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Late Modern English

Novel encounters

Edited by

Merja Kytö

Erik Smitterberg

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Preface

Most contributions to the present volume are based on papers presented at the Sixth International Conference on Late Modern English, which was arranged at Uppsala University in August 2017. As the organizers of the sixth conference in the series, we are indebted to our predecessors who helped to further establish Late Modern English studies as a research discipline by organizing the preceding five conferences in Edinburgh, Vigo, Leiden, Sheffield, and Bergamo. As we write this, abstracts for the seventh conference in the series, in Ragusa Ibla in 2020, are being considered, testifying to the continued interest in the English of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

We are grateful to all the scholars who attended the Uppsala conference, presented their research, provided insightful feedback while maintaining a friendly atmosphere, and helped to make the conference a success. We received very generous financial support from several organizations, and it is our pleasure to acknowledge them here: The Royal Society of Arts and Sciences of Uppsala, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, The Royal Society of Humanities at Uppsala, and the Department of English at Uppsala University. We would also like to thank our two assistants from the ranks of Uppsala's MA programme in English Linguistics, Linda Eriksson and Amanda Widmalm, who provided important assistance. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Ewa Jonsson, the conference secretary, for her invaluable help.

As this edited volume was taking shape after the conference, we have been able to draw on the sound advice of a large number of experts who acted as anonymous referees for submissions. We are very grateful both for their advice and for our contributors' willingness to take their feedback into account.

Uppsala, October 2019
The Editors

Introduction

Late Modern English studies into the twenty-first century

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1. Late Modern English: A bird's-eye view

Scholars who wish to investigate the English of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries find themselves in a very different position today compared with the situation at the turn of the millennium. What used to be a comparatively neglected period in the history of the language has become a vibrant field of research. In 2000, there were already signs of change: the *Cambridge History of the English Language* series had devoted a separate volume to developments in English after 1776 (Romaine 1998a); there were scholarly introductions to nineteenth-century English (Bailey 1996; Görlach 1999); and several corpus projects, including ARCHER (A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers), covered the Late Modern English (LModE, 1700–1900) period. But in 1999, Beal (1999: 13) could still accurately echo Jones's (1989: 279) characterization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as "the Cinderellas of English historical linguistic study".

As we write this Introduction twenty years later, the landscape of LModE studies looks very different indeed. Most notably, the volume of original research on LModE has exhibited dramatic growth since 1999. Furthermore, accessible one-volume textbooks on the period (Beal 2004; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009) have been published. The latter development demonstrates that LModE is now considered as a separate phase in the history of English, on a par with the long-established Old English (OE), Middle English (ME), and Early Modern English (EModE) periods. The same recognition of the period is also given in larger works such as handbooks (e.g. Bergs & Brinton 2012). Several reasons underlie this remarkable development; four of those reasons, all of which are relevant to the present volume, are singled out for discussion here.

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First, as Beal (2004: xi–xii) notes, the passage of time itself is of importance. This is not only since a period literally becomes increasingly historical as more time separates it from the present, but also because a wider time frame may be necessary to provide sufficient context to past developments. For instance, the accuracy of Brinton & Inoue's (this volume) claim that LModE is a pivotal period in the ongoing grammaticalization of *far from* becomes clearer when LModE tokens can be compared with present-day ones that display different characteristics. More generally, several changes that take place in LModE, such as increases in the frequency of the progressive and of phrasal verbs (e.g. Smitterberg 2008), are easier to interpret in the context of trends in Present-day English (PresE) such as colloquialization, which began to receive widespread scholarly attention only in the 1990s (see, for instance, Siemund 1995; Mair 1997; Hundt & Mair 1999).

Secondly, and partly as a result of the wider context outlined above, the "myth of stasis" that to some extent used to characterize attitudes to LModE has given way to a more nuanced picture of the period. Twentieth-century approaches to LModE sometimes highlighted differences between language change occurring between 1700 and 1900 and changes taking place in previous centuries. Strang (1970: 78–79) argues that phonological change in LModE was characterized by "the interplay of different varieties" rather than "the evolution of the system"; Romaine (1998b: 7) draws attention to "[t]he structural stability of the late Modern English period"; and Denison (1998: 93) suggests that, as "relatively few categorical losses or innovations" occurred after 1776, "syntactic change has more often been statistical in nature" so that "[t]he overall effect can seem more a matter of stylistic than of syntactic change". However, Jones (1989: 281) and Beal (2004: 125–126) claim that systemic changes do take place in LModE phonology, and grammatical innovations such as the progressive passive (see, for instance, Pratt & Denison 2000; Kranich 2010) and the GET-passive (see, for instance, Schwarz 2019) – and losses like BE as a perfect auxiliary (see, for instance, Rydén & Brorström 1987; Kytö 1997; Calvo Cortés this volume) – have been attested. Nevertheless, LModE as a whole does appear comparatively stable from the perspective of the entire linguistic system.

One obvious reason for this impression of stability is standardization. A great deal of research on LModE has been based on linguistic witnesses that have been affected by prescriptive efforts in various ways: contemporary pronunciation dictionaries that primarily encode variants approved among the upper echelons of society, printed texts that have undergone editing, and so on. Indeed, Beal (this volume) is devoted to precursors of Received Pronunciation. The examination of prescribed and standard usage is naturally a legitimate endeavour in itself; moreover, scholars – Beal included – have long been aware of this bias in favour of privileged usage and attempted to compensate for it by also considering other sources, which provide a more diversified picture of LModE. Nevertheless, the impact of the codification of English – and of the promulgation of codified norms – on the basis for our analyses must be recognized. While it may well be true that prescriptivism rarely has a lasting influence on everyday usage (see, for instance, Bailey 1996: 260; Anderwald 2016: 245; Nevalainen et al. 2018), standard varieties do have a disproportional effect on the language most often used for linguistic analyses. LModE scholars are beginning to redress this balance by paying more attention to non-standard usage; for instance, Quieroz de Barros (this volume) considers the inclusion of slang terms in the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Meanwhile, Schneider's contribution (this volume) indirectly addresses a consequence of the standardization of English orthography, viz. the reduction of spelling variation, from a methodological perspective: can spelling normalization help to improve comparisons between text samples exhibiting varying degrees of orthographic homogeneity?

Another likely reason why LModE may appear stable on the level of the language as a whole is the dramatic increase in speaker contact that occurred between 1700 and 1900. Owing to, among other things, industrialization, speakers who had previously lived in various provincial locations came to be neighbours in rapidly growing urban centres. Voluntary and involuntary migration, mainly from the British Isles to North America and Oceania, put millions of speakers in contact with varieties of English that were new to them. Hickey (this volume) considers, among other things, features of some of the new regional varieties that arose owing to these events. Hickey uses a large number of attested developments in English to discuss the validity of the division between internal and external factors in linguistic stability and change.

What developments such as standardization and increased speaker contact have in common is that accommodation would have triggered widespread convergence between speakers who wished to appeal to one another. Those speakers were also frequently connected by relatively weak network links, which have been shown to facilitate the spread of language change (e.g. Milroy & Milroy 1985). Upwardly mobile speakers had ample reason to adopt standard and prescribed usage; mutual accommodation among speakers of different but related provincial non-standard varieties resulted in new urban varieties through processes that involved dialect levelling; and so on. However, these developments do not necessarily affect the inventory of features in LModE as a whole, as the change largely consists in features that already exist in one or several varieties being taken up by new speakers and speech communities. LModE thus features a large amount of complex variation in usage owing to interaction between speakers and their idiolects (see Smitterberg forthcoming for further discussion). If both this kind of intricate variation and the systemic changes to LModE that have been noted (see above) are taken into account, the language of the period cannot be said to feature stasis.

Thirdly, the LModE period features a greater wealth of primary material than any preceding stage in the history of English, owing to a large number of factors, e.g. increases in the number of literate speakers, the recency of the period, and the gradual transition to an increasingly written culture. This wealth enables scholars to explore the complex patterns of variation mentioned above from a variety of perspectives, several of which are represented in this volume.

Most notably, electronic collections of written LModE – especially corpora, but also sources such as digitized newspaper archives – have enabled the scholarly community to examine the language of the period in unprecedented detail. A number of scholars contributing to the present volume make use of LModE corpus material, often in innovative ways; for instance, Anderwald (this volume) uses a combination of corpora and other sources, among them a large collection of grammars, to investigate the past participle *gotten*. Another option is to combine results from several corpora of LModE; such a methodology is particularly rewarding when charting the development of a specific structure that may be of considerable linguistic interest despite its relative infrequency, especially when new uses are being investigated. Hirota, Ishizaki, and Brinton and Inoue (this volume) draw on a large number of corpora to be able to reach conclusive results regarding the acquisition of *do* negation by *have (to)*, locative alternation with *load* and *spray*, and the grammaticalization of *far from*, respectively.

However, as several contributors acknowledge, one factor that may need to be taken into account when results for different corpora – or from a single multi-genre corpus – are compared is genre: as the genre provenance of a text often affects its linguistic make-up, care must be exercised when texts from different genres are compared. Such genre effects have of course been present throughout the recorded history of English, but as Biber & Finegan (1997) demonstrate, LModE is characterized by increased genre diversity in this regard, which makes this parameter especially important as regards the generalizability of results. A number of contributors have addressed this issue by focussing on a single genre. Bacskai-Atkari (this volume) draws on a single-genre corpus with text from the King James Bible and a modern Bible translation, thus looking at differences between EModE and the present day in order to shed light on developments during the LModE period. Calvo Cortés (this volume) and Grund (this volume) both focus on fiction, a genre that incorporates two important subgenres, viz. narrative and dialogue, which may also differ linguistically. Calvo Cortés addresses this issue by presenting separate results for *have* and *be* as perfect auxiliaries in the two subgenres; for Grund, it is the interface of dialogue and narrative itself that is of interest, as he examines how speech is described in LModE fiction. Włodarczyk (this volume) draws on even more specialized single-genre material (institutional correspondence from the Cape Colony), which makes her results internally comparable. However, in some cases genre diversity is also a strength. For Schneider (this volume), who considers spelling normalization, drawing on the entire ARCHER corpus is advantageous, as orthographic heterogeneity can be expected to vary with genre; a normalization tool should be maximally flexible in this regard.

Similar methodological choices need to be made by contributors who do not work with corpora in the strict sense of the word. Thus Nevala & Nurmi (this volume) use what might be termed a super-genre database – *British Library Newspapers* – in their analysis of the portrayal of Oscar Wilde surrounding his trials in 1895; they divide the news items studied into four sub-genre-like categories to show how labelling took place predominantly in different categories over time. Landmann (this volume) complements historical dictionary research with consideration of the *LexisNexis* database, which comprises recent newspaper material. Dictionaries – as well as usage guides – also form the basis for Busse's (this volume) study of the treatment of the term *Americanism(s)* in Britain and North America. Quieroz de Barros (this volume) starts out from slang terms listed in a well-known article by George Augustus Sala and then considers two types of dictionary evidence to contextualize Sala's text both backwards and forwards in time: first, previous slang glossaries and dictionaries which Sala may have drawn on; second, the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which may have been influenced by Sala's list and by his plea for the inclusion of such terms in dictionaries. Beal (this volume) combines qualitative dictionary evidence with electronic tools in her investigation of the precursors of Received Pronunciation: she draws on the *Eighteenth-century English Phonology* database, in which information on pronunciation from eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries has been turned into IPA values, greatly facilitating research on LModE phonology.

Finally, and most importantly, however, LModE has become a flourishing field of research because pioneering scholars have increasingly recognized its potential for adding to our knowledge not only about the history of English in particular, but also about linguistic stability, variation, and change in general. No introduction can do justice to the breadth of the field today. To take just one example, books on LModE written or edited by experts in the field have provided, for instance, century overviews (e.g. Kytö et al. 2006; Hickey 2010) as well as studies on grammar-writing (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008), on the link between social roles and language practice (e.g. Pahta et al. 2010), on specific genres (e.g. Dossena & Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008 on correspondence) or fields of linguistics (e.g. Hundt 2014), and on the language of individual authors (e.g. Mahlberg 2013). But perhaps the clearest testament to this scholarly recognition is the twenty-first-century series of conferences devoted to the period, as well as the volumes of research that have resulted from these meetings. Conferences have thus far been arranged in Edinburgh (2001; see Dossena & Jones 2003 as well as Kytö et al.

2006), Vigo (2004; see Pérez-Guerra et al. 2007), Leiden (2007; see Tieken-Boon van Ostade & van der Wurff 2009), Sheffield (2010; see Beal et al. 2012), Bergamo (2011; see Dossena 2015), and Uppsala (2017); a seventh conference will take place in Ragusa Ibla in 2020.

The present volume continues this recent but well-established tradition. Most of the studies in the book are expanded and revised versions of papers presented in Uppsala in 2017. Like several conferences in the series, the Uppsala conference had a theme but also accepted papers that fell outside its scope; in Uppsala, the theme was "Internal and External Factors in Linguistic Stability and Language Change". Many of the studies included in the present volume thus also engage with this general topic, as demonstrated in the next section.

2. The studies in the present volume

To organize the studies into areas of interest, we opted for a division of the volume into four parts according to main linguistic area. In this section, we will first introduce each study within its area and relate it to the main theme of the conference. We will then highlight theoretical and methodological connections between the contributions that cut across these divisions.

The first part of the book is devoted to **phonology**. This field of research has sometimes been less well represented than others at conferences on LModE, so the organizers made a special effort to invite papers addressing the phonology of LModE. The first paper, by **Joan Beal**, discusses the pre-history of Received Pronunciation. Beal uses evidence from a large number of contemporary sources to demonstrate that a combination of the loss of Court speech as a model with the accession of George I, the need felt for a common standard in the UK after the Act of Union, and the rise of a middle class with upwardly mobile members provided the necessary conditions for a standardization of pronunciation in Britain in the period 1750–1800. As Beal shows, both language-external arguments (e.g. the link to a prestigious sociolect) and language-internal arguments (e.g. analogy and ease of articulation) were used in discussions of what variants should be admitted into the standard. Contemporary data on the members of Wells's (1982) FACE and CHOICE sets are discussed in detail as case studies, based on information from the *Eighteenth-century English Phonology* database. While Beal concludes that the eighteenth-century authors discussed ultimately failed in their attempt to establish a standard, owing mainly "to the lack of any institutional machinery to implement the standard from above" (pp. 37–38, present volume), their work was part of the processes of selection and codification that ultimately resulted in the emergence of Received Pronunciation.

Raymond Hickey's contribution specifically addresses the theme of the conference: he considers the role played by internal and external factors in the development of different varieties of English as well as the validity of making this distinction. A difference is also noted with regard to whether these factors are internal or external to the individual speaker or to the community; Hickey's paper is concerned with what triggers change in speakers. As morphosyntactic features are of lesser significance as triggers of change owing to their less frequent and predictable occurrence in speech, his discussion focusses on phonology. Internally and externally motivated changes are argued to be characteristic mainly of childhood and adulthood, respectively. Changes that can be argued to have a speaker-internal motivation include TH-fronting, where the resulting labio-dental fricative has greater perceptual salience, and lenition of /t/, where minimization of effort may underlie changes. Grammaticalization and metaphorical extension are also claimed to be largely speaker-internal changes, as are regularizations. Changes that essentially disrupt systems, in contrast, are more likely to have external motivation; examples include the FOOT – STRUT split. Mergers such as *which* – *witch* are considered a special case whose motivation is difficult to determine; if no internal factor can be posited, external motivation must be assumed. Prescriptivism is considered an external factor that typically retards (e.g. the loss of *whom*) or reverses (e.g. H-dropping) change. Among Hickey's conclusions is that the internal – external distinction is worth making because it is relevant to what triggers change and because internal considerations help to determine constraints of change and systematize variation.

Part II in the book turns to **morphosyntax**, an area of subtle and quantitative rather than categorical change in LModE, as mentioned above. In her contribution, **Lieselotte Anderwald** turns to the form *gotten* in American English and the way in which it has been used to establish the conservative character of American English. To trace the background to the rise of this perception, Anderwald looked for empirical evidence from historical language corpora, LModE prescriptive grammars and newspaper articles, and contemporaneous discussion of Americanisms. Her findings show that while the form *gotten*, which had been replaced by *got* in American English as well as in British English, was revived in American English in the 1850s, it took some 30 years before the form started to gain recognition as an "American" form in the 1880s. Yet the increase in the use of the form in American English has a complex background, the rise of the awareness of the status of *gotten* being accompanied by the massive influx of Scots-Irish immigrants to the country in the mid-1800s, many of whom were users of *gotten*. The increase in the use of *gotten* did not go unnoticed in metalinguistic discourse, and a link was established between the form itself and its indexing American English usage. It was only in the first half of the twentieth century that the retention of *gotten* came to be considered indicative of the conservatism and legitimacy of American English, a perception partly promoted by national and political concerns.

In addition to verb syntax, the system of relativizers was undergoing change from the EModE to the LModE period. In her study of relative complementizers and pronouns, **Julia Bacskai-Atkari** compares the usage in the King James Bible (1611/1769) with the usage in its modernized version, the New King James version (1989). Among the areas of interest are the use of *which* for human subjects, which was still an option in EModE, the wider use made of *that*-relatives, and the use of *as* to introduce relative clauses as a complementizer. Several external and language-internal factors have played a role in the developments, and the author found that comparing the instances of relativizers recorded in the EModE version of the Bible and their counterparts in the modernized version allowed her to draw conclusions on the role played by such factors. For instance, patterns of usage from local dialects were prominent in the King James Bible while prescriptive tendencies and normalization were important factors accounting for change in subsequent times. The influence of internal factors was shown to have been important in the case of *as* in relative clauses. Its use was limited to the constructions with *such as*, or "equative relatives", the complementizer *as* remaining ungrammaticalized and unavailable for contexts beyond this particular construction.

In the third paper in this section of the book, **Tomoharu Hirota** investigates the spread of *do*-support accompanying the negative forms of the semi-modal *have to*. Previous studies have pointed to the likelihood that it was in American English that *do* negation with *have to* was first established, leaving British English lagging behind. Surprisingly enough, no large-scale corpus studies on the development had been carried out. In his study, Hirota used the 400-million-word Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) comprising texts representative of fiction, popular magazines, newspapers and non-fiction books from 1810 to 2009. The data for British English was drawn from the 34-million-word Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0 (CLMET), and the four Brown Family corpora. In addition, material was retrieved from the 1.6-billion-word Hansard Corpus 1803–2005 drawing on speeches delivered in the British Parliament. For American English, the results pointed to a steady rise in the use of *have to* under negation, with the trend gaining momentum in the mid-nineteenth century, first in fiction in the 1860s, and to some extent in the other genres later on. While the results for British English were concurring as regards the rise of negated *have to* over time, they also confirmed that the change first took place in American English. Discussion of the motivations for the shift from *do*-less negation to *do* negation can be found in previous literature. In the light of his large-scale corpus study, Hirota refutes explanations such as analogical regularization and increase in the bondedness between *have* and *to*. Instead, he advocates the constructionist approach and postulates two micro-constructions, *have* as the main verb and *have to* as the semi-modal, belonging to a subschema *have (to), do* negation seizing it in its entirety and diffusing in the system. According to Hirota, this approach is powerful enough to explain the central conundrums in the developments.

A further verb construction treatment is found in **Yasuaki Ishizaki**'s study of locative alternation in English. The verbs in question are *load* and *spray*, which have been considered typical locative alternation verbs in previous literature. The author aims at describing the development of the constructions from the perspective of diachronic construction grammar. Two syntactic frames were selected for discussion, i.e., the location-as-object variant (e.g., *load the wagon with hay*) and the locatum-as-object variant (e.g., *load hay onto the wagon*). Both *load* and *spray* go back to nouns, which became used as adjectival past participles, a *with*-phrase encoding locatum. The verbal location-as-object construction became used first, followed by the locatum-as-object variant, which remained less frequent. According to Ishizaki, the locatum-as-object variants developed as late as in PresE, either independently of the location-as-object variants, or via metonymical links. The study was based on a wide range of corpus data drawn from, e.g., A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER), British Library's Historical Texts (BLHT), and the Old Bailey Proceedings.

The studies in Part III of the book illustrate developments in LModE **orthography, vocabulary and semantics. Rita Queiroz de Barros** throws light on the status and treatment of slang in LModE dictionaries by assessing the influence that George Augustus Sala had on the compilation of the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED1*). Sala, a colourful and controversial character in Victorian England, published an article entitled "Slang" in an issue of Dickens's weekly journal *Household Words* (1853), where he discussed hundreds of common slang terms, advocating their inclusion in the *OED1*. The study aimed at verifying to what extent Sala had been relying on previous lexicographical sources rather than on his observing and reporting on his contemporaries' speech habits, and also at finding out what influence, if any, Sala's article had on the *OED1*. Sala's definition for "slang" was broad, embracing jargon by criminals, mariners and other such groups as well as words imported from America and Australia, in addition to Latin and French loans used in learned and official texts. In Sala's view, such words were attested at all levels of language use and were thus entitled to be recorded in the *OED1*. The results of the study indicated that Sala had indeed been a careful observer of language use around him and that he had good reasons for requiring the inclusion of slang terms in the *OED1*. However, Sala's article had apparently had only limited impact on the compilers of the dictionary, probably because of the literary nature of the source texts used for the dictionary and/or because of the scandalous reputation Sala had among his contemporaries.

A further paper in Part III drawing on LModE dictionaries and also usage guides is **Ulrich Busse**'s survey of the treatment of the terms *Americanism(s)* in nineteenth- and twentieth-century British and American reference works. The author aimed at depicting contemporaneous attitudes towards the two varieties by investigating whether the paraphrase or the labelling assigned to the terms conveyed a positive, a neutral, or a negative stance. The research questions were approached from the socio-lexicographical and meta-pragmatic perspectives. According to the former framework, dictionaries mirror societal phenomena and developments, and according to the latter, keywords such as *Americanism(s)* are indicative of cultural and communicative models among the speakers of the varieties in question, conveying linguistic relations and sentiments. A close inspection of a selection of LModE dictionaries of Americanisms showed that most of them were produced by Americans and that they developed from selective lists of Americanisms into historical dictionaries proper aimed at highlighting differences between the two varieties. Later works reflect an increased self-confidence in the value of the American variety. Yet in the American usage guides Americanisms were both criticized and defended, while in the British usage guides they were clearly frowned upon as unwanted contributions to British English. The twentieth century brought changes in the forms in which the two varieties were in contact with each other. In addition to written records, the World Wars increased direct contacts between the speakers of American and British English, British English being regarded as the norm up until the end of World War II.

Developments in LModE auxiliary choice are addressed in **Nuria Calvo Cortés**' contribution, where she tackles the *be/have* auxiliary variation with motion verbs. The study approaches the topic from a fresh angle, using data from a 1,095,640-word collection of novels by well-known women authors from the twenty-year period 1778–1798, and by investigating the role played by components of motion situations, i.e., MOTION, FIGURE, GROUND and PATH, in the choice of the auxiliary. Among the research questions addressed were whether FIGURE was human or non-human and GROUND physical or metaphorical, and to what extent the FIGURE OR GROUND and their presence or absence in the construction affected the choice of the auxiliary. The twelve verbs included in the analysis had been shown in previous literature to be among the most frequent verbs used with *be: arrived, become, come, departed, entered, fallen, gone, got, grown, passed, returned* and *run*. The analyses also paid attention to possible differences between the narration and direct speech sections in the novels. The four authors included in the study were Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Inchbald, Ann Radcliffe and Mary Wollstonecraft. The results indicated that Wollstonecraft deviated from the other three writers in her use of *be/have* auxiliaries with motion verbs; however, this result may have been partly due to the relatively low number of instances recorded for her sample.

Setting aside some aspects of individual variation across the authors, the twelve verbs analysed displayed similar patterns of use vis-à-vis the semantics of the components involved in each motion event. There was some variation in the ways the authors used the auxiliaries across the narration and dialogue sections.

As pointed out above, spelling has largely been considered an area of stabilization in the LModE period. However, spelling variants still occur in the period and are more frequent in private writing than in published texts (Osselton 1984). In his contribution, **Gerold Schneider** explores the efficiency of Natural Language Processing (NLP) tools for normalizing spelling variation in historical texts for corpuslinguistic exploitation. In the present study, two such tools are tested targeting the 3.2-million-word ARCHER corpus (version 3.2), which comprises British and American English texts from 1600 to 1999. After establishing that the number of non-standard spellings dropped significantly around the 1850s in the material, the author included only the pre-1850 texts in the comparison. One of the two programs tested was VARD (Variant Detector) and the other an SMT-based (Statistical Machine Translation) tool. While VARD2 (version 2 of the original VARD) combines lexicon-lookup with rules and non-probabilistic though trainable weights, SMT is a probabilistic, language-independent approach. The differences in the approaches meant that the two spelling normalization methods produced different mistakes. They also performed differently: VARD2 reached the highest accuracy, up to 94% precision at 74% recall, but the SMT system improved each tested period. The study showed that, in fact, combining the two tools improved the performance beyond what the individual systems were able to achieve. It was also possible to improve the performance by taking into account the context, and the collocations, in particular. The article concluded with a case study where the (over)use of part-of-speech tags in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts was compared with the twentieth-century texts in ARCHER. This investigation showed that normalization is a highly beneficial procedure in research on historical corpora.

In the final paper of Part III, **Julia Landmann** turns to developments in LModE vocabulary. French has been a donor language which has influenced English lexis heavily across the centuries. The fresh angle taken in the present paper is to investigate the influence of French-derived culinary terms on English in the eighteenth century. The author is interested in finding out how the meanings of the borrowings from French developed after being introduced in English. These developments may have had their origins in French as a result of the continuing influence of French on English, or they may have been the result of internal sense developments in English. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED) Online* was used as a source for locating relevant terms, and additional evidence was sought from French general-purpose dictionaries, and online newspapers and magazines representative of the previous two or three decades. The search in the *OED Online* yielded 110 French-derived culinary terms adopted into English in the eighteenth century; these terms related to cooking styles, food items and products, beverages, dishes, desserts and items of confectionery. Six varieties of semantic change comprising broadening, narrowing, metonymy, metaphor, amelioration and pejoration of senses were considered. It was shown that after their introduction into English, some of the French-derived culinary terms had developed under the influence of French while others clearly represented internal semantic shifts in English. Interestingly, the study revealed that there were sense changes that have not yet made their way to the *OED Online* or *OED2* (unrevised edition); among these were changes in the meanings that had been attested in the comparative corpus material.

In Part IV on **pragmatics and discourse, Laurel J. Brinton** and **Tohru Inoue** focus on the development of the construction *far from*. They argue that this development matches the language-internal process of grammaticalization. Their results indicate that LModE is a key period in this development; for instance, *far from* begins to occur in attributive position (e.g. *a far from disagreeable effect*), which is an indication of its fully grammaticalized downtoner status, to modify a lexicalized prepositional phrase (e.g. *far from at peace*), and to function as an emphasizer with a verb (e.g. *they far from agreed*) during this time. The authors provide a careful discussion of both synchronic and diachronic analyses of *far from*, which includes the argument that degree-modifier uses (e.g. *far from barbarous*) precede degree-adjunct uses (e.g. *We far from nailed it*); this finding is at odds with development paths suggested for other constructions in the scholarly literature, but seems logical in that the subjectivity of the construction increases as it undergoes grammaticalization. Brinton and Inoue propose a five-stage development of *far from*, where stages IV and V (attributive position and emphasizer with verb; see above) are first attested in LModE.

Peter J. Grund's contribution addresses an understudied aspect of speech representation, viz. speech descriptors, e.g. *quietly* in *"That's right," she said quietly*. The form, frequency, and pragmatic functions of speech descriptors in LModE fiction are examined. The framework of form-to-function mapping within diachronic pragmatics is used to shed light on what formal types of speech descriptor occur in conjunction with the verb SAY in the texts examined. Grund's contribution also addresses several methodological issues of importance, e.g. how to identify relevant tokens of speech descriptors and how to measure the frequency of such tokens: in relation to a given number of words or to the total number of tokens of speech to which a speech descriptor could have been added. While both measures indicate that speech descriptors rise dramatically in frequency between 1710 and 1920, Grund's analysis shows that, importantly, they do not always correlate for individual fiction texts (which evince striking variation in the frequency of descriptors). The form of speech descriptors in LModE fiction is shown to be quite restricted, with adverb and prepositional phrases accounting for 68% of the data; on the other hand, within these two structural categories, there is considerable variation. As regards their function, virtually all speech descriptors in the material contribute to the expression of stance by communicating an assessment of the manner in which something is spoken – and often, by extension, of the speaker.

Minna Nevala and **Arja Nurmi**'s contribution considers a super-genre that rose to unprecedented prominence in the nineteenth century, viz. newspaper language. They analyse news reporting on Oscar Wilde in connection with the three trials in which he participated in 1895. Their analysis of over 1,500 news items that mention Wilde between 3 April and 31 May 1895 focusses on labelling, i.e. the creation and maintenance of impressions using labels; the authors' analysis implies that Wilde's public image changed during this time, from famous writer to accused criminal. Nevala and Nurmi focus on nominal reference terms together with their immediate co-text. Their results show that the second trial was reported at less length than the others, possibly because most of the relevant details were considered public knowledge, and that the period between the second and third trials was characterized by very brief news items. As regards content, detailed reporting is most frequent during the actual trials, while editorials peak after the third trial, when the proceedings were arguably considered finished and ripe for evaluation; there is also an increase in gossip over time. The authors' analysis also highlights the complexity involved in charting the construction of the image of a public figure, as labelling practices exhibit a great deal of heterogeneity, with several news items displaying a complex combination of positive and negative attributes.

In the final contribution to the volume, **Matylda Włodarczyk** considers a highly specific text category, viz. correspondence from the British Colonial Office on the Cape Colony from 1827 to 1830. Włodarczyk analyses the range of tasks carried out in these letters, e.g. requesting and recommending, within the framework of speech-act theory and from the perspective of the exercise of institutional power, by contrasting letters upwards and downwards in the institutional hierarchy. She uses the concept of the macro-speech act, which starts out from the overall illocutionary point of a letter, e.g. a request if the letter focusses on a petition (such a letter of course typically contains several other speech acts on the micro level). A routine of power comprises an initiating macro-speech act and any responses to it, where the latter belong to a predictable range of possible responses, e.g. request + permission; especially for routines of power that are initiated downwards hierarchically, the response may be non-verbal, e.g. compliance with an order. Speech acts may also be either writer-performed or described (if, for instance, the target of the speech act is not the recipient of the letter). The analysis shows that letters downward in the hierarchy are far more homogeneous as regards macro-speech acts, as orders/requests and replies account for 86% of documents. A number of initiation – response dyads are examined in detail, and a qualitative analysis of selected letters adds further depth to Włodarczyk's analysis and enables her to identify parameters relevant to routines of power.

3. Concluding remarks

In this introduction, the contributions to the volume have been grouped according to the main linguistic field that they engage with. However, equally importantly, there are several traits shared by several contributions that cut across those section boundaries. First, a large number of contributors specifically address the issue of internal and external motivations for language change. Beal's and Hickey's contributions both discuss the interplay of internal and external factors from different perspectives in their discussions of LModE phonology. Bacskai-Atkari argues that the increased dominance of *who(m)* as a relative marker with animate antecedents is due to a combination of internal and external pressures. Hirota's and Ishizaki's studies of *have to* and of locative alternation, respectively, focus on internal factors; they both use diachronic evidence and constructionist approaches to postulate new constraints in addition to those suggested in previous research. Calvo Cortés aims at keeping one important extralinguistic factor (gender) constant, so that her results regarding the influence of internal motion semantics on the choice between perfect *be* and perfect *have* will be more reliable. Busse's contribution on the term *Americanism* centres on socio-cultural factors, while Landmann refers to both continued language contact with French and internal developments in English in her contribution on the semantic integration of French culinary terms into English. Grund considers external factors underlying the authorial variation in the use of speech descriptors for pragmatic purposes. Włodarczyk's investigation of speech acts in British Colonial Office correspondence correlates changes in speech-act profiles with shifting patterns of institutional governance.

Secondly, several contributions pay careful methodological attention to the relative richness of the LModE dataset compared with earlier periods in the history of English. LModE is characterized by a wealth of data from different types of speakers, texts, etc., and a number of authors have addressed this by keeping some parameters constant to avoid variation along those parameters biasing the results. For instance, a single-genre perspective is evident in the contributions by Bacskai-Atkari (Bible translations), Calvo Cortés (fiction), Grund (fiction), Nevala and Nurmi (newspaper English), and Włodarczyk (institutional correspondence). Queiroz de Barros combines data from one single dictionary – the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* – with a contemporary list of terms considered to be slang words.

Thirdly, a large number of contributions engage with theoretical and methodological issues of relevance to research outside LModE studies, which increases the linguistic relevance of their findings. Hickey's conclusions regarding the emergence of new varieties and how this process can be studied are important for research on English as well as other languages affected by migration, colonization, etc. Anderwald demonstrates how quantitative evidence from normative sources and corpus-based results can work together to strengthen the author's conclusions. Hirota and Ishizaki both anchor their empirical results in constructionist approaches to language; Busse links his dictionary data to socio-lexicography and meta-pragmatics. Schneider considers different strategies for spelling normalization of Modern English texts; his results are of great relevance to studies of texts from any period that features orthographical variation. Brinton and Inoue engage with processes of great linguistic significance such as grammaticalization and subjectification in their account of the development of *far from*. In his work on speech descriptors, Grund asks important questions about how to measure the frequency of linguistic features in a dataset.

