; 1623)

(5) 1687 None would obey, but each would be the guide: And face to face dissensions would increase; For only distance now preserves the peace (Dryden, The Hind and the Panther)

As yet unpublished corpus-based findings for Old English and Present-day English NPNs will open up a larger diachronic perspective from which to view the results for Early Modern English.

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From OE *swa* to ModE *so*: Similarity in Manner, Quality and Degree as Basis of Grammaticalization

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**Key words:** grammaticalization; demonstratives of manner, quality, degree; exophoric and endophoric uses; ‘similarity’ as a semantic basis

Building on previous comparative studies (Koenig, 2015; 2018), we will trace the development of OE *swa* (Schleburg, 2002) and its adverbial counterpart *swylc* to Modern English *so* and *such* on the basis of relevant text corpora for OE and ME. First, we will show that:

a) far from being isolated adverbial particles, *swa*, *swelc*, *þus* and their ModE counterparts belong to the system of demonstratives;

b) they are parallel in their semantic structure to other demonstratives in expressing two dimensions of meaning: (i) a content dimension relating to manner, to quality or to degree and (ii) a deictic dimension;

c) they are a-typical in so far as they identify events, degrees and entities in terms of similarity to the entities pointed at.

The polyfunctionality of ModE *so* will be analyzed within the framework of grammaticalization ‘theory’. Like all demonstratives, *swa* first developed endophoric (anaphoric and cataphoric) uses, both as a VP anaphora (already in OE) (ex. 1) or as a propositional anaphora (not until ME) (ex. 2) and as sentence connective (attested in OE, although additional semantic differentiations, such as causal, purposive or inferential implications, are not established until the ME, EModE and ModE periods):

1. a. John works in the library and Fred does *so* at home.
   b. ASC 12 (449) Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas, and hi *swa* dydon.
   ‘The king told them to fight against the picts. And they did so.’ (Schleburg, 97ff.).

2. a. A: The meeting has been postponed? B: I suppose/think/imagine *so*.
   b. a1450(1412) Hoccl. RP (Hrl 4866) 717: I tolde hym *so*, & euer he seyde nay.

3. a. I did not like it. So I wrote to him. (causal)
   b. He went into lower gear, so his car would slow down. (purposive)
   c. So you are a linguist, eh? So what? (inferential)

The additive use (*also, as well as*) also derives from the anaphoric use. The degree demonstrative *swa* is the source of both the degree marker and the standard marker in ModE equative comparatives (*eall swa* > *as*). In addition to equative comparatives, OE has a variety of other constructions with correlative *swa*, whose further development will be examined.

Finally, we will summarize other major changes occurring in English, in particular the fact that ModE has an impoverished system in the relevant domain, in totally lacking deictic differentiations, analogous to proximal *here* and distal *there* and in having lost the quotative use of *swa* (cf. 4a, b), as well as the content distinctions in the exophoric use, still present in OE (*thus, swylc, swa*).

4. a. Vercelli V fol. 26 [Christ] *swa* cwæð: Euntis …
   ‘Christ thus said: Euntis …’
   b. And I’m like… and he is like…

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The development of SVO in late Old English and early Middle English relative clauses

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Keywords: constituent order, Scandinavian influence, relative clauses

Old English texts show a variety of constituent orders that were used. During the Middle English period the constituent order became fixed and English developed “an almost pure SVO order in declaratives” (Fischer 1992: 371). Why and how the change towards verb-third order (as used by Denison 1993: 28) came to pass is still debated.

Many authors have agreed that the fixed constituent order first developed in main clauses and spread from there to subordinate clauses (e.g. Hock 1986: 332). Stockwell and Minkova (1991), however, disagree. They argue that the SVO order was first manifested in subordinate clauses and at a later stage became part of the main clause syntax.

Moreover, data from my master’s thesis on that subject have suggested that relative clauses seem to have adopted the verb-third order earlier than other clause types. This gives reason to believe that the SVO order originated in relative clauses.

I assume that relative clauses played an important role in the reanalysis of the constituent order because of their function, which is to specify and thereby easily identify a particular item (Lehmann 1984: 402). In a contact situation, like the one between the English and the Scandinavians from the late 8th to 11th century, a listener-oriented approach is inevitable for making the utterance clearly understood by the recipient, who has a different, if similar, mother tongue (Bernadez/Tejada 1995: 221). Danchev (1991) argues that the SVO constituent order is pragmatically the easiest to understand in those contact situations.

Preliminary studies for my doctoral thesis have also shown a noticeable gap between the frequencies of SVO clauses in Northern as opposed to Southern texts. Considering the timeframe of the texts, this difference is suggestive of a Scandinavian influence.

My thesis aims at showing that the adoption of a fixed SVO order was triggered by the language contact with the Scandinavians and started in relative clauses for pragmatic reasons.

For my dissertation project, I will analyse the surface constituent order in relative clauses from a selection of texts from the LEON 0.3 corpus, which was compiled by Peter Petré. The texts are chosen in order to cover the regional varieties during the relevant time frame (between 950 and 1150).

The presentation will give an introduction into the theoretical framework of my thesis and provide first data from the corpus.

References


Voiced or voiceless? Old English \( f \) in Middle English \(-fd-\) sequences

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**Keywords:** Old and Middle English, LAEME, medial fricative, voice, sonority hierarchy

The Old English past system for the verb *habban* HAVE, has past tense (pt) *hæfde*, *hefde* and past participle (ppl) *hæfd*, *hefd* (late West-Saxon also *hæfed* (Campbell 1959: §762)). Many early Middle English texts show a reflex set that does not reflect the handbook consensus on the voicing of fricatives between voiced segments.

In certain text languages in the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME) corpus of tagged texts (CTT), the ppl of the verb *HAVE* is *hVued*, while the pt is *hVfde*. The reflex of OE \(-f\) in these words is spelled \(-u\)- intervocally and \(-f\)- before \(-d\). This orthographic distinction seems to be systematic and is illustrated also by the reflexes of OE *hēafod* HEAD (LAEME *heued*, *bihefdet*), *hlǣfdige* LADY (*lefdi*, *lauedy*), *wēofod* ALTAR (*ƿeofdes*, *ƿeouedes* (pl), the past systems of (*be*)lǣfan LEAVE (*leafde*, *leuede*), (*be*)lefan BELIEVE (*lefde*, *ileuet*) and (*be*)rēafian (BE)REAVE (*reafde*, *reuede*).

By this stage in the history of English, voiceless and voiced fricatives could appear contrastively in initial position. This opened the way for ‘\( f \)’ and ‘\( u/v \)’ to contrast medially, which happened increasingly systematically from early in the Middle English period. Our main research question therefore is: does \(-fd-\) in early ME texts represent [vd] as normally supposed, or could it represent [fd]?

From LAEME CTT we have retrieved the forms of all words that potentially show non-initial labial fricative plus voiced consonant in at least one of their grammatical realisations: i.e. reflexes of OE \(-fd-\), \(-fn-\), \(-fr-\), \(-fl-\). The results indicate that the different consonants provoke non-arbitrary differential use of \(-u\) or \( f \). Frequency of occurrence of voicing is tied to the sonority of the following consonant in the pattern:

\[
\text{voiced stops} > \text{nasals} > \text{liquids (order: lateral} \quad \text{rhotics)}\]

Voicing is most resisted where sonority is lowest, with [d] the most resistant followed by [n], [l] and [r] in that order.

Our concluding hypothesis is that at least a subset of reflexes of OE \(-fd-\), were at least variably pronounced [fd]. Such a pronunciation existed variably alongside [vd] and more commonly [ved], from voicing of [f] in voiced surroundings and addition of unhistorical [e]. Similarly, at least a subset of reflexes of OE \(-fn-\), \(-fl-\) and \(-fr-\) also were at least variably pronounced with [f]. In other words, what we find in the texts are representations of what was actually current in speech.

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Prescriptive influences on agreement with collective nouns in 19th and early 20th-century American English

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Keywords: collective nouns, agreement, prescriptivism, grammars, American English

Agreement with collective nouns has received a great deal of attention in English corpus linguistics. Previous research (e.g. Levin 2001, Hundt 2006) has shown that present-day AmE strongly prefers singular agreement with collective nouns, as illustrated in (1). However, much less is known about this phenomenon in the LModE period, in which collective nouns were “notoriously troublesome as to number” (Denison 1998: 99).

Lakaw (2017) shows that the present-day preference for the singular was not yet established in 19th-century AmE, and that plural agreement (exemplified in (2)) was still frequently used.

(1) The army was not in winter quarters now; it was in the field fighting, (COHA, 1913)
(2) The army have gone into winter quarters (COHA, 1823)

This paper consists of two parts. First, the early 20th-century agreement patterns of 20 collective nouns (e.g. army, government, society) were investigated in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA, see Davis 2010). Finally, the resulting shares of singular and plural agreement were correlated to prescriptive comments from a collection of American grammars, school books and style guides (drawn from publicly available sources (e.g. Google Books) and restricted databases, e.g. the Hyper Usage Guide of English) from the same time period to examine their influence on the emerging agreement patterns. This method is based on Anderwald’s (2016) quantitative grammaticography and is here applied to explain the aforementioned synchronic variability and thereby to contribute to the study of the emergence of the main varieties of English.

The findings suggest that the shift towards almost complete singular agreement with collective nouns in AmE occurred in the early 20th century. Furthermore, results indicate that collective noun agreement was frequently commented on in AmE grammars from the 19th century onwards. Indeed, it turns out that variation in agreement was in fact promoted at first. However, the preference of singular agreement, which we can witness today, seems to be the result of changes in the stance of 20th-century American grammars towards this topic, as exemplified by Mason (1928: 303), who in his college grammar argues that “[o]rdinarily […] a Collective noun requires a Singular verb.” The motivation behind this change of attitude seems to be a conscious differentiation process of the incipient Standard AmE variety from its BrE ancestor, as exemplified by Grattan (1927: 437): “… by American standards, many idiomatic usages long sanctioned in Great Britain are still ‘bad grammar.’ Such [is] the construction of collective noun with plural verb…”

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Early English phonology as revealed through British place-names

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Keywords: British place-names, Old English dialects, historical phonology, language contact

This paper provides a synoptic view of surviving pre-Anglo Saxon place-names in England (excluding Cornwall) and southern Scotland on the basis of data in Coates & Breeze 2000, Fox 2007 and James 2014. After mapping all the names judged to be either etymologically probable or possible, I show how consonants and long vowels in the place-name elements have different phonological forms in different areas of England and southern Scotland. Particular attention is paid to whether velar consonants in British names are palatalised before and/or after palatal vowels, and on how British long vowels have different reflexes in different regions of Britain. These differences usual stem from: 1) dialectal variation in British; 2) variation in Old English dialects; or 3) the effects of later contacts (e.g. with Norse). In some instances, however, the reasons are not entirely clear. Given that hundreds of place-names survive, it is surprising that handbooks on English historical phonology usually afford them little or no consideration at all.

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Keywords: Social roles, Late Modern English, Acts of Parliament, parliamentary debates, collocation

The paper assesses the representation of citizens in Acts of Parliament and parliamentary debates from 1800-2000. Representations are shared assumptions about groups of people that emerge when similar linguistic constructions are repeated in a discourse community (Baker 2014, Burr 2002). The acts are influential in shaping representations, since these texts have the legal right to change belief systems in society; at the same time, the laws and parliamentary debates reflect existing values associated with the citizens. Earlier research on representations has focused on present-day English genres (e.g. Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), but the role of the citizens has not been studied in historical legislation or parliamentary debates.

The first part of the data is a self-compiled corpus of late modern Acts of Parliament from 1800 to 2000. The corpus includes about 470,000 words, retrieved from the National Archives of the UK government. The second dataset encompasses parliamentary debates from the digitised Hansard archive from 1803 to 2000.

The study employs collocation analysis, genre studies and historical pragmatics. Collocations are lexical items that appear near a headword more often than random word combinations, affecting its meaning (e.g. McEnery and Hardie 2012). The word strings vary in genres, and consequently the representations can be genre specific (see Hunston 2007). Methodologically, the paper surveys content collocates that stem up to five words from the headword (e.g. citizen, person), and the paper identifies groups of collocates with the same semantic meaning (semantic preference) as well as recognises evaluative meanings associated with the headword (semantic prosody) (Sinclair 2004: 31). The collocates are further investigated from the point of view of historical pragmatics, paying attention to diachronic changes of the collocates and analysing the genres within their socio-historical contexts (see Taavitsainen and Jucker 2010).

The study illustrates that the citizens are portrayed from a limited number of viewpoints, and additionally the representations change diachronically. In the acts, the citizens are often seen as committing crimes in the nineteenth century, while their wellbeing is emphasised in the twentieth century. Thus, the semantic prosody is more positive in the latter century, underlining the equality of the citizens. These changes can be related to wider socio-historical developments, as the rights and wellbeing of the citizens were generally improved in the Victorian era (see Cornish et al. 2010, Englander 1998, Rees 2001).

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Hansard archive: digitised debates from 1803. See <http://www.hansard-archive.parliament.uk>


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From Phasal Polarity expression to aspectual marker: grammaticalization of already in Colloquial Singapore English

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Our paper focuses on the aspectual marker *already* in Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) and argues that the CSE *already* has shifted its grammatical function from what is referred to as a Phasal Polarity (PhP) expression implying a reference point at a prior phase in English as well as in other European languages (cf. Van der Auwera 1993; Van Baar 1997), to an aspectual marker expressing the perfective aspect (both the completive and inchoative aspect), as shown in (1) and (3). We submit that such grammaticalization results from contact induced interference introduced by the Sinitic substrates (i.e. Hokkien, Cantonese, and Mandarin) spoken in the area (see (2) and (4)).

The aim of this contribution is to reconstruct this grammaticalization process in Colloquial Singapore English, especially by exploiting an unused data source, namely the Oral History Interviews held by the National Archives of Singapore (OHIs-NAS). The informants of OHIs-NAS come from all walks of life, and various ethnic backgrounds – including Chinese, Malay, Peranakan, Indian, Iraqi and British. As the OHIs-NAS represents data originating a few decades before Colloquial Singapore English was sampled in widely used corpora such as the International Corpus of English (ICE-SG), it offers a valuable source for diachronic studies on Singapore English.

The study further compares the ratios of substrate-influenced *already* in the Oral History Interviews with ICE-SG and ICE-GB and suggests that they offer no convincing evidence for a shift away from CSE to “Standard English” in Singapore English. The research will extend to the additive marker *also*, the experiential marker *ever* and the contrastive foci maker *one*, three other words in CSE which have acquired Chinese-derived grammatical functions. The preliminary results show that the frequencies of these substrate-influenced variants are determined by social, ethnic background and educational level, but not by age.

(1) **Colloquial Singapore English** (Completive)
   a. I see the movie *already*. (Bao 2005: 239)
      ‘I saw the movie.’ or ‘I have seen the movie.’
   b. I stopped *already* working. (Oral History Interviews 000284/Reel 5)
      ‘I have stopped working.’

(2) **Mandarin Chinese**
   Zuótiān wǒ kàn le zhè ge diànyǐng.
   Yesterday I see le this CL film.
   ‘I saw the film yesterday’ (CLL Contemporary/Prose 3/Xiao Q.)

(3) **Colloquial Singapore English**
   He *already* studied there. But after some time, I went there, I can’t find him. (Oral History Interviews 000009/Reel 23)
   ‘He had started to study there, but I didn’t find him when I went there’ (Inchoative)

(4) **Mandarin Chinese**
   wǒ érzi shàngxuē le
   my son go school ASP
   ‘My son has started school.’

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Is there redundancy in so-called 'redundant' adverbial subordinators? Evidence from the history of English

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Keywords: adverbial subordinators; redundancy; ambiguity; polyfunctionality; accretion

A characteristic feature of Old English one-word adverbial subordinators is their syntactic polyfunctionality, in the sense that most of the forms which functioned as adverbial subordinators at this early stage were used also as adverbs and/or as prepositions, and some of them also served other functions (e.g. ær, nu, butan, swa, fa, bonne). It was only in the course of Middle English that the language developed special-purpose subordinators (e.g. when, because). Interestingly, a new subordinator type seems to have emerged in medieval and post-medieval times, namely polymorphemic connectives consisting of two subordinators, both of which mark the same interclausal relation. Examples of this pattern include and if (and ‘if’ + if ‘if’), for because (for ‘because, since’ + because ‘because’), and ascaunces (as ‘as, as if’ + Old French quanses ‘as if’), as in (1) to (3).

1. Anodur tyme I shal be as glad to do you pleser and iff I kan. (1482 N. Knyveton Let. cMay in Cely Lett. (1975) 145; OED s.v. and, conj. 1, adv., and n. 1 13b)
2. Keeping a countenance ascaunces she vnderstood him not (Sir P. Sidney Arcadia (1590) ii. xvi. sig. Z6v; OED s.v. askances, conj. and adv. A)
3. For because I was in her presence, I toke acquaintaunce of her excellence (1509 S. Hawes Pastime of Pleasure 147; OED s.v. because conj. B.1.a)

Connectives of this kind have sometimes been described as 'redundant subordinators' (cf., for example, Kortmann 1997), inasmuch as one of the members of the complex connective alone is enough to mark the relation (CONDITION, COMPARISON, and CAUSE in (1)-(3) above) signalled by the complex subordinator. A crucial question which arises here is whether we are dealing with cases of true redundancy or whether, on the contrary, so-called 'redundant subordinators' serve some specific function in the system. On the basis of evidence from a variety of sources, including the standard historical dictionaries and several historical corpora, it will be shown in this presentation that in these connectives accretion (cf. Kuteva 2008), or the accumulation of apparently 'redundant' material in the marking of one and the same category, clearly has a functional purpose. More specifically, for the connectives in (1)-(3) above, the main motivation for accretion is the avoidance of potential ambiguity; e.g., with a polyfunctional conjunction like for in (3) the need is felt to have some kind of explicit indication of its subordinating function.

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Does history come full circle? The loss and reinstatement of /r/ and /l/ in the varieties of Scottish English

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Keywords: Scottish English, rhoticity, liquids, vocalisation

According to Labov’s seminal work (1972, 1994), also Raumolin-Brunberg — Nevalainen (1997), and Eckert (2012), investigating historical changes poses certain methodological challenges connected with lack or scarcity of available, usually written and often incomplete, sources. The limitations of historical evidence may give rise to contradictory hypotheses on linguistic processes, especially sound shifts. Consequently, analysing historical data from the perspective of current changes and through a convergence of methods available nowadays may yield a more comprehensive view of historical change (Labov 1972: 101-102) Considering such sociolinguistic aspects as the nature of data (formal language or a vernacular) may also prove useful in studying historical processes.

This paper traces patterns of variable rhoticity in middle class Scottish English as well as the loss and partial preservation of /l/ in Scots between the 15th and 18th centuries (McClure 1994, Jones 2006). The existence of a connection between the fates of /r/ and /l/ was proposed by e.g. Gick 1999, 2002. A number of studies (e.g. Lawson et al. 2014, Dickson — Hall-Lew 2017) report on reduced rhoticity (i.e. postvocalic /r/, as in star) among Scottish middle class speakers at the turn of the 20th century and its reinstatement since the 1970s. Qualitative differences are also reported, as middle class speakers are believed to strongly favour /r/ realised as an approximant or schwar, as opposed to working class pronunciation where taps, trills, and derhoticised variants can be heard.

The paper verifies observations made in previous studies through the investigation of historical sources (e.g. Walker 1791) and a qualitative analysis of rhoticity in specific phonological contexts (e.g. before coronal segments, as in bass vs historical bars; Lass 1999), in the language of middle class speakers in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The analysis is based on recordings from the BBC Voices and SCOTS corpora. The results indicate similarity of the routes of the above processes because in the case of /l/ the parameters of prestige and phonological context can also be expected to play a role (Jones 2006). The study offers new insights into the loss and reinstatement of /r/ and /l/, showing that these processes are governed not only by linguistic mechanisms but also by social factors which account for inconsistencies observed in the data.

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“A negro man slave” or “my waitingman POMPEY”: Referring to fugitives in runaway slave notices

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Keywords: slavery, newspaper discourse, advertisements, North America

Notices placed by slave owners attempting to recapture fugitive slaves were a common feature in the advertising columns of 18th and 19th century American newspapers. Containing a description of the runaway and a promise of reward, these notices have been studied by historians for the wealth of information they contain about individual slaves (e.g. Franklin & Schweninger 1999). Although various kinds of early newspaper texts have been the focus of linguistic enquiry (see e.g. Bös & Kornexl 2015; Palander-Collin, Ratia & Taavitsainen 2017), very little such research has been conducted on runaway notices. This paper aims to fill that gap, focusing in particular on the nouns used to refer to the runaways.

This paper seeks answers to the following questions: What different nouns do the advertisers use in connection with the runaway? How frequent are these alternatives and how are they used in the notices? What differences can be observed in the tendencies between various areas and/or in different times? How might these be explained? The data of this study consist of about 2500 runaway slave notices collected and transcribed from newspaper issues in the America's Historical Newspapers database. The notices come from various colonies/states, both in the north and the south, and include examples ranging from the early 18th to mid-19th century.

Preliminary observations on the data show that advertisers most often resort to lexemes referring to the race (e.g. negro, mulatto) and gender (fellow, boy, woman, etc.) of the fugitive. Other options include referring to the slaves by their name or by words revealing their status (slave) or "occupation" (e.g. servant, hostler), current state (runaway) or sometimes also highly negative terms like villain. Typically advertisers use various combinations of these types of terms in the same notice. Differences between various areas and time periods can be observed, for instance in the usage of the lexeme slave (see also Mäkinen 2017). When interpreting the findings, the contents of the individual notices, their membership in the text category of newspaper advertisements, as well as the general social context need to be taken into account. The study shows how these varied word choices create subtly different images of the individuals striving for freedom.

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Exploring the development of English prose writing from a contact perspective: connectives in Anglo Norman and Middle English

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It is well known that Old and Early Middle English makes heavy use of parataxis, while by the Late Middle English period, English writing increasingly develops hypotactic structures, due to the influence of French and Latin prose styles (cf Fischer, van Kemenade, Koopman, van der Wurff 2000). This is facilitated by the introduction of subordinating conjunctions such as ‘so that’ (cf Rissanen 2007). However, much of the existing work on this area has been structural, rather than functional. Furthermore, as Traugott (1972) points out, the exact nature of French influence in particular on English syntax is still unclear. This paper addresses this challenge by asking: to what extent are the form and discourse function of connectives in thirteenth and fourteenth century Anglo Norman letters replicated in fifteenth century Middle English letters? Does this investigation provide any evidence of a greater desire to elaborate and specify the argumentative nature of differences between proposition (a) and proposition (b), often found within Anglo Norman letters, within those written in English? Overall, can this analysis tell us anything about language change in English as a result of the English/French contact situation in medieval England?

Building on work by Ingham (2011, 2015) and Beeching (2016), the Anglo Norman connectives investigated are conjunctions such as e(t) (‘and’), issint ge (‘so that’), car (‘for’) and relatives such as pour quoï, (‘for which reason’). The Middle English connectives investigated are conjunctions and, but, for and so, including instances of so that, as well as relative expressions (cf Kohnen (2007), Marcus (2017) and Meurman-Solin (2007)). The data used include a small set of Anglo Norman letters dating from the 1297-98 crisis in England, a set of Paston letters from the late 1460s, and a range of letters from the Stonor collection, which includes letters written in both Anglo Norman and Middle English. Linguistic findings are related to the content and socio-pragmatic contexts of the texts themselves. The paper hypothesizes that there will be a degree of replication of the functional use of French connectives in the English material, although paratactic devices such as discourse connective and will remain dominant in the latter. Overall however, it is suggested that the gradual disappearance of such paratactic features (and the later rejection of them by orthoepists and others), as well as an increasing regulation of clauses in English, can be traced back to earlier trends found in Anglo-Norman writing.

Primary sources

Secondary sources


Shifting responsibility in passing information. Stance-taking in Sir Thomas Bodley’s diplomatic correspondence

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Sir Thomas Bodley’s diplomatic and intelligence work in Denmark, France and the Low Countries produced a substantial corpus of correspondence between him and the Court (mostly members of the Privy Council), as well as between him and the Company of Merchants Adventurers. More than a thousand letters have been preserved and are now available online. As his missions were not particularly successful or devoid of conflict with his correspondents, the linguistic analysis of the letters within a pragmatic framework is particularly interesting, not least in relation to facework. In particular, previous investigations of similar correspondence (Fitzmaurice 2006; Okulska 2006; Palander-Collin 2010) and a pilot study on Bodley’s (Mazzon 2014), have revealed that the ways in which Sir Thomas conveyed information shows a high degree of differentiation and sensitivity to the context, and a particular caution about the sources he used to obtain that information.

The paper will focus on some of the expressions employed in the context of the transmission and assessment of information, with the aim of uncovering the linguistic means used to convey different levels of involvement vs. distancing shown by Bodley. As opposed to the previous study, in the present paper only letters by Bodley himself are taken into consideration (these are about 680 files, but several are copies), as the main focus is on his own stance in reporting the information he acquired during his missions. The relevant expression were selected through manual sampling, by reading about 200 letters and looking at the contexts in which the conveying of knowledge is referred to. Particular emphasis is placed on the contrast between personal and impersonal expressions, as well as on the employment of cognitive verbs of different epistemic strength in the performance of representative speech acts and on the epistemic modalisation of evidentials. The results show that Sir Bodley tends to include information gathered in various ways, but is very cautious about the reliability of the same and his degree of certainty regarding the information itself.

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Primary Source

Secondary Sources


Is historical linguistics catching up with quantitative corpus linguistics?

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Keywords: methodology, quantitative methods, corpus linguistics

Historical linguistics is not commonly associated with corpus and quantitative approaches. In this paper we provide evidence to support this impression, and argue that adopting quantitative approaches in greater measure would benefit historical linguistics. Although examples of quantitative corpus studies are attested throughout the history of modern historical linguistics, we argue that they have not yet been adopted by the majority of scholars. Furthermore, we argue that this is detrimental to the field of historical linguistics for two reasons. Firstly through missed opportunities for empirical research, and secondly by creating a methodological gap that is filled by researchers with less expertise in historical linguistics, to the detriment of the progress of the field (Pereltsvaig and Lewis 2015).

We used the ‘chasm’ model of technology adoption, introduced by marketing research (Moore 1998), to describe the situation. According to this model, a wide conceptual gap or chasm, divides the early, enthusiastic adopters of a new technology from the large conservative majority of practitioners.

We found that this model fits the case of historical linguistics. We analysed research articles from six volumes of historical linguistics journals, and categorized them along the qualitative and quantitative dimension, as well as the corpus-based and non-corpus-based dimension. As a comparison baseline from general linguistics, we referred to the work of Sampson (2013).

The results show that historical linguistics lags behind general linguistics in the adoption of quantitative corpus methods.

We argue that with respect to quantitative corpus methods, historical linguistics is in the pre-chasm stage, meaning that widespread adoption of these techniques is still difficult. Instead, early innovators are crucial for spreading new ideas further, and for building a framework that will appeal to the majority of historical linguists. Such framework is described in (author1-author2, 2017) and integrates corpus quantitative approaches in new research practices for historical linguistics. We illustrate the framework by means of a quantitative, corpus-based case study on third personal singular verb forms (thats) in Early Modern English. The results are contrasted with another study of the same topic (Gries and Hilpert 2010), illustrating the power of quantitative corpus studies for nuanced exploration of historical linguistics phenomena.

References


Two Centuries of American Pronunciation: an Analysis of Webster’s *Dissertations on the English Language*

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**Keywords**: American English, variation, Webster, 18th century pronunciation

Noah Webster was a lexicographer and a language reformer and is considered the “Father of American Scholarship and Education” because of the contributions he made as a teacher and grammarian. In his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789), Noah Webster provided evidence for the pronunciation of American English in the late 18th century. On the one side, his descriptions reveal geographic variation: coexisting dialects which he many times considered as "improper" or "corrupted" English. On the other, they present social variation as to when he describes "naive spellings" or English spoken by the "learned", the "well-bred", the "illiterate" or the "country" people.

When the settlers from England arrived in the US in the 17th century, they carried their regional dialects with them. Apparently, the most common dialect was the Eastern Midland one, but a small percentage of the settlers were speakers of London Standard English (Penzl, 1990). That fact created a diglossic environment in the new country. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to examine the American English pronunciation as described in Webster’s work to determine the linguistic situation at that time. The study reveals that among the regional variations, there are many references to the "southern people", "middle states", the standard of the "eastern universities" (Yale and Harvard) pronunciation, and even to the "barbarous dialect of the eastern country people." Also, Webster provided examples of urban varieties like those in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Furthermore, his discussions provide a basis to indicate that there were many American innovations at that time. The study of his *Dissertations on the English Language* yields that there was a common American Standard English, particularly among members of the upper class, with regional variations within that standard.

**References**


The best studied use of the subjunctive in Present-Day English is the mandative subjunctive, i.e. its use in *that*-clauses depending on matrix clauses which contain verbs, adjectives or nouns expressing emotions, demands, requests, or wishes (cf. references). The mandative subjunctive competes with putative *should* and the indicative. The latter is described as a typical feature of British English, whereas the former is typical of American English. Morphologically, the mandative subjunctive is always a present tense form (no backshifting after past tense verbs in the matrix clause), putative *should* by contrast is the past tense of present tense *shall*. The interesting combination is a matrix clause with a present tense verb and a *that*-clause with *should*. Contrary to its morphological form, *should* here refers to a non-past action or state of affairs.

In this paper I propose to investigate when and how *should* acquired this feature. Attempts at answers to the first part of the question are found in the syntax parts of the Middle English and Early Modern English volumes of the *Cambridge History of the English Language* (Fischer 1992: 315, Rissanen 1999: 235) and in the more specialized studies on complement selection after the high frequency verbs *biddan* and *beodan* in Old and Middle English (López-Couso and Mendez Naya 1996, 2006). According to these sources the origin of *should* with non-past reference dates from Old English (Rissanen), from around 1300 (Fischer), and López-Couso and Mendez Naya consider the possibility that “the dissolution of the past/non-past relationship between *shall* and *should* may have started as early as OE” (2006: 42, fn.7). Completely unanswered is the second part of the question, namely how this tense neutralization process took place.

Instead of concentrating on *should* as a competitor of the mandative subjunctive, I will take a wider perspective and analyse its occurrences in all constructions in which subjunctives are attested, i.e. in main clauses, in adjectival relative clauses, in comparative and adverbial clauses, and in *that*-clauses where it competes with the mandative subjunctive. My data will come from the Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English parts of the *Helsinki Corpus*. From the analysis of these data I will derive the hypothesis that the combination of a matrix clause with a present tense verb and a *that*-clause with putative *should* is only the last step of an expansion process, which started with main clauses in Old English.

References


From *eadig* to *happy*: the lexical replacement in the field of Medieval English adjectives of fortune

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**Keywords:** borrowing, lexical replacement, layering, typology, Middle English

The paper is concerned with the lexical replacement of the original Old English adjectives of fortune such as *eadig*, *bliþe* and (*ge*)*sælig* with new words *happy* and *lucky* in Middle English. At the time when English borrowed numerous Romance words denoting abstract concepts, in this sphere the language chose to take in the items of Germanic origin derived from Scandinavian *happ/heppinn* and Middle Dutch *gelucke* (of obscure etymology), respectively. The Norse root *happ-* developed new derivatives and senses in English. Although the noun *hap* itself became obsolescent in Early Modern English, the adjective *happy*, the verb *happen* and the adverb *perhaps*, whose diffusion was rapid in all late Middle English dialects and registers, are now high frequency words. Old English had had a cognate adjective *gehæp* (and some derivatives) with rather limited occurrence, but its sense of ‘fitting, appropriate’ contributed to the polysemy of Middle and Early Modern English *happy*, which also retained the original Old English meaning of the word, as can be seen in, e.g., *You are come in very happy time To bear my greeting to the senators* (Shakespeare, *JC* II.ii.60).

The noun *luck* and the adjective *lucky* appeared in Late Middle English. So did the French-derived word *eurous* (from *heureux*), but it was a rare word, mostly found in Lydgate’s writings. The Latinate *fortunate, fortuitous* have become rather formal words. In this semantic field the Germanic words appear to dominate in Modern English. As often happens in such situations, the process was gradual in line with the idea of layering (cf. Hopper 1991, Vanhowe 2008 and also Allan 2016 on the co-occurrence of synonyms), but finally the obsolescence of the ‘older’ words led to the complete lexical replacement. This will be seen in the context of typology of lexical change (e.g. Fischer 2003, Gévaudan 2007). Some attention will also be paid to the manuscript lexical variation, especially in the *Cursor Mundi*. The illustrative language material comes from the lexical databases (*DOE*, *MED* and *OED*), the *Corpus of Middle English Poetry and Prose* and the Shakespearean corpus.

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The origin of auxiliary do: evidence from Old English

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Keywords: auxiliary do, Old English, historical syntax

This paper examines the origin of auxiliary do in Old English affirmative declaratives. Many studies have dealt with its development in Middle English (Ellegård 1953; Kroch 1989), but this study makes a novel contribution by considering the what we may call “proto-auxiliary” do in Old English. Since the earliest examples of this use of do are found in affirmative declaratives, it is on this construction that I focus.

Based on a careful study of Middle English data, Ellegård concludes that the origin of the auxiliary do is the causative use, and this has come to be the prevalent assumption. However, many other theories regarding the origin of auxiliary do came up during the years: habitual marker (Garrett 1998), perfective marker (Denison 1985), spoken language feature (Rissanen 1991).

This paper takes as its starting point the construction do + infinitive in affirmative declaratives in Old English. This construction was already present in Old English as in “and treowa he deð DO fierlice blowan INF”, and may be considered the ancestor of auxiliary do in affirmative declaratives. I argue that this construction evolved into the auxiliary do, whose very first examples are attested at the beginning of the 14th century as in “Ant heo duden DO drohen INF”. I will present data on the earliest instances of do that allows me to track the first developments, and this includes information about type of verb, type of subject, participants of the verb, adverbial expressions, verbal arguments, context in which it appears, genre and origin of text. I also analyse the role played by Latin, since the earliest examples of do + infinitive occur in texts translated from Latin and the same development has not taken place with the Latin equivalent facere. My data also cast doubt on Garrett’s explanation, since I can show that the distribution of adverbials in the early examples do not confirm his hypothesised development.

The corpus that I used for this survey is the Dictionary of Old English (DOE).

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Time flies and compliments remain

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There are only three things women need in life: food, water and compliments (Chris Rock)

Keywords: compliment, Gestalt analysis, literary dialogue, speech act, politeness.

The paper describes evolution in the verbal representation of compliments in the English literary dialogue of the 18-21 centuries. The speech etiquette viewed through the prism of cultural and interpersonal interaction calls for a special study of the compliments as a respectful polite remark aimed at a praise to someone’s appearance, actions, moral qualities etc.

The research project is based on applying the Gestalt analysis to linguistic studies and dwells on lexical and syntactic changes observed in the compliments used in the original literary dialogue within the three centuries’ period.

Our main goal consists in disclosing the cognitive mechanisms of verbalising a compliment, its functional role in different phases of the dialogue and perspectives of its future development. We have also tried to establish gender differences in formulating and receiving compliments.

Understanding a compliment both as a speech act and part of communication skills, we argue about semantic and syntactic modifications that the complimentary remarks have undergone in the process of language and society development.

The presented paper combines concepts from Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory with the in-depth account of Gestalt figures associated with the verbal representation of literary compliments typical of the historical periods studied.

A close study of 1,500 original literary dialogues selected consecutively from characters’ parties of the English novels dating to 18, 19, and 20-21 centuries, respectively, has revealed essential shifts in the verbal Gestalt of the compliment as a communicative act of politeness. The work results in finding steady correlations between lexical, syntactic and ethical ways of wording a compliment and the time the novel dates to. The observations obtained point to the growing role of feminism and democratic changes in modern society.

References
History of English as punctuated equilibria?

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Keywords: meta-analysis, rate of change, historical sociolinguistics, Language Change Database

It is uncontested that major events of language contact such as the invasions of the Germanic tribes in the 5th century and of the Normans in the 11th century had far-reaching consequences on the English language. Following Dixon’s punctuated equilibrium model (1997), these events have been viewed as major external punctuations in the development of English, followed by periods of relative stability (e.g. Bergs 2005: 53–55). Bergs argues that, despite the point made by Lass (1997: 304) that stasis and punctuation are often asynchronous on different levels of language, it is possible to agree on some average rates of change for the language system as a whole. But any minor “punctuations” in the development of the language are naturally also of interest to the historical linguist. One that has been studied using the Corpus of Early English Correspondence is the Civil War effect on 17th century English (Raumolin-Brunberg 1998).

Both the major and minor punctuation models proceed from society to language. We would like to propose a complementary, experimental approach by proceeding from language to society. We have created an online resource called the Language Change Database (LCD), which draws together the results of c. 300 corpus-based studies of the history of English and which can be easily accessed and updated by members of the research community. We envisage that the LCD could be used to carry out meta-analyses of a large number of linguistic changes with the aim of discovering whether and to what extent these converge on certain external events or periods of time (Nevalainen et al. 2016).

In this paper, we will explore the information already available in the database by carrying out a meta-analysis of processes of change in the late medieval period based on the standardized numerical data included in the LCD. For this purpose, we will use an application designed to facilitate exploratory meta-analyses of this kind: the LCD Aggregated Data Analysis workbench (LADA). LADA can be used to select, sort, normalize and visualize the data included in the LCD, thus enabling scholars of English to test hypotheses of both individual and systemic changes against the results of existing research. Our findings on the 14th–15th centuries suggest that the experimental approach is worth pursuing. We will discuss them in terms of the stasis vs. punctuation model and the levels of language involved but also consider the data sources on which these observations are based.

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The transition from Latin to English as a language of science has been much studied in the domain of medicine (e.g. the studies in Taavitsainen & Pahta 2004). However, there are far fewer studies on the subject in the domain of alchemy – another early science (Grund 2013: 428). In this paper, I will discuss the manuscript copies of the alchemical work known as The Mirror of Alchemy (MoA) from the point of view of vernacularisation and retranslation.

Most 15th-century alchemical texts in England were translated (Grund 2013: 433). MoA, which was previously attributed to Roger Bacon (c. 1214–92), is no exception: it was translated into English in the 15th century from the Latin Pseudo-Baconian work Speculum Alchemiae. There are seven extant manuscript copies of MoA, dating from the 15th to 17th centuries. The work was also printed in English in 1597 (ed. Linden 1992).

Retranslation has been much studied in the context of literary texts (Edwards 2013) and the present day (e.g. Paloposki & Koskinen 2004, 2010), but also occurs in nonfiction (Wardle 2011: 285). The manuscript copies of MoA are an example of retranslation: there are four different translations. Firstly, there is a unified tradition from the 15th and 16th centuries, transmitted through manuscript, surviving in four copies. A second manuscript translation tradition is evident in a 16th-century copy. Thirdly, one 17th-century manuscript copies the 1597 English printed translation. Finally, one manuscript is an independent translation of a 1613 Latin printed version.

How do the translation traditions of MoA differ in terms of Latin-influenced terminology, and is there a change over time? To answer this question, I employ close reading of the manuscript copies of MoA, comparing them with the Latin manuscript tradition and printed versions from 1541, 1597, and 1613. This study is part of my doctoral dissertation, which will include a digital scholarly edition of the seven manuscript copies of MoA. My analysis shows that the translators and scribes used a combination of linguistic strategies to (re)translate Speculum Alchemiae into English: borrowing the Latin word used in the source text (terrestrity), using native English lexemes (stynkyng), and occasional code-switching (inseparabiliter). Strategies for transforming scientific texts into the vernacular vary through the Middle English and Early Modern English versions of MoA. The differences are explained by diachronic changes in the language of science as well as the translation strategies used.

References

The DP cycle arrested: reduced *th’* in EModE

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

(1) 7 *begæt* *thar* e priuileges, *an* of alle þe lands of *pabbotrice*

    And obtained their privileges one of all the lands of the-abbey

?a1160 Peterb.Chron.(LdMisc 636) an.1137

Reduction of this type continues unabated throughout Middle English and Early Modern English. In time reduced *th’* broadens the range of possible hosts as in Middle English it only attaches to a noun or adjective beginning with a vowel or <h>, while in Shakespeare it also appears before consonants as illustrated by van Gelderen (2011: 214). Also in Middle English the pronouns *one* and *other* become included among the hosts that accept reduced *th’*.

In an earlier study (Nykiel 2015) I show that while the 16th century sees the highest frequency of reduced *th’* ever, this form of the definite article is virtually gone by 1710. Also Barber (1976) hints at the dwindling tendency in the use of reduced *th’* in EModE without however presenting any actual data. I this study I explore the reasons for the quick transition from the relatively high level of popularity to the demise of reduced *th’*.

Following van Gelderen (2011) I assume that the development of a reduced form of the definite article in English follows from the DP cycle and such a quick decline and the ultimate loss of reduced *th’* comes quite unexpectedly. Making use of the texts compiled in the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English, I argue that a variety of factors conspired in EModE to oust reduced *th’* from standard English. In ME reduced *th’* is associated with easily retrievable antecedents when a definite nominal with reduced *th’* is used anaphorically, with a significant degree of givenness of information as conceptualized by Prince (1981) and, late in the period, reduced *th’* also shows up in environments where it can be interpreted as a nominal marker rather than a definite article. I show in this study that these features of reduced *th’* fail to uphold in the EModE texts. What is more, prescriptivist pressure, which includes the general tendency to dispense with the use of the apostrophe, reinforces, the ouster of reduced *th’* in the 18th century. Hence, the DP cycle of the definite article is arrested.

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Ambiguity Resolution and Evolution of Homophones in English

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Keywords: homophone, Zipf’s law, diatone, word frequency, neural substrate.

The abundance of ambiguity in languages has intrigued linguists for a long time. If we view language as a system to encode meanings with signals, it would seem that language is not optimal, because in an ideal code one signal should correspond to exactly one meaning. When there are one-to-many correspondences between form and meaning, homophony and polysemy, which are major sources of lexical ambiguities, arise.

In this study, based on the quantitative study of homophones in English, we demonstrate why homophones occur. Homophony is a desirable feature in communication system. However, when lots of homophones emerge, the force to avoid creating homophones operates. We examine the evolution of diatones, i.e., noun-verb pairs where the stress falls on the first syllable for the noun but the second syllable for the verb, as a case of avoidance of homophony. Furthermore, we investigate the neural bases of homophones and diatones.