In sum, the studies contained in this edited volume make a significant contribution to language-theoretical as well as empirical research done on the LModE period in an international context and, in the broader perspective, on the history of English and diachronic linguistics overall. As scholars continue to exploit the rich dataset available from this period to map developments empirically with methodological rigour, and as the results of such analyses enable us to ask new questions – and find new answers – about linguistic variation and change, the importance of LModE studies is likely to continue to grow. The present volume is thus a timely addition to a burgeoning field of study.

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PART I

Phonology

"A received pronunciation"

Eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries and the precursors of RP

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This chapter examines the codification of English pronunciation prior to the emergence and recognition of RP. I analyse early citations of "received pronunciation" and contrast these with later uses of "Received Pronunciation". Drawing on Haugen (1966) and Milroy & Milroy (1999), I identify the processes of standardisation and distinguish standardisation from levelling before outlining the history of standardisation in English. I then discuss why the need for a standard pronunciation arose in the eighteenth century and the criteria used to select and codify pronunciations. I conclude that authors such as Walker and Sheridan did not succeed in implementing a standard pronunciation, but their attempts at codification laid the ground for the emergence of RP in the nineteenth century.

1. "Received pronunciation" or "a received pronunciation"?

The first use of the term "Received Pronunciation" as a name referring to what was recognised as the prestigious pronunciation of an elite group of British English speakers has been attributed to A. J. Ellis. Setting out to describe the pronunciation of English, Ellis writes:

> In the present day we may…recognise a <u>received pronunciation</u> all over the country, not widely differing in any particular locality, and admitting a certain degree of variety. It may be especially considered as the educated pronunciation of the metropolis, of the court, the pulpit and the bar. […] But in as much as all these localities and professions are recruited from the provinces, there will be a varied thread of provincial utterance running through the whole.
>
> (Ellis 1869: 23, my emphasis)

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Romaine notes that "the term RP [...] owes its origin to A. J. Ellis" but goes on to suggest that it was Daniel Jones (1917) "who was largely responsible for establishing the use of the term in its present sense" (1998: 36). In fact, Jones used a different term, "Public School Pronunciation" in the first edition of his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1917) and changed this label to Received Pronunciation in the 1926 edition. His definition of the variety of English concerned, however, stayed unchanged:

> It is convenient for present purposes to choose as the standard of English pronunciation the form which appears to be most generally used by Southern English persons who have been educated at the great English public boarding-schools. (1917: viii)

Jones goes on to note that "a considerable number of those who do not come from the South of England, but who have been educated at these schools" also speak in this way and that "a majority of those members of London society who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing very greatly from it" (1917: viii). Jones states that his own pronunciation is of this type, and it is for this reason, rather than any desire to impose a standard, that he uses PSP/RP as the basis for the pronunciations set down in his dictionary.[1] It is certainly the case that "Received Pronunciation" or RP has since been the most widespread term for this prestigious variety, even by those who predict its demise, such as Macaulay (1997).

The use of the term "received pronunciation" by Ellis and Jones differs in two important ways. Firstly, Ellis writes of **a** received pronunciation not of "Received Pronunciation" as a proper noun referring to a named and unique entity. By the time Jones adopts this term in 1926, Received Pronunciation has been reified. Secondly, Ellis recognises that this "received pronunciation" is variable, and those members of the high-status professions mentioned who were born and raised in the provinces will have pronunciations which differ slightly. Jones, however, states that, whatever their place of birth, those who attended public schools speak in this way. Ellis in 1869 notices a certain degree of uniformity in the speech of the professional classes and describes this as "received" in the sense of "generally accepted" whereas Jones recognises "Received Pronunciation" as a distinct variety associated with a small number of elite boarding schools and considers it convenient to use this as a standard of pronunciation. The association of a prestigious and non-localisable variety of pronunciation with the public schools is also noted by Wyld, who defines what he calls "Received Standard English" as follows:

1. The extent to which Jones was prescriptive is a matter of debate. For contrasting views on this, see Crowley (2003) and Collins & Mees (2001).

> This form of speech differs from the various Regional Dialects in many ways, but most remarkably in this, that it is not confined to any locality, nor associated in any one's mind with the area; it is in its origin, as we shall see, the product of social conditions, and is essentially a *Class Dialect. Received Standard* is spoken, within certain social boundaries, with an extraordinary degree of uniformity, all over the country....If we were to say that Received English at the present day is *Public School English*, we should not be far wrong. (1920: 3–4, emphasis in original)

Though he does not use the precise term "Received Pronunciation", Wyld is clearly referring to the same variety as that named "Public School Pronunciation" and later "Received Pronunciation" by Jones. Wyld's recognition of this as "the product of social conditions" was also noted by Jones, who explains the uniformity of RP as follows:

> For centuries past boys from all parts of Great Britain have been educated together in boarding-schools. If a boy in such a school has a marked local peculiarity in his pronunciation, it generally disappears under the influence of the different mode of speaking which he hears continually around him; he consequently emerges from school with a pronunciation similar to that of the other boys.
> ([1917] 1937: ix)

As we shall see in Section 2, the process described by Jones here is that which sociolinguists now call levelling. However, if this process really had been going on for centuries, we might expect this uniformity of pronunciation to have been recognised sooner. As the above account demonstrates, this uniformity was not recognised by Ellis in 1869, but it was both recognised and associated with the public schools by Jones in 1917. The uniformity noted by Jones did not become a hallmark of a public school education until after 1870, when, according to Honey, "it became the common expectation that the sons of the upper and upper-middle classes should be educated in this way" (1988: 210). So, what happened between 1869 and 1917 was that the public school *system* was established, and the accent levelling which took place there, along with the imposition of this accent by means of elocution lessons, led to the accent eventually named RP being the norm for an elite group who had prestige and influence. The recognition of this led to the reification of RP.

If "Received Pronunciation" as an entity did not exist before 1870, what did Ellis mean by "a received pronunciation"? In this sense, where "received" is an adjective rather than part of a name, Ellis was not the first to use the term. Mugglestone (1997: 106) notes that this can be antedated to the eighteenth century, since Walker (1791: 89) writes of "a corrupt, but received pronunciation" of the letter <a>. The *Oxford English Dictionary* revised its entry for "Received Pronunciation" in 2009 and provides two further antedatings. The first of these is preceded by a question mark, indicating some uncertainty about the given date of 1710: "Neither would it be commendable..to continue any Orthography very disagreeable to the received Pronunciation of the Words". The second is from Walker (1774: 17): "Let them try if they can dwell on the radical sounds of the a, e, o, and y, in these words without departing from the common and received pronunciation". Both these antedatings, along with the 1791 citation included by Mugglestone, demonstrate that, before Received Pronunciation was recognised as a sociolect, certain pronunciations were "received" in the sense of "generally accepted". In the 1791 citation from Walker, "corrupt, but received" seems oxymoronic today, but Walker's use of the word "received" here refers to the fact that the variant pronunciation concerned was acceptable in polite society, even if it was corrupt according to other criteria, such as analogy and conformity with spelling. As we shall see in Section 5, Walker and other late eighteenth-century authors attempted to describe and prescribe a uniform pronunciation of English before RP as such existed, and used a range of criteria and rationalisations for their choices. In the next section, I provide an account of theories and models of standardisation prior to discussing the part played by Walker and his contemporaries in the standardisation of English pronunciation.

2. Standardisation: Theoretical issues

In what has become the foundational text for theoretical accounts of standardisation, Haugen (1966: 933) postulates four processes in the development of a standard language: "(1) selection of a norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community." Haugen notes that the first two of these relate to the form of a standard and the third and fourth to its functions. The numbering of these processes does not imply a chronological order. Milroy and Milroy augment Haugen's account, stating that "once it is well established and has defeated its competitors, the standard must be *maintained*" (1999: 22, italics in original). They go on to argue that "*prescription* becomes more intense after the language undergoes *codification* […] because speakers then have access to dictionaries and grammar books, which they regard as authorities" (1999: 22, italics in original). Unlike Haugen, who describes all four of his processes as aspects of standardisation, the Milroys argue that those processes involved in the maintenance of a standard, i.e. elaboration of function, codification and prescription, are "stages in the *implementation* of a standard rather than aspects of standardisation itself" (1999: 23, italics in original). Haugen and the Milroys agree in considering uniformity as a central characteristic of standard varieties: Haugen describes the process of codification as that of minimising variation, whilst James Milroy states that "uniformity, or invariance […] becomes in itself an important defining characteristic of a standardized form of a language" (2001: 531).

This difference between Haugen's and the Milroys' views of standardisation stems from the latter's recognition of the central role played by ideology. They argue that the additional stages involved in maintenance of a standard "have been observed to follow from the ideology of standardisation" (1999: 23). As James Milroy (2001) points out, there are many communities in the world which have no standard language, and many languages which have not been standardised. Those of us who speak languages like English, French or Spanish, all of which are widely spoken and have been standardised for centuries, view this as normal because we live in "standard language cultures" (J. Milroy 2001: 530). In such cultures, the standard form of the language (or forms, in the case of, for instance, British and American English) is/are popularly viewed as the correct form(s) of the language from which dialects deviate. It is taken for granted that textbooks for language learners, dictionaries, grammars, etc. are based on the standard variety. Lesley Milroy proposes that "standard languages are best treated as constructs emerging from the particulars of a nation's history and social structure" (2004: 164), whilst Milroy and Milroy suggest that the processes of standardisation are "the consequence of a need for uniformity that is felt by influential portions of society at a given time" (1999: 22). Thus, in tracing the history of standardisation in English, as well as searching for uniformity across texts of varied provenance, we need to understand why the ideology of standardisation asserts itself at particular points in history. We also need to be aware of the difference between standardisation and the process of focussing or levelling which occurs as a result of dialect contact. Lesley Milroy explains this distinction as follows:

> Leveling is typically a linguistic process which has the effect of reducing variability both within and across language systems, and which in principle operates independently of an institutional norm […]. Standardization as manifested in careful or higher status speech typically displays an orientation to an institutionally supported norm. (2004: 165)

Lesley Milroy goes on to explain in a footnote that this distinction "does not of course preclude the emergence in speech communities of leveled varieties as institutionally supported spoken standards" (2004: 165). The important distinction between levelling and standardisation as processes is that the former occurs as a natural consequence of dialect contact, whilst the latter is imposed from above. In the next section, I briefly outline the history of standardisation in English before considering more specifically the place of pronunciation in this history.

3. Standardisation in the history of English:[2] An overview

Although there is evidence for the existence of levelled or focussed varieties in clusters of Old English texts such as those produced in the scriptorium at Winchester (Gneuss 1972; Lenker 2000), it is generally agreed that the process of standardisation still in its maintenance phase today began in the fifteenth century (Fisher 1996). Hogg argues that, whilst several focussed varieties appear to have existed in Old English, these were "varieties which speakers tended to favour, rather than fixed standard languages to which speakers were required to adhere, by, for example, prescribed educational standards" (2002: 126). The distinction made by Hogg here is precisely that between levelling and standardisation articulated by Lesley Milroy (2004: 165). Even if we were to accept that the process of standardisation had begun before 1066, it had not progressed very far, since no one variety had been selected, accepted or codified. After the Norman Conquest, any need for a standard variety of English disappeared, since French became the language of administration.

Görlach sees the establishment of a standard[3] written variety of English as one of the criteria for dating the beginning of the Early Modern English period around 1500: "after 1450, English texts can no longer be localized" (1991: 10). The need for uniformity in written, or at least printed, English arose for various reasons, among them the replacement of French and Latin as high-status varieties by English and the commercial imperative of having a uniform variety for printed texts which would be understood throughout the country. By 1500, this variety had been selected and accepted, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, elaboration of function got under way as English began to replace Latin in education, science and religion, and the first steps towards codification were taken by early grammarians and lexicographers such as Bullokar (1586) and Cawdrey (1604). Codification was to become more important in the eighteenth century, when grammars and dictionaries of English proliferated, and this century also saw the rise of prescriptivism. The standard variety of English codified in these grammars and dictionaries was increasingly imposed throughout what, after the Act of Union of 1707, was Great Britain, especially after the introduction of universal,

2. Here and elsewhere, "English" is understood to refer to British English. Other varieties of English which have undergone the process which Schneider (2007) terms "endonormative stabilisation" each have their own history of standardisation; see Hickey (2012a) for an overview.

3. Hickey (2012b: 2) notes that the first citation for the term "southern or standard English" in the *OED* is from 1836, so the use of the term 'standard' with reference to earlier periods could be viewed as anachronistic. Hickey argues, however, that "the notion of 'standard' existed before that and is essentially an eighteenth-century development."

compulsory primary education in 1870. As I have stated elsewhere (Beal 2007), prescriptivism is still at work in the twenty-first century, whether this is a "new prescriptivism" (2007: 51) or just the continuation of a process which, according to Milroy and Milroy (1999), is an inevitable consequence of the need to maintain a standard. We can see, then, that, as far as the written language is concerned, English has gone through all the stages of standardisation and the maintenance of this standard is ongoing.

4. Standardisation and the pronunciation of English

We saw in the previous section that the process of standardisation of English got under way in the late fifteenth century, and had undergone codification by the end of the eighteenth century. However, the historical impetus for this standardisation was the need for uniformity in printed texts rather than standardisation of pronunciation. The much quoted statement by Puttenham (1589) on the superiority of "the usuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the Shires lying about London within lx miles" has often been cited as evidence for the selection of a standard pronunciation. However, whilst this and other similar metalinguistic comments from the Early Modern period testify to the acknowledged prestige of this variety compared with those of the North and the West country, there is no evidence that this variety was viewed as a standard which should be imposed throughout the nation. The context of Puttenham's statement is that of advice given to poets for the choice of a written medium. His statement provides evidence, not for standardisation, but for the existence of a focussed variety spoken by the elite at Court and in the London area, and to a certain extent by gentlemen elsewhere in the country. This variety is viewed as prestigious because the people who speak this variety have prestige, in other words, as James Milroy points out, this prestige is "**indexical** and involved in the social life of speakers" (2001: 532, emphasis in original). He goes on to argue that "it does not follow that high prestige is definitive of what constitutes a 'standard'" (2001: 532).

In using the term "indexical", James Milroy is here invoking the theoretical framework established by Silverstein (1976) and further elaborated by Agha (2003, 2007), whereby linguistic features are indexed, or associated with, social categories. Silverstein posits orders of indexicality whereby the association between these linguistic forms and social categories becomes increasingly widely recognised. At the third order, there is evidence of explicit metalinguistic comment on the correlation: the link between a linguistic feature or features and a certain social category. The remarks made by Puttenham and other sixteenth and seventeenth century authors are examples of such metalinguistic comment and provide evidence for the acknowledged prestige of Court/London English. Orthoepists such as Hart (1569) use this variety as the basis of their accounts of English pronunciation, but their purpose in doing this is to put forward the case for reformed spelling, or simply to describe the system of pronunciation. Their comments could be read as providing evidence for the selection stage of standard pronunciation, but, as we shall see, that stage had not been completed by the eighteenth century.

What we have by the end of the seventeenth century is evidence for a consensus that the language of the Court and of educated, genteel speakers in London has prestige, but no sense that this is a standard variety imposed from above. There seems, up to this point, to have been no sense of the "need for uniformity" which Lesley Milroy (2004: 165) identifies as providing the impetus for standardisation. Two events at the beginning of the eighteenth century appear to have provided such an impetus: the Act of Union (1707), which united the parliaments of Scotland and England, subsuming Scotland into The United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the accession of a German-speaking monarch, George I, to the throne in 1714. Sheridan, whose (1780) *General Dictionary of the English Language* was one of the most successful pronouncing dictionaries of the eighteenth century, argues that the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14) was the "Augustan Age […] when English was the language spoken at court; and when the same attention was paid to propriety of pronunciation, as that of French at the Court of Versailles" but that "on the accession of a foreign family to the throne […] the regard formerly paid to pronunciation has been gradually declining" (1780: no pagination). In other words, if English is no longer spoken at Court, the King's English cannot be upheld as a standard. Sheridan goes on to suggest "if something be not done to stop this growing evil and fix a general standard at present, the English is likely to become a mere jargon, which everyone may pronounce as he pleases" (1780). This latter argument is a clear articulation of what James Milroy calls the standard ideology, whereby "it is believed that if the canonical variety is not universally supported and protected, the language will inevitably decline and decay" (2001: 537). Sheridan's *Dissertation* (1762) included a plan for the 1780 dictionary, which, according to the title page of the *Dissertation*, was "to facilitate the attainment of the English Tongue, and establish a perpetual standard of pronunciation". This objective is repeated on the title page of the dictionary: "One main object of which, is, to establish a plain and permanent standard of pronunciation" (1780). Sheridan was clearly of the opinion that no standard of English pronunciation existed at that time, and that such a standard was urgently needed.[4]

The Act of Union gave a political resonance to the terms "Britain" and "British" and some authors referred to Scotland as "North Britain". Linguistic differences

4. See Hickey (2009) for further discussion of Sheridan's views on the need for a standard.

between Scots and English were viewed as detrimental to the union and it was argued that the imposition of a standard would forge unity. Several authors of eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries were Scottish, including Buchanan, whose (1757) *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronuntiatio* was, as I have argued elsewhere (Beal 1999), the first pronouncing dictionary of English. Buchanan uses the term "British" rather than "English" in the title of his *British Grammar* (1762), in which he explicitly argues the case for imposing a common standard in order to bind together Scots and English as citizens of the United Kingdom who share a standard language. His *Essay Towards Establishing a Standard for an Elegant and Uniform Pronunciation of the English Language, Throughout the British Dominions* (1766) echoes Sheridan's (1762) call for a standard pronunciation, even suggesting that this should be imposed by educational institutions:

> it would turn greatly to the advantage of the British youth […] were a Standard Pronunciation taught in all our public schools. This would soon exclude all local dialects, with which the speech of some, who are otherwise accounted polite, is too much tinctured. (1766: x–xi)

As to the nature of the standard, Buchanan assumed that it would be that of London. He recommends his pronouncing dictionary to his fellow Scots, or "North Britons" as he terms them. Buchanan notes that "the people of North Britain seem, in general, to be almost at as great a loss for proper accent and pronunciation as foreigners" but promises that, after studying his dictionary, "they may in a short time pronounce as properly and intelligibly as if they had been born in London" (1757: xv). Sheridan likewise argued that a common standard of pronunciation would act as a unifying force:

> Would it not greatly contribute to put an end to the odious distinctions kept up between subjects of the same king, if a way were opened by which the attainment of the English tongue in its purity, both in point of phraseology and pronunciation, might be rendered easy to all inhabitants of his Majesty's dominions, whether of South or North Britain, of Ireland, or the other British dependencies? (1780)

In his dictionary, Sheridan, who was Irish, included a set of "Rules to be observed by the Natives of Ireland, in order to obtain a just pronunciation of English" (1780). These were taken over wholesale by Walker (1791), who augmented these with rules for natives of Scotland, Wales and London, the latter being of course, not the educated Londoners whose speech was considered prestigious, but Walker's "countrymen, the Cockneys" (1791: xii).

Walker claims that the Cockneys are "the models of pronunciation to the distant provinces" and so "ought to be the more scrupulously correct" (1791: xii). The modal verb here articulates the ideology of standardisation: Cockneys, living in London, have access to correct speakers, and so have no excuse: they *ought* to pronounce better. Provincials are in need of a model, which Walker is obliged to supply. The reference to Cockneys also introduces the issue of social class. Trapateau (2016: 27) found that, in a corpus compiled from Walker's critical notes, the most frequently occurring term was "vulgar", defined in Walker's dictionary as "plebian, suiting to the common people, practised among the common people, mean, low, being of the common rate; publick, commonly bruited" (1791). Walker's frequent use of this term for proscribed pronunciations is testimony to the awareness of social distinctions in language at this time. Holmberg notes that "it is in the eighteenth century that the snob value of a good pronunciation began to be recognised" (1964: 20), and the elocution lessons and pronouncing dictionaries provided by Sheridan, Walker and others gave the rising middle classes the opportunity to purchase social capital by having access to the pronunciation of their social superiors, and more importantly, learning to avoid those of the "vulgar".

The second half of the eighteenth century thus provided a perfect storm of conditions for standardisation of pronunciation: the loss of Court[5] speech as a model, the political need for a common standard throughout the United Kingdom (and beyond), and an increasingly influential middle class with social aspirations. In the next section, I will discuss the criteria used by Walker and his contemporaries to define this standard.

5. Defining a standard pronunciation

The explicit calls for a fixed standard of pronunciation cited in the previous section indicate that in the second half of the eighteenth century no such standard had yet been selected or accepted. On the other hand, the emergence of pronouncing dictionaries of English in this period signals the beginning of codification. The processes of standardisation, which played out over centuries where grammar, spelling and vocabulary were concerned, seem to have been accelerated in the case of pronunciation. There is some continuity with the prestigious variety identified by earlier commentators in the sense that the speech of what Puttenham (1589) termed "the better brought up sort" in the London area is still identified as a model. Perry declares on the title-page of his *Royal Standard English Dictionary* that it "exhibits" the "true pronunciation" of the words "according to the present practice of men of letters, eminent orators, and polite speakers in London" (1775:

5. Quite apart from Sheridan's point that the Hanovers were foreign, their power was increasingly ceded to Parliament, making the Court less influential than it had been in Puttenham's time.

title page). Kenrick in turn claims that his dictionary describes "the actual practice of the best speakers; men of letters in the metropolis" (1773: vii). Others explicitly discuss the need to define the standard, balancing various internal and external criteria rather than recommending a sociolect wholesale. This is especially true of Sheridan (1780) and Walker (1791).

In the Preface to his *General Dictionary*, Sheridan poses the following rhetorical question:

> It may be asked, what right the Author has to assume to himself the office of a legislator on this occasion, and what his pretensions are to establish an absolute standard in an article, which is far from being in a settled state among any class of people? (1780)

He goes on to argue that different pronunciations are used in the universities, the bar and the senate-house, all places where "the better brought up sort" could be found. Sheridan answers this question by name-dropping: his childhood teacher was a friend of Jonathan Swift, and Sheridan draws on his acquaintance with the latter, and with aristocrats who were Swift's contemporaries. According to Sheridan, these people, who would have been at the court of Queen Anne, had a "uniformity of pronunciation" which at the time of writing was "still the customary one among the descendants of all the politer part of the world bred in that reign". Sheridan here refers to a sociolect which would have been established by levelling amongst the social network of Queen Anne's court and later amongst the old gentry. Sheridan goes on to write that this variety had "no rules laid down for its regulation", so it was not a codified standard. However, in addition to the external criteria of membership of an elite network, Sheridan notes the language-internal factor of analogy and argues that any deviations from analogy could be explained by ease of articulation, "preferring the pronunciation which was the most easy to the organs of speech", and euphony "most agreeable to the ear" (1780).

We can see from the above that Sheridan identifies a sociolect as a prestigious model but introduces other criteria by which he can select which of several variant pronunciations should be fixed as the standard. Walker likewise provides a range of criteria along with detailed rules which invoke these criteria and are cited within the dictionary whenever variable and/or controversial pronunciations are discussed. In the Preface to his *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791), Walker addresses the hypothetical objection that "the fluctuation of pronunciation is so great as to render all attempts to settle it useless" (1791: vi) first by arguing that the extent of such fluctuation has been exaggerated, and then by stating that "if the analogies of the language were better understood, it is scarcely conceivable that so many words in polite usage would have a diversity of pronunciation" (1791: vi). Like Sheridan, Walker invokes the language-internal principle of analogy and yet considers that these analogies need to be made clear to speakers of the language before variant pronunciations can be "settled in their true sound". The assumption that there is a "true sound" from which any variant is a deviation is part of the ideology of standardisation and in setting out criteria whereby the "true sound" can be ascertained, Walker is attempting codification. Walker goes on to agree with Horace that "custom is the sovereign arbiter of language" (1791: vii), but then problematises the concept of "custom". Unlike Sheridan, who favoured the sociolect used by Queen Anne's courtiers and their descendants, Walker considers "the polished attendants on a throne" too likely to be swayed by "novelty". He considers the "studious" and the "learned" as having a different sociolect from that of those of "elevated birth or station", and argues that the former "have a natural right to a share […] in the legislation of language" (1791: vii). He goes on to describe the pronunciation of the court as "finical" and that of scholars as "pedantic", both of which are derogatory terms, and concludes that such pronunciations should be accepted by the general mass of speakers before being "denominated respectable usage" (1791: vii–viii). He concludes that "those sounds […] which are the most generally received among the learned and polite, as well as the bulk of speakers, are the most legitimate" and that "a majority of two of these states ought always to concur, in order to constitute what is called good usage" (1791: viii). Finally, Walker consults the authors of other works on pronunciation. "An exhibition of the opinions of Orthoepists about the sound of words always appeared to me a very rational method of determining what is called custom." (1791: viii)

The authors of eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries thus clearly set out to identify and codify a standard pronunciation. Whilst recognising elite metropolitan speakers as providing a prestigious model, some of these authors felt the need to evoke other criteria in order to decide between variants. Haugen defines codification as a process that leads to "minimal variation in form" (1966: 931). In compiling pronouncing dictionaries, eighteenth-century authors were aware of the need to make and justify choices in order to minimise the variation which they heard even in "polite" speech. The next section presents case studies which demonstrate how such choices were made.

6. Codification in action: Choosing between variants

It is not my intention in this section to give a complete account of the pronunciation presented as a standard by eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries, nor to concentrate on those sound changes, such as loss of rhoticity, which have come to distinguish RP from other prestigious varieties of English. I have discussed these sound changes at length elsewhere (Beal 1999, 2004). Instead, I have chosen to demonstrate the variability in pronunciation of certain sets of words that existed at the time and the criteria used by authors to select which of these variants should be fixed as the standard. In each case, I first compare the pronunciations advocated by different dictionaries in order to give a sense of the variation even amongst those attempting to codify the standard. In order to make such comparisons accessible to scholars, a team at the universities of Sheffield and Vigo have compiled the *Eighteenth-Century English Phonology* Database (ECEP), from which I have taken this information.[6] This database provides IPA transcriptions of the relevant vowels from lexical items included in Wells's (1982) lexical sets, along with consonants from sets compiled by the team. The transcriptions are based on information provided in eleven dictionaries published between 1757 and 1798, written by authors born in various parts of the United Kingdom, so the database facilitates diachronic and diatopic comparisons.

The first set of words to be discussed here make up Wells's lexical subset FACE c, consisting of the words *great, break, steak* and *yea*. These words, along with a few personal names such as *Maclean*, were pronounced in Middle English (ME) with /ɛ:/. Most words with this vowel in ME merged with those in Wells's FLEECE set, so that, e.g. *meet* and *meat* became homophones. As Wells notes (1982: 196), the pronunciation of these words is known to have fluctuated between /i:/ and /e:/ in the eighteenth century, and this variability was the subject of overt comment. Johnson, in his *Plan of a Dictionary* comments on the two pronunciations of *great:*

> Some words have two sounds, which may be equally admitted, as being equally defensible by authority. Thus *great* is differently used.
>
> For Swift and him despis'd the farce of state
> The sober follies of the wise and *great* POPE
> And if misfortune made the throne her seat
> And none could be unhappy but the *great* ROWE (1747: 13)

The reference here to the variants being "equally defensible" illustrates the problem of "custom" discussed by Walker in the previous section. It also signals that Johnson in 1747 was much less concerned with the codification of pronunciation than later authors such as Walker. Johnson is reported as commenting on this variation in 1772, stating that Lord Chesterfield pronounced *great* to rhyme with *state* whilst Sir William Yonge rhymed it with *seat* and insisted that "none but an Irishman would pronounce it *grait*". (Boswell 1934: ii, 161, cited in Wells 1982: 196). Since Chesterfield was, according to Johnson, the best speaker in the House of Lords,

6. For an account of ECEP, see Yáñez-Bouza et al. (2018). The project was funded by the British Academy/ Leverhulme Trust SG-132806 and the Santander Research Mobility Scheme.

and Yonge the best in the House of Commons, following the custom of elite metropolitan speakers would not help to discriminate between these variants.

The ECEP database shows no variation in the recommended pronunciation of *great*, all sources giving pronunciations with /e:/, although Sheridan and Walker both proscribe the pronunciation with /i:/ as an Irishism. *Steak* is universally recorded with /e:/, but recommended pronunciations of *break* and *yea* vary. The three authors who have /i:/ for *break* are Perry (1775), Spence (1775) and Sheridan (1780). For *yea*, Kenrick (1773), Perry (1775) and Burn (1786) have /i:/. Walker notes both alternatives for *yea*, and comments on the disparities between orthoepists:

> Mr Sheridan, Mr Scott, W. Johnston, and Mr Fry, pronounce this word so as to rhyme with *nay, pay*, &c.. But Dr. Kenrick and Mr. Perry, pronounce it like the pronoun *ye*. Though numbers are against me, I do not hesitate to pronounce the latter mode the best; first, as it is more agreeable to the general sound of the diphthong; next, as it is more related to its familiar substitute *yes*; and lastly, unless my memory greatly fails me, because it is always so pronounced when contrasted with *nay*. (1791)

Walker also acknowledges that variation exists in the pronunciation of *great* and *break* and provides lengthy justifications for his choice in the numbered rules which preface his dictionary:

> 241. The word *great* is sometimes pronounced as if written *greet*, generally by people of education, and almost universally in Ireland; but this is contrary to the fixed and settled practice in England. That this is an affected pronunciation, will be perceived in a moment by pronouncing this word in the phrase, Alexander the *great;* for those who pronounce the word *greet*, in other cases, will generally in this rhyme it with *fate*. It is true the *ee* is the regular sound of this diphthong; but this slender sound of *e* has, in all probability, given way to that of *a* as deeper and more expressive of the epithet *great*.
>
> 242. The same observations are applicable to the word *break*; which is much more expressive of the action when pronounced *brake* than *breek*, as it is sometimes affectedly pronounced. (1791: 30)

In selecting between variants, Walker chooses /i:/ for *yea* but /e:/ for *great* and *break*. His explanations invoke the criteria discussed in Section 5. He refers to "the general sound of the diphthong"[7] in preferring /ji:/ for *yea*, meaning that the digraph <ea> is usually pronounced /i:/ as in *beat, meat, seat*, etc. The criterion evoked here is

7. Walker does understand the difference between a phonological diphthong and a digraph, as he provides a perfectly good definition of the former. He probably uses the term "diphthong" here because his readers would understand it to mean 'digraph'. The first citation for "digraph" in the OED online is from Sheridan (1780), and the context of both this and the second citation (1812) suggests that the authors consider the term novel.

that of analogy or rather systematicity: there are rules for the pronunciation of letters, set out at length in Walker's preface, and departures from these rules need to be justified. He also evokes analogy when stating that his preferred variant is nearer to the vowel in *yes*, which would have been pronounced /jɪs/: /iː/ and /ɪ/ were considered the long and short sounds of <i> respectively. Lastly, he calls on custom: "it is always so pronounced when contrasted with *nay*". With regard to *break* and *great*, he sets aside the analogical principle, appealing instead to custom: /greːt/ is "the fixed and settled practice in England". His objections to the alternate pronunciations of both *great* and *break* likewise refer to usage, but in this case stigmatised usage: that of Ireland (although note that Walker, perhaps referring to the hypercorrect pronunciations noted by Hickey (2007: 315), considers the pronunciation with /iː/ to be Irish, whereas Yonge had insisted that /greːt/ was the Irishism), and that which he terms "affected". Walker defines this latter term as "studied with overmuch care", which chimes with his rejection of the "finical" pronunciations of the court and the "pedantic" ones of the scholars. Finally, Walker appeals to some kind of sound-symbolism: /greːt/ is "deeper and more expressive of the epithet *great*" whilst /breːk/ is "much more expressive of the action". This last point is particularly unconvincing to twenty-first century readers, but it demonstrates how Walker feels the need to justify any departures from the regular or general sound of a letter or combination of letters as set out in his rules. In order to achieve codification, the important thing is to choose between variants. Except in the case of *yea*, the variants preferred by Walker and the majority of his contemporaries are those which persist in present-day RP, taking into account the later diphthongisation of /eː/ to /eɪ/.

Another set of words which had variant pronunciations in the eighteenth century is Wells's CHOICE set. Wells has three subsets of CHOICE, divided according to the vowel or diphthong used in ME. Those in CHOICE a had /ɔi/; those in CHOICE b had /ui/ and the small set of words in CHOICE c had /iː/. Some of these words, especially those in the b subset, developed the same diphthong as PRICE words, since both went through a stage of being pronounced with /ʌɪ/ or /əɪ/. Most PRICE words went on to be pronounced /aɪ/ in RP, though the words in subset c, originally in the PRICE set, became confused with CHOICE words and now have /ɔɪ/ / in RP (Wells 1982: 208–209).[8]

The words from Wells's CHOICE a set which are recorded in ECEP are: *annoy, boy, choice, joy, moist, noise, oyster, rejoice, toy, voice* and *void*. The majority of the sources in ECEP record a pronunciation for all of these words with /ɔɪ/, but Buchanan, the earliest of these sources, consistently has /aɪ/. There is more variation between and within ECEP's sources for the words recorded from the CHOICE

8. Research in the framework of language variation and change has led to doubts about whether there was ever a "true" merger between ME /iː/ and /ui/. See Labov (1974).

b set. These are: *boil, buoy, coin, employ, join, oil, ointment, poison, soil, spoil* and *toil*. As for the CHOICE a set, Buchanan has /aɪ/ consistently. Burn (1786) gives both /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/ variants for *boil*, as does Kenrick (1773), who also records these variants for *join* and *spoil. Buoy* is recorded with /ʊɔɪ/ by Walker (1791), whilst Sheridan (1780) shows variation between this pronunciation and /ɔɪ/. The small set of words recorded in ECEP from Wells's CHOICE c set: *groin, hoist* and *joist*, show the same pattern as the CHOICE a set: Buchanan has /aɪ/ for all three words whilst all the other sources consistently have /ɔɪ/.