Zipf (1949) suggests the simultaneous minimization of the two opposing forces from listener and speaker for form and meaning associations. Zipf’s law, which states that word frequencies decay as a power law of its rank, is the outcome of form-meaning associations adopted for complying with listener and speaker needs. It implies one form to many meanings, i.e., polysemy and homophony (Ferrer i Cancho & Solé 2003). Based on the CELEX database of English, Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki parsed corpus of Old English and Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of Middle English, we demonstrate that homophones are high-frequency words and cumulate with the times, and the threshold of the homophones is around 20%.

Homophony results from ubiquitous pressure from efficient communication (Piantadosi et al. 2012), but at the same time humans try to manifest one meaning, one form to avoid creating homophones. When a large number of homophones appeared in the 16th century due to huge influx of French and Latin in ME and EModE with the gradual leveling and loss of inflections from LOE through LME, diatones firstly emerged. Based on Sherman’s (1975) catalogue of historical sources, we show that the formation of diatones started in the high-frequency homophones in the 16th century, but after the 18th century it gradually diffused from the low-frequency homophones.

We further examine the neural substrates of evolution of noun-verb homophones and diatones using near-infrared spectroscopy. We suggest that nouns and verbs are processed in the same anatomical area of the brain in OE, and in different neural substrates after ME (Ogura & Wang 2018).

References
Verbs with negative import introducing an affirmative or negative þæt-clause

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Keywords: Old English, Middle English, verbs with negative import, the ‘expletive’ negative

A verb with negative import can be followed by a that-clause of negative construction, though the negation in the dependent clause is logically unnecessary. In his Old English Syntax § 2039 (e. The ‘expletive’ negative), Mitchell (1985) explains that in OE, “when negated verbs (or nouns) expressing doubt govern a þæt clause, a negative which is not required by the sense sometimes appears in the þæt clause”, quoting both examples of negative and affirmative clauses from Old English Boethius and Gregory’s Dialogues. Before this, Visser (1963-73) quotes both types of examples from Cura Pastolaris (CP 210.24 we sculen him forbeodan þæt hie huru swæ ne don and 451.2 þæt us on oðerre stowe forbiet þæt we hit beforan mannum don) and states that “the following statement in OED s.v. forbid v. 1 d (c) needs modification: ‘in early use with a negative, which the later idiom omits’” (§ 869, footnote 1). In OED3, however, we find the same statement even today (accessed on 4 Nov 2017).

In this paper I will examine Old English verbs of negative import, especially those meaning ‘to forbid’ and ‘to doubt’, like belean, ðetsacan, forbeodan, forbugan, forcwedan, forhabban, forsacan, forwyryan, georþrian, widsacan, twoeðan, etc., some of those up to Middle English period, in a completely philological way (i.e. interpreting Old and Middle English examples in the data of OED3, DOEWC and MED) and conclude that (1) the construction ‘Vneg þæt … ne’ (e.g. Lk 23.73.5 him bið forboden þæt he offrige Gode halh, ‘Vneg + to-infinitive’ (Lk 23.2 (Ru) forbeodende gæfel to sellanna), where ne in the þæt-clause simply emphasises or repeats the sense of the main verb with negative import, and (2) is also alternative to ‘Vneg and Vsay þæt … ne’ or ‘Vneg and Vsay + direct negation’ (ÆHom21 203 forbæad … þus cwedende: Ne fare ge), because, as Mitchell (1964: 64 Note) explains with the sentence ‘He said that: he was ill’, in Medieval syntax ‘He forbade that: they should not do it’ was a quite acceptable analysis. There has been, therefore, no structural change from ‘Vneg þæt … ne’ to ‘Vneg þæt …’ necessary so as to attain a logical development, but the former was preferred in Old and Middle English prose, because ne in the subordinate clause simply corresponded with or co-referred to the negative sense of the verb that governed the clause.

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Contributor, Free rider and Loser in Grammaticalization

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Keywords: grammaticalization, article, DP, loser

I claim that there are three kinds of elements which are involved in grammaticalization. One is a contributor which triggers a given change or contributes to the change; a free rider is grammaticalized thanks to the contributor; a loser neither contributions to the change nor exploits the change fully.

I take up the issue of the emergence of articles in English, which is assumed to be one instantiation of grammaticalization (Sommerer 2011). I claim that the ancestor of a definite article the, i.e. OE demonstrative se/seo, is a contributor, while an OE numeral an, ‘one’, the ancestor of an indefinite article a/an is a free rider and sum, the OE ancestor of some is a loser.

I assume that OE had no determiner system, DP (Abney 1987) and the DP emerged in the ME period (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003; Allen 2008; Crisma 2011, 2012).

Based on the quantitative data from the YCOE, I propose provisional criteria for deciding what element could be a contributor of grammaticalization.

(i) An element must occur constantly over a period.
(ii) An element must occur frequently, maybe over 7.0% of all words, and over 80% of the relevant structure.

OE se/seo which meets the above two conditions can be qualified for being a contributor while OE numeral an cannot be, since an does not meet the two. Why could a numeral an become an indefinite article?

On my hypothesis, grammaticalization means creating a functional space in a given structure: in this case, creating a space before a noun. Then, the use of determiners has become obligatory in PDE (cf. Gelderen 1993, 2000). Se/seo contributed to the creation of this space, while an was later grammaticalized in that determiner space which was created by se/seo. The OE numeral an could get a free ride. Then, there is time difference between the and a/an in their emergence.

One more question is why sum could not acquire the status of the indefinite article, that is, why sum lost the competition. According to Hopper and Martin (1987: 298), sum is the pragmatically strongest non-anaphoric device in OE, while a numeral an is second. One factor is the frequency: the frequency of sum outnumbered that of an until the time of Ælfric but after this sum was outnumbered by an. Another reason of sum’s defeat is its strong salience for the discourse (Hopper and Martin 1987), which blocks grammaticalization.

References
The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose. (YCOE)
The role of (the avoidance of) centre embedding in the change OV $\rightarrow$ VO in English

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Keywords: centre embedding; syntactic recursion; change OV $\rightarrow$ VO; relative clause extraposition.

It has been argued Ogura (2001, 2004) that the avoidance of centre embedding is at the root of the change OV $\rightarrow$ VO in English. According to her, relative clauses (the commonest type of centre-embedded clause cross-linguistically) originated in English as separated from their antecedents (2a) and in a later stage, the head object noun was pulled to a position before the relative clause, producing the VO pattern (2b). The head noun and the relative could not be united (according to Ogura 2001: 238) by moving the relative back after the head noun, because that would produce perceptually problematic centre-embedded structures (2c).

(2)

a. Hi þær manega beboda setton [he to Christendome belimpað]
   O  V   RC

b. Hi þær setton manega beboda [he to Christendome belimpað]
   V  O   RC

c. Hi þær manega beboda [he to Christendome belimpað] setton
   O  RC   V

In this paper I present the results of a corpus analysis which seriously challenges Ogura’s assumptions, as it reveals a moderate impact of centre-embedded structures in OE and a clear correlation between the incidence of such structures and some specific types of Old English prose. The study also points in the direction of processing factors probably not being a specifically determinant variable in the change OV $\rightarrow$ VO in English. Other issues that are addressed in the study are the limits of central recursion in OE (i.e. the maximum number of levels of clausal embedding) and the general interplay between stylistic factors and syntactic recursion.

References
A historical AND and the implication for Middle English lexicography

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Keywords: Anglo-Norman, Middle English, lexicography

Over the last two decades, the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (www.anglo-norman.net) has been under revision, a process driven initially by the extensive expansion of its corpus. In parallel with the editorial revision, the dictionary has been transformed into an entirely online entity, with major technical developments over the last decade allowing considerable expansion of the semantic presentation, including hyperlinks to entries in cognate dictionary entries and tools for searching by semantic category.

Throughout the revision process, the primary organisation of the dictionary has remained a semantic one, and indeed, the introductory material for the dictionary warns the reader that the provided citations should not be used as indications of earliest (or latest) attestation as they are chosen for their semantic, rather than historical, value. Nevertheless, a number of historical dictionaries choose to use this data to provide dates of earliest attestation in Anglo-Norman.

Given the demand for this information from dictionaries of Medieval French and Latin as well as Middle English, the editors of the Anglo-Norman Dictionary have embarked on a programme to transform the dictionary into a historical dictionary, or at least, one which will provide information on the earliest attestation of a sense, dates of individual citations as well as texts and a reorganisation of all given citations.

This paper would like to examine the process by which this transformation will occur, highlighting some of the difficulties in dating Anglo-Norman citations as well as retroactively adding citations to completed entries. The paper will also examine some of the initial results of this process, showing how this research will help clarify the complicated contact relationship between Anglo-Norman and continental varieties of medieval French as well as between Anglo-Norman and Middle English and medieval Latin.

This paper would like to examine the initial results of this process, showing how this programme of revision has uncovered earlier attestations which will challenge ideas of contact between the languages and how the refined dating of Anglo-Norman texts and citations may clarify to complicated relationship between Anglo-Norman and Middle English.
Multilingual practices in Late Modern English medical writing

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Medical texts started appearing in the vernacular during the Middle English period and by the end of the Early Modern period most original medical writing was published in English (see e.g. French 2003). Throughout this period of gradual vernacularisation, English medical writings bear witness to a frequent co-occurrence of languages in the same text for a variety of functions (see Pahta 2004, 2011). Because of this long disciplinary history of vernacular writing and multilingualism, medical writing is a particularly fruitful domain in the vibrant field of historical multilingualism (Schendl & Wright 2011, Pahta et al. 2018).

In this paper, we explore how eighteenth-century medical writers used their multilingual resources, analysing data from the forthcoming corpus of Late Modern English Medical Texts (LMEMT; see Taavitsainen et al. 2014) and using a corpus-based methodology developed by the MultiPract project at the University of Tampere (Tyrkkö & Nurmi 2017, Tyrkkö et al. 2017, Nurmi et al. 2018). LMEMT, the third part of the Corpus of Early English Medical Writing, covers the eighteenth century and contains c. 2 million words of closely curated content from all major fields of medical writing including textbooks, topic-specific treaties, recipe books, health manuals, surgical and anatomical writing, institutional texts and medical periodicals.

We will present descriptive statistics on multilingual practices in the material, including the languages, frequencies and distributions of multilingual practices, and breaking down multilingual practices by type (conventionalised, prefabricated and free) and paratextual orientation (title page, running text, marginal note and footnote). We will also discuss in detail the various pragmatic functions of the foreign-language content (terminology, intertextuality, text organising and authority assertion). The evidence will show that although the practice of multilingualism carried on into the Late Modern period, notable differences can also be observed. These include the appearance of modern European languages such as French and Italian, the decreasing popularity of multilingual practices on title-pages and in marginalia, and the use of explicit flagging of proverbs in classical languages to distinguish them from authoritative medical quotations.

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Adapting the Dynamic Model to historical linguistics: Case studies on the Middle English and Anglo-Norman contact situation

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**Keywords:** language contact, dynamic model, Middle English, Anglo-Norman

This paper discusses a new implementation of the Dynamic Model of contact by Schneider (2007) by applying it to the medieval contact situation between Anglo-Norman (AN) and Middle English (ME), investigating structural changes that occurred during this period, both contact-induced and innovative. Specifically, the emergence of features differentiating AN from continental Old French, as well as their transfer to ME, are discussed within this framework.

The model distinguishes between various speech communities, categorising them as settler strands or indigenous strands (STL and IDG respectively). Although the Dynamic Model was originally formulated for colonial and postcolonial varieties of English, its application to the medieval contact situation is justified given the parallels between colonial settlings and the social situation in England after the Norman Conquest, which was characterised not only by the elite status of AN as the migratory STL in a first phase, but also by subsequent stages of development in which the distinction between the speech communities became increasingly blurred.

The Dynamic Model proposes five stages of development: foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation, and differentiation. The linguistic effects of the central stage, nativisation, include grammatical features emerging when idiosyncrasies of usage develop into indigenous and innovative patterns and rules (Schneider 2007:44–45). The nativisation stage is further modelled by Van Rooy (2011), where linguistic features from STL and IDG are said to enter a common feature pool, as defined by Mufwene (2001:4–6), from which they can be selected or rejected by the speech community.

Based on data from the PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000) and the AND (Trotter 2006), the applicability of the Dynamic Model to the medieval contact situation is tested through three case studies:

- The productivity of AN verbal prefixes {a-, en-, es-} with native ME verbs, e.g. en- + deuen (“to shed dew or rain”) yielding endeuen (“to bedew, to cover with dew”);
- The role played by AN in the developments of secondary predicate constructions (SPCs) in the ME period, during which to-SPC (hallow someone to bishop), which was dominant in Old English (Mitchell 1985:451), was largely replaced by as-SPC (crown someone as king) and for-SPC (hold someone for a friend);
- The effect of AN verbs which took de before their complement on the development of causative/partitive “genitive objects” (see Visser 2002:§§ 370–376), whose genitive complements (hie gescemoned eargra weorc/hea wines dranc) were replaced by of-phrases (they were ashamed of evil works/he drank of the wine) in ME.

The Dynamic Model, when applied beyond its original context, provides a framework with the potential to explain cross-linguistic influence in both directions (STL to IDG and vice versa), as well as varying degrees of influence in intense/superficial contact scenarios and high- versus low-status migration contexts.

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Early Modern English Lifespan change versus intergenerational incrementation in the schematization of syntactic constructions

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In this talk we tease apart two loci of change of schematic syntactic constructions in Early Modern English. One relates to continuous social accommodation, the other to cognitive reorganization constrained by degrees of entrenchment (cf. also Schmid 2015). Our analysis is based on data from the EMMA-corpus (Early-Modern Multiloquent Authors), a new large-scale longitudinal corpus comprising the writings of 50 prolific authors from the 17th & 18th-century London-based elite. In schematicising a construction acquires a ‘procedural’ function (Traugott & Trousdale 2013). Schematic constructions exhibit higher degrees of non-compositional meaning and, as such, constraints inherited from more lexical sources are relaxed, licensing more contentful variation. We provide evidence that schematicisation results from an interplay between gradual frequency shifts at the communal level, and more discrete types of syntactic reorganization that are mostly attested between generations. While somewhat reminiscent of the distinction between i-language (which is argued to shift intergenerationally) and e-language (which shifts communally), we show that the difference between the two is a matter of degree, and social accommodation and degrees of entrenchment are intertwined.

We examine it-clefts and the progressive. The it-cleft increases significantly in frequency in the seventeenth century, and also extends beyond its original core with the rise of new possible foci, such as adverbials of reason (1), or, later, time (2).

(1) *It was for our ſins that he dyed* (Baxter, 1651)
(2) *It is but lately that we were put to it* (Baxter, 1661)

Extension occurs in a staged manner, from the strict definite NP-only constraint at the start of the construction’s appearance to free accommodation of indefinites, prepositionals, and adverbials later in the period (Patten 2012).

Progressive constructions are quite rare in the present tense at the beginning of the 17th century, but increase significantly afterwards. At first their use is fairly limited, and still related to the stative-copular origin. Interestingly, its early use appears to be motivated by the social maxim of extravagance (*talk in such a way that you are noticed*) (cf. Keller 1994:101). Only after the innovation was conventionalized did it acquire a more schematic and neutral aspectual function.

For both cases we provide evidence that lifespan change occurs but is constrained by the entrenchment of existing mental representations. Newer generations are not constrained by prior entrenchment but rather by what they hear in the community. The two constraint types play out differently, with the latter being less restrictive.

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Distributional changes in synonym sets: The case of fragrant, scented, and perfumed in 19th- and 20th-century American English

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Keywords: synonymy, diachrony, collocation, conditional inference trees

Despite its ubiquitous presence in language, synonymy is considered a perplexing semantic relation. This is because synonyms share core denotational semantic traits, notwithstanding the subtle distinctions that they exhibit in both meaning and usage. Many recent studies have focused on the semantic structure of synonyms from a synchronic perspective (e.g. Divjak/Gries 2008; Liu 2010), while their historical evolution has been largely ignored. This paper aims to fill this gap by analyzing the diachronic development of the attributive uses of the synonymous adjectives fragrant, scented, and perfumed in American English, exemplified in (1)-(3):

(1) In England there is the luxuriant foliage, the **frAGRANT blossom** […] (COHA, 1870, FIC, LadyIceANovel)
(2) Over his shorts he wore shirts of **scented silk** or pongee. (COHA, 1947, FIC, Gallery)
(3) McClintock poured tonic on Vridar's hair and then saturated the hair with **perfumed oil**. (COHA, 1934, FIC, PassionsSpinPlot)

Instances of the three synonyms are retrieved from COHA and annotated for the predictors ‘subperiod’ – four fifty-year periods between 1810 and 2009 – and ‘semantic category of the noun collocate’. To examine their collocational preferences, head nouns are grouped into semantic types following the classification in the HTOED (e.g. ‘food/drink’, ‘plants/flowers’, ‘body’, ‘matter’, ‘aesthetics’, and ‘cleaning’). The data is then fed into a conditional inference tree analysis. Special attention is paid to the relation between the two predictors, as this non-parametric test allows for a straightforward visualization of how predictors interact in relatively small data sets (Tagliamonte/Baayen 2012; Levshina 2015: 291-300).

Preliminary results indicate a major significant split between nouns denoting natural sweet smells (e.g. those belonging to ‘plants/flowers’), which typically collocate with fragrant, and nouns designating artificial sweet smells (e.g. those in the semantic types ‘aesthetics’ and ‘cleaning’), which are mainly modified by perfumed and scented. Concerning the historical evolution of the synonyms, the data show a significant increase of scented and a decrease of fragrant over time, with the former gaining ground at the expense of the latter in the semantic categories ‘food/drink’, ‘plants/flowers’, ‘matter’, and ‘body’. These findings shed light on the semantic structure of this set of synonyms, since the prototypical member of the set, fragrant, now appears to be in the process of being replaced by scented, which was the least frequent of the three adjectives at the beginning of the 19th century.

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Dorothy Sayers, Prescriptivism, and the Shall/Will Distinction

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Keywords: prescriptivism, British English, language contact

Dorothy Sayers (1893-1957) was one of the most famous writers of her time. While Sayers’ fiction is still widely read, her essays on linguistic topics are considerably less well known. In this paper, I therefore discuss two essays, “Plain English” and “The English Language” (both reprinted in Sayers 1946) in order to contextualize these essays within prescriptivist approaches to English.

Consider her remarks on shall and will, in “The English Language.” Sayers dismisses the idea that the distinction is not important, using the Biblical parable of the Prodigal Son to illustrate her argument, specifically the statement that I will arise and go to my father and will say unto him… (Luke 15:18; King James Version). She contends that using shall in that example (i.e. I shall arise and go to my father and shall say unto him…) “compel[s] the sneering comment, ‘and the poor old blighter will fall for the sob-stuff again’” (Sayers 1946: 93).

More importantly, she calls the distinction between shall and will “that famous distinction which we English alone in all the world know how to make,” and laments its potential loss from the language—which she blames on language contact. To pick one group, she argues that speakers of American English “speak our language as foreigners; and that while it is childlike and charming in us to enjoy … their quaint foreign barbarisms, to imitate these things is childishness and folly….”

Sayers thereby stakes a claim to the superiority of British English over all other varieties of English. This firmly links Sayers to the English prescriptivist tradition, exemplified by H.W. Fowler. Sayers’ statements also connect her to a then-current trend in England, namely writers of fiction commenting on language use, also exemplified by George Orwell’s 1946 essay, “Politics and the English Language.” Finally, they also connect Sayers to the well-established (if of course inaccurate) idea that language change is language decay (an idea that goes back at least to the Greek historian Thucydides, whose History of the Peloponnesian War connects semantic change in Attic Greek to a decline in Athenian character). Given Sayers’ extensive education, reading, and knowledge of classical studies, this view is unsurprising. In this regard, Sayers’ prescriptivist attitudes are very much a product of her time and background, and in fact exemplify the attitudes of her social milieu—despite the title of Sayers (1946).

References
Games and Tricks: Speech in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

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Keywords: Middle English, semantics, stylistics, etymology

The Arthurian romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is one of the best-known examples of the so-called ‘Alliterative Revival’ of the late Middle English period. No one would dispute that speech plays a central role in the text. After all, we are reminded of the power of language, and speech in particular, right at the beginning, when the Green Knight tells the terrified Arthurian court: “Now is þe reuel and þe renoun of þe Rounde Table / Ouerwalt wyth a worde of on wyȝes speche” (ll. 313-14; ‘Now is the revelry and renown of the Round Table overthrown by a word of one man’s speech’). In this respect, the text presents itself as fully characteristic of its genre, for Brandsma (1998: 513) reminds us that “[i]n Arthurian romance, knights seem to talk at least as much as they fight”.

In spite of the clear significance of speech in the text, neither the author’s use of various types of speech representation for stylistic purposes nor his choices in connection with the lexico-semantic field of SPEECH have received much scholarly attention, with the important exception of a few words, mainly the legal terms ME *covenauht* and *foreward*, the apparent neologism “luf-talkyng” (cp. McCarthy 2008) and ME *treuth*, a central term in the poem that refers to a complex set of moral, religious, cultural and linguistic concepts (cp. McCarthy 2001).

This paper will explore the impact that various modes of speech representation and the poet’s use of terms belonging to the lexico-semantic field of SPEECH have on the various tricks and games that the poet plays on his audience. On the one hand, he needs to keep us unaware of the significance of Gawain’s stay at Castle Hautdesert for his engagement with the Green Knight not to spoil the latter’s revelation that he is the Lord of Hautdesert. He does so by presenting Hautdesert as the epitome of courtliness and hospitality and by diminishing the significance of the agreement that Gawain establishes with the Lady of the castle (cp. Putter 1996: 72-96). On the other, he encourages us to move from surprise to pride in our ability to solve this puzzle in subsequent encounters with the text by establishing clear idiolectal links between the two characters.

This work is part of the AHRC-funded *Gersum Project: Scandinavian Influence on English Vocabulary* (www.gersum.org).

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Historical business English: the case of minute-writing as a text-type

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Keywords: minute books, tradition, characteristics, variation

This paper uses the English for Special Purposes framework of ‘business English’ to investigate a body of historical minutes located in a variety of historical settings over 200 years. My starting point is Dossena & Fitzmaurice’s (2006:7) description of the present-day field of business English and associated official correspondence. They locate this in their introduction as a special subset of technical communication: highly formulaic, rigid and formal. Studies in their volume examine the nature and characteristics of business letters and official correspondence in the past. But what about the rich seam of business-related material that is administrative minute-writing? That too has a long history, and to date has been little investigated (but see Roads 2017). The present paper questions whether minutes drafted in earlier times were similarly ‘public, conventional and transactional’ (Dossena & Fitzmaurice 2006:8). What were their characteristics? What linguistic features are typical and are diachronic changes discernable?

Using a discourse-pragmatic approach, I base my analysis on both qualitative and corpus-based findings using datasets from four sources of minute-books: the Council of the Royal Society, London (17th and 18th centuries), the Royal Academy of Arts, London (18th and 19th centuries), the Guardians of the House of Refuge for Orphans, London (18th century), and a corpus compiled from minutes from many British Quaker Meetings (17th, 18th and 19th centuries).

Results reveal a recognisable set of characteristics in all four sub-corpora, both synchronically and diachronically. All four sets display their own conventions based on distinct purposes encapsulated in the minutes of their meetings – but those conventions differ noticeably. Most are transactional in style. However, variation is observed in the approaches of the many minute-takers. Yes, there are surface-level changes over time but generally the minuting process remains remarkably consistent. The significant difference is between the Quaker ‘religious-based’ set and the three ‘secular’ sets: in the use of style and certain directive and commissive speech act verbs. Not all the Quaker minutes are transactional; some are reflective and discursive. Although all my four datasets are written on behalf of a community rather than by a single individual as is the case of business correspondence, the Quaker set is unique in its collective approach to pragmatic minute-creating and editing, leading to a very different discourse type stretching across 200 years.

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The exemplifying marker *for instance* at the crossroads of grammaticalization, pragmaticalization and lexicalization: Historical development and current use in different varieties of English

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**Keywords:** *for instance*; exemplification; grammaticalization; pragmaticalization; lexicalization

This presentation is concerned with the changes that the combination of the preposition *for* plus the noun *instance* has undergone in order to first become a marker of exemplification (see Quirk et al. 1985 and Meyer 1992; cf. (1) below) and then a noun (cf. (2)) in present-day English.

(1) I’m tellin’ you, there’s different asylums; *for instance*, a deaf an’ dumb asylum! (ARCHER, 1955ocsy.d8b)

(2) In order to provide some common ground for the discussions, a series of *f’rinstances* have been provided. (GloWbE, Australia, *The application of strategic IS theory in low*)

The presentation starts by tracing the historical changes that *for instance* has undergone since its earliest occurrence as an exemplifying marker in my data in 1657 up to the present day. These changes include semantic bleaching (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 94), reanalysis (cf. Langacker 1977: 58) and an increasing degree of syntagmatic cohesion (cf. Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 109) between the preposition and the noun, among others. However, the marker has never shown syntagmatic fixation (cf. Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 146) as it may either precede (cf. (1) above) or follow the example that it introduces (“a deaf an’ dumb asylum, *for instance*”). In light of these and other examples, the presentation will explore why the changes undergone by *for + instance* in order to become a marker of exemplification should be analyzed from the perspective of pragmaticalization (see Diewald 2011, and Degand and Evers-Vermeul 2015, among others) rather than from the more traditional approach of grammaticalization. The historical data for this study are taken from two corpora (namely, the Helsinki Corpus and ARCHER) and from the OED.

The focus then moves to a more recent innovation of the language that seems to be taking place simultaneously in different varieties of present-day English, namely the development of a nominal function by the sequence *for instance*, as in (2) above. Here, *f’rinstances* is inflected for the plural and follows the quantifier *a series of*. In examples of this kind, *for instance* has been reanalyzed as one single word (hence its spelling) and has extended its usage to new clausal slots. These changes may be explained on the basis of lexicalization (see Moreno Cabrera 1998, Brinton 2002, and Brinton and Traugott 2005, among others) and are illustrated with the data provided by GloWbE.

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**Primary Sources**

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Secondary Sources


The extension of genitive singular -es in the Gloss to the Durham Collectar

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Keywords: Old Northumbrian, glosses, analogical processes

This paper offers a quantitative study of the genitive singular inflection in the gloss to the Durham Collectar (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.vi.19). In a previous work on the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, MS Nero D.iv), I focused on zero genitives and on the word order of adnominal genitives, and showed that the gloss is innovative at the morphological level, as shown in the extension of genitive singular -es from the a-stems to other noun classes, including proper names, which tend to add the native inflection regardless of the ending of the Latin original (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016).

Although written later, the gloss to the Durham Collectar has been shown to be more conservative than that to the Lindisfarne Gospels. Ross (1970) mentions the retention of the dative singular in -e in what he refers to as the 'Type a' declension; the maintenance of the distinction between the third person singular present indicative and the plural present indicative, and between the infinitive and the present subjunctive as regards the vowels of the inflections; the absence of ðy for the feminine form of the demonstrative; the retention of -ð (vs. -s) in the third singular and plural present indicative of the verb, and the virtual absence of -e- in the preterite of verbs of the second weak class, -a- being the normal form (1970: 363-64).

The aim of this paper is to study the extension of genitive singular -es from the a-stems to other noun classes in the gloss to the Durham Collectar (Lindelöf 1927). To this end a quantitative analysis of seventy nouns has been carried out in contexts where they gloss a Latin genitive form. They include kinship r-stems (fæder) and proper nouns (the focus of my previous study on Lindisfarne), as well as nouns belonging to originally short ō-stems (giefu), long ō-stems (rōd), long and short jō-stems (sibb), long feminine i-stems (dēd), masculine n-stems (noma), feminine n-stems (eorðe), nouns ending in -ung (ðrovng) and nouns ending in -ness (miltheortness). The results of the analysis of the Durham Collectar are compared with those found in the Lindisfarne Gospels with two main purposes: first, to determine the degree of similarity between the two glosses and establish whether Durham is more conservative or not with regard to this feature, and second, to shed light on the question of authorship.

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Frequency and productivity of nominalizations in law reports: A diachronic perspective

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Keywords: nominalizations, law reports, productivity

Legal English discourse is widely regarded as highly nominal and with a strong tendency to resort to nominalization, that is, the use of noun phrases (e.g. prohibition) instead of verb phrases (e.g. to prohibit), obtained by the addition of a derivative suffix (-age, -al, -ance, -ion, -ity, etc.; see Tiersma 1999, Williams 2007). Although nominalization is not unique to legal language (see, e.g., Tyrkkö & Hiltunen 2009), what is distinctive in its use is its high frequency and extensive use of pre- and post-modification (Goźdź-Roszkowski 2011: 201). This paper examines the usage, frequency and productivity of nominalizations in A Corpus of Historical English Law Reports, 1535-1999 (CHELAR; Rodríguez-Puente et al. 2016), a half-million-word diachronic corpus of law reports: records of judicial decisions which are “cited by lawyers and judges for their use as precedent in subsequent cases” (Encyclopædia Britannica Online s.v. law report; see Rodríguez-Puente 2011, Fanego et al. 2017). Law reports constitute a specific type of legal document with a complex nature, which has led researchers to designate them as ‘hybrid’ texts, fulfilling both prescriptive (normative) and descriptive (non-normative) functions and containing both expository (more objective) and operative (more subjective) linguistic features (see, among others, Šarčević 2000: 11, Tiersma 1999: 139-141, Williams 2007: 28-29). In spite of these peculiarities, research about the linguistic features of law reports is scarce and limited to a few scattered comments about their hybrid nature and their function. This paper intends to shed new light on the language of law reports by focusing on several research questions. On the one hand, it aims at determining whether law reports present an overall frequency of nominalizations similar to other written legal documents, and whether significant changes can be observed in their frequency over time. On the other hand, the paper addresses issues about the diachronic productivity of nominalizations by applying an analysis based on the aggregation of new types along the lines of Palmer (2014) for measuring the productivity of derivatives over time. Results suggest that nominalizations are extensively used in law reports, and that their frequency has increased significantly from the sixteenth- to the twentieth-century. However, although a wide variety of derivative suffixes are used in the formation of nominalizations, several relevant changes have been observed in their frequency and productivity diachronically, with some increasing both in types and tokens, and others falling in disuse.

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On the Rivalry between Noun-dependent Finite Complements and Complex Gerunds in Modern English

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Keywords: complements after nouns, the more recent expansion of that-clauses, British-American contrasts, distributional constraints on the rival complements

This corpus-based paper deals with a generally neglected variable, the contrast between noun-dependent that-clauses (including their zero, but [that] and lest rivals) and complex gerunds, i.e. those containing their own subjects as in (1) (concerning the latter phenomenon see e.g. Lyne 2011 and Fanego 2016).

(1) Is there a risk of anything going wrong?

On the basis of fifteen nouns centring round two semantic foci, possibility and evidence, the paper examines the evolution and present status of this contrast. Among the major observations made are the following:

1 With a small set of nouns (e.g. risk), the emergence and the establishment of the that-clause follow in the wake of complex prepositional gerunds. This finding may qualify the widely held assumption that since the 18th century all varieties of English have shown ‘a general tendency for non-finite subordinate clauses to spread at the expense of finite ones’ (Mair 2006: 541).

2 With a larger set of nouns (e.g. probability, expectation), the that-clause seems to have become established earlier than – or at about the same time as – the complex gerund. In most cases under consideration, the establishment of the that-clause may have been encouraged by its prior existence with closely related verbs or adjectives. Whatever the order in which the rival complements have emerged, the that-clause has gained further ground over the last few centuries at the expense of the complex gerund.

3 Comparing British and American English, we find, as in other domains (Rohdenburg 2014), that American English tends to display a distinctly greater affinity for the that-clause, with the regional contrast being visible as early as the 1800s in many cases.

4 The grammatical environments favouring the that-clause over the complex gerund include subject complexity, structural discontinuities and the existential there-clause containing the governing nouns in question. An attempt is made to account for these constraints in terms of more general language-specific and cross-linguistic tendencies.

Apart from the BNC and the OED quotations database, the text corpus available to me consists of only two text types: a) a sizeable collection of full-text British and American newspapers from the 1990s to the early 2000s and b) a large number of fictional British and American datasets covering the 18th to the early 20th centuries which are provided by Chadwyck-Healey and the Gutenberg Project.

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The rise of expressive *much* structures

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This paper investigates the extension of a recently emerging expressive marker, the *X much* construction. The research question that is addressed is: how did the *X much* structure develop, and how does it spread through different varieties and genres of English? First evidence for this structure 1978 is attested from:

1. Todd (points at Lisa’s chest and mock laughs to a pretend audience): underdeveloped much (1978, OED s.v. *much*, adj., adv., pron., and n.)

The OED argues that this structure is an elliptical comment or question consisting of an adjective, noun or infinitive plus *much*. It further notes that it is frequently ironic and that it was popularized by the film and television series *Buffy, the Vampire Slayer*. Recent linguistic research has investigated the semantics of the structure (Gutzmann and Henderson 2017 2-4) and analyses it as a shunting expression, that is, it expresses an evaluative, usually disdainful, attitude to an issue.

When investigating online language on the basis of contemporary corpora (NOW Corpus, GloWbE Corpus), as well as the SOAP corpus for soap operas, the genre from which the first attested example was taken, we find that the structure has extended considerably and can now be found across different varieties of English, and in various, albeit all colloquial, genres of the language. The examples below are from an Irish daily newspaper (example 3) and a Nigerian Blog entry (example 4)

4. When I die I’d like to have “Here Lies Greatness” on my tombstone. Cocky much, Naughty much, Silly much. (GloWbE Corpus, NG 2011 (11-06-26), accessed 15.12.2017)

This study will provide a qualitative and quantitative overview of the development of the distribution of this structure. To do so, large-scale corpora are chosen, namely the NOW (Davies 2013), GloWbE (Davies 2013), as well as the SOAP (Davies 2011) and COHA Corpus (Davies 2010). On the basis of the development of this structure we can show how linguistic innovation is disseminated within the contemporary international multi-media community.

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http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/123133?rskey=D8udLF&result=1&isAdvanced=false

(accessed December 12, 2017).
Developing an environment for neologism detection in historical corpora

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Keywords: neologisms, historical sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, methods, open source

The study of neologisms in the history of English has traditionally relied on lexicographical material such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED; Nevalainen 1999), while corpus-based research has focused on individual affixes or present-day data (Palmer 2015; Renouf 2007). Although a useful source, the OED is biased, e.g., in its overrepresentation of published works by well-known authors (Hoffmann 2004; Brewer 2007). We analyse neologisms in the *Corpora of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC, 1400–1800), which represent unpublished writing across a wide social spectrum, amply documented in the metadata. By developing tools that combine this data with the OED and contemporary published texts, we are able to ask new kinds of questions, such as: Who are the innovators? Which social groups do they represent? How do the new words spread?

Our pipeline for identifying neologisms begins with comparing the earliest year a given word appeared in the corpus to the earliest attestations in the OED and various databases of published texts with dates attached (e.g. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online, British Library Newspapers*). Neither of these are straightforward tasks. The CEEC records words in their original spelling, which varies a great deal, and existing normalization tools such as VARD2 (Baron, Rayson & Archer 2009) and MorphAdorner (Burns 2013) do not provide full coverage. Therefore, we are developing additional methods to normalize and lemmatize rare spelling variants to map the words in the corpus to the OED and gain a wider understanding of the earliest attestations of the neologism candidates. As for the text databases, most of them have been automatically transcribed from microfilms, so, in addition to spelling variation, they contain a large number of OCR errors which further complicate dating comparisons.

As detecting neologisms is here just a step in a larger process of historical-sociolinguistic research where accuracy is of paramount importance, we are not aiming for a fully automatic pipeline to process such noisy data. Instead, we will develop an open-source environment where information on neologism candidates is gathered from a variety of algorithms and sources, pooled, and presented to a human evaluator for verification. The interface developed allows the user to quickly organize and group candidates based on various criteria, source additional information, and make mass filtering and categorization decisions on them. With the verified data the user can then start exploring e.g. social aspects of the neologisms, which we will demonstrate in the 18th-century section of the CEEC.

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Correlations between prosodic prominence and morphophonological weight

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Keywords: end-weight, prepositional variation, infinitival marking, s-suffix, a-prefix

The present paper aims to support an extended version of the principle of end-weight (see Leech 1983: 65-66; Quirk et al. 1985: 323), which corresponds with the most dynamic of its instantiations discerned by Eitelmann (2016: 401): The final position in a sentence, clause or phrase tends to be occupied by heavy elements, which – if not given for other reasons – can be produced “by adding extra semantically neutral elements to the final constituent.” We will show that this synchronically defined principle can also help explain the more rapid establishment and longer retention of surplus phonological material on a diachronic level, and that this material can take the shape of variable (emerging, transient or disappearing) grammatical morphemes.

Our examples come from Middle, Early and Late Modern English and are illustrated in (1)-(5), where the (a)-items (involving less phonological weight) tend to occur in medial positions, while the more bulky (b)-items show affinities with final positions. For a start, we observe an early Middle English trend to reinforce short prepositions or particles by adding an extra syllable if the item is stranded or otherwise phrase-final. The second example is the loss of the old dative inflection in the infinitive, which occurred in early Middle English. Another one is the spread of the -s-suffix that came to mark possessive pro-forms around the thirteenth century. Our fourth example is provided by the establishment of the plural -s attaching to the form other when used in nominal function, which took place in the Early Modern English period. The fifth case in point comes from Early and Late Modern English and concerns the decreasing use of a-prefixing in -ing-forms.

(1) a. in, mid, of
   b. inne, mide, offe
(2) a. to don, to gon, to seen, to sayn
   b. to donne, to gonne, to seene, to sayne
(3) a. hir, oure, your, their
   b. hires, oures, yours, theires
(4) a. all/many/divers other
   b. all/many/divers others
(5) a. to go hunting, to set s.th. going
   b. to go a-hunting, to set s.th. a-going

The analyses draw on various historical databases (HC, PPCME2, the OED quotations and extensive ProQuest literature collections). A systematic analysis of distributions suggests that the widespread tendency for items under sentence stress to accommodate optional extra material better than items in sentence-unstressed position can be credited with a constant influence on morphophonological variation across earlier as well as current forms of English.

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Syntactic changes in verbal clauses and noun phrases from 1500 onwards

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Keywords: syntax, data-driven, automatic parsing, verbal clauses, noun phrases.

This study provides a data-driven approach to syntactic changes in the English clause and NP system. We focus on salient areas of change, and discuss the unveiled trends. We find more complex clauses, full relative clauses and conjunctions in the earlier periods, compared to shorter sentences, more complex noun phrases, reduced relative clauses, verbal particles, Saxon Genitives and progressives in the 20th century.

As data, we use an automatically parsed ARCHER corpus (Biber et al. 1994), and compare it to the manually annotated Penn parsed corpora (Kroch and Taylor 2000, Kroch et al. 2004, Kroch et al. 2016), and the Penn Treebank (Marcus et al. 1993).

We address the following research questions:
- Can data-driven methods detect salient syntactic changes?
- Can automatically parsed data reliably detect changes, or are historical texts overly affected by high error rates?
- Can the Penn Treebank be used to complement the Penn parsed corpora, or do genre differences add too much bias?
- Which broader picture emerges when the trends are combined? We discuss this in the following.

When analysing overused structures and using high-level syntactic measures such as Yngve (Cheung and Kemper 1992), minimal dependency length (Hawkins 2004), chunk length and dependency direction, a broader picture showing four trends emerges:

- **From verbal to nominal**: most changes testify an enormous increase of nouns and complex NPs. Leech et al. (2009) have shown this trend since 1960, we trace it to earlier periods.
- **Noun compression**: complex NPs and noun-noun constructions spread from scientific discourse (Hundt et al. 2012) and press (Biber 2003) to other genres. We show that compressing information forms a cascade from full to reduced relative clauses or PPs, and noun-noun constructions. We also trace individual lexicalisations.
- **From full clause to non-finite clause**: part of this cascade is the move from full to non-finite clauses with to and finally -ing forms, a trend described by Givón (1979) and tested on the Penn parsed corpora by Green (2017). We add the Penn Treebank to check recent developments, and automatically annotated data to test them as a method.
- **Fixation of word order**: The increasing fixation of word order turns out to be a further strong change, in line with psycholinguistic chunking and Jespersen’s cycle (van der Auwera 2009). Fronting decreases, VO order at the expense of OV increases, ditransitives retreat to fewer verbs.

Thus connecting and extending these approaches yields new automated and broader insights into historical data.

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The study of the rich and diverse Old Norse influence on the medieval English lexicon is very challenging, not least etymologically: given the genetic proximity of the languages in contact, it can be extremely difficult to identify which English words really do show input from Old Norse. In recent years there has been intensive etymological and contextual work on the Norse-derived vocabulary of some texts and traditions, especially before c. 1300 (see esp. Pons-Sanz 2007, 2013; Dance 2003, 2011). Nevertheless, the Scandinavian influence on the vocabulary of the great later Middle English literary monuments has rarely seen sustained exploration, and texts composed in the north and east of England, where the influence from Old Norse is attested in its greatest range and complexity, have not been treated together in a major, etymologically analytical study since Björkman’s survey of 1900–2.

The Gersum Project (a three-year project, begun in January 2016 and funded by the U.K.’s Arts and Humanities Research Council; see www.gersum.org) has undertaken a detailed study of a large corpus of these words for which Old Norse input has been claimed, by means of a freely available searchable online database (from January 2019). Our methodology involves a systematic reconsideration of the etymology of each lexeme and categorisation into types based on the nature and relative strength of the evidence for Old Norse input: phonetic and morphological evidence; the absence a given root in English or another West Germanic language; fractional differences in sounds or semantic evidence where a root is known in English; and instances in which the identification of a root itself is in question. Circumstantial evidence, such as chronological and regional distribution (including in the toponymic as well as lexical record) or association with a Viking-Age Scandinavian cultural artefact is also taken into account, as are textual variants and the history of scholarly interpretation to date. The aim of this paper will be to present our online resource as well as an overview of our results by means of a particularly illuminating case-study, comparing the lexicon of the Gawain-poet to that of the poet of the Middle English Wars of Alexander. As Duggan and Turville-Petre (1989: xlii–xliii) noted, the extensive similarities between them must be interpreted within the broader context of the alliterative tradition.

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From *chica*, *tapas* and *jojoba* to *paso doble* and *olé*: the Spanish influence on the English vocabulary since 1901

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Numerous studies concentrate on the increasing influence of English on the Spanish vocabulary. Yet, only a few analyses focus on the opposite direction of lexical borrowing. The present paper will shed light on the reverse language contact situation. It will investigate the influence of Spanish on the English lexicon in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which has as yet been comparatively neglected in current research.