Buchanan thus seems to report a complete merger of PRICE and CHOICE words with /aɪ/. This is consistent with him being the earliest source, since orthoepists of the seventeenth century, such as Cooper (1687), give evidence of perceived mergers between PRICE and CHOICE words in lists of homophones. As Lass notes, variability in the CHOICE set "was in retreat" by the end of the eighteenth century and "by the nineteenth century spellings like *bile, jine* had become provincial stereotypes" (1999: 103). The authors of later eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries codified this preference for /ɔɪ/ in CHOICE words by choosing this variant in most cases and, where variation was acknowledged, justifying their choices. Walker gives only /ɔɪ/ as a recommended pronunciation for CHOICE words other than *buoy*, but mentions an alternative pronunciation when describing <OI> in his preface:

> 299. The general, and almost universal sound of this diphthong, is that of *a* in *water*, and the first *e* in *me-tre*. This double sound is very distinguishable in *boil, toil, spoil, joint, point, anoint*, &c. which sound ought to be carefully preserved, as there is a very prevalent practice amongst the vulgar of dropping the *o*, and pronouncing these words as if written *bile, tile, spile, &c*. (1791: 35)

Walker goes on to remark "I remember, very early in life, to have heard *coin* pronounced as if written *quine* by some respectable speakers; but this is now justly banished as the grossest vulgarism" (1791: 35). Walker argues for regularity here, but also stigmatises the /aɪ/ variants as vulgar, recognising that, in the case of *coin* at least, respectable usage has changed in his lifetime. Walker's branding of the /aɪ/ variant contributes to it becoming a "provincial stereotype" as he indexes the usage as "vulgar". The other orthoepist who comments on this variation is Kenrick:

> A vicious custom indeed prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound intirely, or rather converting both into the sound of *i* or *y* […] thus *oil, toil*, are frequently pronounced exactly like *isle, tile*. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhime to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which by long use, have almost lost their true sound, such are *boil, join* and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than *bile, jine*. (1773: 39)

Kenrick, like Walker, is attempting to codify pronunciation and, on the whole, prefers to recommend "the true sound", but he recognises that some words have "by long use" come to be more frequently pronounced with /aɪ/. In these cases, usage trumps analogy, and it would be affectation to use /ɔɪ/. Since Walker's dictionary was published eighteen years later than Kenrick's we could see the difference between the two authors' recommendations as indicative of a change in progress in terms of the reversal of the apparent merger. As Lass notes, it is the /ɔɪ/ pronunciation recommended universally by Walker which prevails in RP.

These two case studies have illustrated the process of codification at work in eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries. Where there was variation, one variant is generally recommended and a number of criteria are used to justify these choices. These "received pronunciations" are passed on to the readers of the dictionaries. In the final section, I will discuss the extent to which the codification practised by these eighteenth-century authors contributed towards the emergence of RP.

7. Eighteenth-century codification: RP or not RP?

Agha suggests that authors such as Walker and Sheridan paved the way for RP via "a series of characterological constructs linking differences of accent to matters of social identity" (2007: 208). Their use of terms such as *polite, respectable, affected, vulgar, provincial* etc. linked these characteristics with the phonological variants concerned, favouring some and condemning others and thus encouraging the minimisation of variation. Agha argues that the eighteenth-century codifiers had "hoped to establish" a supra-local standard, but could not have achieved this because their readership was confined to the "aristocracy and intelligentsia" (2007: 217–218). However, Watts notes that the list of subscribers to Sheridan's *Course of Lectures on Elocution* (1762) contains "very few names indicating that the subscribers were members of the landed gentry or aristocracy" (2011: 206), and Mugglestone points out that those who could not afford the dictionaries "were to be made so aware of their own inadequacies in this respect that they issued public demands for more economical formats" (2003: 32). Both Watts and Mugglestone see the discourse of these eighteenth-century authors as highly influential and as marking, in Watts' terms, "the beginnings of a discourse that was to construct what later became known […] as Received Pronunciation" (2011: 206). We saw in Section 4 that eighteenth-century authors perceived a need for a standard pronunciation and in Sections 5 and 6 that they attempted to select and codify this. Their lack of success in imposing this standard was due less to the restricted readership of their works than to the lack of any institutional machinery to implement the standard from above. Ellis declared in the late nineteenth century that "at present there is no standard of pronunciation" (cited in Crowley 2003: 138) and Daniel Jones argued "it is necessary to set up a standard" (1909: 1). As we saw in Section 1, Jones and other early twentieth-century authors were to identify and name Received Pronunciation as that standard. RP became established as a standard for British English pronunciation because of the attempts of the educational establishment to impose it in state schools (Honey 1988) and later, the efforts of the BBC advisory committee on spoken English to achieve uniformity in the pronunciation of broadcasters (Schwyter 2016). Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006: 307) attribute eighteenth-century authors' lack of success in codifying pronunciation to the fact that the IPA had not yet been invented. However, I would argue that Walker, Sheridan and their contemporaries did provide clear and complete accounts of the pronunciations which they were prescribing, but the institutional infrastructure necessary for the imposition of a standard was not yet in place. By the mid twentieth century, this institutional pressure had reached its peak. Abercrombie notes that the pressure to conform to this standard was such in the mid twentieth century that an "accent bar" (1965: 13) divided the privileged who used RP from the socially deprived who did not. Macaulay (1997) argues that the importance of RP has declined, and the existence of an "accent bar" can be refuted by examples of many people in prestigious and influential positions in Britain who do not speak RP. It is also the case that RP is not monolithic: Gimson (1970: 88) identifies conservative, general and advanced varieties of RP and, from the late twentieth century onwards, a levelled variety popularly called Estuary English (Rosewarne 1994) has been identified as having prestige in its own right as well as exerting influence on the RP of younger upper-class speakers. Nevertheless, RP is still the accent used as a basis for the description of (English) English, and so can perhaps still be seen as a standard of sorts. However, the plurality of models of English worldwide and the difficulty of implementing a spoken standard militate against the maintenance of RP. I conclude that RP had its peak of influence in the first half of the twentieth century, but that the pronouncing dictionaries of the eighteenth century played an active part in the processes of selection and codification that led to the emergence of RP.

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Electronic resources

ECEP:Eighteenth-Century English Phonology Database. Sheffield: Digital Humanities Institute. <http://www.dhi.ac.uk/ecep>

OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2018. <www.oed.com>

The interplay of internal and external factors in varieties of English

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The validity of a division of factors for language change into internal and external forms the focus of the present study. A distinction is made between speaker-internal and speaker-external on the one hand and community-internal and community-external on the other. A central concern is whether such distinctions are merely artefacts of linguistic analysis or whether they reflect the reality of speakers' linguistic behaviour. Data is considered from varieties of English to show that instances of change are frequently combinations of factors and that the disruption caused by socially-triggered change can be minimised by speakers applying considerations of system symmetry and regularity to a change and thus provide a clear trajectory which can be transmitted across generations.

1. Introduction: Terminology

In investigations of language change the relevant factors assumed to trigger such change have formed the focus of scholarly attention. Factors responsible for language change can be classified in a number of ways and many of these depend on the perspective of the investigating scholars. One of the common divisions used is that between internal and external factors (Gerritsen & Stein (eds) 1992; Hickey 2002; Pargman 2002; Jones & Esch (eds) 2002; Jones & Singh 2005: 1–54). Internal factors have very often to do with the establishment of morphological regularity (analogical levelling and possible analogical extension, Campbell 2013: 91–106; Lahiri (ed.) 2000). Internally-motivated change is taken to rest on structural considerations in a language / variety and many authors see explanations based on structure as having primacy over other factors (Lass & Wright 1986).

External factors have primarily to do with the role of language in society and adjustments in speech made by one social group reacting to another. The levels of language first affected are usually phonetics and phonology, though others may be later subject to change. This is the case because on the sound level the greatest

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degree of minute variation can be achieved and hence the finest type of sociolinguistic assessment is possible; this issue will be further discussed below.

1.1 The purported reality of the internal – external division

The binary division of types of change into internally and externally motivated stems from linguistic analysis and does not appear to be grounded in speakers' awareness of such a division. Because of this, the division might be demoted to an artefact of the analysis. Hence, the two main questions for this study are (i) is there independent evidence for this division, i.e. is the division into two types justified by linguistic data and the behaviour of speakers and (ii) is there a clear and consistent binary division, assuming that the division is valid in the first place.

If the ontological status of internally and externally motivated change is uncertain then at least one could claim that the division is a useful heuristic in investigating language change. The latter is a much weaker claim but one which might in the final analysis be easier to maintain. For the present study it is assumed that the division is valid. In the conclusion to this study the basic ontological question is revisited and reassessed.

1.2 A closer look at internally-motivated and externally-motivated change

Any change which can be traced to structural considerations in a language and which is independent of sociolinguistic factors could be classified as internally-motivated. A change which would appear to be triggered and guided by social considerations can be labelled externally-motivated. Obvious examples include both accommodation (Trudgill 1986: Chapter 1) by speakers towards a social group with certain linguistic features as well as dissociation (Hickey 2013) from a social group whose speech is regarded as undesirable. Accommodation leads to the adoption of features already present in the group being accommodated towards, or to the development of intermediary features, while dissociation can result in the development of new features not already present in the speech of the group engaged in dissociation but which are essentially different from those in the group from which the dissociation is occurring. This applies above all to the level of sounds, but the situation on the grammatical level is not necessarily different in principle. However, given that the number of tokens which could theoretically trigger change across groups is smaller and that these do not appear in speech with the same degree of frequency and predictability as do phonetic features, the significance of grammatical features as triggers of change is less. Thus those scholars dealing with morphosyntactic change stress the role of token occurrence in establishing change: 'Frequency determines which linguistic tokens and abstract types (structures) become automated and entrenched within the processing system' (Fischer 2006: 325).[1]

There are inherent advantages to understanding different sources for language change and what course this change can take. For instance, considering social motivation as a central factor can improve the understanding of apparently counterintuitive instances of change, or at least of those changes which would not be expected on purely language-internal, structural grounds. In addition, social factors can help to account for the reversal of change and for the important issue of non-change. As Milroy states: 'In order to account for differential patterns of change at particular times and places, we need first to take account of those factors that tend to maintain language states and resist change' (Milroy 1992: 10). Somewhat later he states this even more explicitly: '… if we pose the more basic question of why some forms and varieties are *maintained* while others change, we cannot avoid reference to society' (Milroy 1992: 220).

Language change is not just about the rise of new features but about any type of alteration to the configuration of a language. Thus mergers (Hickey 2014a) are types of change and the more general processes of dialect levelling and new dialect formation (Hickey 2003a; Trudgill 2004) represent equally valid instances of change although the amount of variation in a community is normally reduced in both these cases.

1.3 Lifespan and the internal – external division

Internal and external change are types associated with specific ages of an individual. Internal change is characteristic of first language acquisition especially when it involves paradigmatic regularisation and levelling, processes typical of children[2] constructing their version of the language they are exposed to (Yang 2000). In high-contact scenarios (Dorian 1993) this can apply to adults as well, particularly if they are engaged in language shift in an unguided, non-prescriptive situation (Hickey 2007: 125–137). But for monolingual speakers, analogical reorganisation of parts of their grammar is highly unusual in adulthood. External change, i.e. socially driven change, is typical of adulthood, starting in adolescence when individuals become aware of their social status and affiliation, this then being reflected in their use of language.

1. For further discussion of frequency and structural change, see the contributions in Bybee & Hopper (2001).

2. Some instances of analogy remain as variation in adult speech, e.g. *proved* or *proven* as a past participle.

(1) Typical time spans for language change

	internally motivated	externally motivated
group:	first language acquirers	adult speakers

1.4 The course of internal and external change

Investigations of language change confirm that there are three recognisable stages which are conventionally labelled (i) actuation, (ii) propagation and (iii) conclusion. The course of change can be represented as an S-curve in which the course does not always go to completion (see Figure 1).

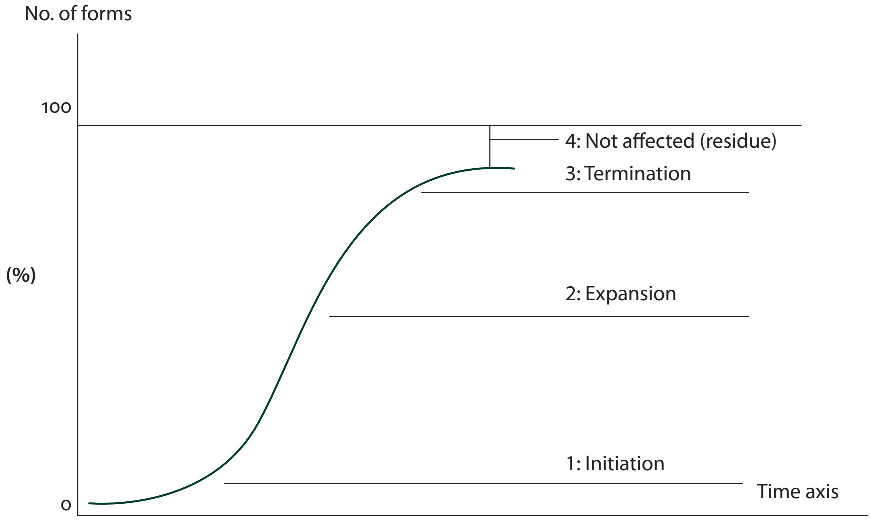

Figure 1. The S-curve of language change

The S-curve can apply to how a change spreads through a speech community with feature A on the increase, often at the cost of another feature B. Such instances of spread are not instantaneous as the S-curve shows. However, with typical Neogrammarian change, all possible inputs of a change for any one speaker are effected immediately, e.g. unconditioned vowel quality changes affect all cases, e.g. the diphthongisation of /i:/ to /ai/ and /u:/ to /au/ affected all words in those varieties of English which had this change.

There are nonetheless instances where the S-curve, representing non-instantaneous change, applies not just across the community but within the language as well. Changes which are adopted on a word-by-word basis are normally captured by the label 'lexical diffusion' (Phillips 2006, 2015) but it is doubtful whether any change proceeds in this manner.[3] What is true, however, is that not all possible instances are subjected to a change. Take the lowering of early modern /ʊ/ to /ʌ/ as an example. This change most likely occurred across the board in small increments, except in those words where a degree of inherent phonetic rounding inhibited the change. Thus words with the /ʊ/ before /ʃ/ or a velarised [ɫ] did not undergo the unrounding and lowering to /ʌ/ and standard English still has the pronunciations [pʊɫ] and [pʊʃ] for *pull* and *push* respectively. Nonetheless, there are arguments in favour of the lexical diffusion hypothesis[4] given that *but* and *put* (both words with a rounded labial consonant preceding the input /ʊ/ vowel) have different reflexes of the seventeenth-century vowel lowering, i.e. [bʌt] and [pʊt] respectively (Dobson 1968: II.585–590).

Another aspect of change has to do with the statistical frequency of a new feature vis a vis an older feature with which it is in competition; see the following figure where font size correlates with frequency. Such links between feature increase and decrease apply to all levels of language, i.e. to words, sounds or grammatical structures (see Figure 2).

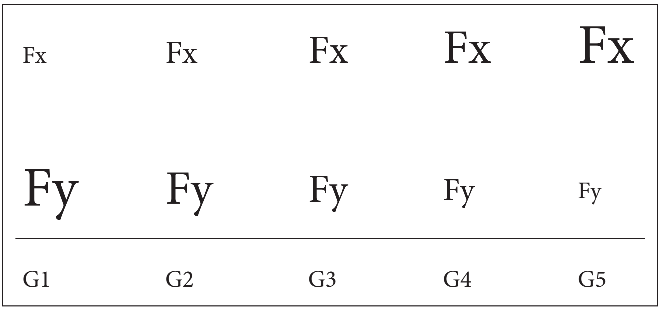

Figure 2. The relative frequencies of recessive and incoming features across several generations

Here the relative frequency changes over time, i.e. across the generations, with the demise of the recessive feature being causally linked to the rise of the incoming feature. Frequency effects can be observed with both externally and internally motivated change. For instance, if children acquiring their native language begin to adopt a new feature, say a syntactic innovation like SVO and the abandonment of the V2 rule in Middle English (Los 2015: 184–211), then this can initially have a low frequency in a speech community where only a small number of speakers

3. For a critical review of the arguments for lexical diffusion, see Joseph (2012).

4. For an assessment of the arguments surrounding lexical diffusion, see Kiparsky (1995: 642–653).

adopt the feature. However, there are thresholds for innovations such that once they have been reached the innovation is irreversible and constitutes an item of change.

1.5 Further differentiation of the internal – external division

Another use of the internal – external distinction refers to change taking place within a community and change activated by contact with an outside group. Both these uses and their relatedness can be shown as follows; see Figure 3.

```
          speakers
           /    \
    internal   external  – – –  communities
                                  /        \
                          internal        external  – – –  outside groups
```

Figure 3. Different perspectives on the internal-external distinction

To avoid confusion in this study the labels 'speaker-internal' and 'speaker-external' will be used to refer to the first sense of the present dichotomy while 'community-internal' and 'community-external' refer to the second sense (shown on the right of Figure 3). This distinction is central to all work on language contact (Hickey 2010; Winford 2005, 2013). However, for reasons of space the distinction between 'community-internal' and 'community-external' language change will not be discussed in this study.

2. The speaker-internal and speaker-external distinction

It goes without saying that speakers are the agents of language change and that the term 'language' is an abstraction over the collective behaviour of a speech community. It is salutary to remember that when one is dealing with structural and developmental tendencies in language it is in the linguistic behaviour of speakers that these are manifested.

Change begins with variation in the speech of individual speakers. But continuously occurring variation in speech only leads to established instances of change in some cases. And it is communities (or sub-communities) who carry it forward. So change must reach a certain threshold to become established. While it is not possible to predict change, accounting for change which has already occurred is a legitimate pursuit for linguists.

It is obvious that changes do not come prepackaged as speaker-internally and speaker-externally motivated so the task of the linguist is to identify with as much probability as possible what the trigger for a change was. Consider the following example. Old French *naperon* corresponds to Modern English *an apron* and Old English *nædder* is the antecedent of Modern English *an adder*. In both cases the assignment of the originally word-initial nasal to the preceding article occurred with enough speakers during childhood for these forms to establish themselves in adult usage and hence be passed on to a following generation. Thus there is an internal motivation for this change: during first language acquisition speakers exposed to a phonetic stream segmented these forms in a new way compared to their predecessors by removing the nasal from the beginning of the word. But the community plays a role in the course of the change: for it to become established enough speakers must show this development (segmentation of the article after the nasal) and the community of speakers must accept it so that it can become the only form in future. So when considering the speaker-internal and speaker-external distinction identifying the trigger is what is important. How a change rolls out – whether it becomes established or not – is always a matter of the speech community.

2.1 Primarily speaker-internal motivation

In the recent history of sociolinguistics it is the sound level of language which has been given most attention, from the original work of Labov (Labov 2006 [1966]), through the network analyses of James and Lesley Milroy (L. Milroy 1987) to the third wave studies initiated by Eckert (Eckert 2000). The fine adjustments in pronunciation are a perfect seed bed for initiating innovations which reflect individuals' place in society and in smaller social groups.

Despite the proclivity of phonetic realisations to be co-opted as the carrier of social signals there are instances of sound change where an internal systemic motivation is likely. Take the phenomenon of TH-fronting, common today in many urban forms of British English (Wells 1982: 328). TH-fronting is a label for the shift of interdental to labio-dental fricatives, here that of the voiceless /θ/, as in *think* [θɪŋk], to a voiceless labio-dental fricative, i.e. [θɪŋk] > [fɪŋk]. The shift leads to more audible friction and hence the /f/ has a perceptual advantage over /θ/.[5]

There are also long-term trajectories of change which may be motivated by preferences in language production. An example would be the widespread tendency for the lenition of /t/ in the history of English. This has yielded a range of results (Hickey 2009); the major outcomes are the following:

5. TH-fronting is attested in other varieties of English, e.g. in African American English as voiced /ð/ > /v/, e.g. *brother* [brʌvɐ] (Edwards 2008).

(2)		*Variety or group*	*Lenited form of stop*	*Example*
	a.	American English	Tap	*water* [wɒːɾɚ]
	b.	urban British English	Glottal stop	*water* [wɔːʔə]
	c.	southern Irish English	Fricative	*water* [wɒːt̞ɚ]

Lenition can be seen as one of the universal forces operating in language and stems from the drive towards minimising the effort involved in articulation. The opposing force strives for maximum clarity to achieve effective communication. What kind of equilibrium these opposing forces reach in any given speech community will depend on a number of external forces, ultimately of a sociolinguistic nature.

2.1.1 *Grammaticalisation*

The process of grammaticalisation involves a shift of a word, or short phrase, from full lexical status to a grammatical ending or word. This usually involves the following sequence of steps which the items pass through (see Table 1).

Table 1. Process of grammaticalisation (rise of inflections)

Step	Status	Process
1.	lexical word/phrase	phonetic reduction begins with increasing opacity of forms involved
2.	semi-lexical word	loss of meaning through semantic bleaching
3.	clitic	frequent attachment to another lexical word
4.	inflection	permanent loss of independence and retention of grammatical meaning only

Phonetic reduction would seem to be a precondition for the grammaticalisation process to begin. It is necessary, but not sufficient, to trigger it as one can see from the many instances of reduction which do not result in grammaticalisation. Step two is isolated here as a separate stage in the process but, like the other steps, there is considerable overlap and so phonetic blurring and semantic bleaching can be regarded as two aspects of the reduction process. Again the progress from clitic to inflection is defined by the irreversibility of inflectional status. When a clitic can no longer be separated from the base it is attached to, it can be classified as an inflection; the process of cliticisation may in turn affect the phonetic form of the base as seen in textbook examples of grammaticalisation like *want to* > *wanna* [wɔnə]; *going* > *gonna* [gɔnə]. A case of a phrase (verb + noun) would be *let's* (< *let us*) which can be reduced to [lɛs].

Just what developments are gathered under the term grammaticalisation varies among scholars (Lightfoot 2003). What are actually metaphorical extensions are often treated as cases of grammaticalisation, e.g. the temporal conjunction *since* has been extended in scope to become a causal conjunction equivalent to 'because', as in *Since we are leaving tomorrow, we should discuss the matter now*. In the context of the present paper the classification of such extensions is not of immediate relevance; like the other instances discussed in this section they are not primarily externally motivated but result from a cognitive widening of the original meaning to encompass neighbouring semantic realms, in this case from time to cause.

2.1.2 *Regularisation*

Irregularity across languages is a phenomenon which is constantly about to arise due to the use of language. A common source is phonetic change, e.g. the weakening of endings in words, which can lead to a lack of clarity on the morphological level. The demise of inflections (Los 2015: 52–54) in the late Old English and into the Middle English period led to generations of speakers reanalysing the system of decaying inflections with verbs (Allen 2016; Kortmann 2012). The present tense endings had been reduced to *-s*. Some varieties had done away with endings in the present entirely, e.g. East Anglian English, possibly under the influence of contact with Dutch (Trudgill 1998). But most varieties, starting it is believed in the North of England, began to systematise the use of present tense *-s* into a special system of verbal concord known by its traditional name, the Northern Subject Rule (Ihalainen 1994: 214–222). Essentially, this rule states that an inflection is found on a verb in the present tense, regardless of number, if the subject is not a pronoun, i.e. *the men works* but *they speak*. This kind of regularisation of a system which had become entirely irregular due to inflectional loss is a prime example of a change which was internally triggered. A similar example, this time from nominal morphology, would be the regularisation of the plural system of English, with *-s* becoming the dominant pattern, both as that used for all new words as well as that which came to replace formerly different plural types, such as the nasal plurals found in words like *eye, cow, shoe*, etc., with the old plural surviving longest in morphologically conservative dialects, above all in Scotland.

With reflexive pronouns one can find analogical formations from possessive pronouns due to regularisation of the reflexive pronoun paradigm, e.g. *hisself, theirselves*, given that for the first and second person the possessive pronouns form the base for the reflexive pronouns.[6]

Regularisation of the type just discussed can be assumed to have its root in first language learners reanalysing an irregular system while constructing their own grammar of the language in question. Comparable regularisation can be found in another scenario where adults may be involved. This is where there is language shift in a situation of unguided adult second language acquisition.

6. See Miller (1993: 108) on Scottish English and Beal (1993: 206) on Tyneside English. Trudgill (1990: 82–83) discusses the issue in the context of English dialects.

This characterised the shift from Irish to English in Ireland from at least the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. An example of such regularisation is epistemic *must* in the negative. In standard English this is negated using *can*. But in Irish, Scottish, much of northern English and Australian English *musn't* can be used: *She musn't be Scottish* for *She can't be Scottish*.[7]

The past tense of *be* shows two forms, *was* and *were* with the alternation between a sibilant and a rhotic deriving from a very old alternation called Verner's Law with the original /z/ being later rhotacised and the original /s/ being voiced. The present distribution, with /-z/ ~ /-r/, is opaque for speakers and has been so for centuries. Some dialects of English abandoned this distribution with language learners opting for either *was* or *were* across the entire verb paradigm. But in Outer Banks, North Carolina a remorphologisation of the two possible past *be* stems is found. *Was* is used in positive contexts and *were* in negative ones, i.e. the distinction between *was* and *were* is now aligned for positive or negative polarity (Wolfram & Thomas 2002: 69–77).

2.2 Primarily speaker-external motivation

If change which leads to regularisation in a language's structure is characterised as internally motivated then change which has the opposite effect, i.e. which disrupts a system, can be seen as externally motivated, i.e. the trigger for such change lies in the socially determined language use of speakers. To illustrate this consider the lowering of /ʊ/ to /ʌ/ in the south of England in the seventeenth century, mentioned above. By all accounts this change was disruptive to the sound system of English hitherto. It introduced a new, unpaired sound, /ʌ/, which left the long-short vowel pair in the high back region of vowel space, /uː/ and /ʊ/, imbalanced as most instances of /ʊ/ were lowered to /ʌ/ as a consequence of the change which has come to known in the literature as the FOOT – STRUT split (Wells 1982: 196–198). The lowering of /ʊ/, and the split it caused because not all words with this vowel underwent the lowering (see discussion in 1.4 above), did not occur in the North of England and is the main shibboleth for Northern English[8] to this day (Beal 2008; Hickey 2015: 8–11). The /ʌ/ vowel in unconditioned environments, e.g. *cup, gut, done, love*, became associated with standard southern British English. This meant that varieties which did not originally have the FOOT – STRUT split gained it by adopting the /ʌ/ vowel in words like *thud, bun*, etc. For instance, it can be assumed that the earliest English emigrants to North America would not have known the

7. See also Miller (1993: 119) on Scotland and Beal (1993: 197) on Tyneside.

8. The /ʌ/ vowel was later adopted in Scotland and does not constitute an independent item of language change there.

/ʌ/ vowel as this had not arisen at the time they left England. Furthermore, many countries which had considerable numbers of immigrants from the North of England – South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, for instance – have no trace of the unshifted /ʊ/ in any of their present-day varieties. Outside of the North of England the only variety in the anglophone world with unshifted /ʊ/[9] is vernacular Dublin English where this sound is a retention of the original pre-seventeenth century situation without the /ʌ/ vowel (Hickey 2005: 35–38). For non-vernacular speakers in Dublin, as for non-Northern English speakers in England, the absence of the /ʌ/ vowel is highly salient and repeatedly the subject of sociolinguistic comment.

2.2.1 *The special case of mergers*

Among the many types of phonetic change, mergers form a special case. The sociolinguistic literature on mergers (Labov 1994: 293–417) is agreed that these are not prone to sociolinguistic comment. It would seem that speakers are generally unaware of the merging of sounds, even if this leads to homophony. The motivation for mergers is not easy to determine. Mergers can regularise a sound system and its phonotactics; they may also conform to a long-term trajectory of change. It is in this light that the following mergers are considered.

Merger of which *and* witch. At the beginning of the twenty-first century there are very few varieties of English left which maintain a consistent distinction between the initial sounds in the keywords *which* and *witch*. The difference is between a voiceless labiovelar fricative [ʍ] (written *wh-*) and a voiced one [w] (written *w-*). In conservative forms of American English the distinction was known to have existed but it is highly recessive even in traditional forms of English in both the United States and Canada. In Ireland *which* and *witch* are now homophonous for all young speakers of supraregional Irish English (Hickey 2003b) so that Scotland is the sole anglophone region in which this distinction is still maintained consistently by large numbers of speakers.

In all cases where homophony of *which* and *witch* has arisen the resulting single sound is voiced, i.e. [w]. This would imply that the change is motivated by the regulation of the relationship between vowels and glides, all of which are voiced in those varieties which have no voiceless [ʍ]. Because of the high sonority of vowels and glides, it is not surprising that the merger is to the voiced member of the pair, i.e. [w]. Furthermore, there was already a phonotactic restriction which

9. There are more recent instances of /ʊ/ which arose through the shortening of /uː/, e.g. *took, look, book, cook*, now all with /ʊ/.

applied to [ʍ]: it only occurred in absolute word-initial position whereas [w] was, and is, found in post-consonantal position.

When considered in terms of long-term trajectories, the voicing of [ʍ] can be seen as the final step in removing all voiceless sonorants from English by voicing them. In Old English there were voiceless initial clusters of sonorants, *hlaf* 'loaf', *hnutu* 'nut', *hring* 'ring' and of course the voiceless approximant [ʍ] seen in *hwic* 'which'. Viewed from the point of view of sound system, the recent loss of [ʍ] coincides with the trajectory established in the Middle English period with the loss of voiceless sonorants. It should be mentioned that the merger of [w] and [ʍ] to [w] although largely under the radar, so to speak, was the subject of occasional comments in the eighteenth century (Beal 2004: 157–160). This is in distinct contrast with other changes such as T-glottalling (Wells 1982: 322–327), which have taken place, or at least expanded, in the last century or so.

Pre-rhotic mergers. An even more significant long-term trajectory of merger in English, in terms of contexts affected, is the increasing reduction of vowel distinctions before tautosyllabic /r/, or its historical reflex for those varieties which have lost /r/ in this position, becoming non-rhotic (Hickey 2014b; Wells 1982: 213–217).

The first point to note here is that no variety of English has pre-rhotic vowel length distinctions in monosyllables, e.g. *stern* [stəː(r)n] and not [stɛ(r)n]. With disyllables vowel distinctions are usually maintained, in both rhotic and non-rhotic varieties, e.g. *very* [veri]. A possible explanation for this would be to posit that the /r/ in the disyllabic words belongs to the second syllable, i.e. *very* is [ve.ri], so that the vowel in the first syllable is not affected by the /r/, i.e. it is not centralised.[10]

Evidence that the changes in historically pre-rhotic position are mergers comes not just from English spelling, which still uses distinct vowel graphemes in words pronounced the same, but also from conservative varieties of English, such as vernacular forms of English in Scotland and Ireland, which distinguish phonetically between word pairs like *tern* [tɛrn] and *turn* [tʌrn]. The sound system of English has also experienced, and is still experiencing, further mergers which confirm that the tendency to lose vowel distinctiveness in pre-rhotic positions is a long-term trajectory of change which is not primarily due to present-day external motivation. Further instances of this general tendency would be the homophony

10. Phonologically, there is a difficulty with this in that it would imply that short vowels, such as /e/, can occur in an open syllable, e.g. /ve. /, something which does not, however, apply to monosyllabic words in English, i.e. there is no word like *ve* /ve/. An alternative might be to interpret the /r/ in words like *very, merry, ferry* as ambisyllabic. This interpretation removes the necessity of interpreting the /e/ in a word like *very* as the coda of an open syllable but causes problems of its own because there is no agreement on what the phonetic correlates of ambisyllabicity are and hence what justification there is for positing it on a phonological level (Gick 2003).

of *merry* and *Mary* (and sometimes *marry*) for many varieties of American English (see below for further comments).

Merger of horse *and* hoarse. Among present-day varieties of English only a small number still have a distinction between the vowels in *horse* /hɔ:(r)s/ and *hoarse* /ho:(r)s/. This merger has been described by J. C. Wells under the lexical sets NORTH and FORCE (Wells 1982: 234–237) where the former has the lower vowel and the latter has the higher vowel historically. This is true of other word pairs such as *morning* and *mourning* (Kurath 1971) with [ɔ:] and [o:] respectively. In all varieties where the distinction is missing it is the higher [o:]-vowel which is found (unless there is a general lowering of /o:/ to [ɔ:]). The historical distribution of the [ɔ:] and [o:] vowels shows a slight preference for the high vowel in Anglo-Norman loanwords, e.g. *court, force, sport*. Native Germanic words show a mixed distribution, e.g. *corn, horn* with [ɔ:] but *torn, shorn, worn* with [o:].

One possible motivation for the merger of [ɔ:] and [o:] might be that, because the distribution is unpredictable, young speakers during language acquisition decided on one vowel for the elements of the NORTH and the FORCE lexical sets. However, there are many instances of lexicalised pronunciations in English so that putative difficulties with assigning vowels to individual words is not convincing as an explanation for mergers, least of all with L1-speakers who have no difficulty mastering irregular distributions on all levels of language (recall that speakers of varieties which maintain the distinction between [ɔ:] and [o:] do not have any difficulty in keeping the members of the two lexical sets apart). Furthermore, the 'difficulty with assignment' explanation does not account for why the higher vowel wins out in the merger.