Electronic sources such as the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* represent valuable resources to identify the Spanish borrowings which have been adopted into English since 1901. The results presented in this study are due to the evaluation of a comprehensive lexicographical corpus of several hundred twentieth and twenty-first century Spanish borrowings collected from the *OED Online*. As will be seen, the sample of lexical items retrieved from the electronic form of the *OED* encompasses a multitude of borrowings from Spanish and its national varieties, such as Cuban, Bolivian and Mexican Spanish.

The Spanish borrowings under review have been grouped into manifold subject areas (e.g. art, dance, music, cookery, drink and tobacco, politics, war and the military, the humanities, the natural sciences, people and everyday life) so as to provide a rounded picture of the fields and spheres of life from which Spanish words and meanings have been adopted into English since 1901.

Emphasis will be laid upon examining the pragmatic-contextual usage of the different borrowings in present-day English. In order to identify the various stylistic functions of the Spanish words borrowed into English in the recent past, such as, for instance, local colour, intentional disguise, precision, vividness and variation of expression, the linguistic documentary evidence included in the *OED Online* and in electronic corpora reflecting present-day language use (e.g. the *British National Corpus*, the *Now (News on the Web) Corpus* and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*) was consulted.

References


Online resources:

*British National Corpus* <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>

*Corpus of Contemporary American English* <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>

*Now Corpus* <http://corpus.byu.edu/now/>

*OED Online* searchable at: <http://www.oed.com/>
Relativizer *that* with human antecedents in ideology and in practice

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**Keywords**: prescriptivism, relativizers, American English, corpus linguistics

This paper explores both the idealized and actual use of relativizer *that* with human antecedents in American English. This is thus partly an investigation into a stylistic ideal about the “appropriate” use of relativizers in the United States: the idea that *who* is the only relativizer that should be used with human antecedents, as in example (1), even in restrictive relative clauses where *that* is also theoretically possible, as in example (1).

(1) *Anyone who* reads this paper must be interested in prescriptivism. (preferred)
(2) *Anyone that* reads this paper must be interested in prescriptivism. (disliked)

The aim of the paper is twofold: first, to begin to document the proscription on *that* with human antecedents, which is widespread in amateur online style guides and newspaper editorials (such as Bruni 2017), but rare in print sources. A pilot study of numerous online sources indicates that prescribers have both ideological and syntactic objections to the use of *that* with human antecedents. These objections will be interpreted in light of Anderwald’s (2014, 2016) and Curzan’s (2014) categorizations of different kinds of prescriptivism.

The second aim of the study is to empirically investigate the actual use of relativizer *that* with human antecedents in American English. Previous research (Geisler & Johansson 2002; Johansson 2006) suggests that *that* with human antecedents was very rare in earlier time periods, raising the question of whether a recent increase in its frequency of use has led to the new proscription on it. A pilot study of the most recent newspaper material in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008) suggests that *that* with human antecedents is more frequent now than it was in the Early Modern period. In this paper, I will extend the investigation to the spoken-language section of COCA and to the cross-genre, diachronic material in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) (Davies 2010) in order to track the use of *that* with human antecedents across time and formality level. The findings are hoped to shed light on the development of the American English relativizer system, and also to indicate what it is about the use of *that* with human antecedents that may have triggered the current proscription.

References


The Hamilton Papers: Variation and Change in Syntax and Spelling

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Keywords: letter writing, social networks, ego-documents, Late Modern English.

This paper examines epistolary writing in Late Modern English. In particular, it analyses the language in the *Mary Hamilton Papers* (ca. 1750 – ca. 1820), a corpus of private letters addressed to Mary Hamilton (1756–1816). Hamilton, courtier and diarist, was one of the most well-connected and highly cultured women in eighteenth-century British polite society. As a young woman, she was recruited as a Royal governess by Queen Charlotte; in 1783 she became a member of the Bas Bleu (Bluestocking) circle, and was also acquainted with literary figures such as Horace Walpole and Samuel Johnson, amongst others.

The features under scrutiny relate to syntax and spelling: (i) the progressive – representative of ‘change in progress’; (ii) preposition placement in stranding and pied piping – as a ‘reflection of the normative tradition’; and epistolary spelling in (iii) auxiliary verbs and in (iv) abbreviations and contractions. Each of these features will be examined first in a selection from the Hamilton collection (158 letters, ca. 70,000 words) from a linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective, considering extralinguistic factors such as time subperiod, gender and participants’ relationship (friends/family). Secondly, given Mary’s acquaintance with the Bas Bleu figures, the analysis of the Hamilton correspondence will be complemented by a comparison with the findings in Sairio’s (2009) work on the language and letters of the Bluestocking network (1738–1783, 178 letters, 155,000 words).

The results indicate that gender and formality both condition linguistic choice in the Hamilton correspondence. For instance, preposition stranding and abbreviations are characteristic of letters written by friends of Mary’s, while contracted forms of auxiliary verbs show a high frequency in letters by family members. Regarding gender, the progressive, preposition stranding and abbreviations occur more frequently in female authors, while contractions tend to appear with a higher frequency in male authors. The comparison with the trends in the Bluestocking corpus reveals a similar behaviour of the above-mentioned features in the two networks. The only exception seems to be the use of the progressive: it is frequently attested in friends’ letters of the Bluestocking letter-writers (vs. few instances in the Hamilton letters by friends), and Sairio found no gender differences in the Bluestocking correspondence.

All in all, my study will contribute to research in the field of historical sociolinguistics and historical network analysis in letter writing (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, Fitzmaurice 2007) and to the thriving field of ego-documents (van der Wal & Rutten 2013).

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Speech acts and modals in the trial record of King Charles I

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Keywords: speech act, modal, trial record, historical pragmatics

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the relationship between speech acts and modals in courtroom interactions (Archer (2005); Kryk-Kastovsky (2006); Culpeper and Archer (2008)) along the lines of historical pragmatics (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2015). The corpus used for this paper is the trial record of King Charles I in the Socio-pragmatic Corpus (Archer and Culpeper 2003).

The present research first examines vocatives (Shiina 2014), nominal phrases and grammatical subjects as well as performative verbs in order to determine who has the power in the interaction in the trial. Lord President (the judge) or the King (the defendant). The authoritative power of Lord President seems to be stronger than the King’s in the courtroom; however, it is shown that the judge is only a voice through which the true authority of the Court exerts its power.

Next, this paper conducts qualitative and quantitative analyses of the relationship between speech acts and modals (Nakayasu 2009), taking modality (Palmer 2001) and distal meanings of modals into consideration. Speech acts such as the request, the proposal and the promise are performed only, or much more frequently, by the King. In fact, most of these speech acts are related to dynamic modality, which reflects the King’s authority as a defendant. On the other hand, the speech acts performed solely by Lord President are, for example, the order, the prohibition, and the announcement. These speech acts are strongly related to deontic modality, which confirms that authority resides in the Court rather than the judge.

The analysis of speech acts and modals also reveals that the King becomes less authoritative as the trial proceeds, particularly after the sentence is pronounced. This is demonstrated, for example, by his uses of WILL, particularly by its interrogative form to make a request at the end of the trial. On the other hand, the authoritative power of the Court, which is reflected in the speech acts performed by Lord President, stays the same throughout the course of the trial.

This research demonstrates how the judge and the defendant interacted with each other with the aid of modals in the flux of power, contributing to the development of the theory of historical pragmatics.

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A social network approach to nineteenth-century Liberian emigrant letters

**Lucia Siebers**
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**Keywords**: earlier African American English, vernacular letters, social networks, historical sociolinguistics

The social network approach has been fruitfully applied to historical sociolinguistics (cf. Bergs 2005, Conde-Silvestre 2012). The aim of this paper is to apply such an approach to the study of earlier African American English by examining in more detail the extensive correspondence of a family of emancipated slaves from Virginia who emigrated to Liberia in the 1830s. A number of vernacular letters of earlier African American letters are available for closer linguistic analysis; the Corpus of Older African American Letters contains more than 1,500 letters (cf. Siebers 2015). However, the majority of these letters are not suitable for a social network analysis, since only a few lines per author survived or even with more extensive correspondence next to nothing is known about the authors. An exception to this are the letters of the Skipwith family, which are, according to Miller, most likely “the largest and fullest epistolary record left by an American slave family” (Miller 1990:11). The correspondence spans almost 30 years and amounts to more than 140 letters by seven family members. A first preliminary analysis has shown instances of change with regard to the use of verbal –s and past and present be in Peyton’s letters. These changes within the first ten years of settlement can be explained by the different social networks of Peyton and his daughter Diana. The paper seeks to extend this analysis to other family members and address the following research questions:

- Which vernacular morphosyntactic features of earlier African American English can be identified with members of the Skipwith family?
- How stable are the features within the family?
- Can any changes be observed in the thirty years after the emigration? If so, how can a social network approach assist in explaining these changes?

I will argue in this paper that the Skipwith letters provide an ideal basis for inter- and intraspeaker variation within the same family, language change in a migration context, a study of the social networks of this family and more generally the development of earlier African American English.

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The schwa problem in Old Northumbrian: Evidence from the glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Collectar

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Keywords: Old Northumbrian, verbal inflexion, unstressed vowels, inflexional vowel, schwa, neutral vowel.

Variation in the orthographic representation of the vowels of the verbal inflexions in late Old Northumbrian has already been acknowledged in past scholarship (Hogg & Fulk, 2011; Ross, 1937, 1960), and this may account for a process of morphological syncretism or a phonological merger of unstressed vowels.

In previous studies I have carried out a quantitative analysis of the variation found in the unstressed vowels of the inflexions of the present indicative in the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and to the Additions to the Durham Collectar (Quires IX, X and XI). My findings support the hypothesis that the e/a alternation in the verbal inflexions is evidence of a phonological merger of unstressed vowels into a schwa-like phoneme rather than of morphological syncretism (Sierra-Rodríguez, 2016, 2017). Instances of non-etymological spellings are more common in less frequent forms, contrary to what Bybee (2007: 201) considers to be the normal progression of sound change throughout the lexicon. According to Phillips (1984), however, there is a type of sound change that affects less frequent forms first, one that has its origins in the conceptual sphere. Frequent forms are stored in the mental lexicon as a single unit, whereas for low frequency items the scribe would have had to rely on his perception of the vocalic quality and match it with the expected spelling. The fact that variation is more prominent in low frequency forms serves as further evidence of the outcome of the merger being a vowel of obscure quality that the scribe would have not been able to properly identify. Moreover, whereas previous studies have shown that the language of the Durham Collectar is more conservative than that of the Lindisfarne gloss (Ross, 1970; Fernández Cuesta & Langmuir, forth.), no statistically significant divergence was observed in the analysed corpus when it comes to the distributions of e/a spellings in the verbal inflexions.

This paper compares the e/a variation found in second and third person singular, and plural present indicative forms in the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Collectar with the Northumbrian section of the Rushworth Gospels. Quantitative-statistical analysis can offer further support to an early dating of the appearance of schwa in Old Northumbrian, and further insight of the similarities and differences already found between these glosses.

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Binomials and Multinomials in Early Modern Pedagogic Literature: Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Boke Named The Gouernour* (1531)

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**Keywords:** binomials, multinomials, pedagogic literature, *The Gouernour*

Binomials and multinomials are pairs or chains of words belonging to the same word-class, semantically related, and connected by a coordinating conjunction, examples are (Elyot 1531): *adminiculation or aide; apt and propre; beddes, testars, and pillows; eien, eares, handes, and legges.* A feature mostly associated with legal language, bi- and multinomials have so far been most widely researched in their occurrence in legal as well as literary texts (cf. Gerritsen 1958, Nash 1958, Kopaczyk 2013, Lehto 2015). The most prominent works on bi- and multinomials stem from the middle of the 20th century (i.e. Leisi 1947, Malkiel 1959, Koskenniemi 1968, Gustafsson 1975). The present study focusses on the occurrences of binomials and multinomials in the first edition of the Early Modern English pedagogic text *The Boke Named The Gouernour*, published in 1531 by Sir Thomas Elyot (c.1490 –1546). Elyot’s *The Gouernour* details his idea of the ideal upbringing and education of England’s future elite. This study’s main focus is on the different forms and functions of bi- and multinomials in *The Gouernour*. The aspects essential to the concept of bi- and multinomials and therefore at the centre of the study are: (1) word class, (2) the coordinating conjunction, (3) sense-relations, and (4) etymology. Furthermore, the clusters’ expanding elements and their functions are explored. First results point towards the in previous studies established dominance of substantival constructions, the coordinating element being most frequently *and*. The common function of adjectives as noun modifiers kept in mind, it comes as no surprise to find adjectives featured strongly as expanding elements alongside the considerable number of substantival bi- and multinomials. The expanding elements impact sense-relations in various ways, up to the point of creating or changing them. The etymological composition of the pairs and chains of words, with strong tendencies towards loanword combinations, contradicts the view of bi- and multinomials as an explanatory tool.

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This is so totally pathetic! – On the diachronic development of so totally

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Keywords: so totally, intensifiers, language variation and change, diachronic development

Although the intensifier totally has been studied extensively (e.g. Isitt 1984, Anderson 2006, Bucholtz et al. 2007, Beltrama & Casanto 2017, Wagner 2017, Hassner & Gawlitzek 2017), only one discusses the bigram so totally (Irwin 2014) – with the focus on the modifier so, however. To date, there are no empirical studies on the use of so totally and on its diachronic development. This colloquial intensifier is used to modify nouns and prepositional phrases, verbs and participles, gradable and non-gradable adjectives and adverbs, e.g.:

(1) […] he was SO TOTALLY AN OUTSIDER in the ministry […] (COCA Fiction 2015)
(2) the girl's face was a painted mask SO TOTALLY WITHOUT EXPRESSION that it was impossible to believe it knew what went on beneath it (COHA Fiction 1968)
(3) Because it makes me feel SO TOTALLY STUPID. (COHA Fiction 1993)

Based on 201 occurrences of so totally drawn from the fiction subsets of COHA (1810s-2000s; N=115) and COCA (1990s-2010s; N=86), this paper traces the development of so totally from 1810 until 2017 in American English. The results show that so totally
a. decreased in frequency throughout the 19th (from 1.07 to 0.08 occ. pmw), followed by an increase peaking in the 1980s (1.56 occ. pmw); since then, its frequency has decreased again (2010s: 0.66 occ. pmw),
b. started to occur in negated contexts regularly in the 1970s but still remains rare there (just over 9 per cent of all occurrences in the 2010s (N=22)),
c. first occurs with positive meaning in the 1960s but continues to be rare in these contexts (4.6 per cent in the 2010s),
d. allows manner reading (15.6 per cent in COHA; 16.3 per cent in COCA), but only with telic verbs,
e. is frequently found in correlative conjunctions with and without that throughout 1810-2017 (1/3 of all occurrences),
f. has widened its collocational range as intensifier from adjectives (1810s) to adverbs (1820s) to participles (1830s) to verbs (1890s) to prepositional phrases and pronouns (1960s) to nouns (1980s) and emphatic not (2000s).

In sum, although so totally is now able to modify a wide range of lexical elements, it is still very restricted with respect to its pragmatic function in that the intensifier shows a very strong affiliation to affirmative sentences with negative meaning (either semantic and/or contextual).
These findings are indicative of so totally undergoing delexicalisation (although the semantic restrictions are still strong) – as is typical of intensifiers (Lorenz 2002, Partington 1993), while the rises and falls in frequency are consistent with the notion of intensifiers experiencing shifts in popularity over time (Ito & Tagliamonte 2005).

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Grimm’s Law and Verner’s Law changes revisited: towards a unified phonetic account?

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Keywords: historical phonology, Grimm/Verner, experimental phonetics, lenition

The systematic changes to stop consonants in Germanic (Gmc) were among the first to be formulated as sound-laws, i.e. ‘Grimm’s Law’ and ‘Verner’s Law’, and their nature has long since been identified (Rask 1818; Grimm 1822-37; Verner 1875). Essentially, Grimm’s Law states that (1) Indo-European (IE) voiceless stops became Gmc voiceless fricatives (IE /t/ > Gmc /θ/), (2) IE voiced stops became Gmc voiceless stops (IE /d/ > Gmc /t/), and (3) IE voiced aspirated stops became Gmc voiced (unaspirated) stops (IE /dh/ > Gmc /d/), with certain well-defined exceptions. Verner’s Law states that something more happened to group (1) when the consonant was non-initial and the stress fell on the following vowel, in which case the IE voiceless stops appear as voiced stops in the Gmc historical record; additionally, IE intervocalic /s/ became /r/ in the same environment (rhotacism). Thus, the process is IE t > Gmc þ (Grimm’s Law, spirantisation) > ð (voicing) > d (stopping).

Clearly, these changes involve voicing and aspiration, which we know from modern research are related processes; but spirantisation and stopping are also involved, which poses a problem for a unified account of Grimm’s and Verner’s Law changes: voicing, de-aspiration and spirantisation are typically described as lenition processes, whereas de-voicing, aspiration and stopping arguably are processes of fortition. Lenition is defined as change which involves weakening of segmental strength, such as opening or sonorisation, whereas fortition has the opposite effect (Honeybone 2002: 39-43; 2012).

However, research on the nature of historical phonological changes rarely takes into account the findings of modern experimental phonetics with respect to articulatory-acoustic phenomena such as phonation, aspiration, voice onset time, intra-oral pressure, duration of closure, gestural timing, etc. (Delattre 1965), with notable exceptions (e.g. Ohala 1974, 2003; Honeybone 2002). This paper addresses these issues and seeks to answer questions like the following. Are the changes covered by Grimm’s/Verner’s Law independent or related processes? If they are related, which model of these changes is most phonetically responsible? Is the traditional division of changes into lenition and fortition processes correct? What processes are involved in similar present-day changes which may throw light on the phonetic nature of Grimm’s/Verner’s Law changes? In essence, is it possible to formulate a unified phonetic account of these changes? Preliminary analysis suggests that the answer to the last question may be a tentative yes.

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Late medieval English documentary and literary language: how different are they?

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The proposed paper presents a study comparing linguistic features in two major categories of late medieval English texts: administrative and private documents on the one hand (‘documentary texts’) and what might be called ‘literary texts’, in the broadest sense of the term, on the other. A rather perplexing finding in several studies (e.g. Stenroos 2004: 276–279; Jensen 2012) has been that these two major categories of texts (both of which make up a complex and heterogeneous group of text types in itself) seem to be linguistically different, not only at the levels of lexis and phraseology, which might be expected, but also at the level of orthography. For example, the digraphs <th> and <sh> have been shown to be considerably more common in documentary texts, while literary texts show higher proportions of <þ> and <sch>.

The differences between these two major text groups have generally been interpreted as reflecting a more advanced degree of ‘standardisation’ in administrative language. A seminal article by Benskin (1992: passim) explicitly connects standardisation with the language of local administrative texts; at the same time, it has been shown that the language of documentary texts remains highly variable well into the sixteenth century, and it is doubtful to what extent it may be considered ‘standardised’. Thengs (2013: 344–45) suggested that the seemingly innovative linguistic forms found in administrative texts might reflect the lack of extensive copying likely to perpetuate older forms. On the other hand, both Thengs and Bergstrøm (2017: 202) have noted that guild ordinances show linguistic and visual features more similar to literary texts than to other administrative documents, even though they clearly belong to the latter group.

The present study compares a range of orthographic and morphological features in these two text categories, based on two corpora produced at the University of Stavanger: the ‘literary’ part of the Middle English Grammar Corpus (MEG-C) and A Corpus of Middle English Local Documents (MELD). The patterns of variation in each corpus are related to a broad range of metadata in order to identify relevant variables, and those texts which deviate from the overall pattern are subjected to a detailed philological study. The results suggest that both genre conventions and text communities are highly significant, while there is little evidence for enforced standards within administrative writing.

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The emphatic use of the present perfect

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Key words: present perfect, emphasis, foregrounding, discourse

The distinction between the present perfect and the preterit in Early Modern English has often been described as not clear-cut (cf. Strang 1994 [1970]: 149; Hundt and Smith 2009: 45). On the other hand, several sources report an increasing use of the present perfect with definite past reference in present-day English. Lack of historical data prevents establishing whether the present usage should be viewed as continuation or re-emergence (Miller 2004: 235).

These accounts examine the use of this category within the tense and aspect system. This paper proposes that at least some instances of the present perfect with definite past time reference from Early Modern English onwards can be viewed as a continuation of a use which is best described in terms of emphasis and foregrounding.

The paper examines some apparently rare instances of the present perfect from the early 17th to the early 20th centuries that seem to provide evidence of an emphatic use that can be compared to the foregrounding function suggested for the use of this category in present-day Australian English colloquial narrative (Engel and Ritz 2000).

The examples discussed are for the most part casual finds, which were collected through reading British English dramatic and non-fiction texts. The analysis examines instances where a present perfect form is found among or after preterit forms in the narration of past situations. Also discussed are some instances found in Shakespeare’s plays where the use of the present perfect alternates with the use of the preterit, which Elsness (1997: 293) takes as evidence that the present-day distinctions in the temporal reference of the two forms had not been established yet; however, in this paper they are also used to argue the presence of a discourse-based difference.

This usage possibly goes further into the past: Mustanoja’s (1960) description of some of the uses of the so-called ‘historical present perfect’ in Middle English resembles what is observed in the examples discussed in this paper. Mustanoja describes the present perfect in ‘narrative style’ as used ‘to give emphasis and additional vividness to certain events or situations, in contexts where one would expect to find the preterite or the pluperfect’ (1960: 506–7).

References:
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“Get thee behind me!”: imperative and reflexive get-constructions in 17th century English

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In 17th century English we find a few fascinating developments in copular constructions. While the verb *grow* already shows occasional copular usage from the 14th century onward, the types of subjects and predicates used in the constructions expanded greatly in the 17th century. In the same period, the verb *get* also shows signs of a developing set of copular constructions. Subtypes of the copular construction may be categorised based on the semantic and syntactic aspects of the predicate. We may, for example, distinguish between physical (*get bigger*) and mental (*get angry*) state changes, and between nominal and adjectival predicates, among other variables.

As part of a larger research on the development of copular *get* and *grow*, this presentation will focus on those constructions in which *get* is combined with the imperative and/or a reflexive pronoun, e.g. *get thee hence*, *he got himself to Edinburgh*. A study of such constructions will place them within the larger context of the developing copular use of *get*. Since these constructions often involve changes in location or (physical) state they may play an important role in the overall shift from lexical to copular uses of *get*.

The study is approached within the framework of construction grammar, and assumes that analogical pressure plays a major role in grammatical innovation. Analogical pressure is here proposed to be a function of a dense network of linked constructions which interact and serve to reconfigure both the position of a construction within the grammar as well as the properties of a type or subtype of construction (Petré 2012). The study makes use of data from the newly compiled *EMMA* corpus (*Early Modern Multiloquent Authors*), a large-scale longitudinal corpus that comprises the works of 50 authors from the 17th century. With an average word count per author of around 1,500,000 tokens, the corpus offers a unique basis for data-driven historical sociolinguistics. The individuals in the corpus were partly selected based on their mutual relations and position in networks of writers, scientists, clergymen, etc., but also include several social ‘outliers’. Due to this setup, we aim to connect the usage of individuals to sociolinguistic variables such as gender and education, as well as apply a dynamic analysis based on their movements in social networks.

References
Discourse organising strategies in Old English: The case of verb-final word order

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Keywords: Old English, word order, discourse-oriented diachronic linguistics, foregrounding & backgrounding

Verb-final word order in Old English is typically analysed in light of syntax, particularly in relation to the coordinating conjunctions ond/lae. Discourse and pragmatic aspects of the verb-final word order have also been a focal point of study (Hopper 1979; Fleischman 1990; Richardson 1994; Bech 2012; Los 2015). Although the distinct function of the verb-final has been addressed so far, the analysis largely builds on a particular narrative text such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This paper thus seeks to contribute to the literature by investigating the verb-final in Old English on a larger scale from the perspective of ‘discourse-oriented diachronic linguistics’ (Brinton 2015).

The current study attempts a refinement of discourse organising strategies of the main clause verb-final word order in Old English by revisiting the idea of foregrounding and backgrounding (Hopper 1979). This paper carries out an empirical study using a selection of Old English texts from DOEC and YCOE including ones showing unusually high-rate of verb-final word order. This paper will reveal that a certain sequence of word order patterns is employed so as to organise a flow of discourses in the text: verb-second word order introducing a topic, SVX word order setting forth background information, and multiple uses of verb-final word order functioning to mark the boundaries of an episode inside the topic. My empirical results provide supporting evidence that the verb-final word order in Old English serves sub-episode segmentation. The results include differences of discourse organising strategies across texts and genres in the light of the verb-final word order. (253 words)

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DOEC = Dictionary of Old English Corpus. Toronto, University of Toronto, <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/>
YCOE = York-Toronto-Helsinki Corpus of Old English Prose <http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm>
Understanding translation effects: Lessons from the Old English Heptateuch

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The Old English Heptateuch (the first seven books of the Old Testament) holds a unique position among OE translations from Latin. Firstly, we know the identity of one of the translators, Ælfric of Eynsham, and have non-translated prose authored by him for comparison. The identity of the other translator(s) is unknown. Secondly, although Ælfric professed strong ideas about how to translate the Bible (i.e., very literally), he couldn't (or at least didn't) follow his own advice uniformly across his contributions; rather, his contributions follow a cline from very literal in Genesis to highly paraphrased in Judges (Marsden 1991, 2008). Within this one text, therefore, we can compare the work of different translators and for one of those translators, different approaches to translating, without having to control for different time periods, genres or translation ability.

Previous work (Taylor 2008, 2015) has established that translation from Latin can influence the distribution of variable constructions in OE in the direction of the Latin order. For instance, an OE object pronoun is more likely to appear post-verbally when translating an underlying post-verbal Latin pronoun, than it does on average in a non-translated text (Taylor 2015). In this paper, I compare several documented translation effects (distribution of pronominal objects of prepositions, pronominal objects and genitive-noun order), following the methodology of Taylor (2008), across the different sections of the Heptateuch. Questions to be investigated include: How does Ælfric's treatment of variable constructions under Latin influence compare to that of the anonymous translator(s)? How does Ælfric's treatment of variable constructions compare across different parts of his own translation? How uniform is this type of translation effect across different constructions? If all variable constructions are not affected in the same way, what might account for the differences?

Preliminary results based on one construction (object pronouns in main clauses) show the following: (1) Ælfric’s translation of Genesis differs significantly from his original prose, as represented by the Catholic Homilies I; (2) both Ælfric and the anonymous translator show direct and indirect translation effects; that is, they produce higher rates of the Latin order, whether or not there is a pronoun in the Latin source (Taylor 2008); (3) Ælfric’s translation of the other Heptateuch books does not show strong translation effects, but is closer to his non-translated prose; (4) the anonymous translator shows no such variation, but continues to reproduce the Latin order at a high rate throughout his contribution.

References
The pragmatics of late medieval English accounts: a case study

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The proposed paper is a case study of a set of late medieval churchwardens’ accounts from the church of St Michael at the North Gate in Oxford, all written wholly or partly in English. It draws on insights from the Pragmatics on the Page project at the University of Turku (Carroll et al. 2013), with particular emphasis on what Machan (2011) terms ‘visual pragmatics’. The data is collected from the image archive of the Middle English Scribal Texts programme (MEST) at the University of Stavanger. The paper assesses the pragmatic functions of medieval accounts, and attempts to answer the following question: what happens to the pragmatic function when the visual aspect of an otherwise easily recognisable text type deviates from its traditional form?

While most late medieval accounts tend to follow a recognisable pattern of listing debit and credit items one by one followed by the individual sums to the right, and with a total sum following each section, the collection from St Michael’s displays various layouts. Some follow the traditional model as stated above, others have the sums on the left followed by the text, and some have sums in both the left and the right margin. In addition to the layout of the page, which also includes various forms of punctuation and spaces, there are certain linguistic features which may aid the user in distinguishing between different parts, such as the words ‘item’ and ‘sum’. All of these models could be said to promote a logical, communicative function, where the user can easily follow and check all individual sums. What makes this collection of accounts stand out, however, is a fourth type of layout, which is markedly different from the traditional model.

In the present collection, there are 7 account rolls dated to the period between 1479 and 1501, all in different hands, where the account is written out as prose with the sums and keywords interspersed at various intervals in the running text. This raises questions about the established functions of accounts, and the paper discusses the implications of changing the visual pragmatics of the text, in terms of both producers’ and users’ point of view. A comparison is made with several contemporary collections of accounts from Oxford, London, Dorset and Cornwall, in order to contextualise the findings of the present study.

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Voices from the field: Citations and authority in Early Modern English military treatises

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Keywords: citations, Early Modern English, metadiscourse, military treatises, multilingual practices

The paper examines citation practices in non-literary texts on warfare from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Like the texts of other early (semi-)professional fields, these treatises were produced by a community of writers who shared a domain-specific, international system of knowledge, exchanged information and engaged in debates across state and language borders, and transmitted knowledge of innovations both among their peers and to the wider society. These aspects of the developing professional sphere, together with the complex situations of language contact that conflict situations entail, are reflected in the texts in quoted passages and source references in English and other languages.

Citations are an integral part of the social process of constructing knowledge within a discipline. They are part of the interactive metadiscursive resources that writers use to guide their projected readers’ interpretation of the text (Hyland 2005). Studies of present-day material indicate that genre, discipline and the writer’s individual preferences all influence the range of lexical elements and grammatical structures which are used to realize the communicative functions of citations in texts (Hyland 1999; Harwood 2009). Recent research also points to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences in citation practices. However, relatively few studies have focused on diachronic comparisons and the development of these practices over time (exceptions include e.g. Arendholz et al. 2015). The same holds for citation practices involving more than one language: although they are among the typical uses of multilingual text elements in historical material (e.g. Pahta and Nurmi 2006), investigating them from a specifically metadiscursive perspective has been rare.

As a step toward addressing these gaps in research, the paper studies data from a small corpus of ca. 20 treatises on warfare published in early modern England, compiled on the basis of texts available through EEBO-TCP. A combination of qualitative and quantitative corpus-based methods is used to pursue the following questions: What strategies do writers use to reference sources of information? When are foreign sources cited in the original, and when are they translated? What types of sources are cited to support the argument, and whose arguments are refuted? Answers to these questions will help to assess the dynamics of genre conventions and authorial positioning in the multilingual texts of a previously uncharted emerging professional domain, and the degree to which models based on present-day data are suited to analysing historical material (cf. Taavitsainen 2006).

References

Lunatics, crackpots and maniacs: Mental illness and the democratisation of British public discourses

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Keywords: democratisation, public discourse, mental illness, lexical field, labelling

Democratisation, defined here as a process through which an ever-wider segment of the population becomes visible, is represented and gains agency in society, has been one of the enduring dynamics in Western societies since the early 19th century. As with all social developments, this process can be attested in language and particularly in public discourses, many of which are increasingly available for linguistic investigation through “mega-corpora” and textual archives. By using a combination of corpus linguistic and socio-pragmatic methods, it is possible to track social and cultural developments over long periods of time with an evidence-based approach that would have been impossible only a decade ago (cf. Farrelly & Seoane 2012).

Already in Victorian times, the English readership was fascinated by news about social and moral degradation, digging up 'the dirt' on others (O'Reilly 2014). The mentally ill were classified as a 'filthy' part of society, the public use of derogatory terms was widely accepted (Houston 2000) and visiting mental asylums like Bedlam was considered public entertainment (Arnold 2008). Nowadays, luckily, mental illness is discussed more as a personal challenge affecting millions of people than as an anomaly shutting those who suffer from it outside society.

In this paper we discuss the sense development, semantic shifts and use in public discourses of words related to mental illness and the mentally ill during the Late Modern and Present-day English periods (1800–2000). We identify the relevant lexical items using the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary and then investigate their use both quantitatively and qualitatively in two contrasting types of British public texts: parliamentary debates, as represented by the Hansard Corpus, and contemporaneous newspaper data, as represented by the 19th Century British Library Newspapers Database and The Times Digital Archive. By examining the complete lexical field at once we are able to identify turning points in the public discussion, and by then focusing on specific case studies we can dig deeper into the linguistic processes involved. One of these processes is, for example, evaluative labelling, which often reflects a more prevalent, societal attitude either in favour or against particular group memberships, as e.g. in the case of the mentally ill. The different definitions and descriptions related to negatively evaluated groups are, of course, a basis for creating and spreading public stereotypes (cf. Hintikka & Nevala 2017).

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Transitive Adjectives in Diachrony: a Case Study of Tóweard

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Keywords: Transitive adjectives, grammaticalization, prepositions, toward

While the property of transitivity is traditionally associated with the category of verbs, there is a small group of adjectives which also select a noun phrase as a complement. Unlike typical adjectives which require a prepositional complement (e.g. She is similar to me.), these adjectives take a nominal complement directly. While these adjectives were common during the Old English (OE) period when the concord between adjective and their complements was made explicit via inflectional endings, they are virtually absent in Present Day English, apart from a couple of historical relics (e.g. It is worth the money.).

The research on transitive adjectives has been mostly limited to the well-known exemplars such as like, near, worth which were all deemed relics of OE class of transitive adjectives. This research paper focuses on the transitive adjective tóweard, which lost its adjectival properties and was grammaticalized into a preposition already during the OE period. Visser’s (1963: 327) survey of Old English adjectives with complement objects classifies them into several groups, one of the classes encompassing adjectives expressing “nearness, distance, motion towards, motion from, imminence”. Tóweard is listed in this group as well. While tóweard could be frequently found in the attributive function, i.e. “Se tówarda winter” (the upcoming winter) during the OE period, it was the predicative use of this word that gave rise to the adverbal use and consequently the prepositional one, e.g. “bône ærnað hy ealle toweard þæm feo” (Then they all run towards the treasure). Over the course of these changes, the meaning of tóweard developed from referring to the future events to the spatial meaning.

This study examines the instances of tóweard extracted from The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose and The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition to identify the stages of grammaticalization from an adjective, through an adverb, into a preposition. Moreover, this study establishes criteria typical for adjectives and those typical for prepositions to distinguish between the respective stages of grammaticalization of tóweard Since the process of grammaticalization is inherently gradual, both the adjectival and the prepositional properties first coexisted as a result of the process of layering, until eventually the adjectival properties disappeared and the re-categorization of tóweard into a preposition was finalized.

References
A Quantitative Analysis of Socio-Political Change on Eighteenth-Century Scots
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Keywords: Scots, Political unrest, Statistical Modelling

Under the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, Scotland and England became incontestably united, and the ongoing Anglicising processes affecting the Scots language (Devitt, 1989a; Meurman-Solin, 1989a, 1993a, 1997a) appeared ready to run their course. Such trends were only strengthened by the ‘age of politeness’ which saw Scots condemned as ‘backwards’ and ‘vulgar’ (Jones, 1995; Aitken, 1979). Yet from the mid-eighteenth century, underlying political tensions within Scotland increased, fed by international affairs and growing agitation towards breaches in the treaty (Phillipson, 1970; Bono, 1989). The Scots language became increasingly associated with patriotism and national identity, exemplified particularly in the resurgence of Scots vernacular poetry (Dossena, 2005). The eighteenth century thus forms an interesting period of time to examine, considering the conflicting interests at work in Scottish society.

There is a considerable amount of qualitative research on eighteenth century Scots (Jones, 1995; Aitken, 1979; Robinson, 1973; Smith, 2007; Corbett, 2013) but quantitative studies charting its trajectory are scarce and tend to focus on a single variant or author in their analyses. Our current knowledge is based largely off descriptive accounts (Millar, 2004; Murison, 1979; Aitken, 1984; Jones, 1995; Robinson, 1973; Smith, 2007; Dossena, 2005) that do not quantitatively address what was happening across the board. Thus, a holistic understanding of early modern Scots and the influence of the potential interaction between language and politics is still missing from current research. We seek to utilise modern statistical methods such as mixed effects regression modelling (Bates et. al, 2015) and random forests (Breiman, 2001), combined with corpus analysis tools to undertake a detailed examination of changes in the Scots language across a corpus of texts.

We apply this statistical toolkit to the Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing 1700-1945 (Corbett & Smith) to examine change over time in eighteenth century Scots and identify the factors driving any changes. Creating our own Scots dictionary, based largely on the Scots orthographic system and wordlist provided by Corbett 2013, we track these lexical items across the corpus. We examine the overall frequencies of Scots lexical items across texts and time, to explore how and why Scots forms were changing in the 18th C. We complement this with a closer analysis of certain politically motivated individuals who were known to be pro- or anti-union. Utilising statistical modelling and random intercepts, we analyse what role, if any, their political stance played in their personal linguistic choices.

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*Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing, 1700-1945*. Compiled by Corbett, John & Smith, Jeremy.


Old English typically uses personal pronouns, demonstratives, and limited pro-drop for reference to previously mentioned nouns. It uses personal pronouns reflexively but starts to use a pronoun modified by *self* that is identical in form with an intensive. This use of a pronoun modified by *self* has been attributed to Celtic influence (e.g. by Tristram 1999, Vezzosi 2005, Poppe 2009). Other changes in the pronominal system have been attributed to Scandinavian influence, e.g. the introduction of the third person plural pronoun *they*. This paper looks at the use of the specially marked reflexives in the glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, a northern text where both Celtic and Scandinavian influence may be relevant. It provides lists of all of the *self*-marked forms and shows, for instance, that Matthew and Mark have reflexives based on an accusative pronoun followed by *self*, unlike Celtic, and don’t use this form as intensifier, also unlike Celtic. Luke and John have intensives and reflexives but not formed with genitive pronouns. The paper thus also examines differences between parts of the Glosses, contributing to the authorship debate.
It was chance’s chance to become polyfunctional in the modal domain

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This corpus-based study focusses on constructions with the noun chance(s), which are at present polysemous. Firstly, within the modal domain, chance(s) combines with light verbs (be, have, get) to form dynamic (1), deontic, epistemic (2), and volitional verbo-nominal patterns (VNPs). (1)-(2) show grammaticalized uses, with chance(s) incorporated in a larger unit that is secondary vis-à-vis the propositional lexical material it modifies (cf. Boye & Harder 2012), which is coded in what is traditionally regarded as noun complement clauses.

(1) if he had a dropsy fit sitting there I wouldn’t have a chance to grab him because he goes that quick down. (WB) [I wouldn’t be able to grab …]
(2) if you’re really interested in the course then chances are you’ll go out and buy the books (WB) [‘it is likely you …’]

Moreover, chance(s) is found in lexicalized expressions (e.g. take your chances) and “caused modality” expressions (cf. Talmy’s 2000 “greater modal system”), i.e. augmented event structures that add a (positive/negative) causative operator to a basic modal meaning, e.g. (3).

(3) While executing their children’s killers would not bring back their loved ones, it would at least act as a catharsis, giving all concerned a better chance to move on with their lives (WB) [‘enable; make it possible for them’]

Based on synchronic data from WordBanksOnline (WB), this study will provide detailed lexicogrammatical descriptions of VNPs with chance, verifying such decategorialization reflexes as determiner drop, reduction in adjectives, and loss of singular-plural contrast. Secondly, it will trace these constructions’ diachronic development based on the Penn Historical Corpora, the Corpus of Early Modern English Texts, and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts 3.0.

A pilot study reveals that the earliest VNPs with chance(s) involve happenstance contexts, cf. (4), just like the source constructions of perhaps and maybe (cf. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2017).

(4) my chaunce was to be att the recoverynge off his sone me lorde Russelle (PPCEME, 1500-1570) [It was my hap, fortune to …]

We will reconstruct the diachronic relations between this (now archaic, OED) happenstance construction and the (caused) modal constructions illustrated in (1)-(3), highlighting the role of negative polarity as trigger for the development of modal meaning, as has been reported for VNPs with (no) need (Van linden et al. 2011), (no) doubt (Davidse et al. 2015), and (no) wonder (Van linden et al. 2016).

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Corpora
WordbanksOnline Corpus https://wordbanks.harpercollins.co.uk/

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Successors of OE ⟨c⟩ and ⟨g⟩ in the Texts of Poema Morale: A Computer-assisted Spelling Analysis

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Charles University

Keywords: Poema Morale, LAEME, spelling, early Middle English

The paper deals with a comparison of the use of selected litterae in the seven texts of the Middle English verse sermon Poema Morale (henceforth PM) using an experimental computer-assisted method. The analysis focuses on the reflexes of OE ⟨c⟩ and ⟨g⟩, both of which are connected with the process of palatalization.

The objectives of the study are to identify common features and differences of the seven spelling systems, distinguishing between differences in the presumed sound value and alternative representations of the same sound. There is also a methodological objective of testing the computer programme designed for spelling analysis.

The analysis is based on data available in LAEME. The texts of the PM are first pre-processed partly drawing on the method proposed by McMahon and Maguire (2012) which consists in the identification of “slots” in individual types in the corpus. The result is a searchable database of litterae linked to the original data from LAEME.

A list of pre-selected litterae (i.e. ⟨k, c, g, ṇ⟩ and litterae appearing in the same positions) is then used to retrieve a list of all types in which any of the litterae appear. These items are categorised according to the expected development of the original OE consonants /k/ and /ɣ/. This provides comprehensive quantitative data showing the frequency of different litterae appearing in the relevant positions in each category, which serves as the core material for an interpretation of the spelling systems.

A number of differences between the individual texts is identified on the level of representations as well as in the presumed sound values. There are signs that in the context, where palatalization of /k/ would be expected, at least two different sound values are represented in all texts. In the case of /ɣ/, the results are less certain. All texts use ⟨g⟩ for the hardened /g/ plus another littera where ⟨f⟩ would be expected. However, the presence of digraph spellings following ⟨ṅ⟩ in some of the texts may suggest two different sounds, at least for the lost exemplars.

References


The Developments of This, That, and Yon

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Keywords: demonstratives, deixis, demonstrative systems, grammaticalization

The disappearance of demonstratives from systems has been said to be due to their semantics (Frei 1944), or cultural complexity (Perkins 1992). Here it is claimed that yon has grammaticalized from a preposition geond (Partridge 1958) to a determiner in Middle English only to perform the functions that could not at the time. This has been influenced by the different functions this and that have gone through. Demonstratives have D1 i.e. pronominal function without spatial or temporal meanings and D2 which refers to a demonstrative as a determiner or adverb with a spatial or temporal meaning (Lyons 1977, 651). Here under D2 the deictic categories of space, time, manner, and emotion are subsumed.