However, an internal motivation (Hickey 2012) for this merger can be given. Consider that in the early modern period (at different times for different varieties) the distinction between inherited [ɛ:] and [e:] – as in *meat* and *meet* respectively – was lost with the two vowels merging to [e:] which was then raised to [i:]. The net effect of the merger was to remove a systemic unit, here /ɛ:/, from the sound system of English. The merger of *morning* and *mourning* did the same, but among back vowels, so that varieties with the latter merger have a more symmetrical distribution of vowels across phonological space (see Table 2).[11]g

11. This argument holds for the vowels before /r/, or its reflex in non-rhotic varieties. There is, of course, an independent /ɔː/ vowel in English which resulted from the monophthongisation of Middle English /au/, e.g. *law* /lɔː/.

Table 2. Long vowel systems in the history of English with two mergers

(ii)		Front		Back	System after *meat* [mɛ:t] >
	Level 1	i:		u:	*meet* [me:t] (later > [mi:t])
	Level 2	e:		o:	
	Level 3	(ɛ:) ↑		ɔ:	
	Level 4		a:		
(iii)		Front		Back	System after *morning* > *mourning*
	Level 1	i:		u:	
	Level 2	e:		o:	
	Level 3:			(ɔ:) ↑	
	Level 3		a:		

The merger of both Middle English /ɛ:, e:/ and /ɔ:, o:/ did produce several cases of homophony so that an argument based on the avoidance of homophony would not account for the developments considered here (Milroy 1992: 14–15). Equally, the retention of distinct pronunciations in some vernacular varieties can hardly be motivated by this argument either because, if it was, then one would have to offer reasons in principle why one set of varieties maintained the distinction while others did not.

Merger of merry, Mary, marry. The mergers so far have been in monosyllables before tautosyllabic /r/ but increasingly the loss of vowel distinctions before /r/ in disyllables is found, especially in forms of North American English (see Table 3).

Table 3. Merger of /e:, ɛ/ and /a/ before /r/ in disyllables

(i)	loss of a quantitative distinction in pre-rhotic position (MERRY = MARY) # MARRY
(ii)	loss of a qualitative distinction in pre-rhotic position (MERRY = MARRY) # MARY
(iii)	loss of both a qualitative and quantitative distinction MERRY = MARRY = MARY

There are other variations of this merger, notably one where the distinction between /ɛ/ and /ʌ/ in pre-rhotic position is lost, leading to the MERRY=MURRAY merger with /ʌ/ the only remaining vowel (Gordon 2008: 78).

The cot – caught *merger.* The language-internal, systemic account of the *meat – meet* and *horse – hoarse* mergers runs up against difficulties when dealing with another widespread merger which is going to completion in American English and has already done so in Canadian English (Boberg 2008, 2010: 124–131). This is the loss of vowel length for words in the low back area of phonological space leading to word pairs like *cot ~ caught, Don ~ dawn* becoming homophones. If anything, this runs counter to the maintenance of vowel length distinctions among other vowel pairs like *Pam ~ palm, bit ~ beat, full ~ fool* (for mid front vowels the distinction usually involves a degree of diphthongisation as well, e.g. *bed* [bɛd] ~ *bade* [beɪd]).

In conclusion, it can be said that mergers constitute a special type of change. They enjoy low salience for speakers and so are hardly the carriers of sociolinguistic meaning. They frequently are regularity-enhancing for the sound system of the variety in question, but by no means always. Where this enhancing effect is missing, recourse must be had to external factors as no internal factor or factors can be made responsible for the disruption of a sound system.

2.3 The role of prescriptivism

Prescriptivism is and has been one prominent reason for awareness of change. But prescriptivism tends to have a retarding influence on change rather than promoting it and does not have a dynamic quality, rather it is frequently characterised by attempting to reverse changes which are already well underway (Percy 2012).

The external social forces associated with prescriptivism are typically exercised in schooling, in language in formal and official contexts and in general in the public use of language. Prescriptivism can lead to stasis in language change as with the relativisers *who* and *whom*: the latter still has not disappeared from the language although it already began to be dropped in the spoken language several centuries ago.

A further consequence of prescriptivism is the reinstatement of older features, in effect the reversal of a change. Consider the case of H-dropping. This is an endemic feature in urban varieties of English, which is of some vintage, and involves the loss of word-initial /h-/ as in *hand* [ænd, ænʔ], *hit* [ɪt, ɪʔ] or *hall* [ɔːl, oːɫ]. This may well have been the result of less-than-target realisations of the glottal fricative with some speakers in the initial group which showed H-dropping. Given that the loss of /h-/ is phonetically gradual, i.e. that there are degrees of fricative reduction, it could be interpreted as a sociophonetic feature rather than a structure-driven development within the sound system. If there was a structural tendency in sound systems to lose /h-/ then the phenomenon would be much more widespread and indeed in varieties of English it is a specifically British phenomenon. H-dropping is a highly salient feature, perhaps because of the amount of homophony it leads to, and it was already the subject of negative sociolinguistic comment in the nineteenth century. The result of this in New Zealand, for instance, was the reinstatement of initial /h-/, especially after school inspectors began a campaign against the deletion of the glottal fricative (Gordon 2010: 356–358).

Various instances of grammaticalisation in the late modern period became the target of objections by prescriptive authors, e.g. the progressive passive, seen in *the house was being built* rather than *the house was building*, was remarked on negatively in the late eighteenth century when it was coming into use (Traugott 1972: 178). The same is true of other grammatical phenomena which gained the attention of prescriptivists, e.g. split infinitives (*to seriously consider the matter*), future continuous with *going* (*we're going to be involved a lot in that process*), quantifier *lots of* (*there's lots of talk about ecology these days*). Generally prescriptive comments stem from an awareness of the presence of these structures in colloquial speech and from the resulting attempt to exclude them from more formal registers of language.

3. Discussion and conclusion

Among speakers who are not linguistically alert there would seem to be no obvious awareness of different sources for language change. Indeed if anything, socially triggered change may evince greater awareness as at least some speakers may be conscious of the social forces involved. Prescriptivism holds a special position here: it forces awareness on users by censuring their use of language.

The speaker-internal – speaker-external dichotomy can be set in relation to other considerations of language change to determine how it relates to them and if intersections exist. Take the consideration of whether language change is goal-oriented, i.e. teleological in nature. Change can be so classified only if the result is increased regularity and systematicity (Roberge 2012: 375–378). A disruptive change, like the Great Vowel Shift in the history of English, can hardly be viewed as teleological as there is no recognizable aim in the change. Time and again one is confronted with cases where disruption occurs which increases homophony in a variety or language, e.g. the merger of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ in the PEN – PIN set [pɪn], found in the Lower South of the United States (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2013: 80; Montgomery 2001: 140).

Another dichotomy in accounting for language change is that between formal and functional explanations (Newmeyer 2003). If an alignment of formal~functional with speaker-internal~speaker-external is motivated, then more for the first than for the second set of factors. Furthermore, the formal~functional distinction rests on the interpretation of the linguist; there is no independent set of criteria which one could use to determine which type a given item of change should be assigned to. Nonetheless, linguists have cited changes which they see as one type or the other. A clear formal change in English would be the unconscious reanalysis of early modern modals from the category verb to that of auxiliary (Lightfoot 1979;

Newmeyer 2003: 22) by child language learners of that time, given the fragmentary paradigms of the modals (no infinitive or past participle, lack of inflectional -*s* in the present). This formal change has clearly speaker-internal motivation.

Functional accounts of change have been put forward to explain both speaker – internal and speaker-external developments in language. The rise of SVO word order in English can be linked to the demise in grammatical inflections which made the recognition of grammatical roles in a sentence difficult and potentially ambiguous (internal motivation). The adoption of Scandinavian third person plural pronouns (*they, them, their*) in the late Middle English period helped to maintain the phonetic distinctiveness of these pronouns forms vis a vis the singular forms (external motivation inasmuch as the change is the result of borrowing on language contact); the same is true of the adoption of the *she* form for the third person singular feminine.

The area of pronouns in English is a fruitful one for the discussion at hand. There is another change which involved filling a gap in the pronominal paradigm, a case of remedial change. The gap which arose in the early modern English period was due to the demise of *thou* as a pronoun of address in normal speech; it came to be restricted to specific registers like religion or poetry and to be confined to rural dialects in parts of the North of England. There occurred an attendant extension of *you* to cover both plural and singular which led to a loss of distinctiveness with pronouns of the second person. Many varieties of English reached solutions to this dilemma and developed special forms for the plural, retaining *you* exclusively for the singular: *ye, yez, youse, y'all, you'uns* are forms common in Irish English, Scottish English (Miller 1993: 108) and Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 205). Varieties of English deriving from Atlantic creoles, including Gullah (Turner 1971: 134), often have *unu* (or something similar) which is a plural form from the original West African input (probably Ibo) to the Caribbean (Hickey 2003b; Burchfield 1994: 10). The form *y'all* is particularly common in the American South (Butters 2001: 332; Montgomery 2001: 151) and – independently – in South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1996). A usage, which arose in American English and spread from there to the rest of the anglophone world, is *you guys* for a group of younger people, male or female.

Finally, one can consider whether the distinction between internally and externally-motivated change is valid as a binary dichotomy. The answer is both 'yes' and 'no'. For early childhood, change is internal and system-driven and free of external motivation. However, for adolescence and later life, change is both internal and external: social factors determine whether variation, inherent in all languages, is carried over a threshold after which it becomes change in the community in question. The propagation and the conclusion of change is determined by social factors, but the initiation of change is connected with structural properties and developmental preferences which exist across languages and which ultimately have to do with the contingencies of language production and processing. Again social considerations may be at work here and promote irregularity and disturb symmetry and patterning especially if there is strong social motivation for this disturbance arising and being maintained. Furthermore, change should be seen in the context of non-change, i.e. what is altered and what is maintained in a language are of equal significance and depend ultimately on how speakers deal with inherent variation in their speech community.

In sum, the speaker-internal and speaker-external distinction is most important with regard to the triggering mechanism of language change. Internal considerations also determine the range and possible trajectories of change and impose a degree of systematicity onto the more random variation found in the external, social context of language. For that insight the distinction considered in this study would appear to be worthwhile making.

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PART II

Morphosyntax

The myth of American English *gotten* as a historical retention

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In this article, I investigate where and when the myth of American English as a conservative variety originates, and how it has become linked to the verb form *gotten* in particular. Drawing on corpus materials, prescriptive grammar writers of the time, publications on Americanisms, and nineteenth-century newspaper articles, this article shows that *gotten* is not a historical retention, but was revived in the nineteenth century in American English. However, this revival was not linked (yet) to the idea of it being a specific American form. Once this indexical link was established, however, it seems to have fuelled the rise of *gotten* further. The concept of *gotten* as indexing AmE linguistic conservativism is thus indeed a myth (if a powerful one).

1. Introduction: The myth

The American English past participle *gotten* is usually seen as prime evidence that American English has preserved older forms of English (Curme 1927; Mencken 1948: 363; Marckwardt 1958: 59–80; Gowers 2016: 48). Like all myths, this one contains a grain of truth: today the past participle *gotten* is a morphological Americanism, whereas British English predominantly uses *got* (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 56–57; Quirk et al. 1985: 113; Hundt 2009: 20–22). Also the "historical" aspect is at least partly true: *gotten* is an attested earlier form and used to be present in British English (OED 2011–: s.v. GET, v. 3b). The automatic link between these two established facts however is not warranted: it is not true that *gotten* was transported to the colony with the earliest settlers and was simply retained there while falling out of use in Britain. As often in historical linguistics, the story is more complicated, as I will show below. Despite the fact that corpus evidence definitely refutes that claim, the myth of *gotten* as a historical retention is alive and well.

I have earlier proposed tentatively that the source of this myth lies in the twentieth century more than in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Anderwald

https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.214.03and

forthcoming), and I want to substantiate this claim in some more detail in this contribution. In order to do so, I will first briefly investigate the actual history of the past participle of GET in British and especially in American English, then look at the metalinguistic evidence of the time, and then trace the treatment of *gotten* in sources closer to our times. In this way, I will argue that indeed, the myth of *gotten* as a deliberate, conservative retention became mainstream ideology only in the early decades of the twentieth century, from which it was projected backward in time to the founding days of the U.S.

2. Unmasking the myth: The corpus evidence

The myth of *gotten* as a historical retention in American English rests on several (correct) observations, as briefly noted in Section 1. Today, standard American English does use (*have*) *gotten* in dynamic contexts, whereas *have got* is found in stative readings, while standard British English mainly uses *have got* (in both senses) (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 56–57). Historically, *gotten* is attested as an older form. Since the late nineteenth century, the present-day and historical evidence combined has led scholars to deduce that therefore, American English *gotten* must be the retention of an older form that went out of use in British English, but that has survived in American English.

As evidence, the OED can easily serve as a first approximation. It notes "past participle *got*, (*chiefly U.S.*) *gotten*", and then lists many spelling variants of a participle with vowel <o> and with the participle ending <n>, with a range of (presumably unstressed, reduced) vowels, both from Middle English and then later Scottish sources:

> 3. past participle. … β. ME gooten, … ME gothen, ME gotin, ME goton, ME gotoun, ME gotyn, ME gotyne, … ME ygoten, ME-15 goten,… ME-17 gotton, lME- gotten (*now chiefly U.S.*) … 16 gottun, … 18- gottan, 18- gotten, 18- gotton, … Scottish … pre-17 goten, pre-17 gotine, … pre-17 gottine, pre-17 gottne, pre-17 gottyn, pre-17 gottyne, pre-17 gotyn, pre-17 gotyne … pre-17 18- gotten, pre-17 18- gottin, … 18- gotton (now Shetland) (OED: s.v. GET v.)

However, corpus evidence quickly shows that AmE *gotten* is not a straightforward retention of an older form that was perhaps taken to the new colony in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (pace Curme 1927; Marckwardt 1958). As is shown in Figure 1, Hundt (2009) has already demonstrated that *gotten* fell out of use in the nineteenth century in British as well as American English, and was presumably revived only in American English later.

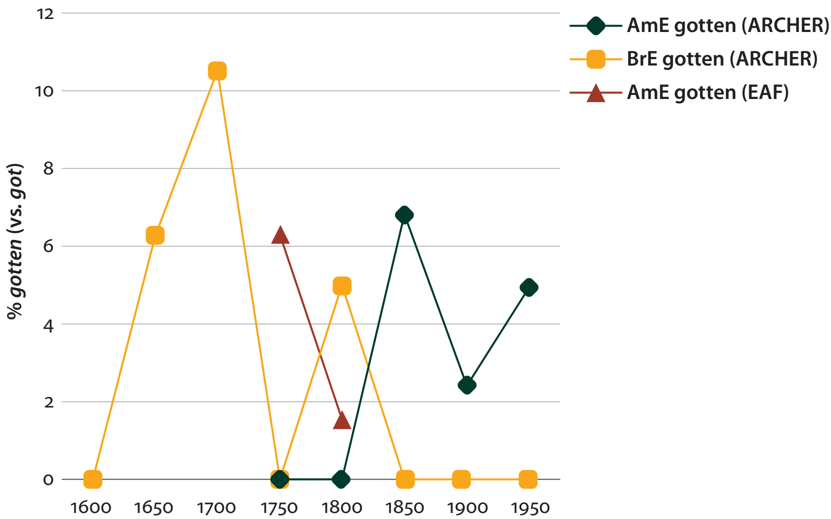


Figure 1. The use of past participle *gotten* (vs. *got*) in $ARCHER_2$ and Early American Fiction, based on figures in Hundt (2009)

However, for a rather infrequent phenomenon like a specific past participle going out of use ARCHER is presumably simply not big enough, and the smallest periods one can investigate are the 50-year periods indicated in Figure 1. Even in these rather large periods, the absolute frequency of *gotten* is four occurrences at most (Hundt 2009: 21), and the actual development of *gotten* is therefore at best hinted at. Especially the diachronic development in American English tentatively suggested in Figure 1 (decline in the earlier data from the Early American Fiction corpus, but a later increase and then decline again in ARCHER) calls for a more thorough investigation in a much larger corpus that has only become available since the publication of Hundt's study, namely the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA, cf. Davies 2010–). Figure 2 tracks the frequency development of HAVE *gotten* in that corpus (see the Appendix for raw frequencies).[1]

Figure 2 largely supports the earlier corpus data: it clearly shows that HAVE *gotten* goes out of use in written American English in the first half of the nineteenth century. This decline is even more dramatic if we look at it in terms of percentages (of all perfect forms, i.e. all forms of HAVE *gotten* vs. HAVE *got*), as Figure 3 illustrates (for absolute figures see the Appendix).

The following massive rise in use of HAVE *gotten* is mostly a late nineteenth and then a twentieth-century development, and Hundt thus correctly calls it a "post-colonial" revival (Hundt 2009: 22). As a comparison of Figure 2 and Figure 3 shows, the rise of HAVE *gotten* is not an artefact of the overall rise of GET

1. The frequencies are based on the search string "[have] gotten".

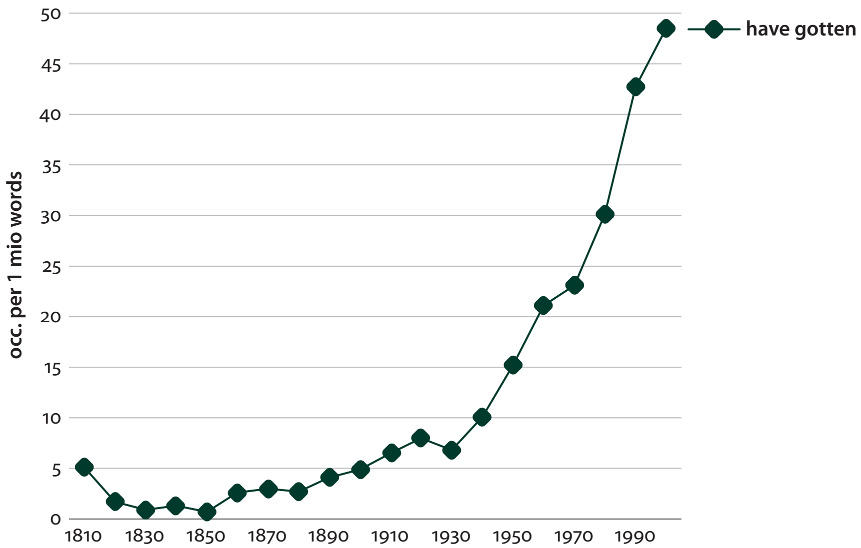


Figure 2. The rise of HAVE *gotten* in COHA (text frequency)

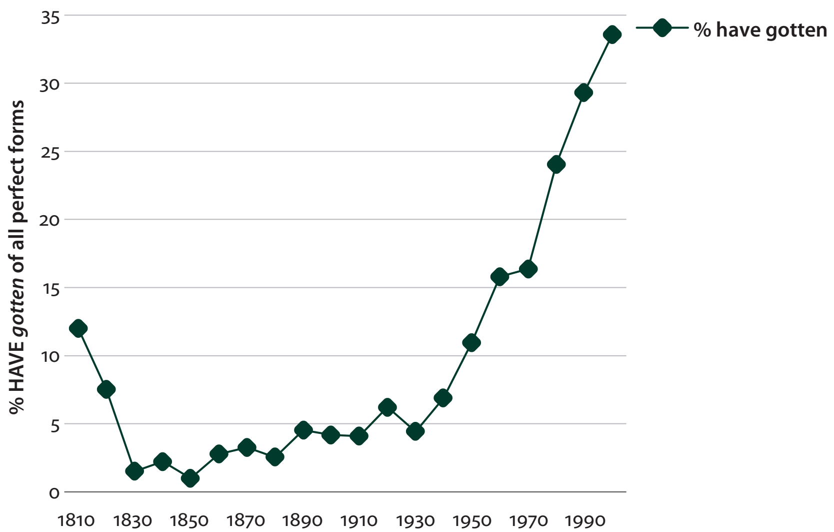


Figure 3. The rise of HAVE *gotten* in COHA (relative frequency of all perfect forms of GET)

that is attested for this period (for more details cf. Hundt 2001; Anderwald 2017), but a genuine change, and with the help of COHA we can now date this revival much more precisely. The actual decline of HAVE *gotten* seems to continue until the 1850s. After the 1850s, we can observe a modest reversal of this trend, and use of HAVE *gotten* increases again, until in the 1900s it has reached roughly the same text frequency it already had a century earlier (cf. Figure 2: just under 5 occurrences per million words in writing – indeed a very rare phenomenon). This modest increase lasts until the 1920s, when it is succeeded by a much more dynamic increase that continues until today. In fact, HAVE *gotten* has a text frequency of just under 10 in the 1920s, but today (in COHA) this frequency has increased to almost 50, and has thus almost quintupled in only 80 years. As already noted, this increase is not an epiphenomenon of the overall increase in use of GET: if we look at the development in terms of relative frequencies in Figure 3, the rise is actually even more dramatic. Here, HAVE *gotten* increases from about 5% usage to almost 35% – an increase that is seven-fold. Both in terms of text frequency and relative frequency, then, *gotten* has clearly been revived after its initial decline at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and continues to be used more and more frequently over the course of the twentieth century.

It is thus indisputable that the present-day use of *gotten* is due to a revival and is not a retention in American English, and that this revival process starts after the 1850s (although the most dynamic increase can actually be observed much later, in the twentieth century, as we have seen). It is tempting to link the fact, and the timing, of this revival with the phase in American English history that Schneider calls Phase 4, the phase of "endonormative stabilization", dated (for the U.S.) to 1848–1898 (Schneider 2007: 282–291), since this fits almost exactly the documented emergence of HAVE *gotten* as a (new) marker of American English. Schneider chooses to head this phase with Noah Webster's sentiment that "Our honor requires us to have a system of our own" (Schneider 2007: 282) – although this statement actually predates Schneider's Phase 4 by half a century (it comes from Webster's *Dissertations* from 1789); however, Webster only died in 1843 and may well have influenced American meta-linguistic debates after this initial claim at the end of the eighteenth century, shortly after political independence.[2] Also, as Schneider notes (Schneider 2007: 52; cf. also my footnote 3), there seems to be a delay for grammatical differences to become noticeable, and therefore a form like *gotten* perhaps only rose to prominence after several decades of "linguistic independence".

It may be useful to look at Webster in some more detail, since he does in fact explicitly link politics and language. The quote runs more fully:

> As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government. Great Britain, whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be our standard. (Webster 1789: 20)

2. This is not the place to trace Webster's influence on subsequent grammarians, lexicographers, reviewers and commentators, but cf. Finegan (1980, 2001).

Although Webster also claims already in 1789 that "Now is the time to begin the plan" (Webster 1789: 36), it would fit the story of *gotten* perfectly if we could show that *gotten* was revived deliberately in the 1850s *in order to* make American English different from British English, as an index of a newly independent nation that heeds Webster's call and develops its own linguistic standards in a move away from the mother country, the old colonial master, towards not only political but also linguistic independence. After all, Webster writes explicitly:

> As a nation, we have a very great interest in opposing the introduction of any plan of uniformity with the British language … to copy foreign manners implicitly, is to reverse the order of things, and begin our political existence with the corruptions and vices which have marked the declining glories of other republics.
>
> (Webster 1789: 171, 179)

3. Investigating the source of the myth

In order to investigate the source of the "historical retention" myth, we now have to move away from the purely corpus-linguistic documentation of language use (and, as we have seen in Section 2, the clear documentation of language change), to meta-discourses about language use (and language change). Since what is to be investigated in this section is the *ideological* change from an exonormative to an endonormative orientation of a former colony, and the emergence of a new national standard, it makes sense to investigate the discourses of the time of one of the clearest agents of standardization, prescriptive grammar writing.[3] In order to be able to investigate prescriptive grammar writing more than anecdotally, I have collected a representative sample of the more than 2,000 grammars documented for the nineteenth century (e.g. in Görlach 1998; cf. also Michael 1991, 1997).

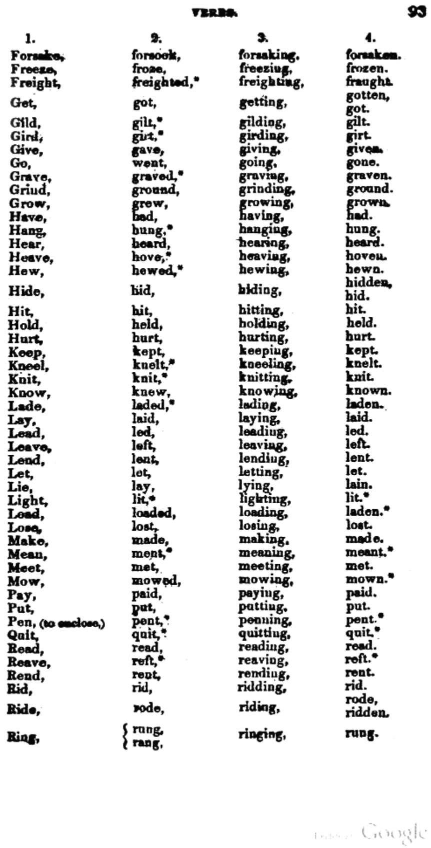
3.1 The collection of nineteenth-century grammars (CNG)

In my collection of 258 prescriptive nineteenth-century grammars (cf. Anderwald 2016: 10–15), published between 1800 and 1900 mainly as school grammars, 125

3. Schneider explicitly mentions the famous standardization triad of "dictionaries, grammars, and usage guides" (Schneider 2007: 52) as agents in this process of endonormative stabilization; cf. also Nevalainen & Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006) for the standardization of English more generally. Although Schneider says that "[g]rammar books come later, because the number of grammatically divergent patterns is smaller than the number of local words" (Schneider 2007: 52), for evidence on a morphosyntactic form like *gotten* it is of course useful to turn to grammar books first.

were published and read in America,[4] and if anywhere, this is where we can expect to detect signs of the change in normative focus, from focussing on an older British norm, to developing and defending a new, internal American norm.

Verb forms lend themselves particularly well to a quantitative investigation, because almost every grammar book contained a list of irregular verbs. Indeed, in these lists 95 (out of 125) American grammars mention GET, i.e. 76% (for all figures cf. the Appendix). A sample page is reproduced in Figure 4.



VERBS. 93

1.	2.	3.	4.
Forsake,	forsook,	forsaking,	forsaken.
Freeze,	froze,	freezing,	frozen.
Freight,	freighted,*	freighting,	fraught.
Get,	got,	getting,	gotten, got.
Gild,	gilt,*	gilding,	gilt.
Gird,	girt,*	girding,	girt.
Give,	gave,	giving,	given.
Go,	went,	going,	gone.
Grave,	graved,*	graving,	graven.
Grind,	ground,	grinding,	ground.
Grow,	grew,	growing,	grown.
Have,	had,	having,	had.
Hang,	hung,*	hanging,	hung.
Hear,	heard,	hearing,	heard.
Heave,	hove,*	heaving,	hoven.
Hew,	hewed,*	hewing,	hewn.
Hide,	hid,	hiding,	hidden, hid.
Hit,	hit,	hitting,	hit.
Hold,	held,	holding,	held.
Hurt,	hurt,	hurting,	hurt.
Keep,	kept,	keeping,	kept.
Kneel,	knelt,*	kneeling,	knelt.
Knit,	knit,*	knitting,	knit.
Know,	knew,	knowing,	known.
Lade,	laded,*	lading,	laden.
Lay,	laid,	laying,	laid.
Lead,	led,	leading,	led.
Leave,	left,	leaving,	left.
Lend,	lent,	lending,	lent.
Let,	let,	letting,	let.
Lie,	lay,	lying,	lain.
Light,	lit,*	lighting,	lit.*
Load,	loaded,	loading,	laden.*
Lose,	lost,	losing,	lost.
Make,	made,	making,	made.
Mean,	meant,*	meaning,	meant.*
Meet,	met,	meeting,	met.
Mow,	mowed,	mowing,	mown.*
Pay,	paid,	paying,	paid.
Put,	put,	putting,	put.
Pen, (to enclose,)	pent,*	penning,	pent.*
Quit,	quit,*	quitting,	quit.*
Read,	read,	reading,	read.
Reave,	reft,*	reaving,	reft.*
Rend,	rent,	rending,	rent.
Rid,	rid,	ridding,	rid.
Ride,	rode,	riding,	rode, ridden.
Ring,	rung, rang,	ringing,	rung.

Figure 4. Page of irregular verb forms taken from Kenyon (1849: 93)

4. That is not to discount the fact that also British grammars (and of course British books in general) were read in America, and that British sources were quoted and copied extensively in American grammars (for several examples cf. Anderwald 2016). This does not detract from the fact that the American grammars were clearly directed towards an American market, and therefore are particularly suited for this analysis.

Looking at the various authors, there seem to have been several options. A decreasing number of grammars only mention past participle *got* (e.g. *get – got – got*). A small number of grammar writers (only 5) mention only *gotten* as a possible past participle (e.g. *get – got – gotten*). The vast majority mention both *got* and *gotten* as possible past participle forms, as does William Kenyon in Figure 4 (Kenyon 1849: 93). This is perhaps already unexpected, as variation should be the locus of prescriptive intervention – after all, standardization is explicitly defined as "the suppression of optional variability in language" (Milroy & Milroy 1999: 6 et passim), and the variation between morphosyntactic alternatives (different past tense forms, or different past participles) is a prime example of optional variability. However, the majority of grammar writers in fact comment very little on this type of obvious variability (cf. also in much detail my other studies on variable verb forms, e.g. Anderwald 2016: 62–130), and in this specific area (verb forms) they are already less prescriptive than we would expect (pace Görlach 1999: 68, who without citing much evidence claims that for variable tense forms, "all grammarians insist on correctness" in the nineteenth century). Only occasionally is *gotten* discussed in remarks that go beyond simple lists. As just one example, Edward Hallock says before his list of irregular verbs:

> REM[ARK]. 3. The following perfect participles formerly terminated with *en*, but this termination is now obsolescent, and the terminations of some participles exhibited in the list are generally used; as, *baken, boughten, bounden, chidden, cloven, drunken, foughten, gotten, tolden, ridden, shapen, haven, sitten, slidden, spitten, stridden, stricken, swollen, shriven, waxen*, etc. (Hallock 1849: 121)

Hallock here explicitly designates *gotten* as an old form (*formerly terminated*), and calls it *obsolescent*. However, explicit remarks like this one are overall very rare. The majority of authors simply give lists, often mentioning two variants (again, cf. Kenyon's example above in Figure 4). Mentioning two variants perhaps does not mean that both of them are equally sanctioned. In fact, it seems that the order of mentioning two (or, rarely, more than two) variants stands in iconically for the author's preference. This is sometimes explicitly pointed out. Thus, John Putnam at the beginning of the century instructs his readers:

> In the preceding list, some of the verbs will be found to be conjugated regularly as well as irregularly; and those which admit of the regular form are marked with an R. There is a preference to be given to some of these which custom and judgment must determine. Those preterites and participles which are first mentioned in the list, seem to be the most eligible. (Putnam 1828: 92)

The very influential Goold Brown in addition gives frequency of usage as well as use by accepted authorities as reasons for his ordering of variants:

> Obs[ervation]. 5. – The following alphabetical list exhibits the simple irregular verbs, as they are now generally used. In this list, those preterits and participles which are supposed to be preferable, and best supported by authorities, are placed first. … Some words which are obsolete, have also been omitted, that the learner might not mistake them for words in present use. Some of those which are placed last, are now little used. (Brown 1851: 373)

Similar remarks are found in Hallock (1849: 121), William Wells (1847: 107), and William Bingham (1867: 75), and in all cases it is uniformly the first form that is preferred. We can thus assume that even when the ordering of variants is not explicitly stated as being dictated by preferences, this custom was so uniform and so widespread in the community of grammar writers that authors (and presumably readers) would automatically assume that when presented with alternatives, the first one would be the preferred one.

Thus taking order as a rough indicator of preference, we can see that the majority of grammar writers (who mention GET) prefer participle *got* at all times, as Figure 5 details. (A preference for *got*, including saying that *gotten* does not exist anymore, is indicated at the bottom of the bars in Figure 5.)

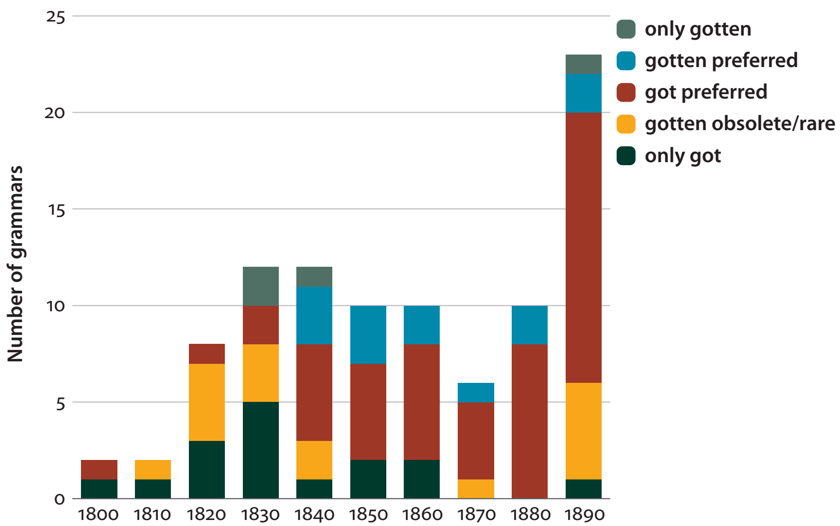


Figure 5. Past participle *got* vs. *gotten* in nineteenth century American grammars (CNG)

A small minority of 17 grammars prefer *gotten*, starting in the 1830s (indicated at the top of the bars). As just one example, Kenyon (1849) in Figure 4 puts *gotten* above *got* (and, also on this extract, *hidden* above *hid*), implying that both can be used, but also that (for whatever reasons) the forms in <en> are his forms of choice. However, overall this stance amounts to at most 20% of all grammars which mention GET, and a preference for *gotten* remains a clear minority opinion at all times. What is more striking, those grammarians that do prefer *gotten* never comment on it as an American form, and therefore never *recommend* it as an American form. In fact, there is not a single comment in these 17 grammars as to why *gotten* should be preferred.

In sum, the recommendation of *gotten* was only ever a minority position; in addition, the recommendation was at most implicit, deriving as it does from the order of variants (of course, this may have been made more explicit by teachers during school lessons). In the few more explicit passages, *gotten* was never flagged as a specifically typical American form, and it was certainly never recommended *because* it was felt to be an American form. The initial reversal of fortunes in the form *gotten* in the nineteenth century cannot thus have been initiated by prescriptive grammarians as a deliberate act of dissociation from British English.

3.2 Dictionaries and glossaries of Americanisms

Perhaps, despite our initial assumption, prescriptive grammarians were not the primary agents of the switch towards an endonormative standard in America – even though some of them were clearly trying to describe an American language, rather than the English language more generally.[5] I will therefore now turn to other promising sources where we might find comments on American forms: explicit publications on Americanisms, in particular dictionaries, lists of Americanisms, or glossaries.

Starting with John Witherspoon, publications on (mostly lexical) Americanisms do indeed spring into existence in the nineteenth century, just after political independence (as expected). However, looking for remarks on participle *gotten*, or indeed any forms of GET, turns up little evidence for the first half of the nineteenth century. Pace Schneider, this does not seem to be caused by a more general neglect of grammatical differences; other verb forms are indeed remarked on quite early, e.g. past tense *pled* (Anderwald 2013). GET, by contrast, is not mentioned by Witherspoon (1802),[6] or by John Pickering in his *Vocabulary* (Pickering 1816). John Russell Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms* notes possessive *have got* (rather

5. Thus James Brown calls his grammar *American Grammar … designed for the use of schools in the United States* (Brown 1820), Rensselaer Bentley's grammar is called *American Instructor* (Bentley 1825), and Hugh A. Pue's *Grammar of the English Language … Addressed to Every American Youth* (Pue 1841). The American audience is at least implied by the usual American terms for the education system in William Baskervill & J. W. Sewell's *English Grammar for the Use of High School, Academy, and College Classes* (Baskervill & Sewell 1895).

6. This is the second edition of his collected works; originally his remarks on Americanisms were published in the *Pennsylvania Journal or Weekly Advertiser*, May 1781 (according to Algeo 2001).

than full verb HAVE) as a "corrupt, vulgar form" in the first edition – an entry that then disappears in the second:

> HAVE GOT. There are several corrupt or vulgar forms of speaking which have arisen from a desire to distinguish between different uses of the same word. Thus the verb *to have* is used in the sense of to hold, to possess (Sp. *tener*), and also as an auxiliary (Sp. *haber*). In order to distinguish the former use form the latter, many persons, both in England and America, are accustomed to use the expressions 'I've *got*,' 'he's *got*,' &c., instead of simply I have, he has, &c.
>
> Then forcing thee, by fire he made thee bright;
> Nay, thou *hast got* the face of man. – *Herbert*.
> I *have got* a good mind to go to the play. – Pegge's *Glossary*.
>
> (Bartlett 1848: 161 under "G", not contained in the second edition, where GOSPEL LOT is followed by GOTHAM and GOTHAMITES; cf. Bartlett 1859: 176 – the entry hasn't been moved to "H" either, nor is it included under GET, cf. p. 169)

Note however that Bartlett does not mention *have gotten* as a possible alternative, despite his explicit purpose of describing Americanisms, although in the second edition he does list several idioms with GET (*to get religion, to get one's back up, get out, to get round*, and *to get the wrong pig by the tail*) (Bartlett 1859: 169, only the last of which also appeared in the first edition from 1848).

The first entry on GET that mentions *gotten* in these dictionaries and glossaries of Americanisms is in fact contained in Maximilian Schele de Vere's *Americanisms* (Schele de Vere 1872). In a long section entitled "Old Friends with New Faces" (his section X., pp. 427–570) he has an entry on GET, which he calls "maid of all work", "adapted to many purposes". This entry is worth quoting in full:

> *Get*, to, one of the convenient words of the language, which Americans use, like *fix*, as maids of all work, seems nevertheless to be so well adapted to many purposes, that even English writers and orators begin to use it in ways which formerly were made a cause of grave reproach to our people. To speak of "*getting* religion" may not be exactly correct, and to "*get* corrected," conveys no clear meaning, but to "*get* money" has received the sanction of the best writers. "The Yankee notion that the *getting* of money is the chief end of man." (*Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1858.) To *get on* has become domesticated in English. The Earl of Derby, delivering recently the prizes to the successful pupils of Liverpool College, said, "We are a little too apt to look upon ourselves as mere machines for what is called *getting on*," and in another place, "he had *got* as much as he or anybody belonging to him." (December, 1870.) Even the shortened form *got* instead of *gotten*, long made a special reproach and considered an objectionable Americanism, has now its advocates in English. Wordsworth says:

> "But then he is a horse that thinks,
> And when he thinks his horse is slack;
> Now, tho' he knows poor Johnny well,
> Yet, for his life, he cannot tell
> What he has *got* upon his back"– (*The Idiot Boy*.)

and Lord Lytton goes so far as to use *forgot* in his last brilliant novel. *To get up on one's ear*, is regular slang, meaning, to rouse one's self to a great effort:

> They called me bully boy, altho' I've seen nigh threescore years,
> And said that I was lightning, when I *got up on my ear*.
> (*Words and their Uses*.[7] Galveston *News*, May 4, 1871.)
> (Schele de Vere 1872: 479)

However, what is noted by Schele de Vere as a (criticized, "objectionable") Americanism is the newer, the "shortened" participle form *got*, not *gotten* (which, by implication, is seen as older, as more correct, and more British), and the "overuse" of GET overall, something that is generally much criticized at the time (cf. Anderwald 2017).

Attention focussing on *gotten* is first attested in Richard Grant White's *Words and Their Uses* (1870), originally published as magazine columns in *The Galaxy* in the late 1860s.[8] White writes:

> There is among some persons not uneducated or without intelligence a doubt about the past participle of *got* – *gotten*, which produces a disinclination to its use. I am asked, for instance, whether *gotten*, like *proven*, belongs to the lists of "words that are not words." Certainly not. *Prove* is what the grammars call a regular verb; that is, it forms its tenses upon the prevailing system of English verbal conjugation, which makes the perfect tense in *ed*. It is in this respect like *love*, the example of regular verbal conjugation given in most grammars; and one might as well say that

7. Despite the identical title, the reference here is not to R. G. White's collection of articles (originally published in the *Galaxy*). "Words and their Uses", self-ascribed to "a mystified Quaker", refers to a humorous poem much reprinted in various newspapers and magazines throughout the U.S., e.g. *The Cleveland Morning Herald* (90, April 15, 1871), the *Morning Republican* (Arkansas) (310, May 12, 1871), *Daily Evening Bulletin* (California, May 13, 1871), even in Hawaii: *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, 21 June 1871); it then seems to have spread to magazines such as *The Inland Monthly Magazine* (1 March 1872: 45), *Scribner's Magazine* 1875 (p. 142), or even the *Elocutionist's Journal* 1877 (p. 9). In these publications, the story is usually attributed to New York (although with various dates from the 1870s). It is not clear whether Schele de Vere just happened to have read this in the *Galveston News* (Texas), or if it actually originated there, but the year 1871 seems to be the earliest attestation, e.g. in the *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers* database, <www.galegroup/ncnp>.

8. Cf. White's preface (White 1870: 3–8). For much more detail, cf. also Crowell (1967).

> Mary *loven* John [sic! the past tense] as that John's love for Mary was not *proven*. But *get* is, in the words of the grammars, an irregular verb; that is, it forms its preterite tense and its past participle by a real inflection of the present indicative; thus – *get, gat*[sic!], *gotten*. The number of these irregular verbs, having what is well called a strong preterite, is large in our language, of which they are a very fine and characteristic feature, and one that we should solicitously preserve with their original native traits unchanged. They are all pure English … (White 1870: 118)

Disregarding the factual mistakes in this passage (not all loanwords like PROVE become weak verbs, and analogy is not always the best advisor when it comes to variable forms; the ridiculous constructed example with LOVE backfires, because White actually uses non-existent *loven* as a past tense form, not as a participle, and GET is an Old Norse loan word that is only attested from Middle English onwards, not an *original, native, pure English* word), it is worth noting here that White defends not only the obsolescent form *gotten*, but also the obsolete past tense form *gat*, even though his main argument (that GET is a strong verb) would be served just as well by the actual past tense form *got*. White was a massive Britophile and actually expends considerable energy on going through Bartlett's dictionary and disproving his list of "Americanisms" (in White 1870, but especially in subsequent publications 1877a, b, 1878a, b, c, d, e, f, 1879a, b, c, d). Nevertheless, and presumably contrary to his intentions, his defence of *gotten* as "pure English" and as an old, therefore a "fine and characteristic feature" of English in general seems to have been taken as a legitimation of *gotten* as an attested, conservative *American* form. In this way, White at least paves the way for a reversal of the indexicalization, from *have got* as a specific American form (as in Schele de Vere 1872), to *have gotten* as a specific American form.

After White, *gotten* is found regularly in glossaries and other texts, and cited as a conservative Americanism. Thus John Farmer calls *gotten* an "old form of the past participle [which] is colloquial everywhere, more so than the modern 'got'" (Farmer 1889: 273). Echoing Farmer, Sylva Clapin says *gotten* is "an old and soft form of the participle of 'to get,' which is much more colloquial in the United States than the modern 'got'" (Clapin 1902: 216), and Richard Thornton similarly claims that *gotten* is "[a]rchaic in England, but common in the U.S." (Thornton 1912: 379). As these examples show, the indexicalization of *gotten* as an archaism that was preserved in the U.S. is a development starting at the end of the nineteenth century, and then continuing into the first decades of the twentieth century in publications devoted to Americanisms, especially dictionaries and glossaries.

3.3 American newspapers

The inclusion of Richard Grant White in Section 3.2 has already intimated that a third kind of discourse context (beyond grammar books and glossaries) might have been relevant for the spread of the "historical retention" myth of *gotten*, namely newspapers and other periodical publications in the U.S. I included White above because his republished articles were extremely popular in book format (White 1870, 1882), and White thus also qualifies as a monograph author on Americanisms. To expand the horizon, however, I also searched the wide-scale databases of historical newspapers that are now available,[9] for evidence of a metadiscourse on *gotten*. Although there is much evidence of the actual use of *gotten* (although often in *forgotten*, or the adverbial participle *ill-gotten*), *gotten* is only rarely explicitly commented on. Some metadiscursive articles correlate with the publication of glossaries and books mentioned in 3.2. Thus, Richard Grant White's article containing his remark on *gotten* (originally published in the periodical *Galaxy* in 1868) is also reprinted by other newspapers (e.g. the *Daily Evening Bulletin* from San Francisco, California, on 26 September 1868), and a talk by Brander Matthews on past participles (including comments on *putten* and *gotten*) is reported in various newspapers across the country in 1912.[10]

More typically, metalinguistic discourses involve amusing anecdotes, poems, or occasionally questions asking for advice put to the editor. Especially the anecdotes get repeated extensively across publications, and thus turn up in the database for several days and months following their original publication. The following one (sometimes entitled "A practical solution") for example is repeated across the continent between April and July 1899 (at least in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Idaho, Mississippi, Missouri, South Dakota, and California), here quoted from the earliest attestation:

> A recent discussion at a dinner table, says an English paper, whether "gotten" or "got" were the preferable participle, received a practical solution, at least for the telegraphic service, from the experience related of a college professor who preferred "gotten." He had telegraphed to his wife "Have gotten tickets for the opera to-night. meet me there." The telegraph operator rendered this into, "Have got ten tickets, etc." Mrs Professor was delighted with the opportunity of entertaining her

9. In particular, *America's Historical Newspapers* (AHN), available at <http://infoweb.newsbank.com>, and *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers* (NCNP), available at <http://find.galegroup.com/ncnp/>.

10. The original report is repeated in at least the *Miami Herald* from Florida, 30 October 1912 ("Queer, but Correct"), the *Idaho Daily Statesman*, 23 Nov 1912 (also headed "Queer, but Correct") and the *Dallas Morning News* from Texas, 26 August 1913 ("A Rhythmical Criticism").

> friends, and accordingly made up a party of eight beside herself, whose greetings to the professor at the rendezvous were probably more cordial than his feelings until matters were explained. He now makes an exception to his customary use of "gotten." (The *Springfield Sunday Republican*, 2 April 1899)

This anecdote clearly ridicules the use of *gotten*. Note its link to a professor, and thus educated speech, but perhaps also to being either overly correct in language, or conservative; there is also a hint of otherworldliness in this anecdote about the professor's behaviour. The exact geographical location is not clear – although the purported source is "an English paper" (in other reprints, this is specified as the *London Chronicle*), the term *college professor* could possibly also relate to the American education system, and in fact one later re-telling (in the *Sioux City Journal*, 16 June 1900, entitled "Cured of the 'Gotten' Habit") changes the *dramatis personae* to "a learned Culbertonite [sc. inhabitant of Culbertson, Nebraska – a town of 422 inhabitants in 1900][11] by the name of John Doe" and his wife, clearly poking fun at American small town folk. The ridicule serves didactic purposes, even though these are not spelled out, and readers are invited to laugh with the (unidentified) author at the professor (or self-professed learned man), but also to shun the use of *gotten* – it might clearly lead them into the danger of having to pay for 10 opera tickets, instead of 2!

Similar in its ridicule, another anecdote is occasionally repeated in 1899, entitled "A Hint for Him" (published in at least Idaho and Kentucky, but attributed to the *Chicago Times Herald*):

> A HINT FOR HIM
>
> He – It's a good while since I've studied grammar. Which is proper, "got" or "gotten"?
> She – Well, it depends. If papa is around where he can hear and you are anxious to learn his honest opinion of you you might say "gotten." – Chicago Times Herald.
>
> (*Idaho Daily Statesman*, 28 October 1899)

Again the moral is implicit: presumably, the (young) husband will *not* be anxious to learn his father-in-law's honest opinion if he uses *gotten*, and this implies that the "honest opinion" would be anything but favourable. *Gotten* is thus not only surrounded by uncertainty (it is linked to not knowing which form is *proper*, a question that only explicit grammar instruction can solve, etc.), but the overwhelming preference at the end of the nineteenth century is still very much against

11. According to Wikipedia, at least; s.v. Culbertson, Nebraska. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Culbertson,_Nebraska> (last visited 15 March 2018) using *gotten*, and *got* is still explicitly preferred (although possessive *have got* is criticized almost throughout), as Figure 6 summarizes.

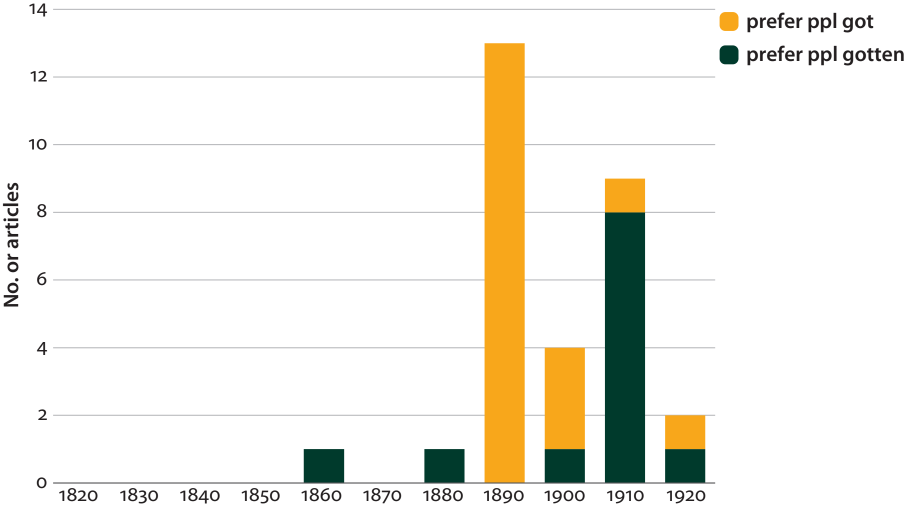


Figure 6. Absolute numbers (including repetitions) of articles dealing with the use of *got* vs. *gotten*

The criticism of *gotten* (often implied, as through the anecdotes just quoted) persists until the 1900s. This only seems to change slowly in the first decade of the twentieth century, where for example the question "'Got' or 'Gotten'" put to the editor is answered ambiguously as depending on "A Matter of Taste" (*Salt Lake Telegram*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 28 October 1905), and another writer of a letter to the editor asking for clarification is told that "gotten is by many authorities allowed" (*Morning Oregonian*, Portland, Oregon, 15 January 1915), or where *gotten* is defended as a historical, conservative, Southern form (*The State*, Columbia, South Carolina, 28 August 1916).[12] Overall, though, *gotten* only appears extremely rarely in the metadiscourses on language and Americanisms in the periodical publications (daily and weekly newspapers) of the time, **and** a discourse of *gotten* as an acceptable, historical, legitimate form that is specific to the U.S. and that should be used *because* it is an Americanism is not found until the 1910s. Even then, however,

12. This is not to say that after the 1920s, all sources would agree on recommending *gotten*. Until today the notoriously prescriptive style guide by Strunk & White, for example recommends not using stative *have got* because it is "colloquial", and says that "[t]he preferable form of the participle is *got*, not *gotten*" (from Strunk & White 1959: 39, unchanged until today). In this, the authors (especially E. B. White) truly are men of the nineteenth century (thanks are due to Geoff Pullum for this assessment).

there is still ambiguity and uncertainty (reflected also in Curme's memories cited below), and especially the use of possessive *have got* is still much criticized.

4. Twentieth-century publications

Although the discourse of American English as a conservative variety is already occasionally encountered in the nineteenth century (e.g. in Elwyn 1859; or even Ellis 1869: 20; cf. also the overview chapter by Montgomery 2001), it does not seem to come into its own until the first decades of the twentieth century, at least when combined with, and linked to, past participle *gotten*.

The most notable exponent is Curme, who speaks of his school days and "the often repeated admonitions not to use 'gotten'", or "the forbidden 'gotten'", which he also calls an "an American weakness" (Curme 1927: 495). However, the turning point for him seems to be coming across *gotten* in American and British historical sources. After this, he continues,

> The matter became very clear to me. The English colonists simply brought "gotten" along with them to their new American home. It wasn't after all an American blemish. It was good English. But a great ocean lay between the English colonists and the mother country. English in England went on developing as in earlier times, and "gotten" became "got," but in America "gotten" retained its original form. "Gotten" evidently belongs to the long list of American things. American English has manifested a very strong conservative tendency. (Curme 1927: 495)

Montgomery observes that "most proponents of colonial lag have had little conception of the heterogeneity of Colonial English and have generalized from only a few examples. The evidence cited for colonial lag is selective, often ambiguous or tendentious" (Montgomery 2001: 107), and this assessment certainly applies to Curme's article here – note the jump from only *gotten* to an unspecified *long list* of Americanisms, to the sweeping generalization of "American English" as very conservative. Nevertheless, this short tendentious piece then serves Mencken as evidence for calling *gotten* a "hallmark of American speech": "When it comes to *gotten* there is no difference of opinion, for all authorities [sic!] agree that it is now one of the hallmarks of American speech" (Mencken 1948: 363).[13]

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13. Although Mencken has some earlier short remarks on *gotten*, mainly noting *gotten* as a British – American difference (e.g. Mencken 1919: 115), the third edition only briefly refers to Curme in a footnote (Mencken 1936: 432n). The second supplement to the third edition (not published until 1948) is thus genuinely the first place where the supposed "hallmark" of American English is discussed in detail.

Marckwardt, even more clearly conforming to Montgomery's criticism, a decade later then uses only *gotten* (the *only* inflectional form he cites) for his far-reaching claim that "the tendency of American English to retain older features of the language needs no further elaboration. We have found evidence of it in the vocabulary, in pronunciation, in inflectional forms [sic! the only form cited is *gotten*], and in syntax" (Marckwardt 1958: 80), making *gotten* his prime example of *colonial lag* (his term). In the wake of Mencken and Marckwardt, today it seems to have become a reflex of linguists and lay people alike to link *gotten* with the assessment "historical retention". As just one example, in her recent (slightly tongue-in-cheek) usage guide, Rebecca Gowers lists "antiquated gotten, charitably preserved for us [sc. the British] by the Americans" (Gowers 2016: 48), in a very condensed way calling up the whole discourse of *gotten* as a legitimate, historical form (*antiquated*), of *gotten* as a historical retention (*preserved*), of American English as a more conservative variety (*preserved by the Americans*), and perhaps even of present-day American influence on British English (*preserved for us*).

In other words, it seems to be very much twentieth-century authors like Curme, Mencken, and then Marckwardt who establish (and backdate) the myth of American English as a conservative variety, and who, in terms of morphosyntactic features, rest this claim largely on the one verb form, *gotten*. This myth then becomes so widespread that even interested laypersons (as just one example cf. Gowers 2016) can today quote it as a commonsense assessment.

5. Conclusion

To sum up, there is clearly an awareness of *gotten* as a historically attested form since the nineteenth century. In addition, there has been an awareness of *gotten* as an American form since the 1880s – roughly one generation after its actual revival in the 1850s. This has served interested authors to construct American English as an archaic, legitimate variety in the first half of the twentieth century through the myth of *gotten* as a historical retention – a myth that was then conveniently backdated to give it historical depth and to legitimize it by making it plausibly fall together with political independence, conforming to the spirit of Webster (1789). My tracing of the historical retention myth (for *gotten*) to the first half of the twentieth century is indeed much later than Schneider's Phase 4 (Schneider 2007), and we thus have a clear case of myth building once *gotten* had already risen noticeably in salience. Presumably, this legitimizing myth, once it was established, then fuelled the use of *gotten* further, as the steep increase of *gotten* over the twentieth century shows (cf. Figures 2 and 3 again). However, establishing a distinctive, American variety of English cannot have been the original motivation for this development. Instead, we observe a (more or less coincidental) instance of language change – possibly fuelled by the massive immigration by Scotch-Irish immigrants around the middle of the nineteenth century, who presumably were more frequent users of *gotten*.[14] This new old form is then noted in metalinguistic discourses once it crosses a certain frequency threshold, and becomes salient. After fluctuating in evaluation, the indexical link of *gotten* with its (presumed) age (but not, interestingly, with Scottish or Irish speakers) towards the end of the nineteenth century then comes to metonymically stand for American English more widely, and serves writers in the twentieth century to revalorize American English as a conservative, good, legitimate variety.

Newspaper databases

AHN *America's Historical Newspapers*, contains over 1,000 newspapers published between 1690 and 1922, available at <http://infoweb.newsbank.com>.

NCNP *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, contains ca. 1.7 million articles from 1800–1900, available at <http://find.galegroup.com/ncnp>.

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14. Already hinted at in Jespersen (1931: 54). I would also like to thank Ray Hickey for making the same suggestion (p.c., August 2017). Plausible as it is, this intriguing suggestion would need a larger-scale study of very different materials to substantiate – clearly an interesting avenue for future research.

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Appendix

Absolute figures relating to Figures 2 to 3; the figures for Figure 1 can be found in Hundt (2009: 21).

Table 1. This table relates to Figures 2 and 3: Absolute frequencies of HAVE GOT and HAVE GOTTEN in COHA

	have got	*have gotten*	**text frequency of *have gotten* (per 1 mio words)**
1810	55	6	5.1
1820	156	12	1.7
1830	935	13	0.9
1840	1023	21	1.3
1850	1314	12	0.7
1860	1834	44	2.6
1870	1930	55	3
1880	2557	55	2.7
1890	2276	84	4.1
1900	3418	109	4.9
1910	5088	147	6.5
1920	4687	205	8
1930	5323	168	6.8
1940	4805	247	10.1
1950	4522	374	15.2
1960	4000	507	21.1
1970	3997	550	23.1
1980	3417	761	30.1
1990	3923	1164	42.7
2000	3887	1435	48.5

Table 2. Preference for participle ***got*** or ***gotten*** in the CNG (American grammars only)

	only *gotten*	***gotten* preferred**	***got* preferred**	***got* preferred, *gotten* comment**	**only *got***
1800	1				1
1810				1	1
1820			1	4	4
1830	2	1	3	2	5
1840	1	3	5	2	1
1850		3	4		2
1860		2	5	1	1
1870		1	4	1	
1880		2	8	1	
1890	1	2	14	4	1

Changes affecting relative clauses in Late Modern English

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This paper presents the results of a corpus study comparing relative markers (relative complementisers and relative pronouns) in the King James Bible and its modernised version, focusing on subject and object relative clauses involving a human referent. The attested differences indicate changes affecting Standard (British) English during Late Modern English. The paper discusses three important aspects: in Early Modern English, (i) *which* was available for human subjects, (ii) *that*-relatives had a higher proportion, and (iii) the equative element *as* could introduce relative clauses as a complementiser. The paper argues that the disappearance or reduction of alternative forms to *who*/*whom* was driven both by internal and by external factors, and that significant differences can be observed between the standard variety and regional dialects.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates some important changes affecting the left periphery of relative clauses during Late Modern English and their possible causes. Many traditional dialectal features that can be still detected in the dialects of England are known to have been more predominant in earlier stages of the language. While the present study naturally cannot provide a comprehensive study of all the relevant questions, it presents the results of a corpus study comparing the original version of the King James Bible (1611/1769) and its modernised version (1989), which offers a good contrast between two periods on the same set of data. In this section, I will briefly describe the most important patterns attested in relative clauses in Present-day English and their distribution across the standard variety and dialects.

Relative pronouns in Present-day Standard English show partial case distinction and distinction with respect to human vs. non-human antecedents. This is illustrated in (1):

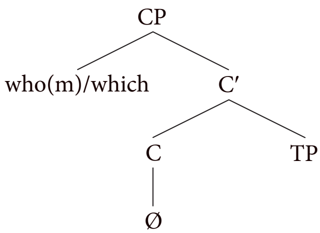
https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.214.04bac

(1) a. I saw the woman *who* lives next door in the park.
b. The woman *who/whom* I saw in the park lives next door.
c. I saw the cat *which* lives next door in the park.
d. The cat *which* I saw in the park lives next door.

As can be seen, *who/whom* is used with human antecedents, as in (1a) and (1b); the form *who* can appear both as nominative and as accusative, while the form *whom* used for the accusative is restricted in its actual appearance (formal/marked). With non-human antecedents, such as (1c) and (1d), the pronoun *which* is used, which shows no case distinction. It should be mentioned that *who(m)* is possible with certain animals: these are the "sanctioned borderline cases" (see Herrmann 2005: 41, quoting Quirk et al. 1985).

The standard assumption in generative grammar is that the relative pronoun occupies a specifier position in the CP, as shown in (2):

(2)



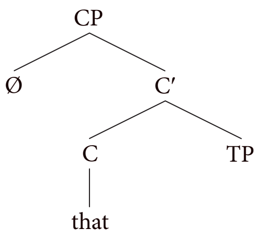
The point is that in these cases a zero complementiser is inserted and it attracts the movement of the relative operator to the left periphery.

In addition to relative clauses formed with *wh*-based relative operators, Standard English allows *that*-relatives as well: in these cases, the operator is zero and the complementiser *that* is overt. Consider:

(3) a. I saw the woman *that* lives next door in the park.
b. The woman *that* I saw in the park lives next door.
c. I saw the cat *that* lives next door in the park.
d. The cat *that* I saw in the park lives next door.

As can be seen, *that* is not sensitive to case and to the human/non-human distinction, which follows from its status as a complementiser. The relevant structure is illustrated in (4):

(4)



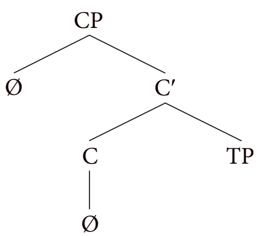
The structure is essentially the same as the one in (2): the difference lies in which element (the operator or the complementiser) is overt.

Apart from the two types of relative clauses mentioned above, zero relatives are also possible with object relative clauses in Standard English:

(5) a. *I saw the woman lives next door in the park.
b. The woman I saw in the park lives next door.
c. *I saw the cat lives next door in the park.
d. The cat I saw in the park lives next door.

As can be seen, the availability of zero relatives is not sensitive to the human/non-human distinction but it is sensitive to the function associated with the gap: while it is possible in (direct) object relative clauses[1] like (5b) and (5d), it is prohibited in subject relative clauses, like (5a) and (5c), at least as far as Standard English is concerned. In such constructions, both the operator and the complementiser are zero, as illustrated in (6):

(6)



Again, the difference from (2) and (4) lies in the overtness of the elements, while the structure is actually the same: in all cases, a complementiser is merged with the TP, and a specifier element (the operator) is merged with the complementiser.

However, the standard pattern is not observed in dialects; in fact, it is unusual across dialects and languages. Some non-standard English configurations are given in (7):

1. The same configuration is not possible with indirect objects and with complements of prepositions (unless the preposition is stranded), at least in Standard English.

(7) a. […] And the boy *which* I was at school with […]
(Freiburg English Dialect Corpus Wes_019; Herrmann 2005: 42)
b. I haven't been to a party yet *that* I haven't got home the same night.
(Van Gelderen 2009: 161, citing Miller 1993: 112)
c. […] It was my grandmother owned this bit of land […]
(Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech A13.3; Herrmann 2005: 64)
d. […] there's clean air is provided […]
(East Anglia, K69; Herrmann 2002: 11)
e. […] so all *as* he had to do were go round in a circle all the time […]
(Freiburg English Dialect Corpus Som_001; Herrmann 2005: 64)

All the patterns in (7) are historically attested, and therefore do not count as innovative (unlike *what* with nominal antecedents; cf. Kortmann & Wagner 2007). Without describing here the actual dialectal distribution, let me briefly summarise the major points where dialects may deviate from the standard pattern. First, as illustrated in (7a), the pronoun *which* is possible with human antecedents (see Herrmann 2005). Second, Van Gelderen (2009: 163) mentions that English speakers prefer *that* over a *wh*-pronoun "by at least a 4:1 ratio" (cf. Romaine 1982; Montgomery & Bailey 1991; Van Gelderen 2004; Tagliamonte et al. 2005);[2] however, *wh*-pronouns are promoted by prescriptive rules.[3] In essence, dialects show a wider distribution of *that*, which is interchangeable even with PPs involving a *wh*-element, such as *from which* in (7b) above. Third, as shown in (7c) and (7d),[4] zero

2. While several studies point towards this conclusion, it should be noted that the exact formulation may differ considerably. For instance, Romaine (1982) originally made a very strong claim in suggesting that while *wh*-pronouns became established in the written language, they barely had an effect on the spoken language. As shown by Ball (1996), such a strong claim is not tenable since the *wh*-strategy has affected spoken language as well, though with considerable dialectal and sociolinguistic differences. The asymmetry between written and spoken language goes back to at least the 17th century: the preference for *that* over *wh*-pronouns is stronger in trials (Ball 1996) and in drama texts (Dekeyser 1984) than in prose, poetry and letters (see Johansson 2012: 778). In addition, a change in the preference during the 17th century can be detected in various genres, as shown by Lezcano (1996).

3. As described by Austin (1985: 21, 24), this was already the case with 18th-century grammarians (including, for instance, Addison). Ball (1996: 247) points out that this trend was present in the 17th century as well, with writers like Dryden preferring *who* over *that*, but the sharp decline of *that* can be observed in the 18th century. It is worth mentioning that while *that*-relatives are already attested in Old English, *wh*-relatives involving *who* and *which* appeared as an innovation in Middle English only (see also Van Gelderen 2009, among others).

4. Technically, (7c) is an *it*-cleft, unlike (7d). While clefts have their specific semantic properties, they display the same variation regarding the relative markers as ordinary relative clauses, relatives are possible with subject relative clauses (see Herrmann 2005: 55–56); hence, (5a) and (5c) are possible dialectally.[5] Fourth, *as* is available as a relative complementiser (Herrmann 2005; Kortmann & Wagner 2007), as in (7e).

The changes responsible for the emergence of the standard pattern presumably took place in Late Modern English; in this respect, it should be identified what internal and external factors are responsible for these changes and how dialectal variation can be accounted for. In addition, the question arises what the status of *as* in relative clauses is.