Since this and that developed from a pronominal source (Diessel 1999, Traugott 1992) their starting point in the path is D1, but the following development is hypothesized to be different. In the first path a demonstrative has more D2 like the demonstrative this in the earlier stages e.g. for manner (Mustanoja 1960), whereas in the second path they have more grammaticalized forms and not as many D2 which happens to that. In the later stages the first path is expected to have fewer D2 and more grammaticalized forms, and the second more D2 and fewer grammaticalized forms. Yon is anticipated to perform the spatial D2 function while that has more grammaticalized forms. When that starts having more D2, yon disappears.

The data from diachronic corpora show that the D1 pronominal forms of this and that remain fairly stable from the 13th until the 17th century. The D2 uses of this and that are quite different. This is more used with spatial prepositions, in manner phrases like in this way and in the emotional category with proper nouns than that whose D2 becomes more frequent in the 16th and 17th century. This happens after a lower frequency of complementizers in the 15th century. Yon reaches the highest frequency as a determiner in the 14th and 15th century. It is scarcely used as a pronoun, and it disappears in the 16th century.

The different paths of development of this and that account for the drop of this in the emotional deixis category in the 18th century (Nevala 2012) and the increased grammaticalized forms of this as a focus particle in Early Modern English (van Gelderen 2013).

References
The Anglo-Frisian hypothesis revisited: new evidence from Early Old English

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Keywords: Anglo-Frisian, historical phonology, Northumbrian, Épinal & Erfurt Glosses, Old Frisian

In her Edinburgh-dissertation, Colle (2016) revisits the status of the Anglo-Frisian linguistic community around the year 400. She concludes that archeological and genetic evidence (re)confirm the assumption that the Germanic speaking population and the settlers of the southern littoral of the North Sea come from the same pool of people and the same regions, namely the Elbe-Weser triangle and parts of Schleswig, with possibly some input from regions further north. This implies that the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ were ‘Frisians’ and vice versa.

The reconstruction of the Anglo-Frisian unity on the basis of linguistic arguments (for a summary see Bremmer 2009) has often run into difficulties and led to a refutation of the linguistic concept of Anglo-Frisian (Stiles 1995). With respect to phonology, only the fronting of PGmc. *a and PGmc. *e1 and the rounding before nasals are unequivocally considered to be common features, while different chronologies are posited for the developments of PGmc. *ai and *au (Campbell 1977; Hogg 2011).

Even if the demographic puzzle is solved (Colleran 2016), two questions remain:

1. Which linguistic features shared by Frisian and English can be traced back to the language spoken on the Continent before the year 400?
2. and are there any cross-linguistic dialectal similarities between Old English and Frisian dialects that attest to pre-landnám configurations of tribes on the Continent as asserted by Kortlandt 2008? Earlier work by Kuhn (1955) and DeCamp (1958) point into another direction (see also Versloot 2017).

A consistent analysis of the early runic evidence from England and Frisia reveals important details about the chronology of sound-changes (Waxenberger 2013), which have been neglected in the traditional chronologies. An exhaustive historical-phonological analysis of the language of the Épinal and Erfurt glosses and the early Northumbrian material sheds new light on the traditionally assumed chronology of pre-Old English soundlaws.

This paper will present a revised and absolute ‘chronology’ of sound changes in Old English and Old Frisian, building on the aforementioned sources. Special attention will be given to the relation between Old Frisian and early Northumbrian Old English, exploring the assumption that it is rather West Saxon that is the typological outlier, being a Germanic-Celtic contact variety (Schrijver 2014).

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“I feare me that...”: Reflexive Verbs in Early Modern English

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Keywords: reflexive verbs, reflexive pronouns, non-reflexive use, Early Modern English

Of the language changes spanning across the Early Modern English period (EModE), a substantial number occurred in the word class of verbs. Next to the continued grammaticalization of modal verbs, the continued levelling of endings and the increased usage of auxiliaries, we can also observe the gradual decline of the category of reflexive verbs. This development only affected a portion of verbs, among the most frequent of which are fear, remember, doubt, lay. At the beginning of the EModE period, these verbs were frequently used reflexively, but with a non-reflexive meaning, such as: e.g. I feare me thys wyll be iudged hygh treason. (EEBO, A22095)

The EModE period is also one in which the self-type reflexive pronouns myself, yourself, himself etc. gradually came to replace the object pronouns me, you, him etc. Initially, their function was emphatic and limited to oblique positions (Gelderen, 2000:63). Moreover, corpus data indicate that these “new” reflexive pronouns were only used with a handful of verbs.

This paper examines data retrieved from the EEBO corpus (Early English Books Online) and its aim is twofold. Firstly, we attempt to outline the uniting features of those verbs which occurred with a reflexive pronoun in a non-reflexive context at the beginning of the EModE period. There is reason to believe that these verbs share semantic features which made this development possible, e.g. the inherent reflexivity of the verb lay which no longer requires the reflexive pronoun, as in “I lay me down”. In the second part of this paper we examine the contexts of the newly emerging reflexive pronouns myself, yourself, himself etc. in contrast to the use of the older, in the EModE period still more frequent forms me, you, him etc.

References

Ellipsis, syntactic dependencies and the grammaticalisation of yes in early English

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Keywords: grammaticalisation, polar responses, syntactic change, ellipsis, grammar competition

Holmberg (2015) distinguishes between languages with polarity-based response systems and agreement based response systems. However, the diachrony of English yes demonstrates that polarity-based responses can grammaticalise into agreement-based responses over time.

Wallage & van der Wurff (2013) argue that grammaticalisation of the Present-day English response particle (ResP) yes begins with univerbation of an affirmative short clause, Old English gea is swa ‘Yes [pro] is so’ during the 6th-8th centuries. This paper examines later stages in the development of yes. Statistical analysis of the changing distribution of yes in 14th-17th century corpus data from the PPCME2, PPCEME and CED reveals a shift from a polarity-based to an agreement-based analysis of yes.

ResPs have received two distinct treatments in the synchronic syntactic literature: as sentence fragments (Krifka 2013), or the initial elements of elipted clauses (Kramer and Rawlins 2009, Holmberg 2015). Both are needed to explain the grammaticalisation of yes. They constitute successive diachronic stages of a grammaticalisation cycle: polarity-based ResPs are sentence fragments, while agreement-based ResPs introduce ellipted clauses.

During 8th-15th century English, there are two affirmative ResPs: yea responds to neutral questions, and yes to negative questions. This distribution indicates that yea is the initial element of an ellipted clause. Yes is a particle, occurring where responses cannot be derived by clausal ellipsis. From the 15th century onwards yes starts to replace yea in responses to neutral questions, and yes becomes reinforced by a clause in responses to negative questions. (Yes, it is). Statistical analysis of these changes in progress shows that they are correlated. They are reflexes of a single parametric change: two forms of yes compete. Middle English yes is lexically specified as affirmative polarity (a polarity-based ResP). However, the polarity of Early Modern English yes is derived by syntactic agreement with a clausal polarity head located in TP (an agreement-based ResP). Syntactic reanalysis of yes as the initial element of a clause follows from its need to enter into a syntactic dependency. Where there is polarity mismatch between antecedent (negative) and response (affirmative), the response’s TP must be overt. Elsewhere, the response’s TP can be elipted.

This provides a plausible grammaticalisation pathway for ResPs, comprising a sequence of changes common to grammaticalisation cycles such as the Jespersen Cycle (van Gelderen 2011, Wallage 2017). It explains both the emergence of yes during Old English, and subsequent changes in its distribution in Early Modern English.

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A Good Book: Copying and Corrections in Anglo-Saxon Prayers

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Keywords: Old English; Manuscripts; Philology; Dialect; Standardisation.

British Library, MS B.2.v (B) is a tenth-century psalter from Winchester. By the eleventh century the manuscript was housed at Christ Church, Canterbury, where a series of penitential prayers was added at the beginning and end of the book (Ker, 1957: 319). A later scribe was then responsible for extensive corrections (Scragg, 2012; Ker, 1957: 320), which move the text of the prayers from its original Kentish dialect (Logeman, 1889: 499) into forms more compatible with what modern scholars have described as a Late West Saxon focused variety (Smith, 1996) or proto-standard. For example, the original scribe copied non-West Saxon forms such as monn for LWS mann and in for on, and also transmitted specifically Kentish features such as pet for þæt.

In this study I use techniques developed in the compilation of the Linguistic Atlas of Early Mediaeval English (Benskin and Laing, 1981), and refined for use in investigating Anglo-Saxon scribal behaviour (Wallis, 2013) to provide a detailed examination of B’s text. In addition I compare B’s text with a version of the same prayers found in another manuscript thought to have a Christ Church provenance, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii. The results demonstrate that B’s eleventh-century scribe had definite ideas of what a ‘good’ English text should look like in terms of orthography and dialect lexis. A comparison of this material with scribal performances in the Old English Bede shows that the writer of these prayers was not the only scribe to demonstrate such an overt preference for particular linguistic forms (Wallis, 2016).

This paper feeds into wider questions of what data we draw on in providing accounts of the history of English; not only do traditional histories privilege ‘authorial’ texts in their finished form, but specialist grammars of Old English (e.g. Hogg 1992) also avoid using data gathered from such marginal and/ or correcting entries. My paper advocates approaches which take account of such overlooked data to give us a rounder account and a truer picture of language attitudes and language norms in the late Old English period.

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Immediate future expressions in Early Modern English: the rivalry between *be about to, be upon the point of, and be ready to*

_Takuto Watanabe_  
_Kumamoto Gakuen University_

**Keywords:** constructionalization, grammaticalization, rivalry

It has been pointed out that there were various ways of expressing immediate future in Early Modern English (e.g. Bergeder 1914: 59–60, Mossé 1938: 159–69, Visser 1956: 836–7). Some of those expressions survived into Present-day English as grammaticalized expressions but others did not. With the data from the EEBO corpus (Davies 2017), this paper deals with the rivalry between *be about to, be upon the point of, and be ready to* in Early Modern English and, in terms of the constructionalization approach (Traugott and Trousdale 2013), explores reasons why the former two successfully grammaticalized but the last one did not.

In the case of *be about to* and *be on the point of*, it seems that the expressions both underwent constructional change and constructionalization. As for *be about to*, *about* and the *to-*infinitive were already hardly separable in Early Modern English. Its range of collocation began to expand to include, for instance, inanimate subjects or unintentional verbs, to indicate the immediate future. As for *be on the point of*, being a calque of the French phrase *être sur le point de* (Mossé 1938: 162), its grammatical function was established from the beginning. Although its form was not stable, *be upon the point of* took the place of the variant forms (e.g. *be at the point to*) and became the norm in the 17th century, probably influenced by the emergence of complex prepositions (e.g. Akimoto 1999, Hoffmann 2005). These findings may suggest that the two expressions evolved into new form-meaning pairs, thus constructionalized.

It seems, however, that *be ready to* did not proceed to constructionalization. Despite its common usage as an immediate future expression (e.g. *when ready to sink in the waters, then he cryeth out then christ holds his hand out* (1652)), the adjectival usage of *ready* in the sense ‘prepared’ continued to persist. Of randomly chosen 100 instances in the 1690s, for example, at least 20% are clearly used as such. It is often used in contexts with a connotation of ‘preparedness’ (e.g. *the tyrant ready to receive them, well fortified and provided with cannon* (1695)), or in some cases, with another adjective with a similar meaning (e.g. *the goodness of god … makes him willing and ready to bestow it [our happiness] upon us* (1699)). In addition, ready is sometimes used in a comparative form (e.g. *a man more ready to do kindnesses than to receive them* (1690)). These facts indicate the instability of *be ready to* both in meaning and form. In other words, *be ready to* might have undergone constructional change but did not go any further, and failed to grammaticalize.

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Réson and coráge – stress placement and word-fnal -e in late Middle English iambic poetry

Gyöngyi Werthmüller
Eötvös Loránd University

Keywords: Middle English, disyllables, meter, stress

This paper revisits the stress patterns of Chaucer, comparing them to, and contrasting them with, those of Gower. I will claim that in stress analysis, more attention must be paid to the lexical presence or absence of word-final -e than it usually receives. Unlike some papers on ME meter (see for instance Li 2008), our starting points are not metrical positions or lines, but individual words or word types – mainly disyllabic nouns of Romance origin: those ending in a final short unstressed -e (corage, bataille) vs. those not (reson, cite). (Disyllabic is understood without counting the -e.) I will agree with Minkova (1997) in rejecting Halle and Keiser's 1966 Romance Stress Rule and its later revisions, but I will suggest that words ending in -e tend to behave in a "more Romance" way than those without one. Based on the criteria discussed, I shall argue that Chaucer is "more Germanic" and at the same time "more modern" than Gower.

The following points will be highlighted (> means “more than”; Chaucer means the CANTERBURY TALES, Gower the CONFESSION AMANTIS).

Words ending in -e

- For both poets, some words are found (almost) exclusively in the last foot (rhyme), suggesting overall dominance of end-stress.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Line-final</th>
<th>Line-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>corage</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaucer</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Line-final</th>
<th>Line-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bataille/ bátaille</td>
<td>batáille</td>
<td>bátaille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaucer</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gower</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Retention of -e: Gower > Chaucer – in Gower -e is always retained, except, as a rule, before vowels.

Words without final -e

- Line-medial end-stress: Gower > Chaucer; but in both, these words are more often front-stressed than end-stressed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Line-final</th>
<th>Line-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cité/ cíte</td>
<td>cité</td>
<td>cíte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaucer</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gower</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>86.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Gower’s pattern: it will be pointed out that in Gower, not only the number of tokens, but also their location may matter. For instance, the tokens of honour are all end-stressed in book IV, but all front-stressed in book VIII of Gower’s CONFESSIO AMANTIS.
Poetry by other poets (such as the non-Chaucerian Fragment B of *The Romaunt of the Rose*) will also be briefly examined; and the findings may shed new light on the question whether Fragment C was indeed authored by Chaucer.

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Semantic Distribution of Antedated Senses in the Oxford English Dictionary and Historical Thesaurus of English

Kate Wild & Fraser Dallachy
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Keywords: lexicography, semantics, diachronic semantics, Oxford English Dictionary, thesaurus

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) is undergoing extensive revision as it is updated to its Third Edition (OED3). The revision process includes finding instances of words and their senses which antedate the previous earliest citation. These antedatings are, in turn, fed into the Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE), maintained at the University of Glasgow, and its sister Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary (HTOED), integrated with the OED3 website. Previous research has identified periods and texts which were under-read during research for earlier editions of the OED and are fruitful sources of antedatings (see e.g. Brewer 2007, Schäfer 1980), but a question which has until now been unexplored is whether particular semantic domains were incompletely documented in those earlier editions. The present research aims to establish the distribution of antedated senses across the semantic structure shared by the HTE and HTOED, identifying any groupings of antedatings which indicate that the coverage of particular semantic domains has been substantially improved by the OED3 revision process.

Research for this paper was conducted on the OED and HTE databases as of November 2017. Counts were made of the number of antedated senses in branches of the thesaurus hierarchy with respect to the earliest citation in the OED’s Second Edition. Branches were weighted for further investigation based on the highest percentage of antedated senses, and the largest average magnitude of antedating of senses across the branch. The two most heavily weighted branches in the OED thesaurus structure were found to be ‘People’ and ‘Trade and finance’.

Amongst the major antedatings in the ‘People’ category were nationality terms such as Native American n., redated from 1974 to a1628, Gambian n., redated from 1943 to 1744; and Palestinian n., from 1905 to 1583. These findings suggest a greater awareness on the part of modern lexicographers of the significance of non-Western cultures and the longevity of their interaction with English language and culture. Within ‘Trade and finance’, numerous antedatings were from newspapers and journals, for example long bond n., antedated by 228 years with a 1720 quotation from the London Journal, and reserve bank n., antedated by 89 years with an 1816 quotation from the Adams Centinel. Further investigation of this branch identified a preponderance of shorter timescale antedatings in the 19th and 20th centuries, suggesting that the increasing availability of financially-focussed periodical material has allowed more precise sense-dating within this semantic domain.

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The Lexical Field of Eating and Drinking in Old and Middle English

Ilse Wischer
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Keywords: Old English, Middle English, lexical field, semantic change

In Modern German there exist certain semantic selectional restrictions for the use of lexical items within the field of food and eating as related to human beings (essen, trinken, Mund, Essen) or to animals (fressen, saufen, Maul, Schnauze, Futter). If the latter terms are used in the context of human beings, they have a pejorative connotation in German. In Modern English comparable selectional restrictions do not exist (eat, drink, mouth, food), and thus, there is – or has been - no metaphorical extension of the animal-related terms into the domain of human beings with a negative connotation. As both, English and German, are Germanic languages, it might be interesting to have a closer look at the lexical field of eating and drinking in Old English (OE) and its further development, especially, since OE had cognate forms to the German animal-related terms (fretan, sūpan, mūl, fōda).

The lexical field of eating and drinking will be identified for OE and Middle English (ME) with the help of the Thesaurus of Old English and the Historical Thesaurus of the OED. The use of the lexical items, i.e. their semantic and syntactic properties, will be analysed in the texts from the OE and ME parts of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. It will be checked to what extent this lexical field was affected by foreign influence, how it was expanded and/or differentiated in the ME period, and whether there were certain selectional restrictions or preferences with regard to +/- human subjects. I will also focus on particular connotative meanings (pejorative, formal/informal), as far as this is possible on the basis of the available data, and examine figurative uses, which occurred as early as in OE, e.g. We cristene men ... etað þa cruman his gastlican lare. ‘We Christian men … eat the crumbs of his spiritual doctrine’ (COAELHOM, P 70, R 70.116).

The aim of my presentation is to trace possible origins and developments in the lexical field of eating and drinking in Old and Middle English, to find out in how far these differ from those changes that took place in the history of German and other Germanic languages.

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Emergent labial stops in English: a diachronic and diatopic study

Anna Wojtyś
University of Warsaw

Keywords: epenthesis, deletion, labial stops, corpus study

The lexicon of English contains a number of words which developed emergent stops, mostly /p, b, t, d/. Some of these words functioned as variants of forms without such stops (cf. OE endleofan ~ enlefan or gandra ~ ganra) but in most cases they prevail in Present-Day English, as exemplified by OE nimol > ModE nimble, OE æmtiȝ > ModE empty, or OE þunre > ModE thunder. The phenomenon of epenthesis is dealt with in numerous publications on historical phonology (e.g. Luick 1940, Hogg 1992, Welna 2005ab, 2014) and in those on theoretical approaches to phonological processes (e.g. Clements 1987, Murray 1989, Ohala 1997, Czaplicki 2010). While the former writers adduce listings of affected words, identify the context, and assign examples to either Old or Middle English periods, the latter describe the process in terms of syllable structure or articulatory gestures.

The present study examines the process of labial stop epenthesis from the perspective of diachrony and diatopy. The words containing emergent labial stops are searched for in the texts collected in historical English corpora to identify their uses with and without parasitic consonants. This allows for the establishment of a precise chronology of the process, which was at work from Old English (e.g. simble) to Modern English (e.g. attempt). Also discussed will be the opposite change, that of labial stop deletion (as in, e.g., lamb or plumb), which mostly affected the voiced labial stop.

The data come from the Old and Middle English corpora such as the Dictionary of Old English Corpus, A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, The Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose, and The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. The results of the examination of texts from these sources will reveal proportions of forms with insertion and deletion of the labials.

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Language Change and Social Evaluation of Linguistic Features in Religious Communities of Practice in Seventeenth Century England

Hiroshi Yadomi
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Keywords: historical sociolinguistics, community of practice, Early Modern English, religious writing, second-person pronouns

Social evaluation of linguistic features affects the language choice of individual speakers and, eventually, plays a significant role in language change (e.g. Nevalainen et al. 2011). To identify those carrying out such social evaluation, recent research in historical sociolinguistics increasingly draws upon such notions as social network and community of practice (Bergs 2005, Sairio 2009, Jucker & Kopaczyk 2013). The proposed paper offers an analysis of two now-archaic linguistic forms for second-person pronouns — thou and ye — in Early Modern English sermons and demonstrates that linguistic changes are subject to social evaluation, which develops through complex social processes involving different confessional communities.

The evidence for the paper’s arguments derives from the Corpus of Sermons in Early Modern England, which contains sermons written by 25 authors (c. 1.2 million words in total) and published between 1574 and 1694 (Yadomi 2016). Within a discourse community of Early Modern preachers, I identify subsets of communities which share certain behavioral patterns as well as religious identities, i.e. communities of practice (Wenger 1998). Classified by their degree of conformity to state-church policy (e.g. Whitgift’s 1583 Three Articles), four communities of practice may be distinguished: radical Puritans, moderate Puritans, moderate Anglicans and Arminians.

During the period under review, the second-person pronouns thou and ye both, across most text-types, seem to have become rapidly obsolete (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, Walker 2007). In English sermons, however, their use was rather more complex. The two linguistic items manifested in this genre a distinct process of change: through the seventeenth century, the frequency of thou increases whereas that of ye experienced a steady decline. Thou came to be favored by non-conformist Puritans such as Richard Baxter and Thomas Hooker, though disfavored by their opponent Arminians like Archbishop William Laud and his protégé, Jeremy Taylor. Moreover, ye was found in the writing of Anglican preachers, but clearly avoided by Puritan counterparts. The marked difference in the course of two linguistic changes may be due to social evaluation by a particular community of practice; as Kohnen (2011) suggests, thou became a special marker of authentic religious language, but ye failed to do so. I will examine the correlation between certain religious groupings and the evolution of linguistic forms using statistical methods and argue that such tendency emerged through the interaction of preachers with wider religious communities of practice over the course of social and political upheavals during the Elizabethan and Stuart eras.

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On the Demise of Two Types of Nonstructural Case in the History of English

Tomohiro Yanagi
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Keywords: dative verb, Experiencer verb, Case Filter, dative case, nonstructural Case

This paper discusses the demise of nonstructural Cases observed in Experiencer and dative verb constructions in early English from a generative point of view (Chomsky 2001). I argue that the demise was caused by the functional shift of the lexical-functional heads, \( v_E \) and \( v_A \), in the VP-shell structures of (1) and (2).

(1) \[ [vP \ vE \ [vP \ [v V [SC \ SUBJ \ PRED ]]]] \] (cf. Chomsky 1995)
(2) \[ [vP \ DPAGENT \ vA \ [vP \ V \ DP THEME ]] \]

In Middle English, *semem* ‘seem’ took a dative-marked Experiencer argument: *In tymys me semyth* ... (CMSIEGE,90.631) ‘in times it seems to me ...’. Then, the preposition came in use with the loss of inflection: *hit semep to manye men pat* ... (CMWYCSER,294.1213) ‘it seems to many men that ...’. During Middle English, both forms coexisted (Elmer 1981 and Denison 1993). However, the dative-marked argument was superseded by the prepositional argument. On the other hand, there were some verbs taking dative objects in Old English: *he his bigengum gehulpe* (Ælfred, Bede (Smith) 524,15/Visser 1963–1973: §323) ‘he should help his worshippers’. Those verbs were also observed in Middle English. With the demise of inflection, dative objects were replaced with objective objects.

Let us first consider the Case-licensing mechanism in (1). The Experiencer argument is assigned 0-role and nonstructural dative Case by \( v_E \). In late Middle English, \( v_E \) lost the Case-assigning ability. If the Experiencer argument did not receive any Case, the sentence would be ruled out as a violation of the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981). In order to avoid such a violation, a preposition was introduced as the Case-assigner in the Experiencer construction.

We then turn to the Case-licensing mechanism in (2) (Woolford 2006). I propose that the little \( v_A \) is a lexical-functional category which can assign a 0-role to DPAGENT and accusative Case optionally to DP THEME; the lexical \( V \) assigns a 0-role and nonstructural dative Case to DP THEME. If both structural and nonstructural Case are assigned to a single DP, the nonstructural Case would have precedence over the structural Case. After the case endings became obsolete in Middle English, nonstructural dative Case ceased to be manifested on DPs. Then, the lexical-functional category \( v_A \) became activated to Case-license the DP THEME, as a more direct way than the use of prepositions. It should be noted that in Old English the dative verb *fultumian* ‘help’ could be used in personal passive: *we wæron gefultumode* (ÆLS 11.84/Mitchell 1985: §851) ‘we were helped’ (see also Smith 1996; for another language see Áfarli and Fjøsne 2012). This type of case alternation was so rare, but it could support the idea of the VP-shell structure in (2).

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It is safe to say that the psalter constituted the centre of medieval religious life and education. Caie (2008) claims that no medieval text should be studied in isolation, and all the factors related to any given medieval manuscript need to be taken into account in approaching and analyzing it. Indeed, considering its prominent role, the psalter – its production, purpose, use, etc. – can provide some insight into the state of the circumstances surrounding its production in terms of cultural, social, and religious aspects.

The **Eadwine Psalter** was produced in Christ Church, Canterbury, in mid-twelfth century. This splendid, valuable, beautifully decorated manuscript contains one of the very few surviving complete Old English psalter glosses. Although much appreciated for its beauty, it was beyond the scope of historical linguistics research for a long time. This was due to the fact that the manuscript is (in)famous for containing numerous, heavy corrections in the first 77 psalms, most of which make it impossible to recover the original form of the gloss. Thus, the Old English gloss was deemed useless from the perspective of historical linguistics.

The present study discusses the results of the analysis of these numerous (almost 2000 in total) corrections in order to answer one of the baffling questions surrounding the **Eadwine Psalter**, namely, the identity of its patron. Given the results of the said analysis, the time of production, and the politics surrounding the conflict over supremacy between the secular power and the Church, a proposal is put forward here that it is likely that it was the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket. The nature and distribution of these corrections seem to indicate that he may have commissioned the production of this manuscript with a political agenda on his mind. The present paper presents and discusses linguistic evidence in favour of this claim, arguing that it is possible and likely in the light of the available historical evidence, as it would also provide an explanation behind the peculiarities of the Old English gloss to the **Eadwine Psalter**.

**Primary sources**


**Secondary sources**


Twelfth-century forged Old English legal documents and the post-Conquest England

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Adam Mickiewicz University

The Norman Conquest affected virtually every aspect of life in England, including the social and legal reality. First of all, the majority of the English land fell into the Norman hands - according to Daniell (2003: 17), as early as in 1086, around 5000 pre-Conquest estates were controlled by 200 major tenants-in-chief of Norman origin. Secondly, the Normans introduced a new legal order, moving from the Anglo-Saxon oral tradition to the continental written tradition, which resulted in massive document production after 1066 (Newman 1998: 19). Moreover, on the one hand William the Conqueror presented himself as a rightful heir and thus stressed the legitimacy and lawfulness of his rule, and on the other, illegal seizure of land was the most common complaint of the local landlords following the Conquest (Daniell 2003: 20). One way of keeping the land was to prove the antiquity of the rights of the pre-Conquest owners to their property. It is thus hardly surprising that the years 1066-1500 are the “Golden Age” of forgery in England (Hiatt 2004: 22).

This paper is a part of a research grant studying twelfth century English production of forged documents. Its aim is to identify, analyse and catalogue original elements of the 12th century English language from the forged documents that were supposed to pass as being written in Old English. In the present paper we are looking at some examples of confirmed forgeries of episcopal acta in order to see what means of authentication – both linguistic and extra-linguistic – were employed by their forgers, and how they correspond with the social and legal reality of the 12th century England. The 12th-century forgers’ imperfect impressions of Old English allow us to retrieve some Middle English morphological, phonological and lexical features. The overall aim of this paper is to show that unorthodox texts – in that case, forgeries – can be useful in historical linguistics research, allowing insight into various ideas of what a legal document was, concerning its physical aspects, linguistic characteristics, and the role it played in its local community (Hiatt 2004: 3).

References
A quantitative exploration of SKT constructions

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Keywords: type nouns, construction

Since the 1980s (indeed, since Bolinger 1972), scholars have been documenting synchronic aspects of constructions involving sort of, kind of, and sometimes type of in English (‘SKT constructions’ henceforth). From the 1990s, diachronic aspects have been considered, too. Subtle analysis of the syntax and semantics has suggested new (sub)patterns and meanings in the SKT family (see especially Keizer 2007, Brems & Davidse 2010). Additionally, periods preceding PDE may now be explored quantitatively in ways previously impossible, by means of newly-published large corpora.

Despite the many studies of the last ten years, published and unpublished, these factors justify an attempt to revise and test an early and still quite influential sketch of the overall history of SKT constructions in English, Denison (2002). The approach of that (never-published) paper was an informal constructional one, and it will be useful to recast an explanation in a better-motivated Construction Grammar framework. This attempt can particularly benefit from the major efflorescence of diachronic CxG, with a number of book-length publications in recent years (Bergs & Diewald eds. 2008, Hilpert 2013, Traugott & Trousdale 2013, Barðdal et al. eds. 2015).

In this paper we will develop a diachronic analysis in modern CxG terms. We test it against the data of a number of corpora by means of a systematic analysis of frequency patterns over time. We plan to use EEBO, CLMET 3.0, COHA, and the Brown family. Our aim is twofold:

1. Validate the chronology of the constructional development as described by earlier accounts
2. Provide a fine-grained diachronic description of the development of SKT constructions in the 20th century

In the second part, we will take into account the variation observed between British English and American English. We will show that these two major varieties exhibit different tendencies in the development of SKT constructions. These are not limited to the ratios of the individual construction types or a preference for either kind or sort but affect the overall usage of the construction family as well, where all but kind of actually show a fall in both varieties from the 1930s on.

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WORKSHOPS
Workshop 1

Standardisation after Caxton

Organisers: Jacob Thaïsen & Gjertrud F. Stenbrenden  
(University of Oslo)  
Javier Calle-Martín & Laura Esteban-Segura  
(University of Málaga)
Reduction of variation in Early Modern English: A case of self-organisation

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University of Oldenburg & SUNY Stony Brook

Keywords: standardisation, printers, scholars, self-organisation

Who standardised English spelling? Brengelman (1980) famously argued against printers and in favour of linguistic scholars. These scholars were aware of each other’s work, and they influenced schoolmasters; in sum, this supposedly lead to the decline of variation and the spellings that emerged in the 17th century.

We test this hypothesis empirically. For three phenomena of decreasing specificity (the spelling of the suffix -ic; consonant doubling; variation in the spelling of lexemes in general), we determine the trajectory of the change. We then compare this trajectory to the earliest prescriptivist suggestions. We can thus determine whether a change was already underway when a certain spelling was prescribed by scholars.

As a data base, we use the large diachronic corpus Early English Books Online (EEBO) which includes around 500 million words in more than 25,000 continuous text from between 1475 and 1700. Where necessary, we use VARD2 (http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/vard/about/) to normalize the corpus orthographically.

It turns out that, in all cases we inspected, the change that prescriptivists demanded were already well underway. Take the case of consonant doubling. Mulcaster (1582) discouraged the use of double consonants and final <c> in spellings like <madde> ‘mad’. But as our results for seven randomly chosen words show, the majority of these words had already reduced the amount of <CCe> spellings (like <madde>) in favour of single final consonant spellings (like <mad>) by the time Mulcaster’s Elementarie appeared.

What is more, each word has its own trajectory; this can be seen as a graphemic instance of lexical diffusion (cf. e.g. Labov 2005). If printers had actually followed the scholars’ advice, the movement should have been much more uniform.

This in turn speaks for spelling as a self-organising system – which means that neither printers nor scholars deliberately designed the English writing system. We will argue that they created it, but that they did so unintentionally.

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Broadening the horizon of the written Standard English debate: a view beyond the metropolis

Tino Oudesluijs, Anita Auer & Moragh Gordon
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For a long time, a general consensus existed that what eventually became written Standard English developed from the variety used in administrative texts in London, notably that used and propagated by the Chancery clerks (cf. Ekwall 1956; Fisher 1977; Fisher et al. 1984). This view was chiefly based on spelling uniformity in these texts in comparison to other written documents. Both Benskin (2004) and Wright (2000) have convincingly challenged this persistent truism. Even though London was of great importance for the actuation and diffusion (both geographical and social) of many linguistic features, other written varieties of English must not be ignored. After all, the present indicative 3rd person singular suffix –s (he goes), which became the dominant form, originated in the North and supplanted the southern –th variant (he goeth) (cf. Holmqvist 1922; Schendl 1996). To get a better understanding of the diffusion of this variable throughout England, regional varieties as well as a range of different text types also need to be taken into consideration.

In the Emerging Standards Project, we investigate regional urban varieties, namely those of York, Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich; these constituted the largest communities and most important regional centres, apart from London, between 1400 and 1700 (cf. Kermode 2000: 442; Trudgill 2010: 53). In these places, literacy rates were significantly higher compared to small towns and rural areas (Palliser 2000), which allows us to investigate various text types (manuscript-based; civic records and ego-documents) from the different urban centres diachronically. As such, newly compiled corpora for the different centres allow us to systematically investigate language variation and change.

In this paper, we present findings concerning the 3rd person singular indicative present tense variable in Early Modern English data from York, Bristol and Coventry. By analysing various text types from these urban centres we will show that

1. the supralocalisation of -s and the decline of -th were less unidirectional processes than previously assumed;
2. the speed at which this happened depended on the text type, as well as verb type (cf. Kytö 1993), and
3. space is still an influential factor during this period, which allows us to better understand the diffusion of the linguistic variants.

Ultimately, based on new regional material, this paper illustrates through the investigation of the selected variable that diffusion processes were and are more complex than often assumed.

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“Th[i/y]s Indentur[e] ma[i/d[e]” - orthographic variation in 16th-century administrative texts from Coventry

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Many studies on orthographic variation in English texts from the sixteenth century onwards have traditionally focussed on printed works from the London area rather than on writings from other regions (e.g. Scragg 1974; Salmon 1999). This is not surprising considering (a) the number of printed texts increased exponentially after 1500, providing scholars with more material to work with, and (b) the fact that the vast majority was printed in London (Görnach 1991: 6-7). Furthermore, orthographic variation in writing declined considerably in this period (Benskin 1991), which is strongly associated with standardisation processes of written English. However, despite the significant decline, orthographic variation in writing across England did not disappear entirely in the transition from the Late Middle to the Early Modern English periods (cf. Rutkowska and Rössler 2012; Stenroos 2016). In particular, studies that have scrutinised so-called ego-documents, i.e. personal correspondence and diaries (Moore 2002; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Joby 2017), have shown that variation in writing persisted up until the early eighteenth century, at least in those text types. Up to now, administrative and legal texts have not been considered to the same extent for the Early Modern period - in contrast to the Late Middle English period (cf. LALME, MELD, MEG-C). The few existing studies only investigated printed works from the London area, i.e. the Statutes of the Realm (cf. Rissanen 1999; 2000). As Rissanen’s (1999; 2000) results indicate that the language of such texts showed more orthographic variation than previously assumed, it would be interesting to scrutinise administrative and legal texts from other parts of England as well, notably in writing rather than in print. Such an investigation will shed more light on the development of orthographic variation in English in different registers across the country.

This paper will therefore focus on this topic by investigating 35 sixteenth-century written indentures from Coventry (c. 29,000 words), an extract from a newly compiled manuscript corpus. To this end, the study combines a corpus approach with close reading of the individual texts, and the preliminary results indicate that the attested orthographic variation in Early Modern written administrative texts from Coventry (1) has continued well into the early seventeenth century, and (2) often seems to have been scribe-specific. This latter finding is somewhat surprising as the language across the different texts appears to be much more uniform on a syntactic and morphological level.

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“Morphological spelling: Verb inflection in the early editions of the *Book of good maners*”

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Spelling in books printed in English prior to the seventeenth century is generally considered chaotic and random (Brengelman 1980, Scragg 1974, Salmon 1999), though some authors point to the available evidence of regularisation in late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century books (e.g. Aronoff 1989, Rutkowska 2013). This study aims at assessing the degree of regularisation concerning the spelling of inflectional endings of verbs in the earliest editions of the *Book of good maners*, published before 1500. The *Book of good maners* is William Caxton’s translation of Jacques Legrand’s *Livre de bonnes moeures*. The three editions considered here comprise those printed by: William Caxton (1487, *STC* 15394), Richard Pynson (1494, *STC* 15395) and Wynkyn de Worde (1498, *STC* 15397).

The present contribution is a comparative, corpus-based study, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. The relevant texts have been analysed in the form an electronic database of transcriptions based on the facsimiles available at *Early English Books Online*. The main focus of this study is the comparison of Caxton’s, de Worde’s and Pynson’s levels of variation in the orthographic realisation of verb endings. The investigation has revealed that although the editions of the *Book of good maners* were based on the same translation, they show important differences and varying degrees of consistency, with Wynkyn de Worde showing a relatively high degree of regularisation in his spelling of verb endings. In the light of the fact that in the late fifteenth century, spelling handbooks and prescriptive grammars were not yet available, the systematic features traceable in the earliest printers’ orthographic practice can be considered attributable to their own spelling policies rather than to external influence.

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Charting spelling variation and editorial reliability in English historical letters

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Keywords: spelling; corpora; editions; letter-writing; Early Modern English

Our understanding of Early Modern English spelling is largely based on printed sources (Scragg 1974; Salmon 1999). Although studies have shown that the range of variation in hand-written sources greatly surpasses that found in print (Osselton 1984; Sönmez 1993), the lack of suitable resources has hindered large-scale and diachronic studies. This paper uses the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC) to look at variation and change in spelling in Early Modern English letters. It shows that there are two ways of countering potential editorial interference which may reduce the reliability of results from edition-based historical corpora. One method is to focus on frequent variables, and to use smaller, manuscript-based corpora to verify the findings. Although editions of Early Modern English text have usually modernized <u/v>-variation (changing common spellings such as haue, vp into “have, up”), it is rarer for them to have modernized other highly frequent spelling variants, such as doubled or singled consonants (at, att; shall, shal), or long vowels (beleve, beleeeve, believe) (Kaislaniemi et al. 2017).

The other method is to analyse the philological reliability of the sources of a historical corpus, and to use only texts which reproduce the spelling variation found in the source manuscripts. This requires the manual vetting of editions. Our approach has been to create a database of the textual features charted, which can then be turned into corpus metadata (Sairio et al. 2018).

Preliminary results show that both approaches can be fruitfully used to reveal new findings in the history of English private spelling practices. Moreover, search results from the CEEC can be divided according to social variables such as the writer’s age, gender or domicile, allowing for an initial survey of regional variation in private spelling practices.

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CEEC = Corpus of Early English Correspondence. Compiled by the CEEC project team under Terttu Nevalainen at the Department of English, University of Helsinki. See <www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/CEEC>.


The Functional Development of Auxiliary Do in Affirmative Sentences in Early Modern English - Evidence from the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC)

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Keywords: Periphrastic DO; Early Modern English; Corpus linguistics; Standardisation

Usually, auxiliary do in affirmative sentences (henceforth DO+) is treated in connection with the NICE properties, meaning that auxiliaries function as operators in cases of subject-verb inversion and in negative sentences, that they replace the main verb in elliptic sentences and that they carry stress in emphatic or contrastive contexts. Yet, studies have shown that the functional range of DO+ is much broader than simply expressing contrast or emphasis (Ranger 2015), and that it can assume a number of discursive functions, such as (re)introducing, summing up, or elaborating on a topic (cf. Nevalainen and Rissanen 1986). As far as the origin of periphrastic DO is concerned, research has focussed, on the one hand, on non-semantic factors favouring its use, such as avoiding complex consonant clusters in past forms (Stein 1986) or its use as past marker for irregular verbs (Poussa 1990). On the other hand, studies in historical sociolinguistics have complemented these findings with information on how social variables effected its spread (cf. Nurmi 1999; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996). This study focusses on how the semantic and non-semantic uses developed during the standardisation process, which limited the use of variant forms.

Using the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC) as database, the distribution of DO+ is traced though the Early Modern English period focussing on the verbs (and adverbs) it occurs with. The ratio of DO+ vs. simple form is calculated in total as well as with regard to specific verbs, as the functions attested for PDE collocate with different types of verbs. To analyse quantitatively which factors lose and gain influence in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the occurrences are correlated with the non-semantic factors which have been shown to have an influence on the frequency of periphrastic DO. Furthermore, the constructions are analysed qualitatively in order to identify semantic or pragmatic reasons for the use of DO+. The results show that the non-semantic factors lose influence in the course of the standardisation process, which explains, at least to some extent, the drop in the use of DO+ in the second half of the 16th century; however, its stigmatisation as non-standard or colloquial form has affected the semantic uses as well.

References


Spelling Regularisation in the Corpus of Early English Correspondence: A Quantitative Analysis

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Keywords: spelling, regularity, correspondence, corpus, entropy

The paper explores trends in spelling variation in Early English correspondence (15th – 17th c.) on the material of the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC).

The history of English spelling has so far been mostly described from a systemic (langue) point of view focusing on the description of, and specific changes between, the number of spelling conventions as used in English at particular periods. When (ir-)regularity has been described, it was mostly in terms of structural regularity and consistency, or general sound-spelling correspondence. This paper, on the other hand, focuses on regularity seen as predictability of actual written forms (parole) throughout the period.

Overall change in spelling regularity has so far been commented on only in relatively general terms such as “as the fifteenth century progressed so a universal stabilised orthography … was increasingly widely used” (Scragg, 46), “after 1550 we find a … greater stability and regularity of spelling in private documents”, “up to the final fixing of spelling circa 1650” (ibid, 68) or “the 15th century saw a steady movement towards a fixed spelling that very much resembles the spelling of Modern English” (Upward & Davidson, 174). Such assertions, while undoubtedly based on quality research, result however from unspecified methodology supported by individual examples only and – as evidence of the progress of regularisation in a quantitative analysis – are largely circumstantial. There is of course no doubt about the general direction of the process and its basic characteristics, such as the slower pace of the change in private documents compared to the spelling of professional publications, but the data to support the assertions as well as precise definitions of spelling regularisation have not yet been, to my knowledge, provided.

This paper introduces a novel methodology for the quantification of spelling regularity, which allows a more objective assessment of its progression and which also makes use of the metadata provided by the CEEC such as gender, letter authenticity or relationship/kinship between the author and the recipient. The paper explores interactions of such variables from the diachronic perspective using quantified levels of spelling regularity. The measure introduced for this purpose is based on weighted information (Shannon) entropy, as a measure of predictability of spellings of individual functionally defined types, and its calculation is partly based on the morphological tagging of the parsed version of the corpus.