In this paper, I will present the results of an ongoing corpus study that compares the King James Bible (1611/1769) and the New King James version (1989). The data set involves relative clauses introduced by *who* and *whom* in the newer version and their counterparts in the original version; this data set is complemented by a smaller set that also involves *which*-relatives and *that*-relatives in the newer version and their counterparts in the original version. The comparison between the Early Modern English text and modernised version offers a good basis for a contrastive analysis of the two language stages. The findings have important implications for the historical changes in question. First, it is shown that the traditional dialectal patterns mentioned above were even more frequent in the King James Bible than in present-day dialects, providing evidence for these patterns being on the retreat. Second, I will show that the differences between the original version and the norm-oriented new version are due to a complex interplay of factors. Regarding external factors, I will argue that the effect of prescriptive pressure and normalisation must be considered; however, this affects the standard variety only. Regarding internal factors, I examine the particular case of *as* in relative clauses. The corpus study shows that this pattern was reduced to "equative relative clauses" (see Section 3); further, being a highly specific structure, it was not extended to ordinary relative clauses, where other, more general patterns occur.

2. Changes in Modern English

As described by Kortmann and Wagner (2007) and Herrmann (2005), the dialectal patterns in (7) are attested historically. The problem for any historical investigation is that it is difficult to compare data. First, the issue of optionality

as already discussed by Ball (1996: 235–236). For the purposes of the present study, clefts will also be included in the corpus results.

5. As shown by Rissanen (1991), the acceptability of the omission of the relative marker varies across the history of English. The present corpus study has not found zero subject relatives in the King James Bible (see Section 2).

cannot be neglected: the choice of one strategy does not imply the impossibility of other strategies. Second, the context or the particular construction may influence the choice: comparing highly different sentences, even in a large corpus, is not conclusive. Third, register has an influence as well: it is evidently difficult to compare texts from Early Modern English and ones from Late Modern English due to varying degrees of standardisation and/or differences in the influence of prescriptive rules, not to mention the different requirements of diverse registers.

2.1 Methods

The present paper compares the King James Bible (1611/1769) and the New King James version (1989). The original version is from 1611, the standardised spelling by Benjamin Blayney dating from 1769. The new version essentially adheres to the original version, as far as the original construction is grammatical in Present-day Standard English. This also implies that an analysis of the present-day patterns attested in relative clauses cannot be based solely on the new version, as this reflects a rather conservative pattern; the conclusions must be complemented by other studies on standard and dialectal patterns, as was established in Section 1.

Still, the advantages of this comparison are quite straightforward. First, the same loci are compared, and hence the differences in relative markers cannot be due to the sentences or the context being different; this ultimately allows some quantitative comparison. Second, the same register is used in both texts. The differences from the original may thus reveal some differences between Early Modern and Present-day English, essentially indicating changes that took place in Late Modern English. Again, note that the new version may include a higher frequency of patterns that are possible but otherwise rare; what matters for us is rather the instances where the original pattern had to be modernised.

Regarding the present study, the following methodology was applied. The hits for “who” and “whom” in the New King James version were taken as the basis of the data set. In each case, the corresponding element in the original version was examined. There are various reasons for applying this methodology. First, this design allows for gaining a large number of data for the various options (including zero relatives) in the original by relying on a simple search in the new version. Second, the search for the specific forms “who” and “whom” in the new version automatically restricts the hits to relative clauses with human referents, which is the focus of the present study; again, the automated search allows for this restriction on a large number of data. Third, given that there is a preference for the relative pronoun strategy with *who(m)* with human referents in Present-day Standard English, it is expected that many of these occurrences have different equivalents in the original, whereas changes in the other direction are likely to be rare. It should be noted that the New King James version is strongly norm-oriented: *who* is consistently used for subjects, while objects (and complements of prepositions) invariably appear in the form *whom*. This strict split does not truly reflect the actual standard language (see the discussion in Section 1), but it certainly facilitates the corpus study.

Naturally, the results had to be counterchecked against representative samples based on searches for all the relevant forms ("who", "whom", "which", "that" and "as") in the new version and their counterparts in the new version. The results of this additional analysis will be addressed in Section 2.2.

2.2 The results of the corpus study

There are altogether 5606 hits for *who* and 704 hits for *whom* in relative clauses in the new version:[6] the corresponding positions in the original King James version may involve constructions other than relative clauses. Subject relatives are clearly more frequent than (direct) object relatives,[7] in line with the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66–67). Before turning to the detailed frequency data, let us first consider some examples that show the relevant parallels.

First, *who* can have the equivalent *who* in the original version, and *whom* can have the equivalent *whom* in the original version:

(8) a. And the LORD appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the LORD, *who* appeared unto him. (King James Bible; Genesis 12:7)

b. Then the Lord appeared to Abram and said, "To your descendants I will give this land." And there he built an altar to the Lord, *who* had appeared to him. (New King James version; Genesis 12:7)

c. And I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel, *whom* the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant. (King James Bible; Exodus 6:5)

d. And I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel *whom* the Egyptians keep in bondage, and I have remembered My covenant. (New King James version; Exodus 6:5)

6. The hits were manually checked, so the figures above include relative clauses only and do not include interrogative uses.

7. Note that *whom* is also possible as an indirect object and as a complement of a preposition. These instances will also be briefly discussed in the paper, but otherwise I will concentrate on subjects and direct objects. The notion "object", unless indicated otherwise, will accordingly be used for direct objects only.

Second, *who/whom* can have the equivalent *which* in the original version:

(9) a. And the vessel of earth, that he toucheth *which* hath the issue, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water. (King James Bible; Leviticus 15:12)

b. The vessel of earth that he *who* has the discharge touches shall be broken, and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water. (New King James version; Leviticus 15:12)

c. These are those that were numbered, *which* Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men: each one was for the house of his fathers. (King James Bible; Numbers 1:44)

d. These are the ones who were numbered, *whom* Moses and Aaron numbered, with the leaders of Israel, twelve men, each one representing his father's house. (New King James version; Numbers 1:44)

Third, *who/whom* can have the equivalent *that* in the original version:

(10) a. And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger *that* is with him. (King James Bible; Deuteronomy 1:16)

b. Then I commanded your judges at that time, saying, 'Hear the cases between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother or the stranger *who* is with him. (New King James version; Deuteronomy 1:16)

c. Then said Zebul unto him, Where is now thy mouth, wherewith thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? is not this the people *that* thou hast despised? go out, I pray now, and fight with them. (King James Bible; Judges 9:38)

d. Then Zebul said to him, "Where indeed is your mouth now, with which you said, 'Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him?' Are not these the people *whom* you despised? Go out, if you will, and fight with them now." (New King James version; Judges 9:38)

Fourth, *who* can have the equivalent *as* in the original version:

(11) a. And she looked, and, behold, the king stood at his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king: and all the people of the land rejoiced, and sounded with trumpets, also the singers with instruments of musick, and such *as* taught to sing praise. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Treason, Treason. (King James Bible; 2 Chronicles 23:13)

b. When she looked, there was the king standing by his pillar at the entrance; and the leaders and the trumpeters were by the king. All the people of the land were rejoicing and blowing trumpets, also the singers with musical instruments, and those *who* led in praise. So Athaliah tore her clothes and said, "Treason! Treason!"
(New King James version; 2 Chronicles 23:13)

Such examples were found only in the case of subject relatives but not in the case of object relatives. Note that in the case of *as*-relatives in the King James Bible, the element *such* is always present, as in (11a); I will return to this issue in Section 3.

Interestingly, *who/whom* has no genuine zero relative equivalents in the original version: in all the instances where there is no overt relative marker (descriptively subsumed under "zero" in Table 1 and Table 2), there is a coordinated construction, which also allows the omission of the second relative marker in Present-day Standard English.[8] These instances do not provide good evidence for the availability of true zero relatives, as the omission of an overt element (either the operator or the complementiser) in coordinated constructions can be licensed by an appropriate antecedent in the preceding relative clause (compare the true zero subject relatives in (7c) and (7d) above). Since the behaviour of Present-day Standard English does not differ from what can be observed in the King James Bible as well, zero relatives will not be discussed in the present paper.

8. An example of this is shown in (i) from the King James Bible, indicating a *that*-relative and a coordinated relative clause with no overt marker:

(i) And whosoever lieth carnally with a woman, *that* is a bondmaid, betrothed to an husband, and not at all redeemed, nor freedom given her; she shall be scourged; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free. (King James Bible; Leviticus 19:20)

The new version includes an overt *wh*-pronoun in both cases:

(ii) Whoever lies carnally with a woman *who* is betrothed to a man as a concubine, and *who* has not at all been redeemed nor given her freedom, for this there shall be scourging; but they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.
(New King James version; Leviticus 19:20)

This is also possible in modern Standard English:

(iii) This is the student *(*who*) ate the cheese and (*who*) drank the wine.

As indicated, in the first subject relative clause in (iii) above, the relative pronoun *who* cannot be left out, while in the second subject relative clause its presence is optional.

Let us now turn to the distribution of the various patterns. Table 1 shows the distribution of the elements corresponding to *who* in the Old Testament.[9] The cases subsumed under "other" refer to instances where either the role of the relative pronoun is not a subject in the original or the original text contains no relative clause in the given position.

Table 1. The elements corresponding to *who* (Old Testament)

Role in KJB	Element in KJB	Number of occurrences
subject (3569)	*who*	**238** (6.67%)
	which	**620** (17.31%)
	that	**2664** (74.64%)
	as	**23** (0.64%)
	zero	**17** (0.48%)
	whoso	**6** (0.16%)
	whosoever	**1** (0.03%)
other	–	160
Total		**3729**

Table 2 shows the distribution of the elements corresponding to *whom* in the original King James Bible. The cases subsumed under "other" refer to instances where either the role of the relative pronoun in the original does not match the one in the new version or the original text contains no relative clause in the given position.

The data indicate clearly that the present-day dialectal patterns discussed in Section 1 are attested and in fact quite predominant in the King James Bible (except for zero relatives). This applies especially to the case of *that*, while the pattern with *as* is clearly a minority pattern. The proportion of *that* is especially high in the case of subject relatives (17.31%), while it is considerably lower in the case of direct object relatives (2.51%) and the complements of prepositions (0.75%).[10]

9. According to the first count of the data, there are 5606 hits for "who" that count as relative clauses in the new version, out of which there are 5391 instances of subject relatives in the original version. Out of these, there are 483 instances of *who* (8.96%), 1197 instances of *which* (22.20%), 3662 instances of *that* (67.93%), 28 instances of *as* (0.52%), 17 instances of zero (0.32%), 10 instances of *whoso* (0.19%), and 2 instances of *whosoever* (0.04%). The results of the first count need to be counterchecked for the New Testament and the results are therefore not yet included in Table 1.

10. Naturally, the data set behind Table 2 includes only cases where the new version contains *whom*: as will be discussed below, the asymmetry is less striking when considering cases where the new version retains *that*, but there is still a very clear subject/object asymmetry in the original version.

Table 2. The elements corresponding to *whom*

Role in KJB	Element in KJB	Number of occurrences
direct object (398)	*whom*	**312** (78.39%)
	which	**76** (19.10%)
	that	**10** (2.51%)
	as	0
	zero	0
indirect object (2)	*whom*	**2** (100%)
PP complement (265)	P + *whom*	**256** (96.60%)
	P + *which*	**7** (2.64%)
	that	**2** (0.75%)
other	–	39
Total		**704**

Note that the total number of indirect object relative clauses is very low: the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) would predict that they are between direct objects and prepositional complements. The low number of indirect object relative clauses is not a peculiar property of the King James Bible: as Fleischer (2004) points out, relative clauses with indirect object relatives are generally very rare in corpora. The proportion of *which* is about the same in both subject relatives (17.31%) and in direct object relatives (19.10%), though not in prepositional complements (2.64%).

There is hence an asymmetry in the results: the question is whether this is necessarily a difference to be attributed to the King James Bible or whether it is rather due to the new translation. Note that in the case of *which*-relatives with human referents, all cases had to be altered in the new version since *which* is not possible in these cases in modern Standard English. The fact that the proportion of *which* is about the same in subject and object relatives indicates that this element was probably not sensitive to the subject/object asymmetry. Herrmann (2005: 48–59) shows that the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66–67) is relevant to the distribution of the relative complementisers *that* and *as*: subjects are more accessible than objects, which predicts not only that subject relative clauses should be more frequent but also that relative complementisers should be more frequent in subject relative clauses than in object relative clauses (which is ultimately related to processing reasons). This may indeed be the reason behind the fact that *that*-relatives are more frequent in subject relatives than in object relatives in the King James Bible, and that *as*-relatives are attested in subject relatives but not in object relatives.

In the case of *that*-relatives, however, it is perfectly possible that not all instances were changed to *who*/*whom* in the new version, and as *that*-relatives were not included in the search results for the new version in Table 1 and Table 2, the proportion of *that*-relatives may be different when considering all relative clauses (see the discussion of further results below). Consider the following examples:

(12) a. And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls *that* they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came. (King James Bible; Genesis 12:5)

b. Then Abram took Sarai his wife and Lot his brother's son, and all their possessions that they had gathered, and the people *whom* they had acquired in Haran, and they departed to go to the land of Canaan. So they came to the land of Canaan. (New King James version; Genesis 12:5)

c. Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed: and he divided the people *that* was with him, and the flocks, and herds, and the camels, into two bands; (King James Bible; Genesis 32:7)

d. So Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed; and he divided the people *that* were with him, and the flocks and herds and camels, into two companies. (New King James version; Genesis 32:7)

In both of the loci given in (12), the head noun is *people* (or its synonym *souls*): the relative clause is introduced by *that* in the original version both in (12a) and in (12c). The new version, however, uses a *wh*-pronoun only in the case of the object relative, as in (12b), but not in the case of the subject relative, as in (12d), which contains the complementiser *that*. The asymmetry between subject and object relative clauses in (12) is attested in the newer version and not in the original. Hence, in order to achieve reliable conclusions in this respect, all the occurrences of *that* should be considered as well.

While the entire text of the King James Bible should be examined in future investigations, at this point we can still gain at least some insight into this question by considering the distribution of relative elements in a smaller part of the King James Bible. Accordingly, I also considered the hits for "which" and "that" in Genesis in the new version and examined the equivalents in the original.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the elements corresponding to *which* in Genesis in the original King James Bible. The cases subsumed under "other" refer to instances where either the role of the relative pronoun in the original does not match the one in the new version or the original text contains no relative clause in the given position.

Table 3. The elements corresponding to *which* (Genesis)

Role in KJB	Element in KJB	Number of occurrences
subject (52)	*which*	**45** (86.54%)
	that	**7** (13.46%)
direct object (62)	*which*	**62** (100%)
PP complement (4)	P + *which*	**4** (100%)
other	–	28
Total		**146**

As can be seen, the distribution of relative clauses with non-human antecedents is very similar to that of relative clauses with human antecedents. The prediction that relative clauses with *which* in the new version do not correspond to relative clauses with *who*/*whom* in the original version is also borne out. In subject relative clauses, the predominant pattern is *which* in the original version, while *that*-relatives are not even attested in this data set in direct object relatives and in the few relative clauses where the relative pronoun is the complement of a preposition. This indicates that as far as the subject/object asymmetry is concerned, the human/non-human distinction does not seem to play a decisive role.

Table 4 shows the distribution of the elements corresponding to *that* in Genesis in the original King James Bible. As in Table 3, the cases subsumed under "other" are those where either the role of the relative pronoun in the original does not match the one in the new version or the original text contains no relative clause in the given position.

Table 4. The elements corresponding to *that* (Genesis)

Role in KJB	Element in KJB	Number of occurrences
subject (68)	*which*	**3** (4.41%)
	that	**65** (95.59%)
direct object (35)	*which*	**1** (2.86%)
	that	**34** (97.14%)
PP complement (6)	*that*	**6** (100%)
other	–	4
Total		**113**

As indicated, there are indeed very few exceptions where an original *wh*-element was changed into *that* in the new version. The few instances of PP-relatives with *that* in the new version may seem surprising at first since this pattern (unless with preposition stranding) is not normally attested in Standard English (see Section 1).

However, all the occurrences appear with set phrases involving either *the day that* or *the time that*, where the *that*-relative is a lexicalised part of the set phrase. By looking at Table 4, there seems to be no particular asymmetry regarding subjects and objects regarding the frequency of *that*-relatives: *that*-relatives occur in the new version almost exclusively in cases where the original version also contained *that*-relatives. Note that Table 4 includes relative clauses with both human and non-human referents, but as we saw above, the human/non-human distinction does not seem to be relevant regarding the subject/object asymmetry.

In order to present a more direct comparison between the two versions, Table 5 summarises the distribution of the various relative markers across subtypes in Genesis in the original version.

Table 5. The distribution of relative markers in the King James Bible (Genesis)

Role	*who*	*whom*	*which*	*that*	*as*
subject (226)	14 (6.19%)	–	41 (18.14%)	169 (74.78%)	2 (2.21%)
direct object (127)	–	14 (11.02%)	78 (61.42%)	35 (27.56%)	–
PP complement (21)	–	11 (52.38%)	4 (19.05%)	6 (28.57%)	–

The data indicate a clear preference for *that*-relatives in subject relative clauses, while *wh*-relatives are preferred in direct object relative clauses and in relative clauses where the relative pronoun corresponds to the complement of a preposition. This is in line with the prediction made by the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. The same holds for the fact that *as*-relatives are attested only in subject relative clauses (where they also form a minority pattern; see Section 3 for further discussion). As mentioned above, indirect object relative clauses are rare in corpora.

Table 6 summarises the distribution of the various relative markers across subtypes in Genesis in the new version.

Table 6. The distribution of relative markers in the new version (Genesis)

Role	*who*	*whom*	*which*	*that*
subject (226)	106 (46.90%)	–	52 (23.01%)	68 (30.09%)
direct object (127)	–	30 (23.62%)	62 (48.82%)	35 (27.56%)
PP complement (21)	–	11 (52.38%)	4 (19.05%)	6 (28.57%)

Table 6 includes the same set of data as Table 5 (that is, the mismatches subsumed under “other” in Tables 1–4 are disregarded). As can be seen, no changes occur in the case of PP complements, but there are considerable changes affecting subject and direct object relative clauses. The proportion of *that*-relatives remains the same in object relatives; however, *which*-relatives decrease in favour of *whom*-relatives, which can be attributed to the fact that *which* is no longer possible with human referents in the standard language. In subject relatives, there are two major changes, both resulting in an increase of the proportion of *who*-relatives. On the one hand, the proportion of *that*-relatives decreases in favour of *wh*-relatives, though it remains slightly higher than in object relatives, in line with the prediction of the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. On the other hand, just as in object relatives, original *which*-relatives with a human referent were changed to *who*-relatives: still, due to the general decrease in the use of *that*-relatives, the proportion of *which*-relatives in subject relatives is actually higher than in the original version.

2.3 Discussion

The differences between the two texts reflect the changes that took place in Late Modern English, though it must be mentioned that the reasons behind the changes in the individual cases differ, as do changes in the standard language and changes in dialects. In addition, it should be kept in mind that the New King James version is highly conservative and norm-oriented, for instance regarding the strict distinction between *who* for subjects and *whom* for objects and complements of prepositions.

The use of *which* with human referents was evidently possible in Early Modern English, as also confirmed by the results from the King James Bible; Austin (1985) reports essentially the same findings based on data from 18th-century letters. In the standard variety, the difference between *who(m)* and *which* is grammaticalised with respect to the [±human] feature: *who(m)* is specified as [+human] and *which* is specified as [−human],[11] and hence the use of *which* with human referents is ungrammatical in the standard variety. This restriction is fully represented in the New King James version.

The situation is somewhat different in dialects, however. Herrmann (2005: 41) reports that while *who* is restricted to human referents just like in Standard English (the "sanctioned borderline cases" being likewise allowed), *which* can generally be used with human referents in dialects: this pattern occurs in five of the six dialect areas she examined (Central Southwest, East Anglia, Central Midlands, Central North, Scotland). In the sixth dialect area, Northern Ireland, there were only

11. Naturally, the semantic distinction is in reality not as binary as the idealised formalisation above implies. As discussed in Section 1, there are so-called "sanctioned borderline cases" when *who(m)* can be used for certain animals in the standard variety as well: these are personalised animals and things (e.g. a dog is considered to be a member of the family, etc.). The actual distribution of the features among lexical elements hence shows a certain flexibility and variation among speakers.

very few instances of *which* occurring with human referents, but these dialects hardly use *wh*-pronouns in relative clauses (Herrmann 2005: 41). It appears that the occurrence of *which* with human referents in dialects is not regionally bound, but altogether not very frequent. The data given by Herrmann (2005: 41, Table 3) show that out of all occurrences of *who* as a relative pronoun, the referent is human in 96.4% of the cases and non-human in 3.6% of the cases (the latter being all "sanctioned borderline cases"), while in the case of *which* as a relative pronoun, the referent is human in 4.2% of the cases and non-human in 95.8% of the cases. It should be clear that the use of *which* with human referents is in fact very restricted in dialects as well and altogether much less attested than in the King James Bible.

As Herrmann (2005: 41) points out, *which* was possible with human referents in Middle English (cf. Mossé 1991) and the grammaticalisation of *which* as [−human] started in the 16th century (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2002). According to Austin (1985: 18), the use of *which* with human antecedents gradually came to be marginalised during the 18th century and several grammarians of this period already saw it as an archaic feature; its availability also correlates with social status (the higher the social status, the less likely it is to appear with human referents).[12] Essentially the same point is made by Ball (1996: 246–247). It appears that while the process is evidently completed in the standard variety, there are still exceptions in regional dialects; at the same time, the dialectal pattern suggests that *which* strongly tends towards [−human] and hence the process has affected regional dialects as well, albeit not to the same degree as the standard variety. Naturally, the gradual change that can be observed in dialects is in line with the assumption that language change (and variation) is gradual (see Traugott & Trousdale 2010).

Considering the differences between the King James Bible and the New King James version, then, the changes that took place in Late Modern English are well-represented. On the one hand, there is of course an external factor to be considered: the newer version adheres strictly to the standard variety, in which *who* is specified as [+human] and *which* is specified as [−human]. On the other hand, this is in fact attested in substandard varieties as well: *who* is [+human] is dialects as well, while *which* is overwhelmingly, though not exclusively, [−human]. In this process, a language-internal factor can be detected: given the specification of *who* as [+human], the morphological system makes an underspecified *which* a natural candidate for a specified [−human] *wh*-pronoun.

12. Naturally, there was considerable variation concerning this change. Austin (1985: 18) reports that while *which* survived longer in restrictive relative clauses than in non-restrictive relative clauses in general, this is not reflected in the Cleft letters examined by her, where the distribution is exactly the opposite.

Let us now turn to the instances of *that*-relatives. As was established in Section 1, the use of *that* in relative clauses is part of the standard variety, though its distribution is somewhat different from nonstandard varieties. In subject and object relative clauses, as the ones examined in the corpus study presented above, the use of *that* is in line with the standard pattern, and hence the restrictedness of *that* in the new version (see especially Table 6 compared to Table 5) can be attributed to a strongly norm-oriented use that goes beyond mere standardisation.[13] This is naturally an external factor that must be considered when evaluating the data.

Regarding the distribution of *that* in dialects, Herrmann (2005: 27, Table 1) shows that this strategy is much more dominant in the North (its share is above 40% in the areas of Northern Ireland, Scotland, Central North, and Central Midlands), while it is less frequent in the South (below 30% in the areas of East Anglia and Central Southwest). Nevertheless, this is overall the most typical strategy in dialects (Herrmann 2005: 24). As noted also by Kortmann and Wagner (2007: 291–292), traditional forms in relative clauses seem to be on the retreat (as opposed to the spread of innovative *what* in dialects). The results of the present corpus study indicate that the proportion of *that* (out of all relative clauses) was indeed higher than today in Early Modern English subject relative clauses, but the same is not yet confirmed for object relative clauses. There was already an asymmetry in the original version, in line with the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66–67), which Herrmann (2005: 48–59) claims to be operative in the spread of the relative markers *that, what* and *as*. If so, changes in the frequency of *that* in relative clauses can not only be observed in standard, norm-oriented language but it occurs independently in other varieties as well, due to language-internal changes that are in line with presumably universal mechanisms.

Finally, let us turn to the particular case of *as*-relatives. This option is, as was discussed in Section 1, altogether absent from the standard variety. As opposed to

13. In fact, this has its historical origins as well: at least from the 17th century onwards, *that* for human referents has often been considered as impolite or inappropriate by prescriptive grammarians (see Ball 1996: 249–250). The same is not attested in the case of non-human referents, but *which* was often considered to be more explicit in terms of reference than *that* (Rissanen 1984). Rissanen (1984: 420) even assumes that the increase in the *wh*-strategy is due to the high functional load (and potential ambiguity) associated with *that*. However, it should be kept in mind that the *wh*-strategy appeared already in Middle English but the decline of *that* in written texts (much more than in spoken language) started rather in the 17th century, in line with the fact that prescriptive grammarians started to advocate the *wh*-strategy. In other words, there is no reason to assume that the decrease in the frequency of *that* should be attributed to some language-internal pressure; rather, as far as written and/or norm-oriented language use are concerned, the observed changes reflect conscious considerations.

the case of *that*-relatives, where a norm-oriented context may lead to the avoidance of otherwise possible patterns, *as*-relatives are simply not part of the grammar of Standard English.

Interestingly, the dialectal situation is quite special in this case as well. This option is absent from many areas altogether and it is not a dominant strategy in any of the dialectal regions, as shown by Herrmann (2005: 27, Figure 1). Essentially rather a southern feature, it occurs especially in the Central Midlands (2.4%) and to a lesser degree in the Central North (1.4%) and in Northern Ireland (0.5%). Just like other traditional features, it is on the retreat (cf. Kortmann & Wagner 2007). Compared to the low frequencies attested in the King James Bible, its retreat does not seem to be very substantial and there is no reason to assume that *as*-relatives constituted a dominant pattern in Early Modern English at all.[14]

The availability of *as*-relatives is regionally bound, and it apparently did not spread to become a generally available option. This can be the case for various dialectal features, though there are examples of the contrary as well. More interestingly, however, it appears from the data given by Herrmann (2005) and also by the data in the King James Bible that *as*-relatives constitute a very specific minority pattern that is available only if there is an appropriate element in the matrix clause (*such* in the King James Bible, *all* in present-day dialects), as will be discussed in detail in the next section. That is, the retreat of this particular construction is not only due to its being regionally bound but also to the fact that its occurrence was syntactically restricted anyway, which is undoubtedly an important language-internal factor.

3. Equative relative clauses

In relative clauses with *as* in the King James Bible, the matrix element *such* is always present. This is shown by (11a) above, as well as by the following examples in (13):

(13) a. Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God to put away all the wives, and *such as* are born of them, according to the counsel of my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the law. (King James Bible; Ezra 10:3)

b. Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of *all such as* are appointed to destruction. (King James Bible; Proverbs 31:8)

Of the data given in Table 1, 11 instances contain the sequence *such as*, illustrated in (11a) and (13a), and 3 instances contain the sequence *all such as*, illustrated in

14. As shown in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 5, *as*-relatives are apparently restricted to subject relative clauses with a human referent.

(13b). In essence, the presence of *all* in is not obligatory in *as*-relatives in the King James Bible. The element *such* is an equative/similative element that is otherwise found in comparative constructions in English.[15]

Similarly, in present-day English dialects, the matrix element *all* appears (see the data of Herrmann 2005). Consider the example in (7e), repeated here for the sake of convenience as (14a), and (14b):

(14) a. […] so *all as* he had to do were go round in a circle all the time […]
(Freiburg English Dialect Corpus Som_001; Herrmann 2005: 64)

b. We haven't got anything. *All as* I used to live for was my house to have my house nice and clean you know to have nice things in it.
(ukspok/04. Text: S9000001271; Kjellmer 2008: 71)

It appears that while the presence of *all* originally had to do with a typical group-defining character of the sentence, this element later grammaticalised as a matrix marker.[16] Crucially, some matrix equative-like element is present, and in this way the *as*-relative differs from ordinary relative complementisers (such as *that* or German *wo*, cf. Brandner & Bräuning 2013). Essentially, *as* did not grammaticalise into a proper relative complementiser in English and is thus restricted in its distribution. In addition, like many other traditional patterns, it is on the retreat.

That this is not necessarily so cross-linguistically is indicated also by German, where *so* 'so, as' was available as a grammaticalised relative complementiser. Consider:

15. Consider the example in (i):

(i) There is no *such* thing *as* a free lunch.

The element *such* establishes an equative relationship: the *thing* that does not exist is specified by the *as*-clause. The use of *such* is similar to degree elements like *so* and *as*:

(ii) Peter is *so* tall *that* he will hit his head.

(iii) Peter is *as* tall *as* Paul.

In (ii), the degree of Peter's tallness is compared to the notion expressed by the *that*-clause, while in (iii), it is equal to the degree to which Paul is tall.

16. As shown by Kjellmer (2008), a further grammaticalisation process may result in the form *alls*, which is a contracted form of *all* and *as*. The availability of this form suggests that the constellation *all as* in present-day dialectal English is not contingent upon a given context, as was the case in the King James Bible, but it rather occurs normally as a grammaticalised sequence. Note that the very form *as* derived from a very similar combination: *as* derives from *eallswa* (*all* + *so*), whereby the forms *swelce* (*swilce, such*) and *so* (*swa*) are also possible historically in *as*-constructions (see Kortmann 1997: 315–317; see also López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2014: 312–314 and references there).

(15) a. *sulike* gesidoe *so* he im selbo gecos
such companions so he him self chose
'such companions that he chose for himself'
(*Heliand* 1280; Brandner & Bräuning 2013: 138)

b. *So* war *so* ich cherte minen zoum…
so where so I guided my rein
'Wherever I guided my rein…'
(*Bairischer Psalm* 138; Brandner & Bräuning 2013: 143, quoting Lühr 1998)

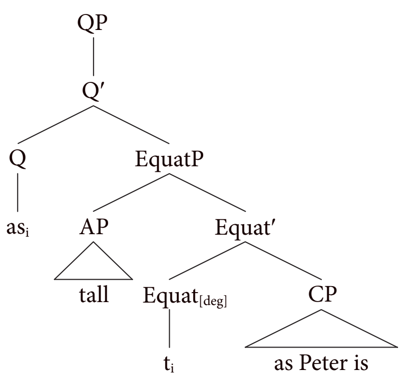
c. hier das Geld *so* ich neulich nicht habe mitschicken können
here the.M money so I recently not have with.send.INF can
'Here the money that I recently could not send.'
(Schiller to Goethe 127; Brandner & Bräuning 2013: 132, quoting Paul 1920)

The example in (15a) is from Old Saxon and the one in (15b) is from Old High German. In both cases, a matrix *so* can be observed. This differs from the Early New High German pattern given in (15c), where the *so*-relative is fully grammaticalised and can appear without a matrix equative-like element.

Regarding the equative relative patterns given in (13), as well as (14) and (15a)/(15b), the idea is that these constructions have a syntactic structure similar to ordinary equatives. Degree equatives are illustrated in (16) below:

(16) Mary is *as tall as* Peter (is).

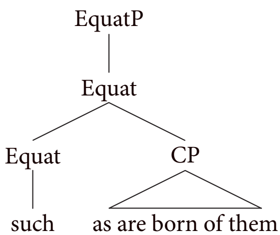
Following the analysis of Lechner (2004) and Bacskai-Atkari (2014, 2018) for degree comparatives, the structure of degree equatives can be schematically represented as follows:

(17)


The EquatP is analogous to DegP in comparatives; the particular label is primarily intended as a descriptive designator. The AP and the CP are arguments of the equative degree head (cf. Lechner 2004 and Bacskai-Atkari 2014, 2018). A QP is generated above the DegP, and the element in Deg moves to Q (cf. Bresnan 1973 and Corver 1997 on Q elements; see also Lechner 1999).[17] The details of the analysis are not immediately relevant here; what matters to us is that there is a gradable predicate (here: *tall*) in the structure and a further functional layer (QP) is generated, both making the construction a degree equative.

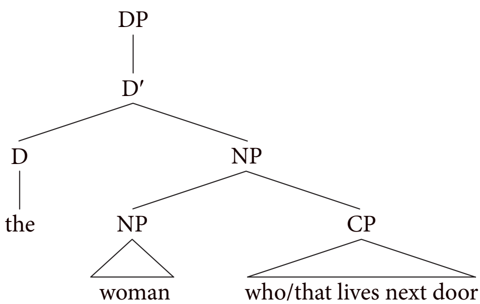
Given that there is no gradable predicate and no degree in equative relatives, the structure can be schematised as follows:

(18)



The difference from (17) lies primarily in the argument-taking abilities of the equative head: in (18), there is no gradable predicate argument. However, the CP is still the complement of the equative head (*such* in the King James Bible and *all* in modern dialects). The representation in (18) applies to equative relative constructions but importantly not to ordinary relatives, which can occur without the presence of a matrix equative-like head. Ordinary relative clauses (*wh*-relatives, *that*-relatives and zero relatives, see Section 1 and 2) are directly attached to a matrix lexical noun, schematically given for a string like *the woman who lives next door* (see the examples in (1) and (3) above) in (19):

(19)



17. Modifiers like *extremely, exactly* and *far* show agreement with the particular degree, e.g. *far taller* is possible but **exactly taller* is not. For this reason, such modifiers were already located in [Spec,QP] by Corver (1997: 154–161), albeit the relative position of his QP in the entire degree expression differs from that of Lechner (1999: 25) and Bacskai-Atkari (2018a: 32). Another argument in favour of the QP goes back to Bresnan (1973): the Q head is the locus where a dummy *much* is inserted (resulting in *more* in comparatives following the upward movement of -*er*).

As indicated, *wh*-relatives and *that*-relatives are alike in their syntax regarding the position of the CP with respect to the matrix head noun; they differ in their internal syntax only in terms of which element (the relative pronoun or the relative complementiser) is overt (see the representations in (2) and (4) in Section 1).

Turning back to equative relatives, the equative relative head crucially did not complete a grammaticalisation process either in Early Modern English or in Late Modern English but it remained contingent upon the matrix equative element. This restricts the possibilities of occurrence of *as*-relatives, and in essence they cannot compete with ordinary relatives that have a far wider distribution. This not only applies to the standard variety, which has eradicated this construction completely, but also to regional dialects that still have it to a limited degree.

4. Conclusion

This paper examined changes affecting relative clauses in Modern English based on a contrastive corpus study of the King James Bible and the New King James version. The differences between the two texts reflect the changes that took place in Late Modern English quite well: the earlier variation in elements corresponding to *who*/*whom* is confined to dialects in Present-day English. In particular, the paper discussed three important aspects: in Early Modern English, (i) *which* was available for human subjects, (ii) *that*-relatives had a higher proportion, and (iii) *as* could introduce relative clauses as a complementiser. I argued that the changes leading to the disappearance or the reduction of alternative forms to *who*/*whom* were driven both by internal and by external factors, whereby significant differences can be observed between the standard variety and regional dialects.

Regarding external factors, the effect of prescriptive pressure and normalisation must be considered: however, this affects the standard variety only. In the standard variety, this is responsible for the eradication of *which*-relatives with human referents and for the disappearance of *as*-relatives. Further, the preference for *wh*-relatives over *that*-relatives can be observed in norm-oriented contexts. On the other hand, all the relevant forms can be found in regional dialects, though to varying degrees and increasingly on the retreat, in favour of innovative forms.

Regarding internal factors, I examined the particular case of *as* in relative clauses. The corpus study showed that this pattern was available only in "equative relatives": these constructions are syntactically free relatives, where the *as*-clause is the complement of an equative element (*such*) in the matrix clause, and the relative clause expresses a definition of the group. The complementiser *as* did not grammaticalise into a proper relative complementiser in English. Due to the lack of grammaticalisation, this construction has preserved its equative character and it is not available for all kinds of relative clauses.

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Diffusion of *do*

The acquisition of *do* negation by *have (to)*

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This paper gives a diachronic perspective on *do*-support of the semi-modal *have to* under negation. Corpus evidence demonstrates that *do* negation was regulated with *have to* around the 1870s in American English and around the 1930s in British English. To elucidate the development of *have to* towards *do* negation, Krug (2000) invokes two usage-based factors (analogical leveling and chunking); this paper argues, however, that they do not adequately account for the present findings. The current study instead provides the constructionist approach in which language users are hypothesized to have a form-driven abstraction over *have to* and the main verb *have*, and proposes that the abstraction played a key role in the change in question.

1. Introduction

The present study investigates the acquisition of *do* negation by the semi-modal *have to*. From a diachronic perspective, *have to* has followed the general tendency towards *do*-support in the English verb system, undergoing the change from *do*-less negation to *do* negation. However, there is little diachronic quantitative work on the change in question. The existing literature on *have to* tends to explore either its origin (e.g. van der Gaaf 1931; Brinton 1991; Fischer 1994, 2015) or the competition between *have to* and other 'obligation/(logical) necessity' modal expressions (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007; Collins 2009; Leech et al. 2009; Close & Aarts 2010). I will thus take a corpus-based approach, with a view to finding out when and how *do* negation emerged with *have to*. As will be argued, a multiplicity of factors – association with the main verb *have* and frequency effects in particular – underlies the historical development, hence pointing to the importance of multifactorial approaches in the study of language change.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides background, focusing on the development of *have to* and *do* negation of *have (to)*. Section 3 outlines the

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sources and methods, followed by the presentation and discussion of the results in Section 4. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Background

2.1 The development of *have to*

The semi-modal *have to* originates in a specific use of possessive *have*. Several theories have been proposed for its development, which may be roughly divided into two groups: semantic-pragmatic accounts (van der Gaaf 1931; Visser 1969; Brinton 1991; Krug 2000; Łęcki 2010; Ziegeler 2010) and syntactic ones (Fischer 1994; Ukaji 2005). Fischer (2015) adduces multiple factors for the emergence of *have to*, including analogical influences from formally and/or semantically similar constructions. While the debate in the literature doubtless indicates the need for further investigation, it suffices for the present purpose to sketch out the traditional scenario, first put forward by van der Gaaf (1931) and refined by Brinton (1991). For convenience, I borrow Heine's (1993: 42) schema (Table 1):

Table 1. Stages of the development of *have to* (adopted from Heine 1993: 42)

I.	I have a letter	[Possession Schema]
II.	I have a letter to mail	[Purpose Schema: Possession Schema + purpose/goal adjunct]
III.	I have a letter to write	[The possessive meaning of *have* has been bleached out]
IV.	I have to write a letter	[*Have to* now functions as a unit lexeme expressing the modal notion of obligation]
V.	I have to write	[The object complement can now be deleted]

The first three stages document the semantic bleaching of possessive *have: have* in Stages I and II expresses concrete possession, although the possessive sense in Stage II is accompanied by modal connotations via the *to*-infinitive adjunct. At Stage III, however, the possessive sense weakens since the object is something not yet existent and thus impossible to possess. The semantic bleaching leads to Stage IV, where the object is moved to the post-infinitival position, hence the adjacency of *have* and *to*. This adjacency is generally considered pivotal in the grammaticalization of *have to* (Fischer 1994, 2015; Ukaji 2005). Once *have* and *to* are reanalyzed as a single unit expressing obligation, the way is opened for further generalization: *have to* can occur with no object complement, as shown in Stage V, or with intransitive verbs, as in *I have to go*.

The dating of each stage, above all when Stage III was attained, is another area of dispute. Brinton (1991: 11–12) gives a succinct summary of competing opinions up until the time of her paper, but the contention continues (see Łęcki 2010: 101–113 and Fischer 2015: 130–132). What seems indisputable, however, is that Late Modern English is the critical period for the emergence of contiguous, obligative *have to*. Krug's (2000: 77–81) analysis of *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER) shows that *have to* underwent a major increase in text frequency only in the late nineteenth century, and that the increase was comparable on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, with British English slightly leading the way (also Seggewiß 2012: 80–81).

2.2 *Do* negation of *have (to)*

Present-day English grammatically requires *do*-support under negation when there is no operator (Quirk et al. 1985: 133). The general consensus is that present-day usage was reached by around 1700 (Ellegård 1953: 162–163). However, different verbs have acquired *do*-support at different times. Ellegård (1953: 199–200; see also Ogura 1993; Nurmi 1999: 145–146, 150–151) shows that the *know* group (i.e. *know, boot, trow, care, doubt, mistake, fear, skill* and *list*) was slow to accept *do* negation. Some of these verbs, especially *know* and *doubt*, are attested with *do*-less negation even in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 190–191; Iyeiri 2004: 227–228; Yadomi 2015: 52–53). Furthermore, it appears that *do*-support spread at different speeds in different varieties: Hundt (2015) finds that the use of *do* negation is more advanced in American English than in British or Antipodean English in her nineteenth-century material.

Against this backdrop, the main verb *have* deserves mention. The presence or absence of *do* depends on its semantics. Whereas dynamic *have* patterns with *do*-support, stative *have* may vacillate between *do* and *do*-less negation (Quirk et al. 1985: 131–132):

(1) Dynamic *have*
  a. I *didn't have* breakfast.
  b. *I *hadn't* breakfast.

(2) Stative *have*
  a. I *don't have* any idea.
  b. I *haven't* any idea.

According to Trudgill et al. (2002: 5–6), *do*-support first spread to dynamic *have* and then to stative *have*. Furthermore, American English is believed to have spearheaded the acquisition of *do*-support with *have*. Trudgill et al. (2002: 12–13) hypothesize that language contact with continental European languages in North America, which did not occur in other varieties of English, facilitated the change;

as Jankowski (2005: 39) points out, however, one issue with this hypothesis is that it does not specify the timing of language contact that the hypothesis is founded on. Nonetheless, previous research (e.g. Jankowski 2005: 15–16; Hundt 2015: 79–80) indicates that American English was indeed leading the way in adopting *do*-support with the main verb *have*. In Present-day English, the pattern without *do* – although occasionally attested in American English (Biber et al. 1999: 161; Takizawa 2005; Hundt 2015: 69–70) – is typically associated with British English. However, reference grammar books characterize it as "the traditional construction in Br[itish]E[nglish]" (Quirk et al. 1985: 131) or "a conservative [British] choice" (Biber et al. 1999: 162) and as such characterizations insinuate, it has been becoming less common even in British English over the twentieth century, especially the second half (Anderwald 2002: 23, 93–96; Varela Pérez 2007; Leech et al. 2009: 255–256).

Since the semi-modal *have to* originates in possessive *have*, it theoretically allows negation with or without *do*-support. Historically, *do*-less negation precedes *do* negation. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED; s.v. *have* v., def. 43) cites an example of *do*-less negation from the fifteenth century:

(3) The Kyng, ne none of hise heires, *have not to* entermete of hem, […]
'The King nor none of his heirs have not to interfere with them, […]'
(1414 *Petition* in *Rotuli Parl.* (1767–77) IV. 59/2 [OED])

By contrast, the earliest citations of *do* negation with *have to* in the OED come from the late nineteenth century:

(4) For family use *Brinckle's Orange* ranks No. 1, and when better known will sell where it *does not have to* be carried far.
(1866 *Rural Amer.* (Utica, N.Y.) 15 Mar. 88/1 [OED])

Currently, the pattern with *do* is the norm, with the *do*-less variant labeled as "BrE – somewhat old-fashioned" (Quirk et al. 1985: 145). While Denison (1993: 317) mentions that *do*-less negation with *have to* can be found "in northern BrE dialects and quite recent southern standard," several quantitative studies demonstrate its general rarity in British English (Biber et al. 1999: 162–163; Krug 2000: 104; Anderwald 2002: 96–97; Tagliamonte 2004: 40; Tagliamonte & Smith 2006: 353, note 13).

Yet it is not clear when *do* negation was regulated with *have to*. Except for Krug (2000) and Enríquez García and D'Arcy (2017), diachronic quantitative research has yet to be done. Drawing on the drama section of ARCHER, Krug (2000: 89–90; also 103–106) shows that *do*-support with *have to* does not appear until the twentieth century, but its late appearance is most likely due to the small size of his corpus. Enríquez García and D'Arcy (2017) report that only tokens of *do*-support with *have to* are attested in the Victoria English Archive, which covers the period 1865–1998 in real and apparent time. With respect to the timing of the regulation, Sweet's (1898: 91–92) statement is probably the most insightful: "[I]n British-English we avoid the American-English periphrasis in *he does not have to work* by the use of the construction *he has not got to work*." It is thus hypothesized that *do* negation with *have to* was established in American English before the twentieth century, with British English lagging behind.

As motivations for the shift from *do*-less negation to *do* negation, Krug (2000: 106) suggests two factors: (a) because *do*-less negation with *have to* was infrequent and thus weakly entrenched, it was open to analogical regularization, namely the acquisition of *do* negation, and (b) as *have to* became frequent, the bondedness between *have* and *to* increased, which in turn disfavored interpolation between the two elements. Since these factors are amenable to quantitative research, I will consider them in respect to corpus evidence.

3. Data and methodology

3.1 Data

Two major varieties of English, American and British English, are surveyed in the present study. For American English, I use the 400-million-word *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA; Davies 2010–). It covers the period 1810 to 2009, containing material from fiction, popular magazines, newspapers and non-fiction books. While the corpus is claimed to be genre-balanced across the decades, there are some imbalances to be found, such as the lack of newspaper texts for the first five decades and smaller sample sizes in earlier periods. These issues notwithstanding, COHA may be employed to gain general insight into historical written American English.

As there is no historical British corpus comparable to COHA, I harness the following sources that reasonably match that corpus with respect to genre coverage: the 34-million-word *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, version 3.0 (CLMET; De Smet, Diller & Tyrkkö 2011) and four one-million-word British corpora of the *Brown Family* (Extended), namely the *Lancaster1931 Corpus* (BLOB; Leech & Smith 2005), the *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus* (LOB; Johansson et al. 1978), the *Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English* (FLOB; Hundt et al. 1998) and *British English 2006* (BE06; Baker 2009). CLMET covers the period 1710 to 1920, comprising narrative fiction, narrative non-fiction, drama, letters and treatises (more details available at https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/; see also De Smet 2005). The quartet of BLOB, LOB, F-LOB and BE06 sample material from

1928–1934, 1961, 1991 and 2003–2008, with the four major categories of 'Press,' 'General prose,' 'Learned,' and 'Fiction' (see Leech et al. 2009: Chapter 2; Leech & Smith 2005 and Baker 2009 for their corpus design and comparability). Since these corpora are considerably smaller in size than COHA, and offer far fewer data points, I refer, where practicable, to the 1.6-billion-word *Hansard Corpus 1803–2005* (Hansard; Alexander & Davies 2015–), a specialized corpus containing speeches delivered in the British Parliament.[1] Methodologically speaking, the inevitable heterogeneity of the British data may be a confounding factor for analyzing quantitative trends. It is therefore the careful accumulation of similar findings that will form the basis for generalizations.

3.2 Method

The procedure adopted here is to first extract all linear strings of *have not to* and *do not have to* (including contracted and inflected forms), using the following queries: *[have] [x*] to* and *[do] [x*] have to* on the BYU corpus interface (COHA and Hansard) and *{have} (n't|not) to* and *{do} (n't|not) have to* on the CQPweb interface (BLOB, LOB, FLOB and BE06). For CLMET, its plain text version was searched via AntConc 3.4.3 (Anthony 2014) for the following sequences: *have/has/had not to, haven't/hasn't/hadn't to, do/does/did not have to* and *don't/doesn't/didn't have to*.[2] Admittedly, this procedure overlooks tokens where adverbs or other elements occur within the strings, as in (5):

(5) We *did not even have to* lift our hands to the ripe clusters. (1860 COHA: FIC)

1. The anonymous reviewer pointed out that earlier periods in Hansard may represent scribal idiolects rather than conventional political speech practices (also Alexander 2018). While this potentially makes the interpretation of frequency developments in the corpus difficult, Hansard will be shown to exhibit consistent quantitative trends for the present work.

2. While scarcely present in the other corpora, for completeness, archaic spellings (e.g. *hath not to*) and three contracted forms (*'ve/'s/'d not to*) were also looked for. However, only tokens of *'s not to* were found in CLMET:

(a) […] she remains the Whitechapel Countess, all on her hind heels against the offer of a shilling of her husband's money, if she*'s not to* bring him to his knees; (1895 CLMET)

They are ambiguous between *be to* (= 'she is not to bring him to his knees') and *have to* (= 'she has not to bring him to his knees'). The immediate context clarifies, however, that the former reading is favorable throughout, and thus the tokens of *'s not to* were not included in the counts.

However, such cases are so rare even in COHA and Hansard that they do not drastically affect the overall picture.[3] Thus, only contiguous *have not to* and *do not have to* will be considered in the present study.

After retrieval, manual post-editing was conducted to eliminate erroneous hits, such as the following, in which *have* marks perfect tense and *to* introduces a prepositional phrase:

(6) Death *had not to* them lost its sting, […] (1829 COHA: NF)

In addition, some exclusions were made on syntactic and/or semantic grounds. First, instances of *have not to* in non-finite forms, such as those in (7) and (8), were removed since *do* negation cannot occur in such environments:

(7) But the Tories, […] and *having not to* advance […] (1882 COHA: MAG)

(8) […] you *will have not to* talk of it […] (1884 CLMET)

Second, idiomatic *have to do with* 'is concerned with,' whose sense is not modal, was excluded from the counts:

(9) This humble narrative *has not to do with* the glories and foibles of Boston social life. (1907 COHA: FIC)

The final exclusion concerns instances where the object is fronted. In such instances, ambiguity arises as to whether the preposed object belongs to *have* or the verb in the *to*-infinitive. In other words, two interpretations are possible: the possessive-existential reading (= 'I have something to do') and the modal reading (= 'I have to do something'). Example (10) illustrates the point:

(10) […], we had problems to deal with which they *had not to* deal with, […] (1927 Hansard)

3. In COHA, the search for *[have] [x*] [r*] to*, where *[r*]* stands for single-word adverbs, yields relatively many instances of the following kind:

(a) But something tells me, sir, I *have not* *<u>long</u>* *to* live. (1834 COHA: FIC)
(b) I *had not* *<u>far</u>* *to* follow them. (1844 COHA: FIC)

While, in some cases, the meaning comes close to that of negated *have to*, they instantiate the use of possessive *have* with a "quasi-object" (see Visser 1969: 1487) rather than semi-modal usage. In Hansard, the returns of the same search string are mostly those of emphatic affirmation, which is not negative in nature:

(c) We *have not only to* pay the value of the land, *but* we have to pay an extra 10 per cent: over the value. (1900 Hansard)

While the possessive-existential reading appears to be favored in (10) due to the main-clause structure, the modal reading also makes sense. Only when structures such as pied-piping relatives, as in (11), are present is categorical disambiguation possible:

(11) […], yearning for those rights for which we *have not to* strive, […]
(1856 COHA: MAG)

In this case, the presence of the pied-piping relative makes it clear that the fronted object is controlled by the verb in the *to*-infinitive, hence the modal rather than the possessive-existential reading. Without such cues, however, instances such as (10) cause ambiguity, and thus were taken out of the counts altogether.

Finally, a note on the semantics of negated *have to* is in order. With *do* negation, *have to* denotes absence of necessity, but with *do*-less negation it can express either prohibition or absence of necessity. However, the prohibition sense seems to be characteristic of northern British varieties (Jacobsson 1979: 300; Krug 2000: 105; Schulz 2011: 43–45). Indeed, *do*-less negation of *have to* in the present data almost always conveys absence of necessity. In what follows, therefore, the two patterns are treated as semantically equivalent.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 *Do* negation of *have to*

Table 2 presents the development of *do*-less and *do* negation with *have to* in COHA from the 1820s to the 1900s showing a steady rise in the use of *have to* under negation, which seems to accelerate from the mid-nineteenth century.[4] This reflects the rise in frequency of *have to* in general (Krug 2000: 77; Seggewiß 2012: 81).

The increase in negative contexts is primarily due to the rise of *do* negation: whereas the normalized frequency for *do*-less negation remains low, that of *do* negation consistently rises towards the 1900s. Not every increment of *do* negation between neighboring periods is statistically significant, but the percentage of *do* negation clearly increases over time, reaching 91.1% in the 1900s.

While it is a challenge to determine at what point to regard grammatical change as complete, 50% may be employed as a reasonable benchmark figure for the changeover from *do*-less to *do* negation. It appears, then, that written American English witnessed the regulation of *do* negation in the 1860s, where *do* negation

4. Neither pattern occurs in the 1810s. This might be because the 1810s section of COHA is much smaller in size than the others.

Table 2. *Do*(-less) negation with *have to* in COHA (1820s to 1900s), absolute and normalized (per million words) frequencies†

Period	*Do*-less	*Do*	Total	*Do* (%)
1820s	9 (1.30)	0 (0.00)	9 (1.30)	0.0%
1830s	7 (0.51)	3 (0.22)	10 (0.73)	30.0%
1840s	10 (0.62)	8 (0.50)	18 (1.12)	44.4%
1850s	17 (1.03)	16 (0.97)	*33 (2.00)	48.5%
1860s	15 (0.88)	*35 (2.04)	50 (2.92)	70.0%
1870s	21 (1.13)	48 (2.58)	69 (3.71)	69.6%
1880s	23 (1.10)	71 (3.40)	94 (4.50)	75.5%
1890s	18 (0.85)	*106 (5.00)	124 (5.85)	85.5%
1900s	23 (1.02)	****234 (10.38)	****257 (11.4)	91.1%

† Where applicable, the log-likelihood test was conducted to determine the statistical significance of frequency differences between neighboring periods within each column (i.e. *Do*-less, *Do* and Total). The following conventions are used throughout this section to indicate statistically significant changes with respect to the preceding data point:
*$p < 0.05$.
**$p < 0.01$.
***$p < 0.001$.
****$p < 0.0001$.

occurs 70% of the time. However, Table 3 makes it clear that in the 1860s *do* negation occurs almost exclusively in fiction;[5] in the 1870s, by contrast, it occurs in the other genres as well, but in small numbers.[6] Although there is no appreciable difference between the two periods in the sheer percentage of *do* negation, the wider distribution over various genres in the 1870s indicates the spread of the change better. Thus, I submit the 1870s as the crucial period. The COHA data fully support the hypothesis formed in 2.2 that the regulation of *do* negation with *have to* occurred in American English before the twentieth century.

5. Similar results obtain for the pre-1860s sections in COHA.

6. Since fiction comprises nearly half of the total in each period, it may come as no surprise that the spreading pattern occurs most frequently in this genre. However, I would argue that frequency differences across different genres reflect different degrees of susceptibility to change (e.g. Hundt & Mair 1999; see below). Connected to this, another possibility is that semi-modals, due to their informal overtones, were avoided in some written genres.

Table 3. Genre distribution of *do* negation with *have to* in COHA (1860s and 1870s), absolute and normalized (per million words) frequencies

	1860s	**1870s**
Fiction	33 (3.49)	38 (3.69)
Popular magazines	2 (0.45)	6 (1.35)
Newspapers	0 (0.00)	1 (0.97)
Non-fiction books	0 (0.00)	3 (1.06)
Total	**35**	**48**

Let us now turn to the British data (Table 4). As with the American data, the British data show an increasing use of negated *have to* over time. However, a comparison of Tables 2 and 4 highlights two notable transatlantic differences. First, it appears that in British English, *do*-less negation was increasing in normalized frequency until the early twentieth century. Second and connected to the first point, the regulation of *do* negation seems to have occurred some decades into the twentieth century, which confirms the hypothesis that it took place in American English earlier.

Table 4. *Do*(-less) negation with *have to* in CLMET, BLOB, LOB, F-LOB and BE06, absolute and normalized (per million words) frequencies

	***Do*-less**	***Do***	**Total**	***Do* (%)**
1710–1780	4 (0.38)	0 (0.00)	4 (0.38)	0.0%
1780–1850	12 (1.06)	0 (0.00)	12 (1.06)	0.0%
1850–1920	****46 (3.64)	10 (0.79)	****56 (4.43)	17.9%
1931	3 (2.58)	5 (4.30)	8 (6.88)	62.5%
1961	2 (1.75)	***21 (18.39)	**23 (20.14)	91.3%
1991	0 (0.00)	32 (28.00)	32 (28.00)	100.0%
2006	0 (0.00)	44 (38.36)	44 (38.36)	100.0%

Statistical significance [log-likelihood]:
*$p < 0.05$.
**$p < 0.01$.
***$p < 0.001$.
****$p < 0.0001$.

In Table 4, the normalized frequency of *do*-less negation continues to rise until the early twentieth century. Remarkably, the increase between the periods 1780–1850 and 1850–1920 is statistically highly significant at $p < 0.0001$. The trend reverses itself, however, along with the rise of *do* negation, which first crops up in the period 1850–1920. As eight out of ten instances in this period come from twentieth-century texts, it seems that *do* negation did not gain ground in British English until the twentieth century.

A similar trend obtains from four data points in Hansard.[7] Table 5 demonstrates that while *do*-less negation increases in normalized frequency towards the 1920s, *do* negation starts appearing only near the end of the nineteenth century. The consistency of the results across the corpora consulted helps to generalize the observation made earlier: British English retained *do*-less negation until the early twentieth century, when *do* negation started to emerge.[8]

Table 5. *Do*(-less) negation in Hansard (1830s, 1860s, 1890s and 1920s), absolute and normalized (per million words) frequencies

	***Do*-less**	***Do***	**Total**	***Do*** **(%)**
1830s	44 (1.57)	0 (0.00)	44 (1.57)	0.0%
1860s	67 (1.96)	1 (0.03)	68 (1.99)	1.5%
1890s	****174 (3.40)	***17 (0.33)	****191 (3.73)	8.9%
1920s	*301 (4.25)	****144 (2.00)	****445 (6.25)	33.4%

Statistical significance [log-likelihood]:
*$p < 0.05$.
**$p < 0.01$.
***$p < 0.001$.
****$p < 0.0001$.

To return to Table 4, *do* negation with *have to* seems to have taken root by around 1931, as its percentage is 62.5% in BLOB. Since, however, the figures in the cells are small, caution is naturally required. To gain further insight, it is instructive to consider the genre breakdown in BLOB. Whereas *do*-less negation occurs twice (a frequency of 4.23 per million words) in General Prose and once (4.92) in Press, *do* negation appears thrice (9.82) in Fiction and twice (4.23) in General Prose. Once again, the low figures preclude us from drawing firm conclusions, yet the breakdown suggests that Fiction is at the forefront of change, gradually followed by other genres.[9] It seems appropriate in this context to summon Hundt and

7. For feasibility, only four points were closely examined to supplement the CLMET data, especially those from the last sub-period (1850–1920); however, the selected data points roughly capture the overall trend in Hansard.

8. Sweet's (1898: 91–92) statement quoted in 2.2 suggests a common use of *have not got to* in British English. However, it occurs only seven times in the entire CLMET, with two instances of *ain't got to*. In Hansard, it appears with a frequency of around 0.5 per million words between the 1890s and the 1960s (on the basis of *[have] [x*] got to [v?i*]*), but is otherwise effectively absent.

9. We find a similar genre distribution of *do* negation in CLMET: out of ten instances, five come from narrative fiction, one from drama and the rest from texts labeled as "other."

Mair's (1999: 236) proposal for "a cline of openness to innovation ranging from 'agile' to 'uptight' genres." By comparing journalistic and academic writing across LOB, F-LOB, Brown (Francis & Kučera 1964) and Frown (Hundt et al. 1999), they find journalistic writing "agile" and susceptible to change, but academic writing "uptight" and resistant to change. They thus conclude:

> Our findings require a model in which grammatical change is seen as mediated through genre. A new form arises, typically but not exclusively in a spoken variety, and then spreads at differential speeds through various genres until at a very remote point it can be said to have been established in "the language."
>
> (Hundt & Mair 1999: 236)

Building on their model, Krug (2000: 83–86, 134–136) further demonstrates the status of fiction as a highly 'agile' genre: he discovers that the spread of the semi-modals is more progressive in fiction than in journalistic writing. It would then be an overstatement to claim that *do* negation of *have to* had wide currency across written British English by 1931. It seems more prudent to conclude that the negation pattern was making inroads mainly into "agile" genres around then.

Of course, the interpretation will have to remain provisional until larger representative corpora of written British English become available. Nonetheless, some support can be gleaned from Hansard, which represents a formal and "uptight" spoken genre (cf. note 1). Table 6 illustrates the use of *do*-less and *do* negation with *have to* in Hansard from the 1920s to the 1940s. The results, which are statistically significant at $p < 0.0001$ except for the tiny increase of *do*-less negation from the 1920s to the 1930s, show that *do* negation takes over from *do*-less negation in the 1940s. That the change does seem slower in Hansard bolsters the conclusion reached above. On the whole, the results from BLOB and Hansard point to around the 1930s as the key period in (written) British English.

Table 6. *Do*(-less) negation with *have to* in Hansard (1920s to 1940s), absolute and normalized (per million words) frequencies

	***Do*-less**	***Do***	**Total**	***Do* (%)**
1920s	301 (4.20)	144 (2.00)	445 (6.20)	33.4%
1930s	405 (4.25)	****327 (3.44)	***732 (7.69)	44.7%
1940s	****243 (2.56)	****650 (6.85)	****893 (9.41)	72.8%

Statistical significance [log-likelihood]:
*$p < 0.05$.
**$p < 0.01$.
***$p < 0.001$.
****$p < 0.0001$.

In sum, the present data have revealed that *do* negation was regulated with *have to* around the 1870s in American English and around the 1930s in British English. It must be noted, though, that these datings are determined primarily based on written material. In vernacular spoken discourse, where language change tends to originate, the regulation might have happened earlier, but this is difficult to prove with the lack of speech data.

More important here is the temporal gap between the two varieties, and I will argue that the present results call into question Krug's (2000: 106) two factors – analogical levelling and bondedness.

4.2 Krug's factors revisited: Analogical leveling and bondedness

The data from COHA appear to support Krug's factors. *Do*-less negation of *have to* is rare throughout, with a frequency of around one per million words (Table 2 above), which suggests a weak entrenchment in language users' minds; thus, the pathway remained open for adopting *do* negation. Furthermore, the rise of *do* negation coincides with that of *have to* in general. It seems, therefore, that as *have to* became frequent, the bondedness within *have to* increased, hence the use of *do* negation was encouraged – a pattern that preserves the sequence of *have* and *to*.

However, the two factors do not fully account for the British data. In British English, the emergence of *do* negation had to wait until the early twentieth century; until then, *do*-less negation, despite its infrequency, remained the primary way for negating *have to*. This has a consequence for bondedness as a factor: since *do*-less negation makes the sequence of *have* and *to* discontinuous, the later appearance of *do* negation here would entail that the bondedness within *have to* was weaker in British English than in contemporary American English. It will be recalled, however, that according to Krug (2000: 77) and Seggewiß (2012: 80–81), *have to* enjoyed similar frequency profiles in both varieties during the nineteenth century. At this point it is helpful to invoke Krug's (1998) string frequency: other things being equal, the more frequently a string of words occurs together, the more likely the string is to univerbate. To apply this concept, given the similar text frequencies, the bondedness within *have to* would have been similar in both varieties, and interpolation would have been disfavored to similar extents. Thus, the longer retention of *do*-less negation in British English suggests that bondedness may not have been instrumental in promoting *do* negation with *have to*.

Overall, Krug's factors do not adequately elucidate the course of the change observed in the present data, particularly the persistence of *do*-less negation in Late Modern British English. It is necessary then to pursue additional factors to help explain the transatlantic difference.

4.3 *Do* negation of the main verb *have*

As demonstrated in Section 4.1 above, American English was in the lead in adopting *do* negation with *have to*. This is reminiscent of how the main verb *have* has been acquiring *do*-support. The process has been more advanced in American English (e.g. Trudgill et al. 2002; Jankowski 2005; Hundt 2015). The similarity raises the possibility that there might be a correlation between the two phenomena. Thus, this section will address the development of *do*(-less) negation with the main verb *have*:

(12) I *have not* time to say more at present, […] (1826 COHA: MAG)

(13) I *don't have* much time for theorizing, […] (1904 COHA: FIC)

My analysis is based on five periods from COHA (1820s, 1840s, 1860s, 1880s and 1900s) and two British corpora (i.e. BLOB and LOB).[10] The methodology is similar to that laid out in 3.2 above. Tokens of the contiguous sequences *have not* and *do not have* (including contracted and inflected forms) were extracted, and only those of the main verb *have* in negative contexts were manually targeted. Therefore, tokens where *not* has scope over the following element(s) instead of *have* were excluded:

(14) It has long been a favorite opinion with some, that holy men have *not unfrequently* a presage of their approaching dissolution, before the event actually overtakes them. (1844 COHA: NF)

(15) Probably, the element (the water) has *not a little* to do with it, […] (LOB G06)

Furthermore, instances of *have not* with no NP were eliminated, since NP ellipsis is not attested with *do not have* in the data:

(16) As long as one point had the benefit of competition while another *had not*, […] (1887 COHA: MAG)

(17) I have a plan – if you *haven't*. (1883 COHA: FIC)

However, I included in the counts examples that appear to denote local negation (see Quirk et al. 1985: 775) from the modern perspective. In (18) and (19), for instance, *not* may be construed as having scope over the following NP:

10. Hundt (2015: 70) briefly discusses nineteenth-century attestations of *do* negation with possessive *have* from CLMET. However, since she finds no instance in the 1850–1899 British section of ARCHER (pp. 78–79), the pattern seems to have been generally uncommon in nineteenth-century British English.

(18) How do you know that the great future has *not* many bright things in store for you? (1868 COHA: FIC)

(19) The early part of the reign has *not* much to show, […] (BLOB G37)

The inclusion is justified for two reasons. First, as we will see below, *do* negation seems to be the minor variant across the data. Second, there are some contemporaneous instances where *not* is contracted to *have* in similar environments; such instances tend to be understood as negation within the VP, namely clausal negation:

(20) No, sir. Mr. Brown *hasn't* many books here, and I never had any others. (1865 COHA: FIC)

(21) I *haven't* much knowledge of London at any time. (BLOB K02)

Therefore, it is likely that non-contracted forms, as in (18) or (19), were used for clausal negation as well.

Careful manual inspection was not conducted for *do*-less negation in COHA due to the sheer amount of data. Instead, its occurrences were extrapolated from five sets of 100 random examples of *[have][x*] –[v?n*]* ('*have not* not directly followed by a past participle') as follows: taking the average proportions of *do*-less negation with *have* in five sets, multiplied by the overall numbers of hits for the query. Of course, this workaround is only pragmatic, but since each set within each period is more or less consistent in the frequency of *do*-less negation (admittedly, except for the 1880s; see Appendices 1 and 2), the extrapolations may be considered relatively reliable. Note further that since the nature of the workaround is not amenable to quantifying different uses of *have* separately, I treat the main verb *have* as a whole here. It goes without saying that for a fuller analysis of *do* negation with *have*, its semantics must be taken into account (see Section 2.2).