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Workshop 2

Qualitative evidence and methodologies in historical linguistics: attitudes, judgements and mental models

Organiser: Jane Hodson (University of Sheffield)
Questions of (e)quality: methods and evidence in lModE research

Sylvia Adamson
University of Sheffield / Cambridge

The emergence of the Helsinki Corpus in the 1990s marked a revolution in the way we do English historical linguistics. As Kohnen and Mair point out (2012: 281), subsequent technological developments have made the revolutionary the norm, with corpus-based quantitative methods allowing us to ‘answer questions... about the frequency of usage of competing forms which [earlier generations of scholars] did not even ask’. But they enter some caveats: ‘fewer and fewer historical linguists go back to the actual manuscripts or even read the texts they quote their examples from’ and ‘we should not forget that many important phenomena in the history of English... require qualitative analysis in addition to or even instead of quantification’. I believe these caveats have a particular applicability to historical work in lModE. Perhaps because the subject and its contemporary scholars have grown up in the digital era, research is typically conducted within a quantitative framework, which means that lModE as a period has largely missed out on what we might call the ‘philological phase’ of language history-writing with its detailed first-hand study of individual texts. Without disputing the value of the ‘big data’ revolution (Mayer-Schonberger & Cukier 2013) or the contribution of large-scale corpora to our understanding of lModE developments (Davies 2012:157-174), I want in this paper to enter a plea for a complementary – or supplementary -- qualitative approach to lModE language-change, an approach that not only looks backwards to the text-and-context based methods of traditional philology but sideways to the recent rise of qualitative methods in sociolinguistics (Johnstone 2000, Eckert 2012).

What is meant by qualitative evidence varies quite widely. At one extreme, it has the very restricted scope envisaged by Penke & Rosenbach (2007:7), where it “simply means that we use data to show that a certain form/construction is possible in a specific context”. This is contrasted with quantitative evidence, where “we don't use data solely to show that a form/construction or effect exists but rather how much of it exists” (2007:9) and where “statistical methods help to decide whether the differences found are meaningful (=significant) or random” or even “to show whether a (categorical) rule exists”. The opposite end of the spectrum is occupied by traditional literary studies, where interpretation results from the close encounter between a text and a (sufficiently well-informed) reader and interpretative disputes are settled by expanding the data to include socio-cultural as well as textual contexts. What sort of knowledge emerges from this form of procedure? Is it inevitably case-specific, or can it be methodised so as to contribute to a wider historical enquiry? Does it give an illegitimate role to the potentially distorting lens of a PDE reader's perspective?

I'll consider these and related questions of evidence and methodology by reviewing the outcomes of quantitative and qualitative studies of specific problems in the history of English, including the development of the progressive construction and the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.

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Quantity, quality, and other (false?) dichotomies

Marina Dossena
University of Bergamo

Keywords: Late Modern English; corpus linguistics; methodological issues

Corpus linguistics has given an undoubted contribution to studies in language history, not least in the domain of Late Modern English, where the availability of digitized sources has grown exponentially over the last few years. However, when the quantity of data is so vast that their representativeness can hardly be calculated, a merely quantitative approach becomes of doubtful usefulness. Even millions of words may represent only a fraction of what was actually in use if they neglect manuscript sources and/or restrict their scope to genres like fiction and journalism, where clichés abound and which may thus skew results. Instead, quantitative findings need to be read in an accurate framework in which corpus structure and background information are taken into serious consideration.

In this respect, historical linguists can (and perhaps should) redefine themselves as ‘language historians’ as the study of language variation and change finds its place among more encompassing approaches to historical analyses and acknowledges the importance of archeological, demographic and historical evidence alongside typological evidence (see, most recently, Filppula & Klemola 2014). In practice, data needs to be discussed avoiding anachronisms and therefore questioning presuppositions both of uniformity and of divergence. Also, traditional language histories have notoriously neglected popular culture, although it was a frequent and valuable object of study for Late Modern antiquarians, who recorded socially- and geographically-restricted usage, and it is equally invaluable for contemporary scholars with an interest in ‘language history from below’ (see Elspaß et al. 2007).

In my presentation I will attempt to show how the methodological tenets of historical sociolinguistics, perceptual dialectology and history may usefully be combined in order to enhance the validity of the conclusions that may be drawn from linguistic analysis; for instance, although we cannot interview Late Modern informants, much can be gained from an accurate study of what comments were made in different text types, in order to see what attitudes emerge from them. If this line of investigation is pursued, quantitative and qualitative approaches can be shown to complement each other in very fruitful ways, as they are in fact two sides of the same coin, just like internal causes of language change can be shown to complement external ones, and viceversa. No matter what time frame is taken into consideration, the complexity of language is such that sharp dichotomies can seldom apply at any level.

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Authorial style, literary fashions and language change in Restoration drama

*Mel Evans*
*University of Leicester*

This paper engages with the question of how synchronic practices of language users inform and shape the trajectory of language change. In doing so, it explores how qualitative perspectives can complement the quantitative results typically produced using corpus-based and stylometric methodologies to provide more nuanced insights into this question. The discussion takes as a case study the development in literary style in the early modern period, focussing particularly on the language of Aphra Behn and her Restoration contemporaries (using data collected as part of the AHRC-funded project ‘Editing Aphra Behn in the Digital Age’ (E-ABIDA)).

Stylistometric investigations of linguistic variation are typically associated with authorship attribution, although its remit is increasingly expanding to address other questions of style and linguistic variation (see Craig and Hirsch 2017), including the relationship between macro-level developments in the English language system (e.g. syntax, morphology, lexis) and the evolution in literary style (Rybicki 2015). To explore this relationship in more detail, the investigation uses a corpus of Restoration drama (1660-1700). Exploratory computational techniques, such as Principal Components Analysis, are used to identify key style markers in these texts. The results show a chronological distribution, indicating temporal changes across the dataset. Some of the hallmarks of the stylistic developments include second-person pronouns (*you* and *thou*), interjections, and terms of address – indicating that interactive and interpersonal language features are significant, yet developing, properties of dramatic style in the period (cf. e.g. Busse 2002).

These features are explored in more detail in the language of Behn's plays, contrasted with those of her contemporaries, as well as with non-dramatic writings of the period. The evidence indicates that Behn's literary style evolves over time across her twenty-year career, although at differing rates of development and intersecting with other factors, such as genre. Significantly, Behn's stylistic choices show parallels with, and divergences from, those of her contemporary authors, such as Ravenscroft and Dryden. To unpick these results further, I adopt a qualitative framework to read the key style markers in context. The analysis suggests that authorial style changes are largely part of shifting genre norms, which themselves relate to socio-political developments, such as the Exclusion Crisis. Pulling at the threads offered by the quantitative results, the qualitative analysis helps us to understand the stylistic objectives of an author working within a particular literary moment, and how this may intersect with the on-going processes of language change, such as the collapse of the second-person pronoun system *you* and *thou* (Lass 1999: 148-155).

References


Language attitudes and language change: Is historical perceptual dialectology possible?

Hickey Raymond
University of Duisburg-Essen

There have been many investigations of speakers’ views of language variation and areal distributions for present-day English following on the seminal work by Dennis Preston (Preston 1989, Preston (ed.) 1999, Long and Preston (eds) 2002), for instance for the North of England (Pearce 2009, Montgomery 2015), for parts of the United States (Bucholtz et al. 2008, Clopper and Pisoni 2004, Cramer 2016) and for urban dialects (Cramer and Montgomery 2016). The approach of perceptual dialectology is qualitative in that in its core it relies on the subjective judgements of non-linguists. The essential question for the linguist is whether non-linguists’ attitudes to language variation can have an effect on the course of language change (Hickey 2012a).

Hitherto the studies based on perceptual dialectology have been concerned with present-day language as living subjects have provided the primary data. However, it is worth considering whether this approach can be extended back in time to assess whether speakers’ attitudes have influenced the known course of change for a variety. To examine this issue, the present contribution will examine whether the changes in nineteenth century Irish English (Hickey 2007, 2008) can possibly be traced to attitudes found in certain sections of society towards the language of other sections, often rural (Hickey 2012b). Specifically in the crystallisation of standard Irish English (Hickey 2007, 2012c), language attitudes seem to have played a central role and the process of supraregionalisation (Hickey 2013), on which it is based, would seem to involve a perception of certain features as typical of either rural or lower-class urban varieties of Irish English and hence blocked from forming part of the later implicitly codified standard. The features to be discussed in this contribution stem from both the phonology and morphosyntax of Irish English and include those which have disappeared from the variety entirely and those which are nowadays clearly confined to vernacular forms of the variety.

References
Novels as evidence for language attitudes: a qualitative approach

Jane Hodson
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Keywords: literary dialect, enregisterment, linguistic attitudes, metadiscourse

The “Dialect in British Fiction 1800-1836” project (Hodson et al. 2014) has demonstrated that the early decades of the nineteenth century saw a sharp quantitative increase in the number of novels making substantial use of dialect representation. (Hodson and Broadhead 2014) In this paper I take a qualitative approach to the material gathered during the project, exploring the reasons why dialect representation increased, and making the case for literary fiction as an important but underexplored site for investigating attitudes to language variation over the past 200 years.

In an influential article, Asif Agha has argued that, through their representation of nonstandard speech, novels constitute a key stage in processes of enregisterment, dramatizing linguistic variation for readers and building associations between linguistic forms and social stereotypes: “To a reader of the novel there is a message here, of course, a message that links accent to social persona.” (Agha 2003: 238) He focuses in particular on semi-phonetic respellings in character speech, arguing that “the use of mis-spelling constitutes an implicit metapragmatic commentary on norms of speech”. Taking this as a starting point, I argue that there is more to be said about the representation of nonstandard varieties in fiction. I develop a model that takes account of explicit metadiscourse (whether attributed to characters, narrator or paratexts) alongside the implicit metadiscourse discussed by Agha. I draw examples from the “Dialect in British Fiction 1800-1836” project to demonstrate how some novels present a complex layering of different linguistic attitudes, arguing that they thus provide evidence for alternative and conflicting views, sometimes brought into dialogue within a single text. I also show that, even over the relatively short period of 1800 to 1836, there were significant qualitative changes in the linguistic attitudes dramatized in the novels.

I conclude by briefly exploring the role of the reader in this account. Agha discusses how respellings to indicate accent “invite forms of role alignment on the part of the reader” (257). I draw on recent work in sociolinguistics to consider the conclusions we can draw about reader alignment when the attitudes expressed within the novels are so complex. I also begin to think about the evidence we can find for the ways in which contemporary readers would have responded to these texts.

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Theatrical Practices and Grammatical Standardization in Eighteenth-Century Britain: you was and you were

Carol Percy & James Hyett
University of Toronto

Keywords: eighteenth century; prescriptive grammar; qualitative methods; literary language

The actors Thomas Sheridan and John Walker were influential codifiers of eighteenth-century English pronunciation. But (how) did theatrical practices relate to the standardization of English more generally? In our contribution to this panel, we will draw on eighteenth-century comedies, many of which feature linguistic variation (Hegele 2008, inspired by the pilot study for Hodson et al. 2014).

The language of literature differs from ‘life’: Nonomiya argues that in eighteenth-century plays, the archaic pronoun thou became “enregistered as a constituent of theatrical language” (2013: 211).

But like the fiction surveyed by Hodson and Broadhead (2013), plays could connect linguistic forms and social stereotypes. Terms like “enregistered” draw on Agha (2003), who shows how fictional texts can reflect, entrench and disseminate social and linguistic stereotypes that are themselves influential.

We are particularly interested in grammatical variation and standardization. For both method and findings, we are indebted to Fitzmaurice’s 2012 analysis of multiple negative constructions, which exhibit variation from late Middle English onwards and have been well studied (Nevalainen 2006a; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008 and 2011; Hodson 2016). Fitzmaurice is alert to the significance of comments and/or representations of distribution across region and class in eighteenth-century dramatic as well as grammatical and other metalinguistic text types.

In this paper we will extend Fitzmaurice’s attention to ‘personal stylistic variation’ (212) to another well-known feature: you was. Common in the eighteenth century, you was decreased in frequency after it was first proscribed by a grammarian—the influential Robert Lowth in 1762 (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2011: 225-6). Its distribution more generally in the century has been well tracked and analyzed in corpora and codifying works (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2002; Nevalainen 2006b; Laitinen 2009). In his corpus study of eighteenth-century letters, Laitinen confirms the significance of the mid century, and concludes that men led both the adoption and the avoidance of you was.

Did characters in plays use the construction like writers of letters? Were users of you was stereotyped in plays before Lowth proscribed it in his 1762 grammar? We will examine dramatists active through the 1750s and 1760s, correlating characters’ usage of you was with their sex, class, and profession and comparing patterns in drama with metadiscourse in prescriptive grammars and with usage in corpora. We will also consider the dramatist’s sex: Samuel Foote, David Garrick, and Arthur Murphy seem to use you was more freely than Elizabeth Griffith, Charlotte Lennox, and Frances Sheridan.

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Arguing for "the most humane Treatment of the present Sufferers": Changing attitudes in 18th-century medical discourse

Maura Ratia
University of Helsinki

Keywords: qualitative analysis, historical discourse analysis, attitudes, polite society

New cultural ideals developed in the eighteenth century. This is manifested in, for example, the establishment of philanthropic societies as well as the emergence of "polite society". The eighteenth century was also a key period for the advancement of science and medicine with the emergence of groundbreaking new methods of cure, such as smallpox inoculation, accompanied by a better understanding of diseases. On the discourse level, the form and structure of medical discourse were clearly linked to an assessment of what is socially acceptable behaviour. Politeness, benevolence and compassion were among the traits that were expected of 'medico-gentility' of the time (see Brown 2011: 74), and the newfound concerns about the humane treatment of patients entered in tandem the medical discourse.

This study investigates the expression of compassion and benevolence towards patients in eighteenth-century medical discourse with a focus on how the participants express their public persona as members of polite society. With the help of a discourse analytic approach, the aim is to discover which specific discourse features are employed in the formulation of these new ideas. Initial findings suggest that some of these expressions of attitude functioned as direct appeals to the audience, mostly consisting of other professionals. However, these appeals for compassion also underline the character of the author as a gentleman and formulaic expressions are often used in this function. The challenges for this type of qualitative analysis lie in the complexity of the material consisting of overlapping and shifting discourse functions, which will also be discussed in the paper.

The material comes from the Corpus of Late Modern English Medical Texts, i.e. LMEMT (Taavitsainen et al. forthcoming) and, more specifically, from a sub-category titled "Specific Diseases" comprising 20 texts (c. 160,000 words). The category readily lends itself to the study of changing attitudes by giving a representative picture about various ethical concerns related to treating different diseases, such as the plague, diseases of the mind as well as urinary stones.

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The Press and Sociolinguistic Change: A Diachronic, Qualitative Perspective

Massimo Sturiale
University of Catania

Keywords: Newspapers, databases, pronunciation, changes, attitudes, 19th century

The discussion presented in this paper is part of a larger research project on the role and influence of nineteenth-century British and American newspapers and magazines in accent attitudes, which foregrounded the standard language ideology and its subsequent metalanguage (see Mugglestone 2003: 38 and Agha 2003: 257) As I have argued elsewhere (Sturiale 2014, 2016a and 2016b), if on the one hand the press allowed people to have their say, on the other hand it contributed significantly to reinforce and promote ‘false myths’ which, in the long run, were to characterise prescriptive attitudes more on a social than a purely linguistic level. As rightly claimed by Beal:

The second half of the eighteenth century was, indeed, the period when the standardisation of English pronunciation reached the codification stage, as variants became prescribed or proscribed and clear guidelines for the attainment of ‘correct’ pronunciation appeared in the form of pronouncing dictionaries. (Beal 2010: 36)

Thus, while eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries codified the standard forms of English pronunciation, newspapers were subsequently crucial to establishing their widespread acceptance. Furthermore, my research aims also to address the research lacunae suggested by Görlach back in 1999 when commenting on attitudes towards regional and social variations:

There is an insufficiency of reliable data on what people thought about linguistic correctness and prestige (and how such opinions related to the same person’s actual usage); anecdotal evidence comes from private letters and similar documents […] and from the prescriptive statements in grammar books and advice in books on etiquette. Attitudes can also be reconstructed from novels and plays, although these data need to be interpreted with particular caution. (Görlach 1999: 26)

No reference here to newspaper article or letters to the editor which will constitute, instead, the data for my research and will be gathered from electronic databases such as British Newspapers 1600-1900, the 19th Century British Library Newspapers, The Times Archive: 1785-1899, The Guardian and Observer Digital Archives (1800-2000). The sociolinguistic data extracted will show that newspapers, and their readers, made a concerted effort to indicate, and safeguard, a model accent as the linguistic ideal to be attained. Moreover, the press mirrored the essence of the language instability, of sociolinguistic change and also of the normative tradition which had dominated so far.

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Published in America – but is it an American usage guide?

Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade
Leiden University

In what is to our knowledge the first American English usage guide, Seth T. Hurd’s *Grammatical Corrector* (1847), we find a list of Americanisms – a valuable source of information on how British and American English were perceived to have diverged at the time. A subsequent American usage guide, the anonymous *Five Hundred Mistakes of Daily Occurrence* (1856), is aimed specifically at American speakers, advising immigrants to avoid such things as Irishisms and Cockneyisms in order to ensure their linguistic integration into the new home country (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2015).

Published exactly a hundred years ago today, John Lesslie Hall’s English Usage (1917), however, appears to take a different stand. To begin with, he takes a strictly descriptive rather than a pro- or prescriptive approach to the usage problems he discusses (e.g. double negation, *have got for have, lesser, and mutual friend*), which was still far from usual at the time (see e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner 2017). Secondly, his pronouncements are based on an elaborate collection of examples taken from “writers and speakers of repute” (Hall 1917: 112-123), most of them authors like Shakespeare, Dr Johnson, Jane Austen and Mrs Gaskell. American writers (e.g. Franklin, Jefferson and Washington) are also drawn upon, but never in large enough numbers to ensure any kind of representative spread across the two varieties of English. This raises the question whether Hall (1917) should be considered an American usage guide or whether in providing its highly detailed and well-researched usage advice it is upholding a former English English standard in the light of the two diverging national varieties.

In my paper I will study this question on the basis of the 37 usage problems Hall discusses in his book that are included in the HUGE database of usage guides and usage problems (Straaijer 2014). My main aim will be to show that usage guides form an important additional source to those listed by Hodson (2016: 43) in providing information on “the prescriptive practices and underlying linguistic ideologies of the day”, in this case on what constituted the perceived nature of American English.

References


Workshop 3

Computational approaches to investigating meaning in the history of the English language: The challenge to theories of historical semantics

Organiser: Susan Fitzmaurice (University of Sheffield)
The historical pragmatic construction of co-occurrence clusters as discursive concepts: evidence from EEBO-TCP

Susan Fitzmaurice
University of Sheffield

The overarching aim of the Linguistic DNA project to develop an automated system for identifying paradigmatic terms or key concepts in early modern English printed discourse necessitated our rethinking the basic building blocks of lexical meaning. The outcome of this work is the proposition that before a concept can be captured by a lexical term, conceptual matter is present in discourse as discursive concepts. The Linguistic DNA processor involves algorithms calculating the strength of the reciprocal attraction of words within a series of proximity windows to produce outputs that consist of co-occurrence clusters of expressions. The task of the analyst is to construct those co-occurrence clusters as discursive concepts by matching the clusters with their discursive contexts.

In this paper, I demonstrate how the pragmatic subroutines adopted for the calculation of implicature can be pressed into service for the analysis of co-occurrence clusters as discursive concepts (Huang, 2007; Fitzmaurice, 2009). Key to this analytical approach is a set of reproducible routines. The first is saturation of the linguistically encoded form (co-occurrence clusters) with contextual information to maximize interpretation following the path of least effort. The second is the contextually driven process of free enrichment, ‘free’ because it is pragmatically rather than linguistically based. Enrichment includes narrowing, strengthening and specifying the conceptual matter encoded by the content of the co-occurrence cluster in the discourse to make interpretation maximally accessible. Finally, I adjust Huang’s notion of ad hoc concept construction, so that instead of involving the “pragmatic adjustment of a lexical concept in the linguistically decoded logical form” to narrow, strengthen, broaden or weaken an utterance’s sense in a given context (Huang, 2007:192), ad hoc discursive concept construction involves the pragmatic adjustment of the conceptual matter encoded in the co-occurrence cluster.

I offer a set of illustrative cases drawn from the Linguistic DNA’s processing of EEBO-TCP in order to demonstrate the pragmatic basis of discursive concept construction.

References
The Semantics of Whorishness in Jacobean drama

Heather Froehlich
Pennsylvania State University

Keywords: lexical semantics, early modern english, historical thesaurus of the oed, early English books online

In 2000, Kay Stanton enumerates ways that male and female characters use the word ‘whore’ in the widely recognized canon of Shakespearean plays. She draws on the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of the noun and verb forms and their related terms to create a list of lemma which fall under the headword of ‘whore’ to identify ways this term is used to demean women in Shakespeare’s plays. Stanton’s research is necessarily limited by how much she can keep track of by hand, so it is unsurprising to see her study only focuses on this one word in this one author’s plays.

With the release of two new digital resources it is possible to get a bigger picture of ways the concept of whorishness is available and presented in Early Modern drama. Using lightly modernized Jacobean play-texts taken from the transcriptions of the Early English Books Online Text Creation Project’s first 25,000 texts as evidence, I will compare and contrast the implications of whorishness in two oppositional genres of dramatic writing: city comedies and revenge tragedies. To do so, I will show how the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary makes it possible to get a wider view of the concept of whorishness and feminine lack of chastity contemporary to the Early Modern period. I shall discuss how to make custom dictionaries for the DocuScope text-tagging framework ubiqu+ity (Alexander and Gleicher, 2015; Ishizaki et al, 2004). In my discussion of how to implement them, I shall conduct a contrast between how city comedies and revenge tragedies handle the issue of feminine lack of chastity, with a particular eye towards variation visible surrounding issues of genre and authorship.

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Mapping discursive concepts: A data-driven model for interrogating quantitative and qualitative features of meaning in historical English texts

Seth Mehl
University of Sheffield

For decades, linguists have observed co-occurrences between lexical items and interpreted those co-occurrences in relation to linguistic meaning (cf. Sinclair 1991, among many others). Many different methods have been employed for identifying noteworthy, outstanding, or significant co-occurrences, including mutual information (cf. Church and Hanks 1990), which has become a well-established norm. Fano (1960), in his original formulation of ‘mutual information’, discussed conditional probabilities for up to three data points. In linguistics, pointwise mutual information (PMI) has only been applied to two data points at a time, in the measurement of co-occurring lexical pairs. This research represents a major innovation by extending PMI measurements to trios, sets of three co-occurring lexical items. These co-occurring lexical items constitute the core of the data for this paper, and they are seen as indicating discursive concepts (cf. Fitzmaurice et al. 2017). Discursive contexts are not equivalent to the lexical items themselves, but are instead defined as relationships between lexical items across broad co-texts (or discursive spans), which are interpreted by linguists and historians in relation to broader contexts (social, cultural, political, etc.).

This paper interrogates the nature of this core data - the co-occurring pairs and trios themselves - by mapping distributions of these combinatory relations across texts in Early English Books Online (specifically, EEBO-TCP). I discuss typical and atypical distributions of pairs and trios, and then investigate whether those typical and atypical distributions can be linked to observable trends in semantic, pragmatic, and socio-cultural meaning, with reference to meaning in the Oxford English Dictionary and the Historical Thesaurus of English. The goal is to identify trends and exceptions in lexical meaning and the distribution of discursive concepts, and thus to better understand the nature of meaning as it is represented within discourses and spans of historical English texts.

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A network methods approach to exploring conceptual forms

Gabriel Recchia, Ewan Jones, Paul Nulty, John Regan & Peter de Bolla
University of Cambridge

Keywords: conceptual structure, network analysis, ECCO, EEBO

The goals of semantic research differ widely across fields. A lexical semanticist may be concerned with meaning-based features of lexical units that constrain word order, a cognitive scientist with the qualities of an object that we attend to when we decide how to refer to it, and a conceptual historian with how the cultural history of a word’s use influences its meaning. Such differences colour how these fields conceptualize the idea of “semantics” itself.

Despite these theoretical differences, as well as extremely important differences among fields in the degree of emphasis placed on cultural and linguistic context, semantic research is frequently framed in terms of the study of the meanings of traditionally-defined units of language such as morphemes, words, or phrases. Focusing on the meanings of individual words and phrases has been a productive programme of research for many fields. However, this presentation takes up the question of whether there are other approaches to the study of concepts capable of yielding insights which would otherwise be out of reach.

We hypothesise that an attention to co-occurrence patterns among groups of words can reveal networks of related terms such that these networks themselves can be treated as informative units of analysis. In this talk we illustrate some of the properties of such networks using data from Eighteenth Century Collections Online and Early English Books Online, using network theory as a methodological framework. We also demonstrate how considering the specific linguistic, historical, and cultural contexts in which the words in a particular network co-occur can help illuminate the significance of such networks and their properties—and how this in turn can reveal previously unrecognized facts about how certain concepts were deployed. Finally, we suggest that these findings complement but also challenge certain assumptions within traditional approaches to semantics, such as the strong focus (in some quarters) on traditional taxonomic hierarchies.

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Distributions of concepts in the Old Bailey Voices Corpus

Justyna Robinson, Julie Weeds & Fraser Dallachy
University of Sussex & University of Glasgow

There are numerous challenges facing corpus linguistics, and there are two in particular that are of importance to historical linguists. First, a historical linguist must identify methods for interrogating conceptual content in large linguistic data sets, such as Early English Books Online (EEBO). Such interrogations have, in the past, consisted primarily of grammatical analyses and basic lexical co-occurrence analyses, but it is still not clear whether these approaches are ideally suited for accessing conceptual content of such data. Second, a historical linguist must consider textual metadata when analysing and explaining observed linguistic patterns. However, such tagging tends to identify text type, and socio-linguistic tagging related to age, gender, or social class has been extremely limited.

This paper addresses these challenges by analysing functional (i.e. grammatical and sociolinguistic) distribution of concepts in the Old Bailey Proceedings as represented in the Old Bailey Voices Corpus (OBVC). The OBVC is a unique database containing a wealth of sociolinguistic information on speaker demographics. Additionally, the OBVC represents a historically real, yet linguistically-controlled dataset restricted to one genre. Since the OBVC takes a consistent generic form (the trial); and since judicial speech aims at maximal transparency by minimising ambiguity, the OBVC is well suited for testing methods of automatic concept identification. In this presentation we showcase our approach to developing a method to explore intra- and extralinguistic relationships between concepts. For example, do men and women use different concepts in the context of a trial? How do these concepts function in relation to each other? After presenting several case studies, we conclude by outlining paths to further application and development of the proposed method.

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Systematically detecting patterns of social, historical and linguistic change

Gerold Schneider
University of Zurich

Keywords: data-driven, statistical models, machine learning, collocations, topic modelling

The linguistic DNA project seeks to understand the evolution of thought, philosophy, society and language which occurred during the period of Modern English. Large corpora such as EEBO, LMEMT, EMEMT and COHA now allow us to apply advanced statistical models to back up our expectations and use data-driven approaches to find out if we have missed significant patterns reflecting the history of thought. As system biology has revolutionised biology by systematically searching for all potential patterns, we detect patterns in our data automatically with distributional semantic approaches.

We employ methods known from text mining, computational linguistics, machine learning and digital humanities to uncover linguistic and semantic patterns. After normalising the spelling automatically to present-day variants we apply part-of-speech tagging and an automatic syntactic analysis. The thus enriched data lends itself for an array of bottom-up analyses: overuse metrics such as O/E and T-score, and collocation measures are used both at the level of lexis, part-of-speech and syntactic dependencies. We interpret the results, discuss the influence of corpus coincidences and assess how far our expectations are met.

Further, advanced statistical methods allow us to step up from lexical to conceptual patterns and conceptual maps. We are presenting results using document classification with logistic regression, topic modelling with latent dirichlet allocation, and conceptual maps with kernel density estimation. Document classification is a standard approach in text mining and automated media content analysis. We interpret the most salient features as keywords in a case study of the development of medical thought from scholasticism to empiricism. We also highlight salient linguistic changes. Some linguistic changes are rooted in societal changes, for example the rise of compound nouns, which reflects advances in technology and shifting interests in an increasingly complex and urban society.

As no gold standard for our task exists, our approaches need to stay exploratory in nature, which entails the need for a considerable amount of manual intervention, be it in the form of sifting candidate lists, checking individual passages, or interpreting conceptual maps. A fully automatic approach is currently not feasible, nor is it envisaged: a semi-automatic approach gives researchers the inspiring opportunity to interact with the texts in a constant move between distant and close reading, and the different characteristics of the various statistical methods offer different and complementary perspectives on the data.

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Investigating semantic shift: a semantic-hierarchical approach

Louise Sylvester & Harry Parkin
University of Westminster

Keywords: semantic shift, semantic hierarchy, technical vocabulary, Middle English

The lexicon has been described as unsystematic and not subject to generalisations (Kastovsky 2006), a view that echoes an earlier opinion that it is an ‘appendix of the grammar, a list of basic irregularities’ (Bloomfield 1935). Semantic shift has been similarly assessed, with changes in word meaning thought to be ‘random, whimsical and irregular’ (Sweetser 1990), and probably for this reason, most research in this area has focused on individual lexical items or small groups of words. This paper reports on a new Leverhulme-funded project, Technical Language and Semantic Shift in Middle English, based at the University of Westminster. The project aims to address research questions on the reasons for meaning change and its general patterns, a challenge still unmet in historical semantics (Smith 1996; Durkin 2009; Kay and Allan 2015), through examination of the semantic shifts at different levels of the semantic hierarchy.

Implicit in questions about semantic shift is the tension between the multiplication of (near-)synonyms, for maximal precision, and constraints on sense development, for functionality. So the focus of the Technical language and semantic shift project is the later medieval period when Anglo-French, Latin and English were all in overlapping use and English had not yet achieved the status of an autonomous standard variety. One of the markers of such a status is the development of a technical register and so this project is focused most closely on shifts in terms with senses at the level of greatest precision.

Our plan is to produce semantic hierarchies of vocabulary of different semantic domains and analyse the evidence of linguistic origins, dates of usage, and lexical domain on the sense development of the lexis, examining earlier meanings in Old English (where appropriate) and sense development up to the Early Modern period. The project begins by focusing on the lowest levels of the semantic hierarchy where competition from French loanwords, a significant proportion of which are thought to be technical (Prins 1941; Serjeantson 1935), is likely to have been particularly acute. We are taking terminology collected for the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England as a starting point, and are using the same hierarchy structure as the Historical Thesaurus of English.

Preliminary analysis suggests that polysemy, which may be an augury of shift, is not evenly distributed across different semantic domains. Some examples will be presented, and possible explanations for this uneven distribution will be suggested.

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Workshop 4

Historical Pragmatics: The state-of-the-art and the future

Organiser: Graham Williams (University of Sheffield)
Shakespeare's Latin: A pragmatic perspective

Jonathan Culpeper & Caterina Guardamagna
Lancaster University & University of Liverpool

Keywords: pragmatics, borrowing, Latin, Shakespeare, corpus methods

Recent research has seen discussions of borrowing moving from the traditional areas of lexis, morphology and phonology into the realms of pragmatics. 2017 saw the publication of a special issue on the topic in the Journal of Pragmatics. Most of the papers there considered present-day language and pragmatic borrowing from English ('Anglicisms'). Here, we bring a pragmatic perspective to bear on the Latin words and phrases in Shakespeare.

Narrowly conceived, pragmatic borrowing refers to "the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language (SL) into a recipient language (RL)" (Andersen 2014:17). The focus is on the borrowing of pragmalinguistic material. Shakespeare uses some 288 Latin words in his works, but very few of these are obviously pragmalinguistic (ecce "behold" being one such case). However, pragmatic borrowing broadly conceived focuses on the sociopragmatics of borrowings. What often drives such studies is the desire to account for the pragmatic motivations for lexical borrowing.

The two key questions we address are: (a) What are these Latin words and expressions doing in Shakespeare? (b) Was Shakespeare's usage different from that of his contemporaries? We examine words, such as terra, ergo and domine, that are used individually in the context of English words in Shakespeare. Moreover, we compare those contexts with what we find in contemporary texts (using Early English Books Online-TCP). However, more often than not, Latin words appear as part of phrases and sentences in Shakespeare. Somewhat in the spirit of Zenner and Van de Mieroop (2017), who investigated the local contexts of English borrowing in a Dutch reality TV show, we examine the meanings and discursive values of these multiword units in Shakespeare. But in our case we also pay some attention to the fact that we are dealing with fictional data, and hence the importance of functions such as characterisation and humour.

References
In the introduction to the foundational volume on historical pragmatics (Jucker 1995), Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 13, 19) outline two subtypes of *diachronic pragmatics: diachronic form-to-function mapping* and *diachronic function-to-form mapping*. Simply put, the former approach starts out from a form (including both single words and constructions) and charts the development or varying functions of the form over time; the latter method, on the other hand, uses the reversed procedure: it focuses on a function (such as expressing politeness or verbal aggression) and aims to find the varying forms that perform that function over time. This distinction is also referenced in more recent introductions and handbooks (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010, 2013; Taavitsainen 2012; Brinton 2017) and in studies of pragmatic phenomena (e.g., Lutzky 2012; Williams 2013). However, there appears to be no explicit study of the development of the approaches and their conceptualization over time.

The aim of this paper is to take stock of one of the approaches: *function-to-form mapping*. I will explore and outline the conceptualization of this approach over the past twenty years, the types of methodologies that have been developed under the umbrella of this kind of mapping, the topics that have received attention from this perspective, and the needs and issues in terms of this approach for the future. One particular challenge facing scholars working on topics that require a function-to-form approach is whether it is incompatible with the current emphasis on corpus-based research: for obvious reasons, searching a corpus for a function rather than a form entails difficulties (see, e.g., Grund 2012; Walker and Grund 2017). At the same time, various methods have been proposed to address this seeming incompatibility (e.g., Archer 2014; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2014), though the solutions are mostly topic specific (e.g., applying only to the study of speech acts).

This study will contribute to the ongoing discussion about methodology and data handling in English historical pragmatics. It is hoped that, by looking at an approach over time, we can gain insights into the history, development, and future of this flourishing area of research within English historical linguistics.

References


Directives in Old English and Their Manifestations across Different Religious Text Types

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Keywords: historical pragmatics, Old English, speech acts, directives, religious text types

Based on the typology of Old English directives developed by Thomas Kohnen in a number of seminal articles (e.g. Kohnen 2000, 2007, 2008a, 2008b), this paper seeks to provide an extended definition and analysis of this particular speech act (cf. e.g. Moessner 2010) in Old English. Individual in-depth text analyses as conducted in this paper may serve as an essential complement to corpora studies and may help to 1) find further “hidden manifestations” (Kohnen 2007: 138) of certain categories, 2) re-evaluate and refine existing, corpus-based results, and 3) reveal fine-grained differences between sub-types of text types such as the vast and diverse religious discourse.

While research has so far concentrated on sermons as a major source for directives in Old English, the present study chooses a different type of religious text, a moral exhortation as e.g. represented by Ælfric’s vernacular version of Pseudo-Basil’s *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* (ed. Norman 1849) in order to demonstrate that differences in discursive practice and didactic purpose produce differences in the occurrence, distribution and form of directives. Thus, for example, the *þu scealt*-construction, which could not be traced in Old English sermons (cf. Kohnen 2007: 154), and 2nd person imperatives, which are hardly represented there, constitute by far the greatest part of the directives in our exhortative text. This can be explained by the asymmetrical relationship between addresser and addressee in this kind of advice literature with regards to power and Christian knowledge: a spiritual father – in monastic contexts e.g. an abbot – addressing his spiritual son. Another pattern not hitherto identified in Old English religious texts are hearer-based conditionals of the type *gif þu V-st, þonne V-st þu*, which represent another type of indirect, suggestive directives. In our search for the sources of such patterns, it becomes obvious that the study of Old English pragmatics needs to be extended to and complemented by what I propose to call ‘Anglo-Latin pragmatics’, to bring out the marked indebtedness of Old English communicative practices and their realisations to their Latin models (cf. e.g. Risselada 1993).

References

Historical Speech-Akt Analysis: Problems and Perspectives

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**Keywords:** speech acts, Old English, context, form and function

In my contribution I will focus on four problem areas that have been fairly important in the historical analysis of speech acts during the past twenty years. Starting from my work on Old English expressives (Kohnen 2017a, 2017b), I will explain the challenges encountered in the analysis with regard to the following issues:

(a) **contextualisation:** Can we access enough information about the background and setting of language use in past periods to determine the speech-act value of an utterance (Stetter 1991, Bertuccelli Papi 2000)? What were the relevant activity types that set the scene for the interpretation of utterances and what were the cues employed by language users to shape the contexts of their interactions? Old English expressives seem to be an exemplary case in point. With some expressives, it is extremely difficult to find possible linguistic forms and contextualise them.

(b) **form and function:** In speech acts there is no fixed link between the form of an utterance and its pragmatic function. How can we access manifestations of a speech act in times long past (Kohnen 2004)? It seems that for many Old English expressives we can only rely on the corresponding manifestations we know from today (or from Early Modern English) or just on examples found by reading texts.

(c) **conceptualisations of speech acts:** It is likely that certain speech acts were conceptualised differently in earlier periods (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000). How can we find out the varying conditions and intentions underlying seemingly familiar speech acts in earlier periods? Some Old English expressives were conceptualised differently (for example, boasting, which was much more prevalent and attractive than today, especially in Germanic heroic activity types, and apologising, which only seems to occur in the form of repentance in a purely Christian context).

(d) **pragmatic functions and the lexicon:** In the individual periods of the English language we find different sets of speech-act verbs which seem to reflect the most prominent speech acts in the periods. Comparisons reveal lexical gaps. Do these gaps mean the speech-acts did not exist? How can we access non-lexicalised speech acts and trace the development of new speech acts across time? Some expressives (for example, apologising or congratulating) lack speech-act verbs in the Old English lexicon. How are we going to investigate this?

In my presentation I will point out possible solutions to the problems encountered in Old English and suggest relevant perspectives these solutions may imply for the field at large.

**References**


Scottish burgh laws in transmission from a diachronic pragmaphilological perspective

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Keywords: Latin, Scots, legal discourse, manuscripts, editions

This paper traces the textual transmission of medieval urban laws through the early modern period up to their appearance in an antiquarian edition (Innes 1868), concentrating on:

1) the relationship between Latin and Scots,
2) how changes in technology and in the purpose of recording the laws affected linguistic choices and visual layout.

Leges Burgorum, initially comprising c.120 chapters and composed in Latin, inform our understanding of an emerging urban legal culture in Scotland (MacQueen and Windram 1987). The first extant Latin version of the laws comes from the late 13th century, while vernacular versions survive from the 15th c. onwards, eventually also in print (Walker 1990, 2001; Dolezalek 2010). The Leges, moreover, had a considerable afterlife; after the Union of Parliaments in 1707, Scotland retained its legal system, so it became important to sustain the continuity of the Scots law through publishing the most important texts and collections of early laws in the late modern period. Both Latin and Scots versions of the burgh laws were transmitted across these fluctuating socio-historical environments, and as they did so they underwent significant formal changes that reflected their changing socio-cultural functions. Thus, for instance, the Latin and the Scots versions in Innes’s 1868 edition diverge from each other in syntax and lexicon to a substantial degree (Kopaczyk 2009). Interestingly, Innes claims that both versions draw directly on specific manuscripts, but confronted with the manuscript, interesting editorial interventions become apparent, e.g. Innes’s Scots text has a <þ>, while in the manuscript the letter shape is simply a <y>, following a well-described orthographic merger of <þ> and <y> in northern Middle English and Scots (Benskin 1982). Such interpretative activity can be related to wider antiquarian trends.

This study traces five selected Latin and Scots laws across twenty manuscript and printed versions. I approach the linguistic choices in each version from a pragmaphilological perspective, considering “the contextual aspects of historical texts”, their composers and recipients, “the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text” (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 11). I observe how these factors influenced linguistic choices but I also treat the texts as communicative objects (Pahta and Jucker eds. 2010; Carroll et al. 2013) and analyse their changing visual format. I show how new insights into diachronic textual transmission may be derived by drawing comparisons between witnesses of particular, pragmaphilologically analyzed, synchronic states.

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Sequentiality and monoclausal *because*-clauses from Early to Late Modern English

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**Keywords:** *because*-monoclauses, insubordination, interaction, sequential environment

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to “insubordination”, which is defined as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007: 367), in cross-linguistic studies (e.g. Evans 2007; Sansiñena et al. 2015; Evans and Watanabe 2016) and in historical English studies (e.g. Brinton 2014; Brinton 2017: 116–120, 236–240; Traugott 2017). This paper explores the history of “insubordinated” or monoclausal *because*-clauses in English.

While *because*-monoclauses in interactional discourse have been extensively examined in present-day English (e.g. Schiffrin 1987; Schleppegrell 1991; Ford 1993; Stenström 1998; Couper-Kuhlen 2011), to date, few historical studies have been conducted from the perspective of interaction. Higashiizumi (2006) finds a few examples of monoclausal *because*-clauses in drama and conversations within novels from the seventeenth century to the present day.

(1)  
Furtivo: And no man but will admire to hear of his virtues—  
Latronello: [Aside] *Because* he ne’er had any in all his life.  
Falso: You write all down, Latronello?  
(1603–4 Middleton, *The Phoenix* III.i [Higashiizumi 2006: 80])

Note that the *because*-monoclauses in (1) is not triggered by a *why* question but elaborates on the preceding utterance. Analysing examples of *because*-monoclauses in interactional texts, Traugott (2017) presents a similar example to (1) as well as examples of *because*-monoclauses which answer a *why* question in Shakespeare’s plays. She further points out that such question–answer routines are found in earlier English and are similar to those in present-day English. However, more extensive historical data on *because*-monoclauses in English are needed (but see Bergs 2017).

This paper undertakes a corpus study of *because*-monoclauses from Early to Late Modern English. It explores the sequential environments in which these clauses appear in “speech-related texts” (Kytö, 2010: 50) in order to determine how they are used to serve interactional and pragmatic functions. Examples are mainly taken from *ARCHER, CED, CLMET3.0, COHA*, and *HC*. The findings are summarized as follows: (i) In the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, most *because*-monoclauses are used to answer a preceding *why* question. (ii) From the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, the relative frequency of non-*wh*-question-answer *because*-monoclauses to *wh*-question-answer *because*-monoclauses is almost stable (13–16%). (iii) Non-*wh*-question-answer *because*-monoclauses are used (a) “to account for an immediately prior action by the same speaker”, and (b) “to account for an immediately prior action by the interlocutor” (Couper-Kuhlen 2011).

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**Corpora mentioned**

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<tr>
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<td>The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>Helsinki Corpus of English Texts</td>
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**References**


Moving beyond speech-acts: the make-up of 18th-century advice-seeking

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University of Zurich & University of Konstanz

Keywords: historical pragmatics, advice-seeking, speech-acts, 18th century

Speech-act research in historical pragmatics has largely been conducted by searching for specific speech-acts (or categories of speech-acts) based on their forms or functions (e.g. Jucker and Taavitsainen 2008). It has been far less common to take the overall communicative task of texts as a starting point, e.g. letters of advice or counselling dialogues, and trace how the key speech-act, e.g. advice-giving, was developed in the discursive structure of the entire message (e.g. Fitzmaurice 2002, Schrott 2014).

This paper aims to provide a new perspective on historical speech-act research by developing a discursive historical speech-act approach, inspired by modern methodology (Locher 2006) and theoretical reflections (Kasper 2006). Taking 18th-century advice-seeking as a case-in-point, it examines how advice-seekers solicit advice by means of a sequence of “discursive moves” (Miller and Gergen 1998 qtd. in Locher 2006: 51). Advice exchanges are drawn from the Scandalous Club sections in Defoe’s Review (1704-1713), one of the first advice pages in English periodicals. The research questions are as follows: what elements accompany the overall communicative task of soliciting advice? What are the linguistic forms employed by early 18th-century readers for requesting advice? The tradition of readers seeking advice on problems concerning love and relationships is more than 300 years old (Berry 2003, Hendley 1977, Kent 1979); however, the linguistic study of advice exchanges in early print advice columns remains a research gap (Locher and Limberg 2012: 23).

Preliminary findings indicate that the types and sequentiality of discursive moves in 18th-century problem letters seem to be fairly similar to present-day practices of advice-seeking on problem pages (Locher 2006: 234). This observation is inasmuch surprising as the content structure of news articles, another text-type that emerged in the 17th century, has changed dramatically over the last 300 years (see Jucker 2005). Differences between Defoe’s readers and present-day English advice columns appear more in the realisations of individual discursive moves, such as different lexical devices and a preference for declaratives in requests for advice – in contrast to the prominence of interrogatives in present-day English written advice-seeking (e.g. Locher 2006: 231-234, Kouper 2010, Morrow 2006). Moreover, Defoe’s readers often closed their letters with a prospective reception of the expected advice, a discursive move which is broader than the discursive move of thanking for advice in advance in present-day English advice columns.

References


On the metatheory of pragmaphilology

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Keywords: historical pragmatics, philology, philosophy, methodology

In their overview of the then emerging field of historical pragmatics, Jacobs and Jucker (1995) suggested dividing research within this area into diachronic pragmatics and pragmaphilology. The former is fairly self-explanatory, but the definitions for pragmaphilology have varied somewhat, from an approach which “describes the contextual aspects of historical texts” and includes the “pragmatic analysis of literary texts” (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 11–12) to “[t]he pragmatic study of the use of language in earlier periods” (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010: 12). It is distinguished from diachronic pragmatics in being a synchronic approach, but the exact nature of the concept has remained somewhat elusive (cf. Kopaczyk 2012). For example, it is unclear how pragmaphilology differs from traditional philology (cf. Fulk 2016). In this paper, I present the final results of my PhD research, aiming to provide a state-of-the-art analysis of the metatheory of pragmaphilology, or in other words its philosophical and methodological foundations. I answer the following research questions:

(1) What is the philosophical and methodological basis of pragmaphilology?
(2) How is pragmaphilology related to philology at the metatheoretical level?
(3) What is the relevance of my metatheoretical analysis to others who work within the field of historical pragmatics?

I answer these questions through a detailed philosophical analysis of pragmaphilology. I focus on the most central methodological questions concerning this type of research, namely the structure of actions, the nature of text-interpretation, and the relationship between (causalistic) explanation and (hermeneutic) understanding (cf. von Wright 1971). For example, in analysing the structure of actions, I develop earlier models by Itkonen (1983; 2013/2014) by focussing on non-prototypical cases, and taking into account recent discussions on the philosophy of actions (e.g. Alvarez 2010; Scanlon 2014). I apply this model to analyse text-interpretation as a ‘basic method’ of pragmaphilology, connecting this discussion to Anttila’s (1975; 1979) classic analysis of the philosophy of philology. Based on my analysis, I show to what extent pragmaphilology and traditional philology converge and diverge at the metatheoretical level. Finally, I demonstrate how the metatheoretical framework can be extended to the actual analysis of texts, providing examples from my research into the use of address forms, allusions and language-switching in 17th century English drama. I argue that building bridges between metatheory and practice is a fruitful source for cutting-edge approaches also within the field of historical pragmatics.

References


Historical pragmatics: the borrower's dilemma

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Keywords: historical pragmatics, methodology, genre, interdisciplinarity

Historical pragmatics, in presenting an examination of language usage in different kinds of context, must necessarily draw upon other modes of inquiry (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2015: 15-16; see also Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen 2007, Traugott 2008, Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010). Our methodological predicaments, then, include the concerns of interdisciplinary work: how to address disparate audiences, how to invoke another field in a detailed or careful enough way that the other field doesn't reject the usage, how to make sure that a borrowed apparatus from another field doesn't become too unwieldy to be useful for historical pragmatics. How can one construct a hybrid methodology that is more than just inveterate dabbling?

This work attempts to construct some criteria for what successful frameworks of imported methodologies and borrowed research questions looks like. It builds upon Taavitsainen and Jucker's discussion of interfaces with new developments and historical pragmatics as a point of convergence (2015: 15), and it draws upon specific cases that fall under the umbrella of recent historical pragmatic research, particularly analysis of text types/genres, literary analysis, philological analysis, and the examination of multimodal strategies for information presentation.

Since texts are always situated in many types of linguistic and sociocultural contexts, historical pragmatics is in its essence an amalgam of approaches; we are obliged to yoke together language studies with the fields that pursue these perspectives. It is useful to reflect on how to accomplish that successfully.

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‘I am constrayd to doo a gan my vyl’: Investigating Authorship Attribution in the Letters of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots (1489-1541)

Helen Newsome
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On 20th August 1515, two scribal letters were sent in the name of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots to her brother, Henry VIII, King of England and his border warden Thomas Dacre (SP 49/1 fol.50; CCBVI fol.78). Both letters claimed that Margaret approved of how the new governor of Scotland John Stewart, Duke of Albany, cared for her sons, that they were both of ‘ane’ (one) mind, and also requesting a continuation of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. Written in the hand of a scribe, but bearing the holograph signature of Margaret herself, one would initially read these documents as being reliable, authentic royal letters. However, sometime in August 1515 Margaret also sent a holograph note to Thomas Dacre that claimed she was ‘constrained [constrained] to doo a gan my vyl’ and that Dacre was ‘novht sykerly In vhat(stat)I stand In’ (CCBVI fol.84). Later, Margaret claimed that ‘the said duke caused my secretary to make writeinges whiche for fere I subscribe’ (CCBVI fol.125). In light of Margaret’s claims, it would therefore seem that the two scribal letters written in August 1515 were sent against Margaret’s will, and are therefore not credible and trustworthy documents. This particular episode therefore raises the question: is it possible to measure the extent to which Margaret was involved in the composition of these scribal letters?

Whilst historians such as Daybell (2006) and Harris (2016) have offered preliminary discussion on the topic of authorship attribution, to date, only a few scholars in the fields of historical pragmatics and sociolinguistics have sought to explore how we might operationalise such an analysis on a linguistic level (see Evans 2016: 36-54 and Williams 2013: 31-63). Using principles from historical pragmatics, corpus linguistics, forensic linguistics and manuscript studies (in particular focussing on the materiality of documents), this paper will address issues of authorship attribution in Margaret Tudor’s scribal correspondence. In relation to the overarching workshop theme, this paper will directly engage with the question of how to balance the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, in addition to challenging the prediction that ‘Big Data’ is the future of historical pragmatic research. Finally, this paper will emphasise the importance of drawing upon research innovations from fields beyond historical pragmatics in pursuit of a more systematic and rigorous analysis, to better understand how historical texts were produced, authenticated and received.

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My contribution, based on my research in late-medieval Anglo Norman and Middle English pedagogical dialogues, will focus on contact pragmatics, and the potentials (and pitfalls) of its application to premodern sources. The broader term ‘contact’ rather than ‘borrowing’ is preferred at this stage due to the oftentimes tricky nature of premodern textual evidence, and to account for different situations wherein languages coexist.

Pragmatic motivations for borrowings have been widely studied regarding Anglicisms in different languages. Very influential in this area is Hans Galinsky’s taxonomy of functions of Anglicisms in German, which include ‘establishing or enhancing precision’, ‘conveying tone’, and ‘increasing variation of expression’ (Galinsky, 1967:71). Elsewhere in pragmatic contact studies, Alexander Onysko and Esme Winter-Froemel (2011) deconstruct the prescriptive model of ‘need’ vs. ‘prestige’ loanwords, opting rather for the more descriptive categories of ‘catachrestic’ (loans that don’t compete with alternative expressions in the recipient language) and ‘non-catachrestic’ (loans into a language that already has a synonymous native expression). Overlaying this onto Levinson’s theory of presumptive meanings, Onysko and Winter-Froemel posit that catachrestic loans are more likely to bear I-implicatures (of informativeness) whereas non-catachrestic loans carry M-implicatures (of manner). In a similar vein, Gisele Andersen, who focuses on English influence on Norwegian pragmatics, makes the distinction between direct (the discourse marker as if symbolising emphatic rejection in Norwegian) and indirect borrowing (tingen er at ‘the thing is that’ as a presentative construction in Norwegian). Andersen notes that the most likely material to be borrowed is discourse markers and interjections, the meanings of which are ‘notoriously hard to pin down, describe metalinguistically, or translate’ which perhaps explains the high frequency for their transfer between languages (Andersen 2014).

I propose to examine how this existing work applies to premodern languages. Can we, for example, distinguish between catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans in premodern languages? I will look at words from Anglo Norman pedagogical dialogues such as laroun [robber] and ribaud [scoundrel], arguing that laroun is a non-catachrestic loan bearing M-implicature (since it competes with theves [thieves]); whereas ribaud, having been present in English for a longer period of time, is more likely to have developed towards bearing I-implicature. I will also investigate more overtly culturally-specific terminology, coin lists, in the livre des mestiers dialogue tradition. An investigation of such methods in historical pragmatics will bring to light the potential for this kind of research, but also possible issues to be remedied.

References
An Apostrophe to Scots

David Selfe
University of Glasgow

The apologetic apostrophe, the unit of punctuation in Scots indicating where a word-medial or word-final consonant would be present in its English cognate, first emerged in the early eighteenth century, amidst a complex environment of anglicisation and romanticisation: a Long Century which officially eschewed Scots even as it yearned for its most idealised state. Of course, like any language, there existed no unilateral perception of Scots, and as social aspirations were carried on a southern wind, the gulf between those for whom Scots was salient and those for whom it was not, was increasingly reflected in, and characterised by, literature. Like any linguistic variant, the functions of the apologetic apostrophe were subject to change over time: recuperated and redeployed, its role in works such as Thomas the Rhymer (Scott, 1803) and The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner (1824), as an instrument for characterisation, was radically different from its early appearance in works such as Ramsay’s Poems (1720), where it functioned as a device for negotiating two competing language systems.

Traditional understanding of the apologetic apostrophe’s function in Scots can be delineated into two camps: the first focussing solely on the apologetic apostrophe’s form, divorced completely from its sociolinguistic context (Todd 2001, Truss 2003, Piton & Pignot 2010); and the second, recognising the apologetic apostrophe as a primarily social modifier, characterising it as a historically-situated reflexion on the stigmatisation of Scots (Corbett, McClure et al 2003, Pittock 2007, Bann & Corbett 2015). This paper, however, posits a third school of thought: that to describe the apologetic apostrophe as damaging to Scots is an anachronistic imposition by modern scholarship – instead, it was an innovative and subtle response to a composite environment of language flux.

The intention of this paper, therefore, is to explore, from a sociolinguistic and pragmaphilological perspective, the changing historical functions of the apologetic apostrophe in Scots, and how – using diachronic, qualitative analysis of those paradigmatic exemplars mentioned above – the evolution of that function can be mapped onto the developing sociocultural fortunes of the Scots language.

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From new philology to historical pragmatics: the transmission of Geoffrey Chaucer

Jeremy Smith
University of Glasgow

In 1990, a special number of the medievalists’ journal *Speculum* was devoted to what was called – a little misleadingly -- ‘the new philology’. Inspired by current trends in the humanities (see e.g. McGann 1983, Cerquiglini 1989), *Speculum*’s new philologists wanted a more theoretically-sensitive approach to textual study which took on board post-modernist thinking. New philological research focused on texts, as did traditional philology, but in terms of what the medievalist Paul Zumthor in 1972 had called *mouvance*: the ways in which texts were received. New philological work typically engaged with manuscripts and early printed books, and (more recently) paratextual features found in both media, such as front matter and annotation. It aimed to reconstruct the shifting reception, media of reproduction, and socio-cultural functions of texts rather than presumed original authorial intentions. It spoke to broader agendas in the humanities that, in (e.g.) archaeology or classics, addressed questions of material culture. However, new philology in practice tended not to address the linguistic issues that had been the central focus for its nineteenth- and early twentieth-century predecessors. That shift had to wait, it is argued here, for the emergence of historical pragmatics.

Hitherto, valuable work in historical pragmatics has focused on the analysis of corpora, notably with reference to grammatical or lexical features; a ‘typical’ piece of research in this area deploys quantitative analysis to map (e.g.) the linguistic expression of ‘polite’ discourse. More recently, however, the domain has become more capacious, including in addition features that have traditionally been seen as non-linguistic such as punctuation and script-font-choice, and also broader codicological/bibliographical matters such as page/folio organisation, annotation and paratextual features, and questions of production, provenance and ownership: all areas that have been the concern of sub-disciplines such as book history.

The proposed presentation focuses on one aspect of textual presentation: punctuation; and it does so by means of a case study, viz. the transmission of Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, beginning with some early manuscripts and concluding with modern editorial practice. Its general argument is that formal textual features reflect in a quite delicate fashion the socio-cultural functions of the text at different points in time, including the so-called ‘oral/literate’ division; its broader point is that punctuation should be given greater attention by linguists than it has sometimes attracted hitherto.

To illustrate the general approach adopted, we might take a small example: Thomas Tyrwhitt’s edition of 1772-1798.

```
WHENNË that April with his shourës sote
The drought of March hath pierce\d to the rote,
And bathed every vein in such licóur,
Of which virtue engendred is the flower;
When Zephyrus ekë with his sotë breath
Inspired hath in every holt and heath
The tender croppës, and the youngë sun
Hath in the Ram his halfë course yrun, ...
```
Tyrwhitt’s edition marks with an accent the distinct stress-patterns that may be reconstructed, while a diaeresis is used to flag a ‘sounded’ e; Tyrwhitt was the first ‘modern’ editor to notice this distinction (see Windeatt 1984: 122). But for our purposes the key element to note is that the comma and semi-colon are deployed in line with patterns of pausing, as recommended by eighteenth-century ‘elocutionist’ notions, whereby the text is presented ready for oral declamation.

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An evolutionary approach to information transmission: The semasiological change of the existential construction [there is no NP P]

Vittorio Tantucci
Lancaster University

This paper draws on the evolutionary model of linguistic acts as overt influence attempts (OIA) and co-act proposals (CAP) (cf. Reich 2011, Tantucci 2016, 2017b) to observe the semasiological change (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002) of the construction [there is no NP P] in British and American English. CAP theory draws on the new enactive view of social cognition, which is primarily grounded “in joint action (including, e.g. synchronised movements)” (cf. Engel et al., 2014:9). CAPs are ‘interested’ forms of “joint projects” (cf. Clark, 1996; Bangerter and Clark, 2003) which are inherently goal-oriented either at the physical or the epistemic level.

Corpus-based data from the Corpus of Early English Books Online (EEBO) and the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) show that [there is no NP P] originates as an existential construction (e.g. Fillmore 1968; Lyons 1975) expressing the objective impossibility of achieving some project: there is not a viable way to achieve p. It will then acquire an immediate intersubjective (I–I) meaning (cf. Tantucci 2013, 2017a, 2017ab) expressing Sp/w’s volitional stance based on what s/he expects Ad/r may ask his/her performing: I am preemptively letting Ad/r know that I will not be persuaded to take part to the project p. In a subsequent phase of semasiological change, the construction develops a new extended intersubjectified (E-I) usage, expressing a deontic meaning impinging on what any social persona would agree upon: no one would deny that the project p should not be pursued. Contrary to what the traditional Austinian-Searlean model would suggest (cf. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Searle & Vanderveken, 1985), through each stage of reanalysis Sp/w’s utterances are not merely aimed at informing Ad/r. Rather, they occur as overt influence attempts in which Ad/r is expected to acknowledge p in the form of a co-action.

The present case-study aims at shedding light on the enactive nature of linguistic acts, and the crucial role that the per-locutionary effects of utterances play throughout semantic-pragmatic reanalysis of a construction. This is a completely novel approach to semantic change, as the ‘interested’ nature of the per-locutionary dimension is finally taken into account as a decisive element of reanalysis. This ‘enacted’ turn in semasiological studies has the advantage of accounting for meaning as an ‘interested’ dimension rather than a merely symbolic one.

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**Historians in linguists’ clothing? On doing pragmatics and history at once**

*Graham Williams*

*University of Sheffield*

**Keywords:** pragmatics, historiography, teaching

This paper addresses what I know from previous conversations to be an unease experienced by many working on language and history, but my focus will be from my own perspective in historical pragmatics. For even while the analysis of earlier periods of English (and any language) requires us to engage with, and in a sense practice historiography in terms of sociocultural, political, biographical and material context, most historical pragmaticists have little if any formal training in common with historians. A constant risk is that one will not sufficiently reconstruct the relevant historical context and as a result fail to account for the most likely meaning, or function of the utterance(s) in question, which can in turn lead to more general, equally ill-founded conclusions to do with the pragmatics of any one period generally. This risk is compounded by reliance on corpus-derived data, which, assuming such methods do produce more results from more texts, require more contextual knowledge to process accurately. This paper will reflect on the extent to which the field has navigated these potential pitfalls over the last few decades (i.e. from its nascence in the mid 1990s to the present day). By the same token, the close relationship between history and pragmatics offers a number of unique opportunities, and I will also consider some of the ways that historical pragmatics has and could (should?) productively add to, and in some cases revise, observations made by historians, specifically in cases where pragmaticists and historians are interested in the same material, people and concepts. As a way of focusing this reflection, I will discuss broad behavioral categories such as 'courtesy' and 'politeness', and will also draw from my own experiences working with specific medieval and early modern English texts, especially letters (a genre of writing of particular interest to both historical linguists and historians). Finally, I will use my own experiences as a teacher of historical pragmatics at undergraduate and postgraduate levels to reflect on some of the pedagogical implications all of this has for a discipline that requires students of language and linguistics to also be students of history.

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Workshop 5

Paratextual Communication in a Historical Linguistic Perspective

Organisers: Matti Peikola (University of Turku)
Birte Bös (University of Duisburg-Essen)
Framing framing: Tackling the multifaceted phenomenon of ‘paratext’ and some related notions

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University of Duisburg-Essen & University of Turku

Keywords: paratext, framing, metadiscourse, prototype approach

The notion of paratext, originally devised by Genette (1982, 1987) in reference to the late modern French novel, has taken some time to gain attention by scholars outside the field of literary studies. It has been adopted by specialists in literary and book history, translation, and media studies (e.g. Baron, Lindquist & Shevlin eds 2007, Smith & Wilson eds 2011, Gil-Bardají & al. eds 2012), and also gained more currency in historical linguistics recently (e.g. del Lungo Camiciotti 2011, Suhr 2011, Meurman Solin & Tyrväinen eds 2013, Peikola 2015, Tykkö & McConchie To Appear).

As an introductory paper in this workshop, our contribution examines conceptualisations of paratext and related concepts such as Rahmung (‘framing’) and metadiscourse, locating differences and common ground, and scrutinizing their benefits and challenges from a historical linguistic perspective. Paratext, in Genette’s definition (1991: 263f.), relates to those verbal and visual elements that are part of the material book containing the main text (peritext, e.g. title, preface) and those that exist outside of it (epitext, e.g. interviews, correspondences). In Genette’s work, as well as that of many others, the focus is primarily on peritext – indeed, the notion of paratext is sometimes reduced to covering only peritext. The notion of Rahmung, as suggested by Wolf (2008) also in a literary context, relies on the concept of cognitive frames (cf. Goffman 1974), and is advocated as a more integrative and flexible model than paratext (Wolf 2008: 98). Likewise, conceptualisations of metadiscourse often overlap with Genettean (macrolevel) categories of paratext, but additionally draw attention to linguistic microlevel units (cf. e.g. Boggel 2009, Bös 2015, Brownlee 2015, Domínguez-Rodríguez & Rodriguez-Alvarez 2015).

Drawing on previous research as well as data from our projects on manuscripts and early printed books (Peikola) and historical English news discourse (Bös), we will explore the formal and functional range of such elements. As all the concepts covered here are extremely fuzzy in nature, this contribution suggests the adoption of a prototype approach which allows for an inclusion of well-delineated as well as more hybrid realisations of paratextual communication and thus helps us to draw a more comprehensive picture of this multi-faceted phenomenon from a historical linguistic perspective.

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The footnote in historiographical writing

Claudia Claridge & Sebastian Wagner
University of Augsburg

Keywords: historiography, footnote, evidentiality, positioning, coherence

An aspect distinguishing historical from other narration is the historiographers’ engagement with sources and other scholars, which shows as intertextuality in the text. A prominent intertextual device is the (foot)note, which originates around 1700 (Grafton 2003:191) and whose institutionalized presence separates older, literate historiography from the more modern scholarly type and with regard to frequency of use also history from other humanities research (Koskela & Männikkö 2009:155). Despite the importance of footnotes for historiography, there have been hardly any linguistic studies.

This is an exploratory study into the development and nature of the historiographical footnote based on one pre-1700 (Burnet) and four post-1700 works (Robertson, Gibbon, Macaulay, Stubbs). Three aspects are in focus, namely (i) evidentiality, (ii) type of content in relation to the main text, and (iii) positioning via footnotes.

As to (i), a footnote may simply be used to provide a reference, providing the origin of information and thus evidence. Additionally this evidence may be further commented on. If there is more or other content than a reference, (ii) the text-note coherence relationship will be described by adapting the Hallidayan (clause) expansion types of elaboration, extension and enhancement. Function lists like Genette’s (1997) defining, explaining, adding more precision, giving exceptions etc. may thus be fitted into a system. Thirdly, positioning of self and others within the historiographical discourse community can be done via stance devices in the footnote text. Footnotes may thus be characterised as +/- propositional content, +/- evidential reference, and +/- stance, producing either pure or composite types. Burnet’s note “**Hall says the same day. L. Herbert says the day following” accompanying “the same day that his father died,* he ordered Dudley … to be committed to the Tower” can be seen as a composite of reference and content, the latter an extension by offering an alternative view. Robertson’s 139-word footnote to “the same person should be both a lord and a vassal” contains elaboration by example (“proof of this occurs in French history”), extension by providing an exception (“no example… in the histories of England or Scotland”), references for the facts in the note, as well as stance markers (“very singular proof”, “I believe”).

While just four authors are not likely to yield a clear development, our hypotheses are that evidential types are earlier and at first more frequent than content types, that footnote length, extension and enhancement types, and composite types will increase over time.

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Anglo-Saxon Paratexts: Liminal Material in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts

Ursula Lenker
University of Munich

In his introductory chapter of *Paratexts*, Genette highlights that “a text without a paratext does not exist and has never existed” (1997: 3). An exploration of paratextual material in the earliest period of English literacy therefore suggests itself as a natural starting point for a workshop on the history of English paratextual communication.

For this investigation into types and patterns of Anglo-Saxon liminal communicative steering material, I will chart a variety of paratexts, both in Latin and Old English, as they have survived in extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (Gneuss & Lapidge 2014). This material will include the straightforward cases of authorial prefaces, such as Alfred’s preface to the translation of the *Cura pastoralis* or the about twenty Old English and Latin prefices by Ælfric, which not only identify author and addressee(s) but also reflect Ælfric’s concern for maintaining rigorous standards of authority (Wilcox 1994). Anglo-Saxon prefices like these may also discuss the contents of the work they accompany or reflect on the process and the value or dangers of translation; we furthermore find warnings of misreading or concerns about the integrity of the copying and production of the books (the latter being typical features of such manuscript prefaces). By examining their specific manuscript contexts – which are commonly not reproduced in editions –, we will also get an idea of the contemporary understanding of paratexts in Anglo-Saxon England, when, e.g., discussing scribal (i.e., editorial) intentions behind omitting the name of the addressee in an epistolary preface or, more generally, through studying linguistic features in texts labelled *forespæc* ‘preface’.

Other paratexts that will be investigated are the runic acrostic signatures in poems by Cynewulf or colophons identifying particular scribes (often couched in the form of seeking prayers; Gameson 2002). Of special interest here are named scribes such as Eadwig Basan, who self-confidently introduces typographical paratexts by distinguishing not only titles, but also Latin vs. Old English material through carefully selected scripts.

Once such patterns of prototypical Anglo-Saxon paratexts have been established, they can be compared to liminal texts called ‘notes’ or ‘scribbles’, most of which have so far been neglected in research. From this material – about 30 instances of verbal paratext and many more instances of other forms –, we will gain a fuller understanding of the linguistic properties and functions of Anglo-Saxon paratexts, which may then serve as a basis for comparison with liminal texts from later periods of English.

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Paratextual Features in 18th-century Medical Writing: Introducing the Reader and Framing Contents

Elisabetta Lonati
University of Milan

The general aim of this contribution is a thorough investigation of some paratextual features in 18th-century medical writing, with specific reference to tables of contents, indexes, appendices and glossaries in handbooks and compendia. These works were mainly addressed to an expanding lay readership interested in health and medicine. However, they were also helpful to students, and to professional practitioners.

The analysis, carried out on a small selection of well-known works issued in the second half of the century (cfr. References, Primary sources), is mainly qualitative. The limited number of texts under scrutiny here does not invalidate the general issue of the study, and the perspective of the investigation: that is to say, to examine and exemplify a (highly) structured paratextual apparatus, and hypothesise its role and function(s) as regards text reception, and discourse elaboration.

These reference works usually include multifarious topics (medical events, processes, diseases, etc., cfr. Bisset 1766, Black 1788 and 1789, Buchan 1772 and 1800, Fisher 1785, Forster 1745, Millar 1770, Wallis 1793, 1795 and 1796), or focus on specific phenomena (cfr. Clark 1780, Sims 1776). Materials should be easy to browse, and quickly retrievable: authors had to guide readers through their books, and provide, or implicitly suggest, ‘instructions for use’.

The analysis highlights how the different paratextual ‘frames’ help define the text itself, and primarily introduce and organise it linguistically. It is in this paratextual space that language emerges as the primary structuring tool, delimiting medical issues for the reader: a kind of tree of knowledge, with all its branches, connections, dependencies, and, not least, terminology. A unifying entity (or principle), expanding with all its variants.

Some of these paratextual features may be found quite systematically (table of contents) before the main body of the text; others (indexes, appendices and glossaries) are occasionally included at the end of it. In both cases, they are used to introduce, structure and frame contents, establish relations (ex. hierarchy), connect phenomena, processes, diseases (ex. symptom-cause-effect), and ultimately to ‘shape’ medical knowledge through language (lexicalization and sense relations).

Tables of contents, indexes, appendices and glossaries establish a lexically dense network, thus unfolding the complexity of the main body to its constituent ideas, to its very backbone.

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Secondary Sources


Metadiscursive comments on translation in English front matter, 1400–1600

Sirkku Ruokkeinen & Aino Liira
University of Turku

Keywords: metadiscourse, translation, paratext, manuscript, early print

The physical form of the late medieval and early modern book was in flux: the coming of print brought on changes to the paratextual apparatus (Smith 2000, Williams 1962). Yet, while the processes of production and their influence on the changes in the material aspects of books have been studied from their historical perspective by book and translation historians (Toledano Buendía 2013, Gillespie and Wakelin eds 2011), the linguistics of representation have gained less attention. However, recent work by Domínguez-Rodríguez and Rodríguez-Álvares (2015) on metacomments in eighteenth-century prefaces shows the benefits of employing linguistic methods in paratextual studies.

Our paper focuses on metadiscursive commentary used in describing the processes of translation in late medieval and early modern English paratexts. Our materials comprise title-pages and prefatory matter (prologues and dedications) in manuscript and print circa 1400–1600, the period that witnessed both a media shift and an increase in vernacular writing. How do translators refer to their process, and how do their strategies develop during this period? To access translators’ metadiscursive comments, we study key verbs used in describing the process of translation as textual production or reproduction, such as translate, english, set and turn. The selection of lexemes is guided by the Middle English Dictionary, Oxford English Dictionary Historical Thesaurus and Dearnley’s list of English verbs used of the translating process ca 1200–1500 (2016: 260). The selection of manuscript materials is informed by Wogan-Browne et al. (1999) and Hartung (ed. 1967–2005); for print materials, we use the Early English Books Online database and the English Title Pages 1473–1600 database compiled at the University of Turku.

Our aim is to find out whether there are diachronic developments in vocabulary referring to the process of translation during our period, and what the choices reveal about attitudes towards translation as a mode of text production during a time when translating was not yet considered a separate profession. This study is part of the project Framing Text: Paratextual framing in the promotion of knowledge (U of Turku).

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“Reduced into the forme of a Dialogue, for the better vnderstanding of thunlearned”: Perceptions of reader-friendliness in early modern printed books

Hanna Salmi
University of Turku

**Keywords**: dialogue, Early Modern English, promotional discourse, reader-friendliness

With the development of the printing press and a more speculative mode of book production, it became possible and desirable to market books to specific types of audiences. Practical books had been available and popular already in the later medieval period (Keiser 1999), but as literacy became more widespread and books became more easily available and affordable, uneducated people became an increasingly important target audience. Clarity and ease of understanding were important buzzwords when promoting books to such readers: texts needed to be written in “plain and intelligible Words, condescending to the meanest Capacity” (Wing R937). In this paper, I will examine the strategies through which reader-friendliness could be advertised to the reader.

The data for the paper will be collected from the *Early English Books Online* database, which will be searched for keywords such as *easy*, *plain* or *intelligible* (and their antonyms). The *Historical Thesaurus* of the OED will be utilised in completing the list of search terms, and the search will cover the period up to 1700. I will focus especially on items found within the title-pages and prefaces of books, although such metadiscursive comments may also appear within the body text.

In addition to the choice of the vernacular as the language of publication, at least two strategies for increasing the approachability of a work in the eyes of uneducated readers can be identified. Firstly, clarity of style and vocabulary were frequently referred to by book producers as serving this purpose. Secondly, presenting the matter in the form of a dialogue, which was seen as a particularly reader-friendly way to organise information, was also often cited as serving a similar purpose.

This research will demonstrate how different aspects of the work could be seen as increasing its suitability to a broad readership, and what strategies early modern book producers chose for marketing their works for non-specialists or readers new to the topic covered.

**References**

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<th>Reference</th>
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<td>STC 4039 = Bullein, William. 1558. <em>A newe booke entituled the gouernement of healthe wherein is vtttered manye notable rules for mannes preseruacion, with sondry symples and other matters, no lesse fruiteful then profitable: colect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a dialogue, for the better vnderstanding of thunlearned.</em> London. STC 4039. <em>Early English Books Online.</em></td>
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Scribal Signatures in Old and Middle English Manuscripts

Wendy Scase
University of Birmingham

A variety of features in medieval manuscripts are associated with acts of self-naming or self-identification on the part of the scribe. Scribes may (at least apparently) identify themselves through signatures, cryptography, and visual puns. Contexts for scribal signatures include explicits and colophons of various kinds in which the scribe may call for a reward or prayers; for forgiveness of his error; or express delight—or even relief—that his task is completed. The traditions are well-known in Latin manuscripts (cf. Reynhout 2006), but we know less about their adaptations in vernacular contexts. Medieval English colophons have not been comprehensively studied or even listed, Gameson 2002 providing a valuable starting-point but focusing on earlier manuscripts. This presentation will consider the ways in which scribes of Old and Middle English manuscripts responded to these traditions and how far paratextual approaches may help us to understand the acts of self-identification of vernacular scribes.

William Sherman (2011) has categorised features such as colophons and explicits as ‘terminal paratext’. But while Sherman includes earlier medieval manuscript traditions and scribal signatures in this category, he is principally interested in the ways in which, during the Renaissance, printed books came to communicate to the reader that s/he had reached ‘the end’. The proposed presentation will consider where and when might we consider signatures and self-identification as paratext in vernacular manuscripts and how far we might align a paratextual approach with a more ‘documentary’ one (cf. Görke and Hirschler 2011) cognisant of scribal and readerly agency.

The presentation will report on and analyse a selection of examples, asking, for example: What kinds of Old and Middle English text and manuscript include signatures? What are the functions of these features in English-language manuscripts? How do they relate to the texts with which they are associated? Do acts of self-naming and self-identification relate to texts, to scribal stints, or to entire codices? How far are these acts marked by distinctive language, script, ink, or positioning on the page? How literally should we read their contents, especially in the light of slavish copying and even fraudulent faking (for example, how should we interpret the signature of ‘T. Werken’ in HEHL HM 142, and the elaborate flourishes of Ricardus Franciscus?).

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Paratextual communication in late seventeenth-century pamphlet advertisements of proprietary medicines

Carla Suhr
University of Helsinki

Pamphlets advertising various pills, elixirs, salts and powders – prepared and sold “for the general good” by Nendick, Daffy, Fletcher and countless other medical professionals with varying levels of formal medical education – comprised as much as around a fifth of all new medical titles printed in the period 1650–1690 (Fissell 2007: 116–117). Such pamphlets are examples of printed texts of the “bespoke mode”, or, produced made to order for the authors. These “early modern infomercials” (Fissell 2007: 120) advertised to the public the “singular virtues” “never found out before” of the medicines, the “wonderful cures” performed by them as well as the appropriate dosages for use, but sometimes also engaged in heated disputes about the true “ownership” of the medicines. While marketing the products, these texts also appropriate established (learned) medical knowledge and discourse conventions and impart them to the general public. As such, pamphlet advertisements can be considered a new genre that has both old and new structural elements and linguistic features – and whose paratextual elements similarly reproduce some established conventions and do away with others, and invent new practices as required. But which conventional paratextual elements are retained, and why? Do these elements serve as advertising props, or are they included for the benefit of the readers? Or are they multi-functional, working for several purposes simultaneously? Are the paratextual elements separate from the text or a part of it?

In this paper, I will chart the repertoire of paratextual elements found (and not found) in about thirty pamphlet advertisements of proprietary medicines from the period 1650–1700, available in the Early English Books Online database. These elements are then identified as obligatory or optional, and their functions are assessed according to the tripartite classification (interpretive, commercial and navigational) of Birke & Christ (2013). By collating all the information together, we will gain a better understanding of the ways in which paratext was used alongside text in early advertisements.

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“What a scene of confusion and confabulation”: Exploring the applications and limits of paratext with (a) *Punch*

Jukka Tyrkkö
Linnaeus University

The concept of *paratext* has become increasingly relevant in historical linguistics in recent years with much of the current scholarship drawing on Genette (1987; Eng. translation 1997). The concept is now commonly used in reference to front and back matter and to marginalia found in a wide variety of texts from medieval manuscripts to early and late modern printed texts (see, e.g. Meurman-Solin and Tyrkkö 2013, Peikola 2015, McConchie and Tyrkkö, to appear). However, while the term is often no doubt entirely accurate, as pointed out in the abstract for this workshop the scope of the original term was almost exclusively related to *metadiscursive* elements of a book that elaborate on, interpret or promote the narrative main text, and its application is thus problematic when it comes to compositional works that do not present a single main text, let alone a narrative one (see, e.g., Ledin 2000, Hågvar 2012, Bös 2015).

The present paper explores the conceptual issues raised during the XML annotation of the new *Punch corpus*, to be released in 2018 in conjunction with the ICEHL-20 conference. *Punch; or, the London Charivari* was a well-known British weekly magazine published between 1841 and 2002. Known primarily for its irreverent satirical content and humorous cartoons, *Punch* was an influential periodical that commented on contemporary politics, public life and the private affairs of public figures and celebrities. The corpus, which was initially compiled for the use of the project *Democratization, Mediatization and Language Practices in Britain, 1700–1950* (DEMLANG) at the Universities of Helsinki and Tampere, comprises 550 issues or roughly 6.5 million words of *Punch* published between 1841 and 1920. Before the corpus could be reasonably used for linguistic research, it was necessary to add annotation that marks functionally and text-typologically distinct sections such as poems, narratives, dramata and illustrations into the digital transcripts (e.g., Monella 2008, Tyrkkö et al 2013).

In this paper, I will discuss conceptual boundaries in paratextual theory and practical corpus annotation with particular reference to the uses of richly sectional texts in historical linguistics. I will break down the different types of (para)textual segments identified in *Punch*, discuss their characteristics in relation to Genette’s five dimensions (1997: 4–12) — spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional — and demonstrate how composite texts like *Punch* exhibit multiple overlapping layers of text-internal and text-external guidance to reception and interpretation.

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“Set in suche order”: Book producers’ descriptions of the organisation of information in 16th-century printed paratexts

Mari-Liisa Varila
University of Turku

Many sixteenth-century printed books are adaptations of earlier material: translations, amalgamations of general knowledge, or compilations of earlier works by named or anonymous authors. There was overlap in the roles of textual agents. A printer or a translator, for example, did not necessarily just print or translate a text; they could adopt a role akin to a modern editor in rendering their source text more user-friendly. This could be done for instance by reorganising the contents of the work to be printed, or by adding in the edition different tools for information retrieval such as tables and indices (see e.g. Blair 2011, Varila forthcoming 2019).

Paratextual elements in printed editions, such as prefaces and letters to the reader, occasionally shed light on the processes of text production and organisation of information (on paratext, see Genette 1997). These paratextual spaces could be used by the producers to explain and justify the decisions related to the presentation of the main text of the book as well as to give advice on how to use the book and access its contents. The ease of use could be advertised on the title-page: “Deuout psalms and collectes, gathered and set in suche order, as may be vsed for daylye meditacions” (STC 2999.5; cf. Olson 2016, Silva 2016). Even if the potential buyer already had access to a given work, the book producers could entice customers by stressing the added value of revised structure and better navigational tools.

This paper examines sixteenth-century English printed paratexts to find out how strategies of (re)organisation of information were described and advertised by text producers. I focus on two different categories of book producers’ comments: 1) descriptions of the rationale of organisation or reorganisation of text(s) in the edition and 2) advice to the readers related to accessing the information contained in the book.

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Workshop 6

Degree phenomena in the history of English

Organisers: Merja Kytö (Uppsala University)
Claudia Claridge (University of Augsburg)
From ‘your very very Rosalind’ to 'my very very sweet queen': a case-study in the rhetoric of intensifiers and the socio-stylistics of grammaticalisation

Sylvia Adamson
University of Sheffield/University of Cambridge

This paper is part of an ongoing study of the evolution of intensifiers undertaken in collaboration with Victorina González-Díaz (University of Liverpool). We have paid special attention to very because it is the prototypical intensifier (and arguably the only fully grammaticalised item in the set) and because it has been taken as a ‘classic case’ of the grammaticalisation process in action.

In an earlier paper presented at ICEHL, González-Díaz (2004) examined a number of syntactic and semantic concomitants of the category shift of very from adjective to intensifying adverb in the period from LME to EModE, concluding that:

• the initial steps of the adj. > adv. shift can accounted for in terms of a cline of gradability. Very initially combines with adjectives that only occur in complementary construals (c1400), later expanding to adjectives with antonymic readings,
• contra the claims of previous studies (e.g. Mustanoja 1960, Ito & Tagliamonte 2003), there does not seem an obvious interconnection between the bleaching of the original meaning of very and the widening of its syntactic scope in terms of the positions (attributive/predicative) that it can occupy; however
• by the end of the 16th century, there is a noticeable change in the collocates of very, which seems to be moving towards becoming exclusively an adverb intensifier.
(For a recent elaboration of this model and extension of its timescale, see Breban & Davidse 2016).

In this paper I focus on the EModE period, which appears to be crucial for several developments in the evolution of PDE very. It is the period in which it overtakes the most popular ME intensifiers full/right/well; it is also the period in which it develops its role as identifying adjective (or determinative) as in ‘the very man I was looking for’. I shall be particularly concerned with the interpersonal aspects of these changes. I will show how the chronological layering (adjective > adjective intensifier > adverb intensifier) of very has important synchronic correlates in terms of its socio-stylistic distribution in this period. This will lead me to examine the role of hyperbole (a) as a rhetorical figure in EModE and (b) as a pragmatic strategy and a mechanism of language-change.

The study will be corpus-based and my main population of speakers will be taken from Shakespeare’s plays. One by-product of the investigation will be to test the intuition-based hypotheses of earlier literary scholars about Shakespeare’s 'enregisterment' of grammatical features as social symbols.

References
’That’s well good’. A re-emerging intensifier in current British English

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A new well with intensifying function is illustrated by examples such as ’that’s well funny’ (Aijmer 2018). Although well is experienced as new it does not come from nowhere. Prior to its use in the BNC well occurred in older English as an intensifier. According to Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), it became the most frequent common intensifier after the middle of the 13th century and then disappeared by the middle of the 14th century. The aim of my presentation is to discuss the mechanisms of change accounting for the re-emergence and rise of frequency of well over a short period of time. Methodologically the study compares the use of intensifying well in the spoken demographic part of the BNC from the 1990s with how it is used in the SpokenBNC2014 (Love et al. 2018). On the one hand, well is shown to have become more frequent with common adjectives like good. On the other hand, well spreads to new trendy adjectives or adjectives such as massive, grumpy or gutted. The sociolinguistic analysis of well suggests that adolescents have developed the usage of well as a new intensifier without any influence from the adult society.

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“He loved his father, but next to adored his mother”: nigh, near, and next (to) as downtoners in the history of English

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Keywords: downtoner, grammaticalization, syntactic development

While nearly is a well-recognized “approximator” downtoner (Quirk et al. 1985: 597), Present-day English (PDE) offers a range of alternative downtoners built on the same root: {nigh (to, on, upon)/ near (to)/ next (to)}. These forms are more syntactically and collocationally limited than nearly and may be restricted by genre and/or register, as shown by the following collocations collected from COCA:

(1) nigh catatonic; a nigh victory; nigh impossibly challenging; nigh over a year ago; nigh screamed; nigh to perfect.

(2) near empty; near killed; near collapse; near simultaneously; near to impossible; near to took.

(3) next to naked, hungry and cold.

Nearly has been well-studied as it contrasts with almost (see, e.g. von Dongen 1921; Sadock 2007; Ziegler 2015), but the other forms raise a number of questions. How and when do the plethora of downtoner near-forms arise and by what pathways do they develop? To what extent are they grammaticalized? Do some represent cases of incipient, or perhaps aborted, grammaticalization?

Based on dictionary evidence (B-T, MED, OED), it appears that already in Old English, the adjective/adverb nēah ‘near’ could denote degree ‘almost, nearly’, as could neahlic(e). In Middle English neigh was gradually replaced by the original comparative form nēr (OE nēahra/nēarra), which could likewise function as a degree modifier. Degree meanings arose in the original superlative form next (OE nyhst) at the end of the sixteenth century, especially in negative contexts, where nearly is rare (see van Dongen 1921: 195–199; Liberman 2007a, 2007b; but cf. Ziegeler 2015). Nearly is first recorded in the mid-sixteenth century and had acquired degree meanings by the end of the seventeenth century.

The rise of near-downtoners allows us to revisit the question of pathways. Research on degree modifiers (e.g. Nevalainen and Rissanen 2001; Méndez-Naya 2008; Rissanan 2008; Claridge and Kytö 2014a, 2014b) has suggested a “well-known trajectory” from verb modifier (i.e. “degree adjunct” or “subjunct”) to adjective modifier (“degree adverb”). However, other research (e.g. Traugott 2008; Ziegeler 2015; Inoue and Brinton 2017) suggests that the degree modifier precedes the degree adjunct usage.

This paper is a study of the development of nearly, nigh (to), near (to), and next (to) using a wide variety of historical English corpora (as most are low frequency items). The history of these forms provides evidence for the later appearance of the downtoner with verbs than with adjectives and suggests a rethinking of the historical trajectory of downtoners.
References:


Complex adjectives and cognitive determinants of intensification from Anglo-Norman to Middle English

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This paper addresses the cognitive determinants of intensification – or the expression of the semantic role of degree (Quirk et al. 1985) – in complex adjectives across Anglo-Norman, Old and Middle English.

Intensification, or the expression of the semantic role of degree (Quirk et al. 1985), has long intrigued scholars from different walks of life and theoretical backgrounds. Taking inspiration from well-known publications such as Bolinger (1972), Quirk et al.’s (1985) comprehensive grammar, or van Os’s (1989) work in German, research has mainly focused on synchronic aspects of adjective intensification as carried out by very and other degree adverbs (e.g., Peters 1993, Lorenz 2002, Ito & Tagliamonte 2003, González-García 2014). Though morphology appears to have been less concerned with intensification in complex adjectives, conspicuous exceptions in English linguistics are Bauer, Lieber and Plag (2013), Dixon (2014) and, taking a long-term historical perspective, Lenker (2008).

The question of interest here is about constructional change (Hilpert 2011) and, specifically, how we can anchor the relation of intensification R in complex intensifying adjectives to schemas (Booij 2010) that hold for adjective intensification in Present Day English (e.g., degree in all new, semantic-feature-copying in freezing cold, domain integration roaring drunk). In line with cognitively and functionally oriented studies on intensification, we assume that configurational structures such as degree, scale and boundedness (Paradis 2008) play a key role, and that the development into intensifiers involves a move from objective meanings towards subjectivity (Lyons 1977; Athanasiadou 2007), via conceptual metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987), which can also operate on perceptually salient maximum reference points (Tribushinina 2008). As a first step, we therefore discuss different mechanisms of intensification in Present Day English. As a second step, we shall address the problem if and how far these categories can be transferred to earlier stages in the development of English. The analysis is strictly qualitative. Though reference is made to corpora (e.g., CME: Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse), our data sources primarily come from misappropriated dictionaries (e.g., AND: Anglo-Norman Dictionary; BT: An Anglo-Saxon dictionary; DOEC: Dictionary of Old-English; MED: Middle English Dictionary; OED: Oxford English Dictionary).

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From demonstratives to degree words: On the origin of the intensifying function of this/that in American English

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The intensifying function of this/that can be traced back to the 14th century, when they acquired their adverbial status as a result of a grammaticalization process that turned them from deictic demonstratives into degree adverbs with the meaning of ‘to this/that extent, so much, so’ (OED s.v. this/that adv.). These intensifiers have had different ups and downs in the history of English. In spite of their origin in Late Middle English, they are practically not attested from the 16th to the 18th centuries, starting to appear again from the beginning of the 19th century onwards. The actual rise of the construction, however, takes place at the beginning of the following century, even though the intensifier this is usually found to lag behind its counterpart that, both in terms of occurrence and colloquial use.

The present paper investigates the use and distribution of the intensifying function of this/that in American English with the following objectives: (a) to trace their origin and grammaticalization as degree words in English; (b) to evaluate their quantitative dimension from a historical perspective; and (c) to assess their distribution across speech, writing and text types; and (d) to cast light on the lexico-semantic structure of the right-hand collocates in terms of their mode of construal. The source of evidence comes from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA).
A good many functions and great big potential: On the development of good and great

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Keywords: degree modification; quantity modification; scalarity; adjectives

This paper will reconstruct in detail the diachronic development of *good* and *great*, which in Present Day English have both descriptive and degree modifying uses, both quantitative and qualitative. Preliminary study suggests that both *good* and *great* followed a trajectory from describing quantity or size to modifying the degree of a quantity or size and finally modifying the degree of a quality. In the case of quantity modification, the extent of a notion of size or quantity conveyed by an element in the noun phrase is modified (e.g. *Such lies!* ‘so many lies’). With qualitative degree modification, evaluative notions as expressed or implied by evaluative/emotive elements in the noun phrase are intensified (e.g. *Such lies!* ‘lies so outrageous’).

Although *good* is predominantly a qualitative adjective of commendation, the immediate source construction of the degree modifying uses of *good* seems to be the descriptive use in which it conveys scalar, absolute quantity, attested since c.800. This use quickly gave rise to degree uses with size dimensions, paraphrasable as “considerable, rather great” (OED, *good*, A. adj 19a), e.g. *god dael* ‘a good deal’ (a 1000). This boosting meaning gradually extended to more qualitative notions, e.g. *a good blast* (a1475). From c1300 on, *good* started forming intensifying adjective clusters, with *pretty good* developing as a lexicalized cluster conveying quality intensification in its own right (González-Díaz 2015).

Similarly, *great*, which unlike *good* was first and foremost a size adjective, also seems to have developed along the trajectory from quantity identification (*great sealt* ‘coarse-grained salt) to quantity modification (*a great number*/*many*) to quality modification (*Love is the great mender*, 2003). From the 13th century on, *great*, like *good*, started to cluster with other adjectives, particularly (partly) synonymous ones, the lexicalized phrase *great big* now being the most frequent.

If further data study confirms this pathway, this is additional support for the recently renewed interest in Bolinger’s (1972) pathway from identification to degree modification, which following (Anonymized et al.), is taken to include the sub-trajectory from quantity modification to (qualitative) degree modification. Conceptually, it is important for our understanding of the analogy between the scalar construal of (absolute) quantity (Milsark 1976, Langacker 1991) and (unbounded) qualities (Kennedy & McNally 2002).

The data for this paper are taken from the OED quotations database. The data will be restricted so as to include only prenominal uses of *good* and *great* and will be analysed in terms of syntactic features, semantic-pragmatic changes and changes in collocational co-occurrence patterns. The forms’ semantic and structural diversifications and developments will be described and interpreted in the light of grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification theories.

References


‘A great big small world’: Tautological intensification in the English NP

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Intensification in the English NP has been typically associated with patterns involving degree adverbs as modifiers of adjectives (e.g. very happy / somewhat difficult; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 572ff; Quirk et al. 1985: 1239). Recent functional-structural models of the NP however show that other elements can also perform intensificatory functions (cf. Ghesquière 2014: 17, 50ff; Paradis 2000: 233). In the same vein, Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 561-2) comment on two intensificatory strategies involving the juxtaposition of attributive adjectives; i.e. what they call intensificatory tautology (e.g. great huge boxes) and intensificatory repetition (e.g. long long way).

This case-study focuses on intensificatory tautological constructions (e.g. tiny little bird / big huge pay rise). The attention that intensificatory tautology has elicited in previous literature is scarce and often centred on specific aspects of its PDE distribution. Formally, tautological intensificatory patterns often involve the combination of synonymous DIMENSION adjectives (e.g. massive great, tiny little) in a given order (i.e. great big but not big great). Functionally, they are standardly associated with emphatic descriptive modifying functions and informal styles (Matthews 2014: 364; Coffey 2013: 59; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 561-2).

This contribution takes a corpus-based (PENN collection, BNC), diachronic standpoint in order to (a) refine previous literature’s account of the formal and functional distribution of tautological clusters in PDE and (b) explore the standing of such distributional patterns across time.

The analysis indicate that PDE tautological patterns have a wider functional distribution than has hitherto been observed, with reinforcer (e.g. big fat zero) and adverbal intensifying functions (e.g. great big little drops) slowly developing by the side of the descriptive modifier functions (e.g. great big house). This functional expansion has a formal correlate: reinforcer and degree adverb functions are mainly limited to fixed-order tautological clusters—which in turn suggests the operation of well-established clines of grammaticalisation. The diachronic data also suggest that the present-day association of tautological clusters with informal styles may be a relatively recent phenomenon.

More generally, the paper shows that tautological clusters create pockets of interpersonal meanings whose impact on the formal and functional structure of the NP needs further exploration. Syntactically, intensificatory tautology constitutes an exception to ‘stacking’ – currently considered the ‘default’ option for the organisation of attributive adjectives (see Matthews 2009). From a functional perspective, their development aligns with those approaches that conceptualise the NP as a field-like structure where interpersonal meanings are scattered across the NP rather than associated with a particular slot within the premodifying string (cf. Bache 2000, Ghesquière 2014).

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Intensifiers in 18th-century medical writing

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Keywords: intensification, medical writing, Late Modern English, corpus linguistics, phraseology

While intensifiers are generally seen as part of informal language use, they serve important interpersonal functions also in more formal registers like academic prose. The use of intensifiers in scientific writing has been explored in Present-day English (Swales and Burke 2003, Pahta 2006a), and previous studies have also explored their diachronic development particularly in Middle and Early Modern English (Pahta 2006b, Mendez-Naya and Pahta 2010, Hiltunen 2012). However, the Late Modern English period remains largely unexplored, despite the fact that at least in medical writing it represents an important transition period both intellectually and textually (Taavitsainen et al. 2014). To follow up on the trends and developments established in previous work, this paper explores the patterns of intensification in 18th-century medical writing, using the forthcoming Late Modern English Medical Texts (LMEMT), which contains a large collection of texts representing different areas of medicine (seeTaavitsainen et al. 2014). The analysis shows that while intensifiers are ubiquitous in the data, their frequency varies considerably between texts, and that this variation is linked the characteristics of medical genres and subgenres. At the same time, the use of intensifiers in this period is characterised by stability rather than dramatic changes, despite changes in the sociocultural context of medicine. Along with providing a detailed investigation of the frequency of the main intensifiers in different categories of medical writing of the period, the analysis focuses on their co-selection patterns with particular adjective and adverb groups.

References


Reflexive and intensifying SELF-forms: the missing link

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Keywords: reflexivity, intensification, focus, Early Middle English

Unlike many other European languages (cf. Haspelmath 2001: 1501), present-day English uses the same forms to express both reflexivity and intensification, e.g.

(1) She hurt herself (reflexive)
(2) The queen herself attended the party (adnominal, centralising)
(3) Paul made that cake himself (adverbial, exclusive)
(4) I can’t give you any money, I’m broke myself (adverbial, inclusive)

In (1), the SELF-form is reflexive, indicating co-reference of subject and object (pronoun). The examples (2) to (4) illustrate intensifying x-SELF: adnominal herself in (2) picks out the referent as central or the focus of attention, himself in (3) can be paraphrased with ‘alone, without help’ and therefore ‘exclusive’, and myself in (4) indicates that the referent is broke as well, justifying the label ‘inclusive’ (cf. König & Siemund 2000). However, the expression of both reflexivity and intensification in Old English was quite different: plain pronouns did double duty as reflexive and object pronouns, and SELF was a free form that could optionally be added for emphasis in specific contexts.

Peitsara (1997) has shown that the compound form x-SELF became the dominant reflexive form from the beginning of the Early Modern English period onwards, while Lange (2007) found that the merger of pronoun and intensifying SELF had already happened in early Middle English, creating the compound intensifier. X-SELF seemed to have emerged in specific discourse-pragmatic contexts, namely as a focussing device. With the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English [LAEME], a much more exhaustive database is now available to zoom in on the crucial period for the emergence of intensifying x-SELF. This paper will thus present a fresh look at the forms and functions of intensifying SELF-forms in early Middle English, in an attempt to close the gaps left by earlier analyses.

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Synthetic intensification devices in Old English

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Even though intensification has been a very prolific area of research, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, most of the studies have focused on intensifying adverbs, particularly on those scaling upwards a given norm (amplifiers, e.g. very cold), while other means of intensification, such as rhetorical (e.g. hyperbole, understatement), or morphological devices (e.g. composition/derivation) still remain relatively unexplored.

Morphological devices are particularly prominent in Old English where they count as “the second most frequently used means of intensification” (Ingersoll 1978: 85), after degree adverbs. This is no doubt related to the fact that typologically Old English is mostly a synthetic language, thus often resorting to synthetic rather than analytic means for the expression of certain grammatical categories. However, with the exceptions of Ingersoll (1978: 85ff.), and Lenker (2008), these devices have only received passing mentions in the literature, particularly in studies on Old English word-formation (see, e.g. Kastovsky 1992; Dietz 2004).

In this presentation I look at intensification of adjectives and adverbs by compounding/prefixation in Old English, as in þurhbitter ‘very bitter’ or foreaþe ‘very easily’, paying attention not only to the characteristics of the intensifying formative, but, specially, to the intensified base. Research on adverbial intensifiers has shown that there usually exists a relation of harmony between degree adverbs and their heads in terms of gradability (cf. Paradis’ 2008 boundedness hypothesis) and semantic prosody (e.g. with negative intensifiers collocating more readily with negative heads, see Lorenz 2002: 144-145), which is often related to the intensifier’s original lexical source or conceptual basis (cf. Méndez-Naya 2014 on image schemas and ‘out’-intensifiers). Moreover, some degree adverbs are associated with particular adjectival classes, while others possess a wider collocational profile. The specific aim of the presentation is to explore whether semantic harmony also holds in the case of Old English morphological degree expressions, and to study the collocational profiles of individual intensifying formatives. My approach is corpus-based: starting from the inventories of Old English intensifying formatives in Ingersoll (1978), Kastovsky (1992), and Lenker (2008), I will collect and study potential examples of ‘synthetic’ intensification of adjectives and adverbs. At a second stage I will check whether the adjectival/adverbial bases showing morphological intensification are also intensified by means of degree adverbs, and, if so, which similarities/differences between the two intensification modes can be detected. The study is based on data from the DOEC and the relevant historical dictionaries (BT, Clark-Hall, DOE, OED).

References
“You’re so missing the point!” – The use of GenX so with verbs in American English

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Keywords: GenX so, intensifiers, language variation and change, delexicalisation

The present paper explores the use of so-called GenX so (Zwicky 2011) in American English, which – in contrast to the ordinary intensifier so – can modify nouns, verbs and non-gradable adjectives:

(1) Privacy is so last century. (Days of Our Lives, 2011)
(2) You are so missing the point. (Days of Our Lives, 2005).
(3) I’m so dead. I left the gate open again! (As the World Turns, 2009)

The use of so in this syntactic position has also been referred to as “Drama SO” (Irwin 2014) and “Speech Act so” (Potts 2004). It is a fairly recent, mainly American English innovation (cf. 2005 OED draft additions); GenX so has been regularly attested since the start of this millennium only.

Previous accounts on GenX so are either generative in nature (Irwin 2014) or restricted to nominal complementation patterns (Wee & Ying Ying 2008, Gonzálvez-García 2014). To date there is but one empirical study investigating GenX so with verbal complements (focus on future going to, Stange), and this paper will therefore address this research gap.

This study is based on approx. 1,200 tokens of GenX so as a modifier of verbs found in the Corpus of American Soap Operas (Davies 2011-, 100 million words). It examines the short-term diachronic development of this construction (2001-2012), also taking into account speaker age and gender (factors of language change) as well as complementation patterns (indicative of delexicalisation).

The pilot study on so going to V (based on the same corpus) has shown that the delexicalisation process of GenX so is well under progress, as exemplified by its increasing frequency and its expanding collocational range. It has also provided empirical evidence for the claim that the use of GenX so is associated with young female speakers (cf. Zwicky 2011). The follow-up study aims at gaining more insight into the distributional patterns of GenX so with verbs (full verbs, modals and auxiliaries). Preliminary analyses suggest that use of GenX so with verbs in general differs from its use with future going to with respect to complementation patterns and collocational range, but that young women are still the dominant users when looking at the bigger picture. Differences between TV dialogue and natural speech are considered when interpreting the findings (cf. Quaglio 2009, Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005).

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Stange, Ulrike (accepted) “You’re so not going to believe this! – The use of GenX so in constructions with future going to in American English.” American Speech.


What was very before is so today! Scrutinizing synchronic corpora for degree adverb differentials

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Keywords: intensifying adverbs, variation, change, UK dialects

In this paper, I probe the robust variation in intensifying degree adverbs in synchronic corpora of English, as in (1).

(1) It’s very old. Terribly old. (F, 85, Somerset)

Studies of mainstream variation reveal four main variants: very, really, so and pretty (D’Arcy, 2014; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Stenström, 2000; Van Herk, 2009). This system is undergoing change, not only in the frequency of intensifier usage generally, but also lexical tendencies. This is particularly evident when comparing speakers of different dates of birth. It is also widely reported that adolescents are leading these changes and in some places men and women prefer different forms (Tagliamonte, 2008). Intensifying adverbs are also know to have a distinct developmental characteristic: once delexicalized they can remain underdeveloped in the language, ready to be co-opted back into the system, “static grammaticalization” (Mair, 2004). These findings suggest that the waxing and waning of intensifying degree adverbs is not only a diachronic process but also the product of sociolinguistic dynamics. This leads me to hypothesize that comparison across different types of synchronic dialects may offer insights, not only into variation among forms, but also the mechanism of linguistic change that underlie degree adverbs more generally.

I test these hypotheses in a large archive of spoken dialect corpora from the UK (Tagliamonte, 2000-2001; 2001-2003) and distributional analysis and statistical modeling to confirm significant trends. The dialects differ by region, community type (urban/rural), social characteristics of speakers (sex, education) and relative isolation from mainstream norms. Recent research has demonstrated that the once dominant intensifying adverb very is in decline while really is increasing and certain others, e.g. so, are incipient (Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2017). However, preliminary results from the UK dialect corpora reveal that very continues to dominate in the UK, particularly in rural locales and among elderly speakers. Older forms, such as terribly and real, endure while younger speakers are beginning to adopt the new layer, e.g. really, so.

In sum, intensifying adverbs in synchronic dialects expose a system where recent diachronic changes remains visible. Further analysis of the crosscutting social, regional and linguistic factors will offer new insight into the diffusion of these forms and perhaps also questions such as ‘why’ and ‘when’, which might eventually lead to solving the actuation problem: “Why did a given linguistic change occur at a particular time and place that it did?” (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968).

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**What a change:** A diachronic study of exclamative *what* constructions

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**Key words:** what – degree modification – interrogative – exclamative

This paper reports on a diachronic study into the development of constructions such as (1), which are typically defined as ellipted forms of wh-exclamatives as in (2) (Quirk et al. 1984: 834; Biber et al. 1999: 1102; Trotta 2000).

(1) **What a pity, what a pity - just when it was all going so well!** (WB)
(2) **WHAT A pity it is to destroy a wonderful theory by an excessive attention to the facts.** (WB)

Siemund (2017), however, has recently coined the term “interrogative degree modification” to refer to such clauses with what (and how, e.g. How good a comedy name is that? - WB). He argues that the kind of modification implied by interrogative what here resembles the adverbial degree modification brought by words such as very or really, that modify the scale of a characteristic inherent in an adjective, as in I am **really** tired. This shared “scalar basis” renders it appropriate to refer to what (and how) as “intensifiers” (Siemund 2017: 208). While the element of degree inherent in exclamatives using what has been underlined in literature on the subject (Rett 2011 a.o.), what as an intensifier in its own right has rarely been considered elsewhere, except by Bolinger (1972).

The primary aim of this paper is to test Siemund’s (2017) recent hypothesis that it may be more apt to refer to these clauses as “interrogative degree modification”, a construction type in its own right that cannot be reduced to the mere result of ellipsis. As Siemund (2017: 226) found that, in Present Day English, ellipted exclamatives outnumber full exclamative clauses by a “wide margin” (cf. Siemund 2015; Collins 2005 for spoken English), he posits that this imbalance is too large for the ellipted version to have evolved from the full clause as the result of “cognitive processing” and even that full exclamative clauses are “syntactic expansions of interrogative degree modification”.

On the basis of diachronic data study, this paper will investigate the relation between the two types of exclamatives and see whether there is evidence for reduction or rather “syntactic expansion”. If the construction in (1) is a reduced form of the construction in (2), it may be expected that the former is a later development than the latter. The OED quotations for what seem to confirm this, with examples of full exclamatives dating back to the 13th century, but ellipted ones postdating them by several hundred years. Furthermore, if ellipted exclamatives were found to have developed independently of the main clause, the degree meaning inextricable from these sentences could be linked to what in itself rather than the clause type. To empirically verify, this paper will rely on data from the YCOE and PPCME2 corpora as well as more recent data from the PPCEME, CLMET3.0 and Wordbanks corpora analysed in Troughton (subm.) and Ghesquière (2014).

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Brick-hard and Kardashian big: common and proper nouns as intensifiers in English

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In this paper I will focus on two intensifying constructions that have not been discussed in detail in previous literature: i) common nouns as intensifiers (N-Com+ADJ, e.g. lightning-fast), and ii) proper nouns as intensifiers (N-Prop+ADJ, e.g. Einstein-smart). In order to be used felicitously as intensifiers, the nouns must be associated with properties that are perceived to be typical of their referents. This association is quite straightforward for N-Com+ADJ constructs like steel-hard, lightning-fast and ice-cold, where the meaning of the construction is retrievable through encyclopedic knowledge. The interpretation of N-Prop+ADJ constructs, on the other hand, relies on the discourse participants’ ability to identify the referent of the proper noun. Consequently, the proper nouns that are used as intensifiers typically refer to “paragons” (Lakoff 1987: 87–88), that is, people who are particularly famous for possessing a certain property to a very high degree, as in Bill Gates rich, Audrey Hepburn pretty or James Bond cool. In some cases, the construct is ambiguous between an intensifying and a manner reading; for instance, if someone is described as Audrey Hepburn pretty, the question may not only be about the degree of prettiness but also about the actual similarity between the two referents (e.g. dark hair, high cheekbones, slender figure).

A diachronic study based on data from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) shows that the productivity of the intensifying N-Com+ADJ construction, as measured by type frequency, has doubled from the late 19th to the late 20th century. I will suggest that this increase has contributed to the emergence of the more recent N-Prop+ADJ construction, which is sporadically attested in my data since the 1970s. This development also has interesting parallels with the increased use of proper nouns as nominal premodifiers in the late 20th century (e.g. the Bush administration; Rosenbach 2007; also Breban 2017), raising some interesting theoretical questions about the stability of lexical categories and intersective gradience (e.g. Aarts 2007; Denison 2010). In addition to the synchronic and diachronic analyses of these constructions, I will pay special attention to some methodological questions that need to be taken into account when conducting a corpus linguistic study of such low-frequency items as the N-Prop+ADJ construction.

References
Workshop 7 (AMC)

Visualisations in Historical Linguistics

Organisers: Rhona Alcorn, Benjamin Molineaux & Bettelou Los
(Angus McIntosh Centre, University of Edinburgh)
Visualizing Semantic Category Development Using the Historical Thesaurus of English

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Keywords: visualization, tools, semantics, diachronic semantics, history of English

The Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE) comprises a comprehensive mapping of the meanings expressable in the English language over almost 2,000 years. With this resource it is possible to rapidly discover what words have been available to describe a concept, how many, and when. It allows the development of semantic fields – and the semantic inventory of the language as a whole – to be traced across time. The HTE is an incredibly powerful tool for diachronic semantic research on English. However, although it is relatively easy for researchers to start with a semantic field and then investigate its detail, it is more difficult to begin by locating patterns in category development which are of interest; much of this work has until now necessarily been conducted using individually licensed copies of the HTE database.

As part of the AHRC-funded Linguistic DNA (LDNA) project, run jointly between the Universities of Sheffield, Glasgow, and Sussex, Glasgow researchers have been developing a system of analysis and visualization which allows HTE website users to run searches for key features of category development through the website itself, with an API version in preparation for incorporation into the LDNA project’s final website.

The main new tool allows a user to specify values for parameters which can be used to identify development features in HTE semantic categories. These features include peaks in a category's activity, in which the number of words within that category rise rapidly accompanied by a subsequent drop-off; plateaus, in which the number of words available remains steady for a period of time; and trauma, divided into trauma rise and trauma fall, in which a sudden increase or decrease in the number of words available for a category suggests that traumatic cultural changes have had a dramatic effect on the lexicon of that category. The results of parameter-based searching are visualized as sparklines which provide an instant impression of the manner in which categories matching these criteria behave over time.

Additionally, Glasgow-based LDNA work has developed a heatmap-style visualization which shows at a glance categories in the HTE hierarchy which are larger or smaller than would be expected at any given point in time. This can be used separately from or in conjunction with the sparkline visualizations to rapidly identify semantic fields which might be of interest for researchers to pursue. Together, these tools provide an invaluable new entry point to diachronic semantic research.

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Visualising the interaction between grammar and style: a data-driven approach

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Keywords: exploratory corpus analysis, interpreting quantitative evidence, Old English, Early Modern English

Anyone investigating the elusive phenomenon of stylistic change is usually faced with the choice of either close reading, analysing a small sample of text very thoroughly, or zooming out, by analysing large text corpora for aggregates of sets of predefined linguistic features such as sentence length, personal pronoun use, or passives. The present paper attempts to bridge the gap between such highly detailed examinations and broad-scale quantitative analyses by using a method that visually aids interpretation of frequency results.

A data-driven, stylometric approach serves as a starting point to uncover differences between texts in terms of style. Texts that have been tagged with part-of-speech (POS) labels are stripped of their lexical content, and the frequencies of resulting strings of POS labels serve as input for a Correspondence Analysis, a statistical technique which graphically positions texts as well as POS strings in a low-dimensional plot. Part-of-speech patterns that cluster together are interpreted in terms of their association -- and conversely, non-association where one might expect to find one based on genre, period of composition, or similar extra-linguistic variables.

Two case studies are presented to showcase the benefits of such a procedure that allows us to pinpoint stylistic profiles of individual texts as measured by the yardsticks of genre and diachronic change. First, using Early Modern English instructional writings on horse care, a change in stylistic conventions over time that is not driven by any fundamental changes in grammar is presented. In the second case study, Old English texts drawn from the YCOE corpus illustrate how OE word order patterns are distributed by genre and register (homily versus narrative, metrical versus non-metrical prose, ornate versus pedestrian narrative), quantifying and visualising morphosyntactic features clustering in meaningful ways.

The visual properties of a Correspondence Analysis help to show how quantitative data inform our qualitative understanding of the language of these texts, and how properties of the grammar, in combination with text type characteristics, either constrain or give shape to forms of stylistic variation. On a different level, this paper examines the relationship between the syntactic system and communicative intent and redefines the context of these historical texts, showing that a contextual approach backed up by visual aids can add to our knowledge and understanding of diachronic change.

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References
Stylo visualisations of Middle English documents

Martti Mäkinen
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Middle English spelling variation has been the object of dialectal studies for a long time, and until recently the approach that employs the concept of “linguistic space” has prevailed, which provides a relational map of attested spelling variants, but does not pin-point the text on a location on the map (LALME; Williamson 2000: 144-146). Of late, also the real, absolute linguistic continuum of medieval England has been raised as an object of interest, in particular to answer questions that are related to the actual provenance of the extant texts (Stenroos and Thengs 2012). The corpus of Middle English Local Documents (MELD), compiled at the University of Stavanger, is aimed to answer questions of the latter type.

This paper presents a follow-up study to a paper on Middle English diatopical and functional variation (Mäkinen 2017), as observed through the visualisations made with stylo. Stylo is a stylometric package written for R (Eder, Rybicki and Kestemont 2014). The paper tested character n-grams in mapping interesting groups of documents, drawn from MELD, in advance of in-detail, traditional analysis of texts. Stylo is able to discriminate between Middle English document genres in the visualisations it produces (e.g. MDS maps, dendrogrammes, and consensus trees) (Eder, Rybicki and Kestemont 2014; Embleton, Uritescu and Wheeler 2009); however, the way the algorithm of stylo works seems to make it incapable of discriminating between ME dialects. This paper will address the problem of diatopically interesting items invisible in stylo visualisations.

Originally, stylo is intended for authorship attribution (Juola 2008). Stylometry tools used for other purposes is less studied, even though the effect of dialect or genre can be detected by many of the current tools (e.g. Juola 2008, Eder 2015). In the analysis of ME documents, the infrequent items of personal style or of diatopical significance may be hidden behind the mass of purpose-of-writing-specific vocabulary that may have already been somewhat standardized in the late ME period. The fact that documents tend to be somewhat formulaic leads to the enrichment of text-category-specific features and their standardization to the extent that stylo relies on them in the analysis of documents. The forms that distinguish between diatopical variants of ME seem to be too infrequent to make a difference when using stylo.

The main aim of the paper is to identify the factors that make ME documents to cluster according to genres in a stylo analysis, and to discover ways to visualise the observable diatopical variation. This will require focusing on the long tail of n-gram inventories, where the infrequent items reside.

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MELD = *The Middle English Local Documents Corpus*, version 2017.1. June 2017, University of Stavanger.


How to visualize high-dimensional data: a roadmap

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Discovery of the chronological or geographical distribution of collections of historical text can be more reliable when based on multivariate rather than on univariate data because, assuming that the variables describe different aspects of the texts in question, multivariate data necessarily provides a more complete description. Where the multivariate data is high-dimensional, however, its complexity can defy analysis using traditional philological methods. One approach to understanding structure latent in high-dimensional data is visual representation of it. Where, however, the dimensionality is greater than 3, this is impossible. The present discussion presents a roadmap of how this obstacle can be overcome. Exemplification is based on data abstracted from a corpus of English historical texts with a known temporal distribution, allowing the efficacy of the presented methods to be assessed.

The discussion is in three main parts:

- The first part presents some fundamental data concepts: its nature, representation using vectors and matrices, manifolds, and nonlinearity.
- The second part describes the corpus and the data abstracted from it.
- The third part outlines approaches to graphical representation of high-dimensional data using the concepts from (1) applied to (2). These approaches are of two types. The first, dimensionality reduction, reduces high-dimensional data to dimensionality 3 or less to enable graphical representation; the methods presented are variable selection based on standard deviation, principal component analysis, and topological mapping. The second, cluster analysis, represents the structure of data in high-dimensional space directly without dimensionality reduction.

Reference
Sound change vs. orthographic remapping: Visualising ‘excrecent’ <t> and <t> deletion in fifteenth-century Scots

Benjamin Molineaux*, Warren Maguire*, Rhona Alcorn*, Vasilios Karaïskos*, Joanna Kopaczyk** & Bettelou Los*
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Starting with its earliest records and into the seventeenth century (Meurman-Solin 1997), Scots displays overlapping <cht>, <ch>, <tht>, <th> and <t> spellings for etymologically final /xt/, /x/ and /θ/ in words such as eight, though and cloth (e.g. <awth>, <autht>; <tho>, <yotht>; <clach>, <clacht>). The degree of variability among the spellings makes these “appear interchangeable, leading some authorities to conclude that they are just graphical variants” (Johnston 1997a:101, cf. also Macafee & Aitken 2002: §5.2). We may enquire, then, whether sound changes such as loss or excrecence of [t] have taken place, or whether we are simply dealing with “orthographic remapping” (Lass & Laing 2013: 105).

To address this issue, our study interrogates the From Inglis To Scots (FITS) database, which maps individual 15c Scots spellings onto their most likely sound values, and their etymological sources. This grapho-phonologically parsed corpus (cf. Kopaczyk et al. 2018) has been compiled on the basis of the corpus of tagged texts underpinning A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS – Williamson, 2008) which brings together c. 1,250 local Scots documents dating from 1380 to 1500. Using the FITS grapho-phonological display tool (a.k.a. Medusa), we conduct an examination of the phonotactic, morphotactic and lexical distributions of the target spellings, as well as their variation over time, space and text. Medusa provides diachronic mappings of etymological sounds to (a) their 15c Scots spellings (cf. Figs 1 & 2) and (b) their proposed 15c Scots pronunciations. The tool also generates synchronic mappings of sounds to spellings in the form of 15c graphemic substitution sets and sound substitution sets (Laing 1999 and Laing & Lass 2003: 259-260, 262-263).

Figure 1: Spellings for root-final etymological [θ] and [x] in the FITS database

Figure 2: Spellings for root-initial etymological [x] and [θ] in the FITS database
Visualisations such as these help us evaluate:

a. The relative frequencies of spellings for etymological [θ], [x] and [xt] and their interchangeability in particular contexts (cf. Figs 1 & 2)
b. The evidence for [t] insertion and deletion, particularly following [f]
c. The geographic and temporal distribution of [t] insertion and deletion
d. The limits of the interchangeability of <c> and <t> beyond the target sequences
e. The likelihood of the proposed change from [xt] to [θ] as mutual assimilation of the source cluster (see Johnston 1997:102)
f. Whether <cht> for [θ] may be a backspelling based on a [xt] > [θ] change

While the sound values recorded initially in the FITS database are conjectured on the basis of existing literature, our method incorporates iterative, data-driven reappraisals.

References


This paper presents HistoBankVis, a novel visualization system which facilitates the analysis of historical linguistic data by integrating methods coming from the field of Visual Analytics (Keim et al., 2008). HistoBankVis allows the user to interact with the data directly and efficiently while exploring correlations between linguistic features and structures.

Based on the historical linguistic research question, the researcher can first select and filter for certain features in the data stored in the system. With respect to the selected features, the researcher obtains an at-a-glance overview that provides information about whether interesting patterns can indeed be identified in the corpus within just a few minutes. The overview is provided via a Compact Matrix Visualization which represents an understanding about differences between the selected features across specific time periods, calculated via χ²-tests and Euclidian distance measures. Relevant patterns can then be further investigated by drilling down into the individual time periods for which Difference Histograms are provided, allowing for the comparison of features over time. HistoBankVis also allows for the investigation of interacting features via Parallel Sets Visualizations. Furthermore, the analyst can directly access the individual underlying data points of the visualizations via mouse interaction techniques which bridges the gap between visualization, statistical analysis and the underlying corpus annotation.

Once the patterns in the data have been explored, hypotheses tested and perhaps new ones formed, the researcher can feed the knowledge gained back into each part of the system. This creates an iterative analysis process combining knowledge-based and data-driven modeling.

HistoBankVis is implemented as an on-line bowser-app. Per default, the system operates on data from the Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus (Wallenberg et al., 2011), but allows for the upload of data from any Penn Treebank-style annotated corpus. In previous work, we have tested the efficacy of HistoBankVis with respect to a concrete research question involving the interaction of word order and subject case in the history of Icelandic (Schätzle et al., 2017). However, as HistoBankVis was developed primarily in tandem with our work on Icelandic, in this talk, we further test HistoBankVis by applying the system to previously unseen corpora. We investigate the historical trade-off between positional and morphological licensing in the history of English by working with the HeliPaD corpus (Walkden, 2015) and the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English (YCOE: Taylor et al., 2003, PPCME: Kroch and Taylor, 2000, PPCEME: Kroch et al., 2004, PPCMME2: Kroch et al. 2016).

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On the fringes of silence: Creating interactive visualizations of big datasets to explore the re-emergence of initial /h/

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Keywords: initial h; unmerging of mergers; phonetics-phonology interface; visualization; Google Ngrams

The re-emergence of initial /h/ after a period of dormancy, which still extends to current non-standard usage and to a limited number of <h>-initial words in the standard (e.g. hour, honour, heir, AmE herb), can be compared to the unmerging of phonological (near-)mergers in the sense of Labov (1994: 349–418). The reality of such unmergers and, as a pre-condition, the maintenance of subtle production differences below the level of perception, continue to be contested (e.g. Hickey 2004: 131).

In this paper, we propose that the restitution of /h/ in late Middle and Early Modern English is a case in point. In the absence of spoken data for the periods in question, we will show that very large datasets such as the Google Books Ngrams, combined with a highly sensitive diagnostic (in this case the allomorphy of the indefinite article), can provide the fine-grained quantitative evidence we need to trace the gradual increase in consonantal strength across different sub-groups of lexical items.

The class of <h>-initial words comprises native (head, health, hen) as well as borrowed words. The latter fall into several categories according to the stress level of their initial syllables (primary: harlot, hazard; secondary: hesitation, hermeneutic; zero: hibiscus, harmonica) and the quantity of their initial vowels (short: hectic, horrendous; long: hormonal, holistic). They also contain special subgroups, such as items of Germanic origin re-borrowed from French (e.g. hasty, heinous) and items with a developing /hj-/onset (e.g. human, humorous).

The paper will draw on the raw data of the Google Books Ngram Viewer, which have been compiled from the full text of over 4.5 million books in English, totalling over 468 billion words and covering roughly five centuries (Lin et al. 2012). The sheer size of this mega-corpus affords us the possibility to attain a maximal diachronic resolution, to distinguish highly specific groups of lexical items and even to trace the diffusion of the observed consonantal changes across lexical units. To this end, the raw data extracted from the Google Books Ngram database will be visualized through an interactive application based on the RStudio environment and the Shiny package (Chang et al. 2017). This allows us to graph the data as types or tokens, to integrate measures of density and dispersion, and to spot deviant items. Changes take the shape of individual superimposed S-curves, lending support to the influence of different degrees of onset strength on the perceptibility of /h/.

References
  <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=shiny>

Fingerprinting historical texts in TVE2

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Keywords: interactive visualization, exploratory data analysis, corpus linguistics, historical sociolinguistics, Text Variation Explorer

There are many motives to visualize a historical text or corpus. You might just want to understand what is in there, without actually reading the text. This could be accomplished by revealing the structure of the text, and by summarizing the content. Or you might wonder if there is variation in the corpus by e.g. author, genre or time period, and want to produce a fingerprint of the texts for a visual comparison (cf. Keim & Oelke 2007). Often these kinds of text analysis tools are black boxes – you input the text, and out comes a visualization. They have a purpose, but they do not facilitate exploration.

We are working on an open-source visualization tool called Text Variation Explorer (TVE; Siirtola et al. 2014). Our approach is interactive visualization: the user can explore the structure and variation within and across texts by modifying visualization parameters, and the visualizations update continuously. This allows the user to react when something interesting is seen, and to explore a large number of visualizations in a short time.

TVE shows the text in three different views: the original text and two visualizations (Siirtola et al. 2016). The first visualization is a stacked area chart of three measures: type/token ratio, proportion of hapax legomena, and average word length. The changes and relative proportions of these three simple measurements fingerprint the text adequately to spot interesting variation. The visualization parameter for the measurements is the text fragment size, or the sample size for the measures. The second visualization utilizes principal component analysis (PCA; Siirtola et al. 2017). The user defines a set of words, and TVE computes the frequency of these words for each text fragment. This multidimensional representation of text is then clustered to reveal similar text fragments. All three views are linked: selecting a text fragment in one view highlights it in all the other views, allowing the user to see the connections.

We have recently finished the second version of TVE, which provides improvements on handling corpus metadata and the PCA view. We will demonstrate the improvements by exploring a section of the Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler (CEECS), namely correspondence between Queen Elizabeth I’s closest advisors, Robert Dudley, William Cecil, and Francis Walsingham. Using TVE2, we are able to quickly identify several possible factors affecting the language use of these men, which can then be investigated further using e.g. statistical analysis tools.

References


Mapping Language Change

Nicole Studer-Joho
University of Zurich

Keywords: Mapping, GIS, Middle English, LAEME

Maps present an accessible and powerful tool to display linguistic features across space. While the data collection, the analysis of some linguistic features and the production of maps may be very time-consuming and laborious, it will – in most cases – not take much effort for the reader of a map to understand its main content and identify key findings. Girnth (2010: 101) describes the mapping of linguistic data as “a multilevel process that requires a high degree of methodological reflection as well as the constant solving of practical problems.” One of the main difficulties for diachronic linguistics is the mapping of linguistic change, because the dynamic nature of linguistic processes clashes with the static display of a map. Furthermore, almost any map presents a cartographer with the problem as to what type of information to display, as the number of variables to include is limited by the map size, the symbols used or by the available shades or colours.

In this paper I demonstrate how a GIS tool like QGIS allows for complex spatio-temporal data management, which does not just display the “frozen geographic reflex of a shift in linguistic behavior” (Haas 2010: 649), but allows the study of a feature across space and time by means of the same map. Furthermore, I illustrate how the attribute table that is part of QGIS allows for easy access to metadata. The data for the demonstration is drawn from the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME) and I will also discuss the type of metadata that can be collected and mapped for the texts that are part of LAEME.

References


Workshop 8

English as a syntactic outlier: causes, contacts, consequences

Organisers:  Ian Roberts (University of Cambridge)
             George Walkden (University of Konstanz)
Emonds and Faarlund 2014 (henceforth E&F) make the bold claim that Middle English (ME) is not a descendant of Old English (OE), as is generally assumed, but rather a descendant of the variety of Old Norse (ON) spoken by the Vikings who settled in England during the 9th and 10th centuries. According to E&F, the many syntactic innovations of ME are not innovations at all if ME is descended from ON rather than OE. If one accepts their hypothesis, one must conclude that English looks ‘odd’ only if looked at from the wrong perspective, namely starting from the assumption that it is a West Germanic language, rather than a well-behaved Scandinavian one.

Various researchers have undertaken the task of refuting E&F’s proposal: the replies in *Language Dynamics and Change* 6.1 (2016), Bech & Walkden (2016) and Stenbrenden (2016) collectively demonstrate that the evidence presented by E&F fails to support their claim. However, in most cases the reviewers’ evidence cannot be used to support the opposite hypothesis, that ME is a continuation of OE: many of the relevant syntactic properties are present in both ON and OE, and thus do not indicate which language is the ancestor of ME.

E&F’s proposal is based on a large number of morphosyntactic properties; however, in this talk we show that decisive evidence can come from even a small number of syntactic changes, if the available evidence is detailed enough: in particular, if one can determine when the relevant constructions are established.

We focus on the syntax of noun phrase. We show that the ME noun phrase can only be derived from OE and not from ON, as shown by the syntax and the diachronic development of various characteristics: definite article (establishment and morphological realization, the latter discussed also in E&F), indefinite article, and placement of demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and genitives. Following the diachronic path of change, we find in ME exactly the constructions one would expect given previous OE stages; the same constructions did develop in the attested Norse varieties, but only at a later stage, too late to have affected the development of ME.

We then conclude that although English and Scandinavian languages may eventually develop the same noun-phrase syntax (the most striking case being the so-called ‘group genitive’), this cannot be explained assuming that ME is a direct descendant of ON.

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A language-internal account for the grammaticalization of the VO word order in the history of English

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Keywords: Old English, Middle English, Information Structure, Heaviness, Endogenous Change.

I aim to explore the hypothesis that the grammaticalization of the VO word order in the transition from Old English (henceforth OE) to Middle English (henceforth ME) is driven by language internal factors. I adopt an antisymmetric framework which considers syntactic, information structural and prosodic interface conditions that regulate the spell-out of constituents either in pre- or post-verbal position (cf. Hinterhölzl 2014, 2015). I aim to test whether the demise of the Information structural and heaviness interface conditions, which require for instance given and/or light object to be spelled-out in pre-verbal position, may have triggered the reanalysis of the post-verbal position as the unmarked one.

Furthermore, I aim to challenge the hypothesis of the Scandinavian influence over the development of the English syntax (Kroch et al. 2000, Trips 2002, Emonds and Faarlund 2014). It has been demonstrated, in fact, that some of the phenomena ascribed to the Scandinavian influence have their roots in the Old English language (cf. Bech and Walkden 2016), while for others the research is still open. Already in the OE stage, the portion of VO orders is considerable (cf. Pintzuk & Taylor 2006, 2012 a-b, 2015). These empiric findings weaken the role of the Scandinavian influence over the ME language and point at the endogenous nature of the change.

I chart the development of the VO word order by analysing sentences with an auxiliary and a non-finite verb, a subject and at least one object and analyse the information structural, syntactic and prosodic conditions that drive their pre- or post-verbal mapping. Data are collected through the YCOE and PPCME2 corpora. The activation state of the referents is determined through the scrutiny of the surrounding context, while prosodic heaviness is defined according to Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015).

The study of Old English matrix and subordinate clauses with the given features shows that the mapping of objects is driven by a complex interplay of syntactic, information structural and heaviness interface conditions, and it can be shown that towards the last stages of OE, the Information structural conditions start to blur, favouring a mapping driven by the relative weight of the constituents, with light elements in pre-verbal position and heavy elements in post-verbal position. The blurring of the Information Structural interface conditions can be linked to the demise of a class of discourse reference markers, which targeted the last stages of the OE period (cf. van Kemenade and Los 2006). Our approach predicts that also the heaviness mapping condition is blurred in the transition from OE to ME, leading to the reanalysis of the post-verbal position as the unmarked one.

Selected references


Looking further afield: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Language Contact and Grammatical Change

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**Keywords**: Language Contact, Language Change, Morpho-syntax, Interdisciplinary Approach

This study addresses the role of language contact in grammatical change, particularly the manifold structural simplifications English underwent from Old (OE) to Middle English (ME), focussing on English gender-development: in OE, modifying determiners and adjectives marked grammatical gender, as did third-person-singular pronouns (cf. (1)); from (later) ME onwards, only the pronouns expound natural (sex-based) gender (cf. (2)).

(1) Dá ᵃȝet wiȝf geseah, ᵃȝet hit
When that.NEUT woman.NEUT saw that it.NEUT
him nãs dyrn
him not-was hidden
‘When the woman saw that she was not hidden from him’

(2) Wedde nat a.UNI wiffe for hir.inheritaunce
Wed not a.UNI woman for her.FEM inheritance
‘Don’t marry a woman for her inheritance’
(Benedict Burgh’s Cato Major, ed. Förster 1905:320)

In parallel, case went from the OE four-case system (plus remnants of an instrumental) to a residual subject/object/possessive-distinction in pronouns and a genitive/non-genitive distinction in noun-phrases in use ever since late ME. Plural essentially lost six of its seven allomorphs to the –s-plural. Many, if not most of these simplifications also display a discernible north-south vector (cf. e.g. Lindelöf 1893:299-302; Hotta 2012:112).

It is well-known and undisputed that Viking settlement names were very numerous, but at the same time confined to the Danelaw-area (cf. e.g. Stenton 1942; Cameron 1969:75-86, 1971; Richards 1991:33-36; Loy 1994:82-89; Crawford 2003:59-60), and also that English borrowed quite a few, chiefly basic words from Old Norse (ON) (cf. e.g. Hofmann 1955; Peters 1981; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Townend 2002; Pons-Sanz 2007, 2013; Lutz 2012). By contrast, much discord is in the research community regarding the influence of ON on the structural/grammatical changes English underwent in the later Middle Ages: outspoken affirmers (e.g. McWhorter 2002; Townend 2002) face equally vehement deniers (e.g. Thim 2008, 2012; Lutz 2012) of this notion.

Hence, this interdisciplinary paper appraises multiple lines of evidence (including history, archaeology, molecular genetics, art history, ‘saga studies’, as well as onomastics of settlements, places, landscape features, and persons), obtaining converging evidence for substantial and prolonged Scandinavian influence in the Danelaw area and long-term, widespread, incessant, and intimate language contact. Further, structural similarities between OE and ON suggest the OE-ON contact situation to have relied on semi-communication (cf. e.g. Haugen 1966; Braunmüller 1982, 2001) and accommodation (cf. e.g. Giles & Smith 1979; Trudgill 1986; Giles et al. 1991) rather than on bilingualism and interpreters.

This study concludes that grammatical simplifications in general can be facilitated or even instigated by language contact. This is not a matter of course, but depends on the type and
duration of contact. The simplification of English gender (and morpho-syntax in general) was quite certainly hastened and potentially even triggered by contact with ON. Still, this made (Middle) English neither a creole nor a North Germanic language.

References


English as a typological outlier: The case of the verbal prefixes

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One of the facts about English that contributes to its status as a typological outlier is that it lost the productive use of verbal prefixes be-, ge-, a-, to-, for- (e.g. Harbert 2007: 13). No fully satisfactory account of the reasons for this loss has so far been given and both internal and external factors have been considered.

While the loss of preverbal prefixes (and the rise of postverbal particles) is often linked to the change from OV to VO (e.g. Hiltunen 1983), the former shift predates the completion of the word order change (e.g. Los et al. 2012: 157). What is more, the decline of the prefixes was well underway in Old English, when OV order was predominant. Signs of this decline are the variation between forms with and without prefixes and phonetically weakened prefixes like a-, as in (1a-b), showing different verb uses by different scribes (Hiltunen 1983: 143).

(1)  
a. þa stah he upp forð locode  
then rose he up and yonder looked
b. Ì he up astah í fyder locode  
and he up arose and yonder looked

The fact that sister Germanic languages like German and Dutch retain a productive system of verbal prefixes, which co-exists with a system of verb particles, can therefore not simply be due to the loss of OV in English. This is further supported by facts from other Germanic languages. Icelandic and Faroese, for example, have verbal particles and lost verbal prefixes like English, but have abundant inflectional morphology unlike English. Moreover, Afrikaans has retained verbal prefixes despite having undergone heavy inflectional loss (McWhorter 2002: 233). Facts like these have led McWhorter (2002) to propose that language contact with Old Norse is responsible for the special typological status of English with the Germanic language family (but see e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

In order to gain a fuller understanding of why English lost the productive use of verbal prefixes, this talk will 1) give an account of the Old English situation and investigate to what extent the loss involves argument structure change (see Burnett & Tremblay 2012 on Old French) and/or parametric change (see e.g. Maylor 2002 on German and English prefixes); and 2) compare the English facts with other (related and unrelated) languages that have (or used to have) co-existing systems of verbal prefixes and particles.

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References


The historical source of the English voiced sibilant plural

*Joseph Emonds*
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**Keywords**: Middle English plurals, Proto-Scandinavian, Voicing assimilation

Very early in Middle English, texts especially in the North and East tend to use an orthographic suffix -(e)s for noun plurals, in Southern and Western texts the plural suffix -en of the Old English weak declension at first spreads, but then eventually also yields to -(e)s. It will be shown that on phonological and phonetic grounds this -(e)s, which remains the productive plural suffix in Modern English, must, as a vocabulary item, be lexically specified as +VOICE. It will be demonstrated that its voicing is not due to any progressive assimilation process, as no such voicing occurs in any derivational suffixes that begin with a voiceless segment. The source of this underlying voiced sibilant -z, completely absent in Old English, is to be found in the genealogical ancestor of Middle English, Proto-Scandinavian, whose plural in all non-neuter declensions is precisely this segment -z (Haugen 1982). The presentation argues that this form was an integral part of the Norse brought to England by the earliest Scandinavian settlers in the 9th c. and is unambiguously reflected in the runic evidence in that language. In all likelihood, the later change on in Mainland Scandinavian of this -z to palatalized -ř and later -r, completed in the 12th c., failed to spread to the Anglicized Norse of England. This conservation of (non-rhotic) plural -z is plausibly due to sociolinguistic factors highly reminiscent of those set out in the classic paper of Labov (1963).

**References**
The Parametric Comparison Method and the roots of modern English syntax

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The Parametric Comparison Method (Longobardi and Guardiano 2009) has been applied to reconstruct syntax-based phylogenies of the modern Indo-European languages (Longobardi et al. 2013) and of both more focused (Guardiano et al. 2016 on Southern Italo-Romance and Greek dialects) and more wide-range domains (Longobardi et al. 2015). An interesting feature of this method is that so far it has proven to be largely able to deal with syntactic secondary convergence, as especially addressed in the mentioned works for Southern Italy and the Balkan area. The position of English, as defined by its present-day nominal syntax, has been identified in all PCM experiments as clearly internal to Indo-European, of course, and also to Germanic. However, its precise position within Germanic has not fallen clearly and steadily within West Germanic or within North Germanic.

This instability may be in part due to the fact that so far serious PCM comparisons have only been conducted with respect to only one West Germanic variety, namely German. In this presentation we are going to re-explore the phylogenetic assignment of Modern English in comparison to German, three Scandinavian languages and two more West Germanic languages, i.e. Dutch and Afrikaans. Phylogenetic algorithms of a Bayesian type, able to deal with characters rather just language distances, will be also used for the first time to try to better assess the genealogical issue from the evidence provided by the modern outputs of all such varieties. Quantitative comparison with the PCM results obtained from the areas where it has been independently possible to distinguish contact effects from genealogical signals will then be discussed.

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Reflexive Marking in English and Welsh: The “Contact Hypothesis” Revisited

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Keywords: reflexivity, reflexive marker, language contact, celticism, Welsh

While the reflexive markers of most European languages, like e.g. German sich or French se are based on the PIE reflexive pronoun *s(w)e, the English and the neighbouring Insular Celtic languages Welsh and Irish employ different markers. Their formal similarity is especially close between English and Welsh. Both languages have complex markers consisting of an invariable part, self in English and hun in Welsh and a pronoun inflecting according to person, number and gender, i.e. Engl. myself, yourself, him/her/itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves, Welsh fy hun(an), dy hun(an), ei hun(an), eich hun(ain), eu hun(ain). In addition, both markers originate from intensifiers and are still used in this function.

As English differs both from the other Germanic languages and displays a marker structurally parallel to the Welsh one, the hypothesis of a Celticism in English has been discussed repeatedly, cf. e.g. Vezzosi 2005.

This hypothesis implies, however, that the English intensifier acquired the reflexive function due to linguistic convergence with Brittonic or Welsh, where the same development took place earlier. This latter assumption is the problematic part of the hypothesis, because it does not take into consideration that Middle Welsh actually has two different reflexive markers. Besides X hun, there is the verbal prefix ym-, which predominantly marks reciprocity and middle situation types including reflexivity (Irslinger 2014). The frequency and distribution of both markers had not been researched at the time when the contact hypothesis was proposed.

This paper will present the results of a corpus-based study on Welsh X hun as a reflexive marker. This study yields that the constructions which had been taken as the models of the English ones are actually very rare in Middle Welsh. When their frequency increases in Early Modern Welsh, the corresponding constructions in English are already well established (Peitsara 1997, Lange 2007). While contact still seems a plausible explanation for the similarities between both languages, the direction of contact influence should be reconsidered, i.e. English → Welsh instead of Welsh → English.

References
A twentieth-century verdict on English: A hybridized vehicularized semi-creole Germanic

John McWhorter
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That English is a syntactic outlier among the Germanic languages has long been evident, and proposals as to the exact nature of this anomaly have been multifarious, ranging from proposing English as creolized by French (Bailey & Maroldt 1977), as almost a Celtic language in English lexical skin (Filppula, Klemola & Pitkänen 2002), and as a variety of Norse (Emonds & Faarlund 2014), as well as counterproposals that English's diachronic development has been ordinary (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 263-342).

In this presentation I will address, especially, arguments from the past twenty years or so which have revealed English's anomaly as due to the sequential effects of two contact phenomena, and will propose a new taxonomic conclusion: namely, that English must be classified as a semi-creolized variety of Germanic.

English was first transformed by Celtic speakers bilingual in their indigenous languages and Old English, leaving significant interference effects such as periphrastic do and the generalization of the progressive, amidst a situation of linguistic equilibrium (cf. Dixon 1997). I propose that traditional skepticism of this hypothesis be dismissed in view of evidence amassed since the 1990s: the argument, for example, that Celtic features do not appear in Old English documents neglects the realities of the written medium in the era in question (as well as often today).

Then, the Scandinavian impact on Old English was more abbreviative than the Celtic: Norse speakers learned the language as adults, with their speech serving as a model for later generations. The objection that other Germanic varieties such as Mainland Scandinavian and Dutch experienced similarly heavy degrees of inflectional loss neglects that English, alone in Germanic, lost a great deal more of the Proto-Germanic legacy (McWhorter 2002) including constructions such as external possession, the inherent reflexive, and directional adverbs. Only second-language acquisition, of a robust but non-catastrophic degree as described cross-linguistically by Kusters (2003), McWhorter (2007) and Trudgill (2011), explains this degree of loss.

Thus in a schematic sense, Celts infused English grammar while the Norse abbreviated it (although Celtic abbreviation and Norse hybridity happened to degrees as well; cf. Miller 2012). I will argue that this degree of structural loss, in conjunction with this degree of hybridity, classifies English as a semi-creole variety, especially given general agreement that Afrikaans is a semi-creole. Afrikaans, despite its considerable loss of Dutch inflectional morphology, retains a great deal more Proto-Germanic material than English, and is hybridized with other languages much less than English has been, with Celtic languages.

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Change and Continuity in English OV/VO variation: Information Structure as a disappearing trigger for OV

_Tara Struik & Ans van Kemenade_  
_Radboud University Nijmegen_

**Keywords:** syntax, information structure, OV/VO variation

One thing that sets English apart from the other West-Germanic languages is the surface word order in the VP in subclauses. In English the object surfaces after the verb, as in (1a), while German and Dutch the object surfaces before the verb (1b).

(1)  
a. English  
… that he has read the book  
b. German  
… das er das _Buch_ gelesen hat  
c. Dutch  
… dat hij _het boek_ gelezen heeft

The fact that all languages displayed OV/VO variation in their earlier stages begs the question what made Present-day English a VO language, as opposed to an OV language, like German and Dutch. This talk will focus on OV in historical English, because if we understand the nature of OV in historical English and why and how it disappeared, we can explain why PdE is VO.

This talk builds on earlier work by Struik & van Kemenade (in prep.) and Elenbaas & van Kemenade (2014) which shows that OE and ME OV/VO variation was to a large extent governed by Information Structure (IS). More specifically, Struik & van Kemenade show that OV order is reserved for given objects in OE, while objects in VO order are a mix of given and new. While OV orders are reduced in frequency in ME, the same observation holds (Elenbaas & van Kemenade 2014). This leads us to propose that all OV word orders are derived from a VO base (contra earlier work on OE OV/VO).

We will show that a phase-based approach, inspired by Biberauer & Roberts (2005), can account for all the word orders in OE and eME. We assume that given objects have an extra feature layer (see Biberauer & van Kemenade 2011 for a similar proposal for subjects), which forces them to move to Spec,\(v\) for feature-checking. Optional pied-piping of other parts of the clause to higher positions in the derivation lead to the observed word order patterns in historical English. We suggest that the unvalued feature causing movement to Spec,\(v\) disappeared, rendering the extra feature layer redundant, leading to a decline in OV word order. We argue that each movement option in fact disappeared in a step-wise fashion, gradually reducing the possibilities.

This analysis proposes that English is and always has been a VO language, but that it lost most of its word order flexibilities. Thus, we argue that there was no drastic reanalysis of basic word order.

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Old English psych verbs as syntactic outliers in Middle English: the role of borrowed French verbs

Carola Trips & Tom Rainsford
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It is well-known that Old English (OE) psych verbs differed with respect to their event structure (e.g. causative or not) and to the syntactic realisation of their arguments (cf. Fischer & van der Leek 1983, Allen 1995, Möhlig-Falke 2009). Crucially, all of these verbs built impersonal constructions to some degree (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2009:118), and the majority of these verbs showed an impersonal construction with two NPs and the Experiencer realized in the dative (ac gode-EXP-DAT ne licode na heora geleafleast-THE-NOM ‘but God did not like their unbelief . . . ’, ÆHom_21:68.3117). However, in Middle English, extensive borrowing from French introduced a large number of new psych verbs which did not permit impersonal constructions. Basing ourselves on the psych verbs of native and of French origin attested in the lemma lists of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2), we show that around 40 such verbs are borrowed from French. Using data from the Tobler-Lommatzsch (1925-) dictionary of Old French and the Middle English Dictionary, we show that only 5 of these verbs are attested with impersonal argument structure (AS) (anoien, greven, joien, plesen, repenten), which in three of these cases is directly borrowed from French rather than developing in English.

What effect did this extensive borrowing have on productive rules of AS in the psych verb class? Following Dresher and Lahiri (2015) and Kodner (2017), we apply Yang’s (2016) Tolerance Principle (TP) to the historical data in order to evaluate historical “tipping points” in the development of the psych verb class. The TP is conceived as a general constraint on lexically dependent productive rules, specifying that for any class of \(N\) lexemes, learners will only postulate the existence of a productive rule if the class contains at most \(N / \log N\) exceptions. Failing this, Yang contends that it is more efficient from a processing point of view for learners to store each lexeme and its corresponding property (in this case, its AS) individually rather than acquiring a general rule (cf. Yang & Montrul 2016).

By increasing the number of psych verbs without impersonal uses, we argue that the introduction of borrowed verbs created too many exceptions to the rule ‘if psych verb, then impersonal AS possible’, for it to be acquired productively in Middle English. Furthermore, the borrowed psych verbs all accept subject experiencers, particularly when intransitive or reflexive, which subsequently caused a new productive rule to be acquired ‘if psych verb, then subject experiencer possible’. This development caused impersonal constructions such as me liketh to become lexicalised, as native psych verbs gradually adopted the new AS rule.

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Workshop 9

The Foot in the Phonological History of English

Organisers: Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero (University of Manchester)  Patrick Honeybone (The University of Edinburgh)
Diagnostics of the moraic trochee from Proto-Germanic to the present:
(LL)~(H) equivalence, (LH) and (HL) avoidance

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University of Manchester

Keywords: moraic trochee, Sievers’ Law, High Vowel Deletion, secondary stress, trochaic shortening

Hayes’s (1995) metrical typology affords three main diagnostics of moraic trochee parsing: metrical equivalence between (LL) and (H) feet, avoidance of (HL) feet, and avoidance of (HL) feet. Of these, (LL)~(H) equivalence is the least reliable criterion, as languages that use syllabic trochees can nonetheless impose bimoraic minimality restrictions on prosodic words (e.g. Anguthimri; Hayes 1995: 103, 198) or on tonic syllables (e.g. Icelandic; Hayes 1995: 191). In contrast, both (LH) and (HL) avoidance are strongly indicative of moraic trochee footing, since syllabic trochee languages are indifferent to quantitative balance within disyllabic feet. (HL) avoidance provides conclusive evidence when implemented through trochaic shortening (Prince 1990, Hayes 1995: 142-9), which conflicts with an otherwise pervasive tendency against reduction in prominent positions. This paper argues that, according to these diagnostics, English has been a moraic trochee language throughout its history since the earliest times.

In Proto-Germanic, (LH) and (HL) avoidance becomes apparent through the operation of Sievers’ Law as diagnosed by the later application of West Germanic Gemination to [C,j] clusters (Kiparsky 1998: §6). Thus, L-initial PrGmc /ˈaðalɪs/ was not parsed as */(a.ðal)(jas)* but rather as */(a.ða)(i.a)<s>*, whence OE ædeles ‘noble.m/GEN.SG’ with a singleton /l/. In contrast, H-initial PrGmc /ˈliːkatɪn/ was parsed as */(li:)(kat)(jan)*, rather than */(li:.(a.ða))(i.a)<n>*, and so became OE līckettan ‘feign.INF’, showing a geminated /tː/.

(LH) and (HL) avoidance remain evident in prehistoric OE, as witnessed by High Vowel Deletion in H-initial neuter a-stem nouns like hēafod ‘head’ (Goering 2016: 178). The oldest NOM/ACC.PL form of this noun is hēafudu: e.g. CP(H) 105.5 (Bermúdez-Otero 2005: 32-33, 2015: 13-14; Fulk 2010). In this form, both tokens of /u/ were originally footed and so protected from deletion: i.e. */(hēɡ)(fu.du)*. In contrast, forms whose final syllable was originally heavy underwent syncope: e.g. DAT.SG */(hēɡ)fu(dē) > hēafde*, DAT.PL */(hēɡ)fu(dum) > hēafdum*. Parses with (HL) or (LH) feet were thus avoided: i.e. */(hēɡ)(fu)(dum)*, */(hēɡ)(fu)(dum)*.

PDE continues to treat (LH) trochees as dispreferred. In the absence of cyclic effects, for example, trisyllabic pretonic sequences receive initial secondary stress, e.g. (/a.bracadābra), but crucially not in words with initial LH sequences: e.g. Mō(nən)gahēla, not */(Mō噪声)gahēla* (Dabouis, Fournier & Girard 2017).

Finally, Trisyllabic Shortening and -ic Shortening in ME and ModE provide decisive evidence of trochaic shortening (Prince 1990). This is true even if Trisyllabic Shortening never applied as a regular sound change in ME (Minkova & Stockwell 1996), as the process was and remains undeniably active at least as a constraint on loanword adaptation and as a mechanism of allomorph selection: e.g. ver(bō)<se>~ver(bō.si)<ty>, dia(bē)<tes>~dia(bē.ti)<c>.

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The trochaic foot and the success of the iamb in English and Dutch poetry

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Keywords: poetic foot, prosodic foot, metrics, prosodic hierarchy

English and Dutch Renaissance verse were characterized by the spread of iambic poetry; this was the result of the implementation of a new meter coming from Italy and France. Since then, the iamb has kept being widely used in both traditions. This paper proposes that this is due to the fact that, since both English and Dutch are trochaic languages with a prominent prosodic word, iambic meter tends to be the most natural form of poetic expression.

English and Dutch parallel. Both English and Dutch poets elaborated iambic meter as an adaptation of a Romance poetic form. They did so independently from each other but with a quite similar result, despite the fact that the major source was Italian poetry for the former and French poetry for the latter. In addition, both traditions had previous isolated instances of iambic poetry some centuries earlier (e.g. Chaucer for English and van Affligem for Dutch in 14th century).

Prosodic and poetic feet. Phonological and poetic constituents’ structures share a number of features (Hayes 1989). However, there is not an exact level-to-level correspondence between the domains of the two structures. In particular, it has been claimed that poetic feet do not necessarily correspond to prosodic feet: they are as big as two prosodic feet, in Classical Greek (Golston & Riad 1999, 2005), while in English (and Dutch), they have the size of two syllables, hence, the usual size of words (Van Oostendorp 2017). I assume that phonology sees metrical structure and refers to its domain, which corresponds to the prominent phonological domain of the language; in the case of English and Dutch, this is the prosodic word.

Proposal. I propose that the predominance of prosodic word explains why English and Dutch Renaissance poetry developed a foot-based meter from a syllabo-tonic/isosyllabic source. In the French and Italian source, the phonological phrase and, hence, the colon, is the prominent domain. Consequently, the meter needed to be adapted to the recipient prosodic-word-based system.

Aligning the head of the trochaic prosodic foot to the right edge of the metrical foot in a verse leads to a continuous bracketing mismatching between the two layers (Van Oostendorp 2017). The rhythm generated is repetitive enough to recall natural speech but at the same time different enough from it to sound, to a certain extent, artful and refined.

References
The foot in the history of English

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Keywords: metrical coherence, Germanic Foot, moraic trochee, stress, Tolerance Principle

Dresher & Lahiri (1991) argued that Old English displays a property called ‘metrical coherence’, whereby different phonological and poetic processes are all sensitive to the same metrical structure. They proposed that this metrical structure was the Germanic Foot, an extended and resolved trochee that allowed feet of the form (H L) and (H) as well as (L-X L) and (L-X), where X is either a heavy (H) or light (L) syllable that is ‘resolved’ with an initial light syllable. Goering (2016a, b) has persuasively argued that the early Old English foot was a moraic trochee that allowed resolution to (L-H) under certain circumstances. His analysis reflects metrical coherence, in that evidence is drawn from stress and high vowel deletion in the phonology of the spoken language as well as from poetic metre, in the form of resolution and Kaluza’s Law. Crucially, his analysis applies to a stage of the language where historically long unstressed vowels retained their length. We will argue that after the shortening of unstressed vowels in early Old English, the moraic trochee became untenable, and was then replaced by the Germanic Foot.

Foot form is only one aspect of English foot-related metrical structure that has changed over time. Old English inherited the prevailing Germanic left-edge stress: that is, Old English syllables (apart from some prefixes) were parsed into feet starting at the left edge of the word, and the leftmost foot received the main stress. Present Day English metrical structure resembles that of Latin: it is a moraic trochee computed from the right edge, and main stress is assigned to the rightmost foot (with various exceptions). As in other Germanic languages, this shift in the metrical system occurred under the influence of Romance loanwords, but was anything but abrupt. It can be shown that the influx of Anglo-Norman and Old French words following the Norman conquest made little impact on Middle English prosody (Dresher & Lahiri 2005; Lahiri 2015), contrary to what has sometimes been claimed.

Rather, the extended trochee survived long and the direction of parsing changed from left-to-right to right-to-left only in early Modern English (after 1570: Dresher & Lahiri 2015; Lahiri 2015), when the number of Latin loanwords with stress-affecting suffixes had passed a threshold derived from Yang’s Tolerance Principle (Yang 2016). The shift in directionality reestablished a degree of metrical coherence that had been disrupted by the increasing number of Latin loanwords that were inconsistent with the old system.

References


Evidence for Phonological Resolution in Early Western Middle English

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One of the most widely discussed aspects of Old English prosody is ‘resolution’, the equivalence of LX=H. Under most current theories of OE foot structure, this equivalence plays a central role in establishing the bimoric nature of feet (or heads of feet), and is supported by evidence from a variety of sources, both phonological and metrical. Some recent scholarship (e.g. Fulk 2002, Yakovlev 2008) has raised the possibility that resolution survived at least into the Early Middle English period, but the evidence presented so far has been largely metrical, and not uncontroversial (cf. Minkova 2016). In this paper, I consider phonological evidence from the thirteenth-century ’AB’ dialect of the West Midlands, concentrating in particular on data from MS Bodley 34, Oxford [B], which suggest that resolution continued to play an important prosodic role in at least some varieties of EME. In this dialect, class II weak verbs show different developments depending on the weight of the initial syllable. After a heavy root, the -ia- stem which marked this class in OE is reduced to -i- (e.g. /festnian > festnin), while after a single light syllable the stem marker remains disyllable, -ie- (e.g. /polian > polien) (Tolkien 1929). This is plausibly explained by the divergent footing of the two structures: /fest.ni.an > festnin, but /po.li.an > polien. In this paper, I focus on the largely overlooked set of class II verbs with LL roots, such as sutelin < OE swutelian, which pattern with the heavy-root members. I argue that such verbs are best explained as having the foot structure /su.te.lin, and so support the continuation of a bimoric foot structure in which LL=H. If accepted, these arguments would suggest a relatively robust continuity of foot structure in at least western English from OE until perhaps the middle of the thirteenth century.

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Evidence for English foot structure from consonantal processes: moras count

Patrick Honeybone
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The English foot has long been contentious. The ‘Abercrombian foot’ (named after the arguments of David Abercrombie) assumes that all material between utterance-stresses is gathered into feet, leading to feet containing multiple syllables; others (such as John Harris) argue that the English foot is fundamentally bisyllabic, and others (such as Bruce Hayes) that it is fundamentally bimoraic. I argue here that the latter position must be taken seriously, on the basis of a set of consonantal phenomena which have entered English in the past few centuries. They all affect postvocalic consonants and – crucially – are sensitive to the length (i.e. mora count) of the preceding vowel. What this means is that they are sensitive to moraically-conditioned foot-structure: they only occur if the consonant is foot-internal or -external.

The phenomena are:

(i) **t,d-flapping in Northern English**, in which flapping occurs in *what a, led a, glutton, budding*, where the stops are within the bimoraic foot, but not if the vowel is long/bimoraic (i.e. the consonant is foot-external); this is described for Yorkshire by Ellis (1889), and is shown by Turton (2017) to still be active in Lancashire.

(ii) **fricative lenisisation in Scouse Diddification**, in which fortis fricatives become lenis in truncated forms, as in *casserole → cazzy [kazi], hospital → ozzy [pzi]*, but only if the preceding vowel is short/monomoraic (i.e. if the consonant is in the foot with the vowel); if the vowel is long/bimoraic (i.e. the consonant is foot-external), it remains fortis, as in *loose cigarette → loosie [luːsi], ice cream → icie [aɪsi]*; this pattern is robust in written Scouse from the 1960s, and has been replicated in recent introspection tasks.

(iii) **Liverpool English dorsal fricative assimilation**, in which a [x] fricative (derived from */k/ through lenition) assimilates to a preceding vowel, but only if it is long/bimoraic, so *seek is [siːç] and like is [læç], but sick remains [sɪx] and neck [nɛx]*; this pattern has recently entered the variety (as demonstrated in experimental research), showing a process which is triggered only when a consonant is outside the bimoraic foot (and does not occur if it is foot-internal).

The patterns in (i), (ii) and (iii) make sense if we assume that the English foot is fundamentally bimoraic. I furthermore show that phenomena with the same kind of patterning are also found in the history of High German and Frisian, implying that the bimoraically-sensitive foot has been in English for a long time.

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Syncope, umlaut, and prosodic structure in early English

Paul Kiparsky
Stanford University

In all Germanic languages except Gothic, minimum foot size and maximum syllable size requirements yield two distinct syncope patterns: word-final syncope is blocked after light mono-syllabic stems by a bimoraic (moraic trochee) foot minimum, and medial syncope is blocked after heavy and polysyllabic stems by a prohibition of superheavy syllables. Syncope in Germanic (including North Germanic) is constrained always and only by the resulting foot structure and syllable structure (never “triggered by heavy syllables”, for example). Its effects depend on whether it takes effect before or after two other changes: umlaut, and the fusion of the compound-like prosodic structure of the weak preterite (inherited from its periphrastic origin) into a single prosodic word (Lahiri 2000, Kiparsky 2009).

The relative chronology of syncope, fusion, and umlaut divides early Germanic into five groups.

(1) a. Western Scandinavian  Fusion > Syncope> Umlaut
    b. Old English  Fusion > Umlaut > Syncope
    c. Old Gutnish  Umlaut > Fusion > Syncope
    d. Old Frisian  Umlaut > Syncope> Fusion
    e. Old High German  Syncope > Umlaut > Fusion

In weak preterites, the retained internal word boundary blocked umlaut in groups (1c,d,e), and allowed word-final syncope in groups (1d,e), as in the OHG examples (2).

(2) a. umlaut  *[tal - i]ω [ðedōm]ω ]ω  zelīta ‘counted’
    b. no umlaut  *[warm - i]ω [ðedōm]ω  warmta ‘warmed’
    c. umlaut  *[mag - ĩ]ω  megī ‘could’

In Old English, Old Frisian, and Old Saxon, umlaut preceded syncope of final vowels. Therefore heavy -i stems which lost -i have umlauted front vowels, e.g. OE giest ‘guest’ (>*gasti), dǣd ‘deed’, hӯd ‘hide’ (Hogg 1992: 230), and heavy-stem weak preterites were umlauted prior to the loss of the triggering medial -i-, without Rückumlaut.

This raises the question whether OE weak preterites lose their -i- by final syncope before fusion, as in Frisian, or by medial syncope after fusion, as in Scandinavian. A clear datum that points to early fusion is Old English (Mercian) 3.Sg.Opt. scylde vs. 3.Sg.Ind. sculde ‘should’, which shows that optative (subjunctive) preterites of preterite-present verbs were umlauted. Seemingly at odds with the preterite-presents are the weak preterites of those roots that either never had a linking -i- in the past, or lost it before umlaut, and therefore (unlike ordinary weak verbs) did have Rückumlaut alternations in their paradigms (Sievers-Brunner 1951: 353, Hogg 1992: 136). These have no umlaut in their preterite optatives. Preterites like söhte ‘sought’, worhte ‘wrought’, (ge)brōhte ‘brought’, (ge)pōhte ‘thought’, (ge)pūhte ‘seemed’, (ge)sealde ‘sold, gave’, cwealde ‘killed’, sēde ‘said’ function equally as indicatives and as optatives. However, this can be the result of leveling in accord with a regular pattern of Old English according to which the preterite optative stem is identical with the weak (plural) preterite indicative stem. On the contrary assumption that fusion was late and that the lack of umlaut in these preterite optatives is original, it is difficult to explain how the preterite-present optatives got umlauted.
On this analysis, umlaut is essentially identical in North and West Germanic. It is not sensitive to foot structure or syllable weight, and there are no discontinuous umlaut “stages” in Scandinavian. The evidence suggests that umlaut originated in the Baltic region and spread westward, perhaps by Gotlanders who reportedly were the principal traders plying the east-west routes between Novgorod and England (Carlsson 1921: 51). If the archaeologists are right that England was settled from Schleswig-Holstein and the Elbe-Weser region of North Germany (Nielsen 2000: 349), then English would have been the final link in a chain of dialects where umlaut applied early, extending from Gotland through parts of Sweden, Denmark, and coastal Northern Germany to the new settlements in England. This group coincides with the umlauted place names in *-ståði: English -stead, OE -stede, Danish -sted, North German West of the Elbe south to Thüringen -stedt, Gotland -städe, demarcated by a clear isogloss from unumlauted -stad, -stadt in Northern and Western Sweden, Norway, Iceland, the Netherlands, and the rest of Germany.
Binary and ternary feet in early English phonology and metrics

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Ideally, linguistic constituents posited as abstract analytical tools are mirrored by the constituents of verse meter. Identifying the prosodic domain: the syllable, the foot, the prosodic word, the prosodic phrase, relevant to the account of independently posited phonological changes, is a major goal of phonological reconstruction. Similarly, the reconstruction of metrical patterns in verse requires analytical decisions on the unit or units whose recurrence determines the structure of verse, makes it intuitive, transparent, and mnemonic. The typology of prosodic and metrical domains and their interaction in Old and Middle English is not set in stone, nor is it clear whether the entire inventory of prosodic domains is needed in the account of early verse. More specifically, the presentation addresses multiple questions related to the necessity and function of the prosodic and metrical foot:

➢ Is final lengthening in English exclusively, or necessarily, a foot-based phenomenon in earlier English as argued by Ciszewski (2013)?
➢ Do bracketing mismatches—the non-overlap between prosodic and metrical foot boundaries—(in)validate the usefulness of the foot for OE alliterative meter?
➢ What are the advantages and disadvantages of theories of OE meter which dispense with the metrical foot (Cable 1991, Hutcheson 1995 etc.)?
➢ Is Russom (2017: 134) right in claiming that “In the fourteenth century, verses employed metrical positions but no feet”?
➢ If metrical foot-count—as in the ME septenary in the Ormulum and Poema Morale—can be transferred from one language to another, and replicated in mixed-language verse compositions, what does that tell us about language-specific foot structure?
➢ Is the idea of the ternary foot (Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2015) applicable to diachronic changes and/or verse structure in Old and Middle English?

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References
Russom, Geoffrey (2017). The evolution of verse structure in Old and Middle English poetry. From the Earliest Alliterative Poems to Iambic Pentameter. CUP.
Recursive moraic feet and English stress

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Keywords: English stress, foot recursion, iambic pentameter, clipping, stop aspiration

I will review the role of recursive moraic feet in the history of English and conclude that this type of prosodic structure is the unmarked maximal foot in the language. Furthermore, I will argue that, while Old English only allowed for left-branching recursive moraic trochees [((H)L)], modern varieties make use of right-branching recursive feet as well [((L(H))]. My claim will be primarily based on traditional poetic meter, prosodic morphology and consonantal distribution.

First, I will propose that the so-called ‘iambic pentameter’, the most widely adopted metrical line in English poetry, in use since at least the 14th century, consists in a series of right-branching recursive feet that arise from the rhythmic requirement to avoid stress clashes (see the proposed parsing for a line taken from Shakespeare’s Sonnet 18 in the title of the paper).

Second, I will claim that templatic processes exploit this type of unmarked (maximal) foot, as predicted by the Prosodic Morphology hypothesis (McCarthy and Prince 1998). Evidence will be taken from word-formation processes such as grammatical conversion (e.g. [(ˈper)<mit>] N vs. [(per(ˈmit))] v, and disyllabic clipping (e.g. [(le(ˈgi)t)]) < legítimáte, [(ce(ˈle)b)]) < celébrity), as well as from the closely related but less discussed phenomenon known as Totes speech: [(e(ˈmosh))] < emótional, [(re(ˈlai)ʃ)]) < relátionship, [(a(ˌbbre))(vi(ˈaish))] < abbrèviátion (see e.g. Spradlin 2016).

Third, following works such as Jensen (2000) and Davis and Cho (2003), I will show how recursive feet can help us understand the process of allophonic stop aspiration in English. These authors argue that aspirated stops and [h] only appear at a locus of fortition such as the beginning of a foot (e.g. a[tʰ]ömíć, pro[h]íbit). Their analyses based on recursive feet solve the problem of why aspiration is possible at the beginning of a stressless syllable immediately preceded by another stressless syllable and followed by a stressed one (e.g. Mèdi[tʰə]rránean, Návra[tʰə]lóve). The explanation is that the stressless syllable with an aspirated onset joins to the following minimal foot and thus becomes foot initial. Following this reasoning, I will argue that, if the stressless syllable in question is followed by a heavy syllable, a right-headed recursive moraic foot arises: (.Me.di)(te(ˈrra))<nean>, (.Na.vra)(ti(ˈlo))<va>.

Finally, I will propose that the crucial difference between Modern English and Early Germanic/Old English is that the former allows for the creation of recursive feet that are right-branching whereas the latter did not. For instance, an underlying sequence /LHL/ is parsed as [((ˈLH)L)] in Old English (see Dresher and Lahiri 1991: 270) but as [((L(ˈH))<L>] in Modern English (e.g. agénda, diplóma). My hypothesis is that Middle English maintained the left-edge foot alignment characteristic of Old English while adopting an innovative right-branching recursive foot structure loaned from Norman French. This gave rise, in the end, to the current prosodic system of the language.

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References
Spradlin, Lauren. 2016. OMG the word-final alveopalatals are cray-cray prev(alent): the morphophonology of Totes constructions in English. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 22, Iss. 1, Article 30.
**Beowulf & Foot Structure of Old English: Manuscript Evidence for Metrical Stress**

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**Keywords:** Old English, Foot Structure, Beowulf, Manuscript, Secondary stress

The Old English (OE) foot is seen as binary and left-headed, but specific phonological processes in the development of English have alternatively been accounted for in terms of the **MORAIC TROCHEE** (cf. Bermúdez-Otero & Hogg 2003), the **SYLLABIC TROCHEE** (cf. Minkova 2006), as well as the **GERMANIC FOOT** (cf. Dresher & Lahiri 1991). All agree when it comes to primary stress in OE, but the nature of secondary stress remains a subject of debate, pivoting on the question whether the underlying principles are prosodic or metrical in nature. This paper provides new insights for the debate on the foot structure of OE not only from evidence from the *Beowulf*-editions, but also from the manuscript itself (electronic facsimile, Kiernan 2015), demonstrating that secondary stress is in fact marked in the *Beowulf* manuscript.

The *Beowulf* manuscript reflects a halfway stage between the early introduction of space to increase legibility and a consistent system of word-division (cf. Parkes 2016). Its use of spacing to reflect word boundaries is considered inconsistent and erratic similar, but such irregularities can be shown to be systematic, be it governed by phonological considerations rather than any need to mark morpheme boundaries. Consider, for instance, the proper noun *beowulf* (l.528a & 630a) versus *beowulfes* (ll. 871a), which appears separated in the manuscript.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Klaeber ll. 528a/630a</th>
<th>“Bēowulf maþelode”</th>
<th>Klaeber l. 871a</th>
<th>“sið Bēowulfes”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MS transcript</strong></td>
<td>beowulf maþelode</td>
<td><strong>MS transcript</strong></td>
<td>sið beowulfes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse pattern</td>
<td>S x</td>
<td>S x x</td>
<td>Verse pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Russom 1998)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Klaeber 1913)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A closer look at other N-N compounds reveals that the spacing correlates with the presence or absence of secondary stress: -wulfes carries secondary stress and is preceded by a space, whereas -wulf, which is unstressed, is not. The same system explains non-separated sequences of unstressed monosyllabic (function) words, in examples such as *huða æþelingas* (l.3a) and *seþe his wordes geweald* (l. 79a), where clustering marks the absence of metrical stress.

The observed relation between stressed syllables and spacing manifests itself throughout the text and offers systematic indications of the appearances of secondary stress. However, the preceding prose text in the *Nowell Codex*, written in the same hand as the first half of *Beowulf*, demonstrates a divergent use of spaces. This points to the metrical nature of the text as the dominant factor governing the systematic use of spaces.

**References**