Table 7 indicates that the proportion of *do* negation consistently grows in American English towards the beginning of the twentieth century. Notice, however, how low its percentage is even in the 1900s:

Table 7. *Do*(-less) negation with the main verb *have*, (*extrapolated) absolute frequencies

		***Do*-less**	***Do***	**Total**	***Do* (%)**
American	1820s	*613	4	617	0.6%
	1840s	*1,130	56	1,186	4.7%
	1860s	*1,313	156	1,469	10.6%
	1880s	*1,821	265	2,086	12.7%
	1900s	*1,633	474	2,107	22.5%
British	1931	47	4	51	7.8%
	1961	39	16	55	29.1%

These findings are contrary to Varela Pérez's (2007: 225) assumption that "the change [from *do*-less negation to *do* negation] was nearly completed with both dynamic and stative uses [of the main verb *have*]" in nineteenth-century American English. It is possible that the methodology adopted here overestimated the occurrences of *do*-less negation, yet I submit that the change was still ongoing in nineteenth-century American English. Supportive evidence comes from Hundt (2015: 78, 80), who reports that *do*-less negation slightly outnumbers *do* negation by 5 to 4 in the 1850–1899 American section of ARCHER.[11] In fact, it seems that the change had yet to run its full course even in the early twentieth century. Witness the following observation by Curme (1935: 209):

> Usage fluctuates with *have*, often even in the same sentence: 'I *haven't* or *don't* have, it with me,' but in emphatic statement: 'I *do nót have* it with me,' where, however, in colloquial speech we may employ also the form without *do*: 'You have it with you,' – 'I háven't.'

As he makes no reference to any particular varieties of English,[12] it may be inferred that (North) American English, too, fluctuated in this respect during the early twentieth century. Indeed, two quantitative studies point in this direction: Jankowski's (2005: 16, Figure 6) survey of 36 American plays, chronologically ranging from 1902 to 2001, shows that the use of *do* negation with possessive *have* does not hit 50% until the second half of the twentieth century; similarly, D'Arcy (2015: 56–57) studies possessive *have (got)* in the period 1858 to 1935 in the *British Colonist*, a local newspaper in Victoria, BC, Canada, and finds that *do*-less negation of *have* is dominant throughout, accounting for 86%.[13] All in all, it appears that *do* negation

11. Hundt's study is restricted to fiction, journals, diaries, letters, newspapers, legal and science. My cursory analysis of all genres in the same section found eleven instances of *do*-less negation and four of *do* negation. This renders the overall percentage of *do* negation with *have* in this period approximately 26%.

12. Cf. his remark on *have* in interrogatives (Curme 1935: 208–209): "The older simple form [i.e. *do*-less question] survives widely in the literary language in the case of *have*, especially in England."

13. It must be conceded that these studies, focusing on possessive *have*, do not exactly compare to the present study or to Hundt's (2015). In addition, two notes must be made in reference to Victoria English. First, the reviewer questioned whether it is valid to use evidence from Canadian English to reinforce my claims on American English. There does not seem to be much research on Canadian-American dialect differences in the nineteenth to early twentieth century; however, considering that Canadian English started out as a variant of (mid-Atlantic) American English (see e.g. Dollinger 2008: 64–69), I speculate that to a reasonable extent, the two varieties may have had common grammatical features in the period concerned. Second, given the sociohistorical circumstances in Victoria, especially its potential underlying British influence (see D'Arcy 2015: 47–50), there might be an issue with casually treating Victoria English as a typical of the main verb *have* was yet to form a strong foothold in early twentieth-century, much less nineteenth-century, American English. Nonetheless, the figures in Table 7 tally with the common view that the spread of *do*-support with *have* was more progressive in American English. Given the share of *do* negation in 1931 (7.7%) as well as the linear progression in COHA, we can fairly safely presume that its incidence should have been much sparser in nineteenth-century British English (cf. note 10).

One might thus theorize that negation of *have* influenced how negation of *have to* developed in each variety: the emergence of *do* negation with *have to* was hindered in nineteenth-century British English by the rare use of *do* negation with *have*, but it was fostered in contemporary American English by some presence of *do* negation with *have*. Whereas the British component of the theory may appear persuasive, there is strong counter-evidence against the American component. In COHA (1820s–1900s), *do* negation of *have* does occur more frequently than that of *have to* in absolute frequency (compare Tables 2 and 7), which might give an impression that the negation pattern is more typical of *have*. However, consider Figure 1, which plots the relative frequencies for *do* negation with *have* and *have to* in COHA. It becomes apparent that *have to* acquires *do* negation at a much faster rate, and therefore that *do* negation, except for the 1820s, occurs consistently more with *have to* than *have* in proportional terms.

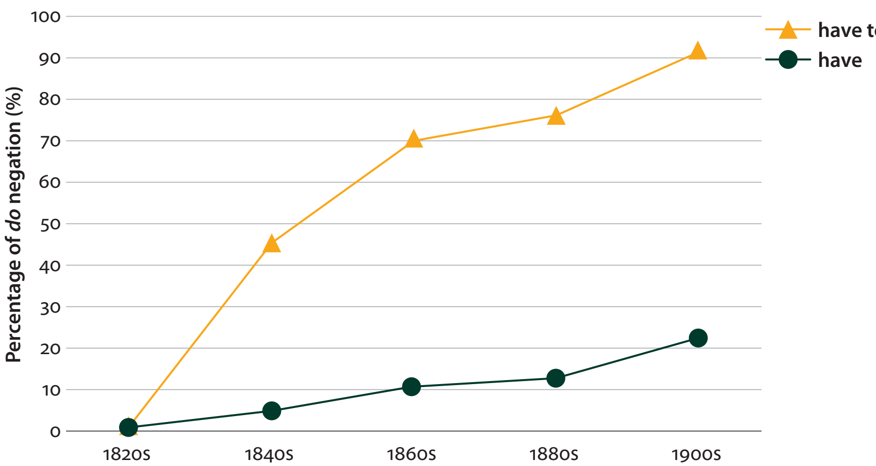

Figure 1. *Do* negation with *have* and *have to* in COHA

North American variety. That said, Denis and D'Arcy's (2019) longitudinal analysis of Southern Ontario English and Southern Vancouver Island English provides convincing evidence that while the latter is more conservative than the former, they have been highly homogeneous, especially for the two morphosyntactic variables studied (the deontic modals and the stative possessives). These caveats notwithstanding, it is of course an empirical question whether *do*-support of *have* developed similarly across North America.

The same trend appears from the British data (Figure 2). These figures make it difficult to argue that the main verb *have* was the model for *have to* with respect to *do* negation. Rather, they indicate the other direction of influence.

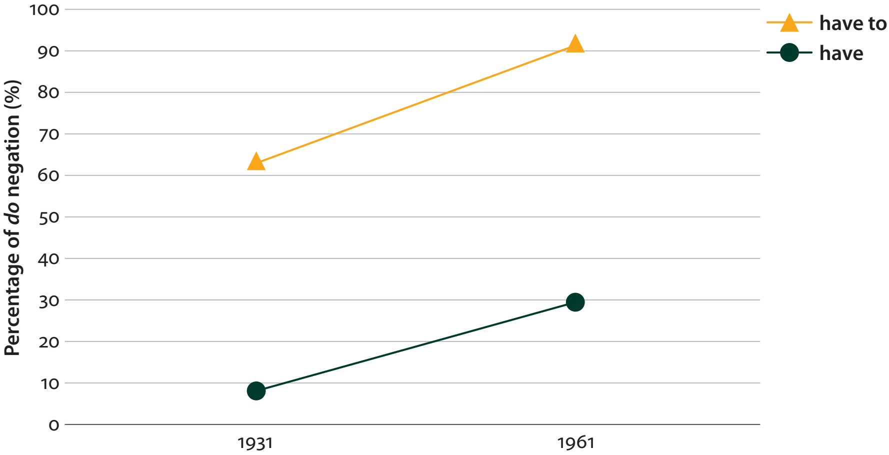

Figure 2. *Do* negation with *have* and *have to* in BLOB and LOB

4.4 Towards an integrated account: *Do* negation of *have (to)*

Rather than forcing a scenario where one form affects the other, I propose one where the two forms were responding to the same change at the same time, but at differential speeds. The reason for this proposal comes from the striking correspondence between the American and the British data (Table 8): in COHA, the relative frequencies for *do* negation with *have* and *have to* are respectively 10.6% and 70.0% in the 1860s, and 22.5% and 91.1% in the 1900s; similarly, in British English, the shares of *do* negation with *have* and *have to* each correspond to 7.8% and 62.5% in 1931, and to 29.1% and 91.3% in 1961. That is, aside from the difference in timing, quantitatively speaking, the emergence of *do* negation with the two forms proceeded almost identically in both varieties. Since there is no immediate reason why the two varieties should follow similar diffusion patterns, the parallelism in Table 8 suggests that this is likely to be the natural course of development in the change in question.

Table 8. *Do* negation of *have* and *have to* (%)

		have	*have to*			*have*	*have to*
American	1860s	10.6%	70.0%	British	1931	7.8%	62.5%
	1900s	22.5%	91.1%		1961	29.1%	91.3%

To model the change, the constructionist approach (e.g. Goldberg 2006; Traugott & Trousdale 2013) is useful. In Goldbergian construction grammar (see Traugott & Trosudale 2013: 2–8 for a brief summary of different schools of construction grammar), constructions are defined as symbolic form-meaning parings that are formally and/or functionally idiosyncratic or that are sufficiently frequent (Goldberg 2006: 5). They form a complex network with different levels of abstraction. In order to capture hierarchical relationships among constructions, Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 16–17) devise a three-tiered 'heuristic' model: micro-constructions, subschemas and schemas. In this model, the level of abstraction becomes higher from micro-construction to schema. To take their illustration of the quantifier construction, constructs (actual linguistic tokens) of *many, a lot of, few* and *a bit of* each generalize into micro-constructions (individual construction types); through formal and/or functional similarities, they are categorized into the 'large quant' subschema (*many* and *a lot of*) and the 'small quant' subschema (*few* and *a bit of*); the two subschemas are then subsumed under a maximally abstract schema, the 'quantifier' schema.

Following Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model, we can posit two micro-constructions in the present case: *have* (main verb) and *have to* (semi-modal). Another way to conceptualize this is to postulate a single micro-construction containing the main verb *have* and the semi-modal *have to*, as the latter originates in a specific use of the former (see 2.1). While such a postulation would be indispensable to earlier periods, it is not necessary for Late Modern English for at least two reasons. First, the sense of *have to* – whether root or epistemic – is not fully transparent from its components. The idiosyncrasy surfaces from the fact that other possessive verbs, such as *own* or *possess*, cannot replace *have*.[14] Second, *have to* was rapidly ascending in frequency during the late nineteenth century, which likely prompted language users to recognize it as a micro-construction in its own right. In other words, since *have to* meets both of Goldberg's criteria, it is entitled to enjoy its own micro-construction status.

The two micro-constructions, I hypothesize, are connected to each other formally: *have to* may be understood as instantiating the VP pattern of a verb followed by a *to*-infinitive clause (e.g. *hope to*), i.e. the main verb *have* accompanied by the *to*-infinitive (cf. note 14).[15] Considering the rise of *to*-infinitive complements since Middle English (see Los 2005), it would not be too unreasonable

14. For root *have to*, one way to appreciate the possessive meaning is to analyze the semi-modal as possessive *have* governing the *to*-infinitive as its direct object, that is 'to have an unrealized action (or event) to do' (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 184).

15. The formal analyzability diminishes in fused *have to*, commonly represented as *hafta, hasta* and *hadda*.

to assume that language users shape a formal abstraction over *have* and *have to*. In fact, as I will argue below, such an abstraction is crucial for why *have to* may exhibit some commonalities with *have* (*do*-less negation in this case) even after their constructional divergence (cf. "persistence," Hopper 1991: 22). At any rate, the two micro-constructions converge on the subschema *have (to)* subsuming *have* and *have to*, as illustrated in Figure 3:

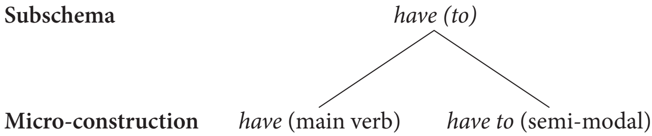

Figure 3. Network of *have (to)*

It goes without saying that Figure 3 can be expanded in numerous ways. For example, perfect *have* may be linked to the subschema *have (to)* at the most schematic level. Moreover, *(have) got (to)* may be integrated into the picture, throwing light on the emergence of *do*-support with *got (to)* in late nineteenth-century American English (Mair 2012, 2014), which roughly coincides with the rise of *do* negation of *have to*.[16] These expansions obviously go beyond the scope of the present study.

To return to the change from *do*-less to *do* negation, I propose that *do* negation seizes the subschema *have (to)* in its entirety and diffuses within the network. The proposal, I believe, enables explanations for the following: (a) why the semi-modal *have to* could form negation without *do* in the Late Modern period, (b) why *have to* acquired *do* negation at a faster rate than the main verb *have* and (c) why *do*-less negation of *have to* persisted in British English longer than in American English.

First, *do*-less negation generally became obsolete by the Late Modern period. As the low occurrences of *do*-less negation with *have to* suggests a weak entrenchment of the pattern, we would expect that it would have been easily subject to analogical regularization. Contrary to this expectation, however, *have to* retained *do*-less negation well into Late Modern English. This is due most likely to its association with the main verb *have*, which has been resistant to accepting *do*-support.

Once *do* negation reached the subschema *have (to)*, however, diffusion follows a pattern that can be explained by the conserving effect of repetition (e.g. Bybee 2010: 24–25, 66–67, 69–71): other things being equal, expressions of high token frequency are strongly entrenched, and thus tend to preserve old morphological or morphosyntactic features longer than those of low token frequency. This is precisely what the present data point to: as Table 9 shows, the main verb *have* occurs with *do*-less negation overwhelmingly more frequently than does the semi-modal

16. Admittedly, Mair's (2012, 2014) data point to the emergence of *do*-support with *got (to)* as a case of analogical simplification in language contact settings.

have to. That is, the negation pattern was far more entrenched with *have*, which made it highly immune to *do* negation. *Have to*, by contrast, was much more prone to accepting the incoming pattern due to its low occurrences with *do*-less negation.

Table 9. *Do*-less negation of *have* and *have to*, absolute (*extrapolated) frequencies

		have	*have to*
American	1820s	*613	9
	1840s	*1,130	10
	1860s	*1,313	15
	1880s	*1,821	23
	1900s	*1,633	23
British	1931	47	3
	1961	39	2

Lastly, why did British English retain *do*-less negation of *have to* longer than American English did? The key lies in when *do* negation started to fully affect the subschema. This appears to have occurred in American English by the early nineteenth century since *do* negation was already on the rise by then (see Figure 1). The same situation would not have been attained in British English until the last few decades of the nineteenth century. As far as the change at issue is concerned, British English was following in the footsteps of American English approximately 60–70 years later (see Table 8). In other words, British English had to mainly exploit *do*-less negation with *have to* until the early twentieth century, simply because *do* negation had not completely penetrated the subschema *have (to)*.[17] Under this account, therefore, there is no need to have recourse to bondedness in order to explain *have to*'s development towards *do* negation.

5. Conclusion

The present analysis has revealed that *do* negation of *have to* gained a strong foothold around the 1870s in American English and around the 1930s in British English. Krug's (2000) two factors – analogical leveling and bondedness – were seen as inadequate for accommodating corpus evidence, particularly the longer retention of *do*-less negation in British English. A look into negation of the main

17. In either variety, the full rise of *do* negation in the subschema occurred far past 1700. Speculatively, perfect *have*, which does not require *do*-support under negation, might have had a bearing on this (see Visser 1969: 1559).

verb *have* led to the constructionist approach in which language users are hypothesized to have a generalization over *have* and *have to*. The generalization, I argued, is crucial in elucidating why *have to* could still accept *do*-less negation in Late Modern English, how *do* negation spread to *have* and *have to*, and why *do*-less negation of *have to* was used longer in British English.

Clearly, there remains room for further research, and the following two questions in particular arise from the present work. First, why did *do* negation reach the network of *have* earlier in American English? One promising avenue to this inquiry would be to explore language-external factors such as language contact (Trudgill et al. 2002). Should such factors prove relevant, it would also be worthwhile to consider them on a much larger scale, as Hundt's (2015) study suggests that American English was generally more advanced in adopting *do* negation.

Second, how did other semi-modals fare with respect to *do*-support? Mair (2014: 75–76), studying *do*-support of *got (to)*, poses a similar question:

> An issue which should be addressed in a future study is whether the emergence of *do*-support with *got* [*(to)*] in late nineteenth-century North America is a stand-alone development or part of a wider diachronic dynamic in which modal and semi-modal forms (e.g. *need, dare, used to* or *ought to*) show increasing tendencies to combine with auxiliary *do*.

Since *do* negation arose with *have to* in nineteenth-century American English as well, there indeed might have been a trend where the category of semi-modals tended towards *do*-support. However, the claim will have to remain tentative until the historical development of *do*-support with other semi-modals is more comprehensively investigated.

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Appendix 1. *[have][x*] –[v?n*]* in COHA

	1820s	**1840s**	**1860s**	**1880s**	**1900s**
Number of hits	1,510	2,825	3,402	3,943	4,255

Appendix 2. *Do*-less negation with *have* in five sets of 100 random examples of *[have][x*] –[v?n*]* in COHA

	1st	**2nd**	**3rd**	**4th**	**5th**	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
1820s	44	37	44	40	38	**40.6**	3.29
1840s	35	36	46	41	42	**40**	4.53
1860s	34	40	41	36	42	**38.6**	3.44
1880s	38	51	52	51	39	**46.2**	7.05
1900s	39	36	45	37	35	**38.4**	3.97

A diachronic constructional analysis of locative alternation in English, with particular attention to *load* and *spray*

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This paper is devoted to explaining the historical development of constructions of the representative locative alternation verbs *load* and *spray* from a diachronic construction grammar perspective. These verbs can occur in at least two syntactic frames: the location-as-object variant (e.g., *load the wagon with hay*) and the locatum-as-object variant (e.g., *load hay onto the wagon*). These two variants have undergone different historical developments. This paper proposes that the prototype of the constructions with *load/spray* was the adjectival "[location] (be) *loaded/sprayed with* [locatum]" construction, from which the location-as-object variant developed. The locatum-as-object variants for *load* and *spray*, in contrast, developed in the Present-day English period, independently of the location-as-object variants or, at most, the two variants are linked metonymically.

1. Introduction

It is well-known that the Present-day-English (PDE) verbs *load* and *spray*, which are the most representative locative alternation verbs, can occur at least in the following two syntactic frames, where either a location (e.g., *the wagon, the wall*) or a locatum (e.g., *hay, paint*) is realized in the direct object position and the counterparts can be realized in the prepositional object position.[1] Following Iwata

1. This study is based on a paper presented at the 6th International Conference on Late Modern English (6LMEC) held at Uppsala University, Sweden, on August 17th, 2017, part of which has already appeared in Ishizaki (2018). I am grateful to Tomohiro Yanagi for his suggestions and encouragement. All remaining inadequacies are my own. This study was supported in part by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), Grant Nos. 15K02624 and 18K00677.

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(2008), we call the first type the location-as-object variant (1a, 2a) and the second type the locatum-as-object variant (1b, 2b).

(1) a. John loaded the wagon with hay. (location-as-object variant)
b. John loaded hay onto the wagon. (locatum-as-object variant)

(2) a. John sprayed the wall with paint. (location-as-object variant)
b. John sprayed paint onto the wall. (locatum-as-object variant)

There has been a great deal of work on locative alternation in English; see Pinker (1989), Goldberg (1995, 2006), and Iwata (2005, 2008), among others. However, as far as I know, no one has examined the historical development of constructions with locative alternation, so some important issues are not yet solved. The purpose of this paper is to describe the historical development of constructions with *load*/*spray* and to explain some of the issues under discussion from the viewpoint of diachronic construction grammar (e.g., Bybee 2010; Hilpert 2013; Traugott & Trousdale 2013; Barðdal et al. 2015).

This paper will show that, for the verb *load*, the location-as-object variant was historically followed by the locatum-as-object variant, and the former variant is far more frequent than the latter throughout history. In contrast, for the verb *spray*, whose historical developments are a century later than those of *load*, the two variants came into use nearly simultaneously, even though they were far less frequently used. Thus, of the two constructions that allow locative alternation, the location-as-object variant is historically earlier than the locatum-as-object variant, which was an established construction type by the Late Modern English (LModE) period. The historical developments of constructions with *load/spray* cannot be covered fully under the lexical rule approach of Pinker (1989), who argues that one variant is derived from the other. Specifically, according to Pinker, the location-as-object variant of *spray* is derived from the locatum-as-object variant (in contrast with that of *load*), but his observation about *spray* is not supported by the historical data. Constructional approaches by Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Iwata (2008) are promising alternatives to Pinker's account of the derivation because they assume that the two variants are equally and independently motivated for a given verb.

A related issue concerns the grammatical status of the *with*-phrase in the location-as-object variant. It has been argued that the *with*-phrase in the location-as-object variant behaves more like an argument than as a pure adjunct. For example, when a *with*-phrase encoding an instrument occurs in the location-as-object variant, it must be preceded by the *with*-phrase encoding a locatum (e.g., **Sam loaded the wagon with a fork with hay* (Iwata 2008)). This more ambiguous grammatical status of the *with*-phrase is claimed to follow from a cognitively based prototype-schema theory. Specifically, from a historical perspective, the prototypes of expressions with *load/spray* are analyzed as adjectival "[location] (be) *loaded/sprayed with* [locatum]" expressions, as in *a wagon loaded with timbers*. In the situation described, the [locatum] (e.g., *timbers*) is necessary for the description of the [location] (e.g., *a wagon*). From the prototype, established in the Modern English (ModE) period, each of the location-as-object variants developed as a new type of construction. Due to the "prototype effect," in which a prototypical construction affects later use, the locatum (*timbers*), which is preceded by *with* in the location-as-object variant, remains a salient part of the construction, where it behaves like an argument.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 reviews some of the previous analyses related to the present discussion. Section 3 examines the historical development of constructions with *load* and *spray*, based on data retrieved mainly from A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers, ver. 3.3 (ARCHER) and British Library's Historical Texts (BLHT) along with other linguistic materials. Section 4 discusses their historical developments according to usage-based diachronic construction grammar. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Previous approaches

In this section, let us briefly review three representative approaches, namely, a lexical rule approach (Pinker 1989), a constructional approach (Goldberg 1995, 2006), and a lexical-constructional approach (Iwata 2008), focusing on (i) how these approaches relate (or do not relate) the two variants and (ii) how they address *with*-phrases from a grammatical point of view.

2.1 Two variants and their relationship

To formalize the argument realization between the two elements, namely, a location and a locatum, Pinker (1989) first characterizes the location-as-object variant (in that paper, the argument structure containing an object and *with*-object) and the locatum-as-object variant (the *into/onto* argument structure) as having the following thematic cores.

(3) Thematic Cores of the Two Variants (Pinker 1989: 79)
   a. the location-as-object variant: "*X* causes *Z* to change state by means of moving *Y* into/onto *Z*"
   b. the locatum-as-object variant: "*X* causes *Y* to move into/onto *Z*"

Pinker argues that a verb like *spray* can be used in both variants because it is compatible with each of the thematic cores. Pinker further assumes two different meanings of *spray* – in the notation by Iwata (2008: 12) spray$_1$ (substance moves in a mist) and spray$_2$ (surface is covered with drops by moving mist) – and claims that one is derived from the other through a lexical rule. In Pinker's classification, for content-oriented class verbs including *spray*, the locatum-as-object variant is more basic and the location-as-object variant is derived from it. Conversely, for *load*, which belongs to a "container-oriented class" in his terminology, the location-as-object variant is more basic than the locatum-as-object variant, and the latter is derived from the former. Although a crucial issue in Pinker's derivation approach is deciding which variant is basic, many researchers doubt the approach because no empirical evidence supporting it has been presented. As we will see later, historical facts suggest that Pinker's observation is basically correct for *load* in the sense that the location-as-object variant is more basic, but not true for *spray*, because, for this verb, we found no evidence to support the claim that the locatum-as-object variant is basic and the location-as-object variant derived.

Goldberg (1995, 2006) offers a constructional approach to the locative alternation. According to her, constructions are characterized independently, rather than as derivations from other constructions. In contrast with Pinker's approach, she proposes that a single verb that allows locative alternation can fuse with different constructions, namely, "causative + *with* construction" (i.e., the location-as-object variant) and "caused motion construction" (i.e., the locatum-as-object variant). Goldberg observes that the verb *load* and other *load*-class verbs (see Rappaport & Levin 1985) have three profiled roles, as in (4).

(4) load <**loader, container,** [**loaded-theme**]> (Goldberg 1995: 178)

In this example, the bracketed [**loaded-theme**] represents the role to be the *definite null complement*, meaning that it is omissible when interpreted definitely from the context. Given that three participant roles are profiled for *load*, one of the roles may be expressed by an oblique argument in accordance with the *Correspondence Principle* (Goldberg 1995: 50).[2] Thus, the location-as-object variant (Goldberg's "causative + *with* constructions") and the locatum-as-object variant (Goldberg's "caused motion") are related in terms of *load*'s participant roles, as shown in (5) and (6), respectively (Goldberg 2006: 41).

2. Goldberg (1995: 50) explains *The Correspondence Principle* as follows: "Each participant role that is lexically profiled and expressed must be fused with a profiled argument role of the construction. If a verb has three profiled participant roles, then one of them may be fused with a nonprofiled argument role of a construction."

(5) Causative + *with* constructions (e.g., *Pat loaded the truck with hay*)

CAUSE	(**cause**	**patient** + INTERMEDIARY	(instrument))
Load	(**loader**	**container**	**loaded-theme**)

(6) Caused motion (e.g., *Pat loaded the hay onto the truck*)

CAUSE-MOVE	(**cause**	**theme**	path/location)
Load	(**loader**	**loaded-theme**	**container**)

In the participant roles for *load*, the loaded-theme role is construed either to be an intermediary, as in (5), or a theme, as in (6). In addition, the container role is construed either to be a patient, as in (5), or a path/location, as in (6). Goldberg (2006: 41) proposes that these differences in the argument role result in differences in the semantic construal of the two constructions. This leads to a discrepancy between a verb's participant roles and its argument structure. Hence, the two variants are constructions, that is, (idiosyncratic) form – meaning pairings. In Goldberg's argument, it is crucial that the [loaded-theme] participant is the *definite null complement*. The present paper will provide evidence to support the view that [loaded-theme] is an essential part of the two variants, and of the location-as-object variant in particular.

In her construction grammar analysis, Goldberg (1995) characterizes *spray* as follows: sprayer, target, and liquid instantiate in (2) as, respectively, *John, the wall*, and *paint*.

(7) spray <sprayer, **target, [liquid]**> (Goldberg 1995: 178)

As with the case of [loaded-theme] for *load*, liquid-role is profiled but not necessarily expressed if it is given a definite interpretation, as (8) shows.

(8) The skunk sprayed the car [ ]. (ibid.)

Unlike the case of *load* in (4), *sprayer*-role is not profiled since (9) is acceptable.

(9) Water sprayed onto the lawn. (Hoffmann 2017: 301)

However, this observation may wrongly predict that the target-role is not necessarily profiled either, as (10) illustrates.

(10) The broken fire hydrant$_{\text{sprayer}}$ sprayed water$_{\text{liquid}}$ all afternoon. (Croft 2012: 367; Hoffmann 2017: 302)

This leads to the conclusion that there are no profiled roles for *spray* (see Croft 2012: 367–368 for discussion of the problems with profiling as proposed by Goldberg). Problems with Goldberg's approach indicate that we should consider the semantics of verbs that allow alternation in more detail, as Iwata (2008: 39–40) does.

Iwata (2008) provides a full-fledged, book-length analysis of locative alternation in English (and other languages, including German and Japanese). Following the tenets of construction grammar, Iwata does not assume that the derivational approach is valid. Providing data on the verb that participates in the constructions, Iwata proposes that the verbs that occur in the location-as-object variant can be classified into three types.

(11) a. the *spray*- *smear*- and *scatter*-class
b. the *load*- and *cram*-class
c. the *pile*-class[3]

This classification is based on whether they have "cover" semantics or "fill" semantics in the location-as-object variant. According to Iwata, *spray*, which belongs to type (11a), can be characterized as having "cover" semantics (i.e., "to cover a surface with an even coat of deposited liquid adhering to it"). In contrast, *load*, which belongs to type (11b), can be characterized as having "fill" semantics since "some kind of contents specific to a container are put into the container, which enables the container to act in a designated way (e.g., *load a camera, load a gun*)" (Iwata 2008: 33). Iwata claims that there are at least three different semantic groups, even in the location-as-object variant, and the characterization by means of "change-of-state," which Pinker and Goldberg use, is too general for understanding the whole picture of the locative alternation.

The next item Iwata considers is how constructions with locative alternation verbs are sanctioned. Iwata offers a usage-based analysis, suggesting that a hierarchical constitutional network is formed through usage, and this network contains multiple levels of construction schemas, such as verb-class-specific constructions, verb-specific constructions, and individual occurrences. On the basis of the network, Iwata explains how the two variants are sanctioned, saying:

> The locatum-as-object variant *He sprayed paint onto the wall* is acceptable because it is sanctioned, along with *She put the box on the desk* or *He poured water into a glass*, by a verb-class-specific construction which pairs the syntactic frame [NP V NP PP] with the semantics "X moves Y into/onto Z." … On the other hand, the location-as-object variant *He sprayed the wall with paint* is acceptable because it is sanctioned, along with *She covered the floor with a rug*, by a verb-class-specific construction that pairs the syntactic frame [NP V NP] with the semantics "X causes a layer to cover Y." (Iwata 2008: 39–40)

3. (11c) can be characterized by either "cover" or "fill" semantics (Iwata 2008: 33–34) and verbs such as *heap, pile*, and *stack* participate in this class. This class is not relevant here since we focus on *load* and *spray*.

Based on the observation above, Iwata (2008: 39) proposes that the locatum-as-object variant and the location-as-object variant of *spray* can be schematically summarized as in Figures 1 and 2, respectively.

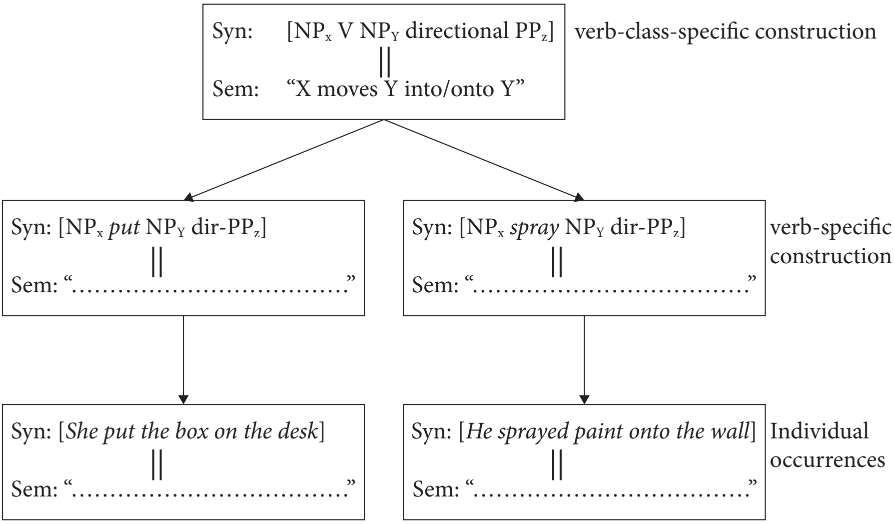

Figure 1. How the locatum-as-object variant of *spray* is sanctioned (Iwata 2008: 39)

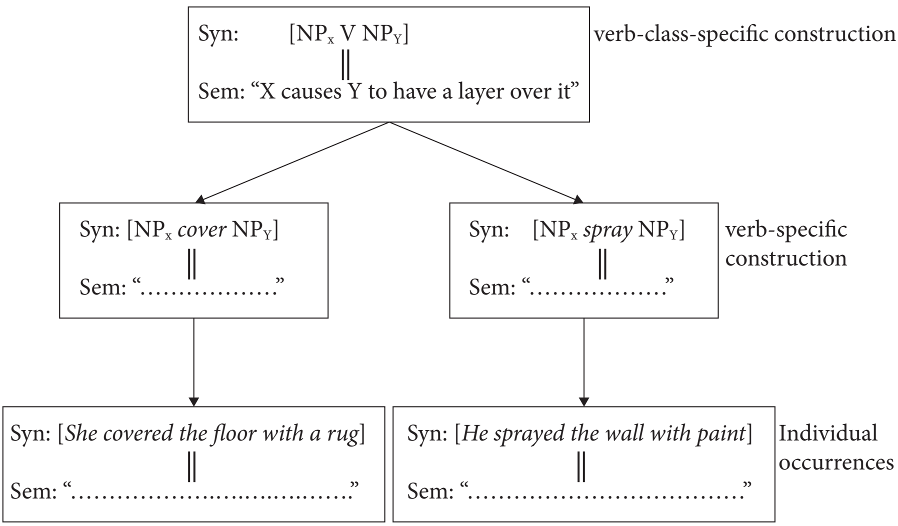

Figure 2. How the location-as-object variant of *spray* is sanctioned (Iwata 2008: 39)

2.2 Summary

For Pinker (1989), the two structural variants are related by one being derived from the other, while for Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Iwata (2008) the variants are independently motivated constructions, with any given semantically compatible verb able to be used in both variants. Aside from whether the variants are derivational or constructional, the historical facts presented below suggest that asymmetries exist between the two variants for some verbs but not other verbs. Thus, which variant is basic depends on the verbs or verb-types that enter into the alternation.

2.3 The grammatical status of *with*-phrases

There has been much debate about whether prepositional phrases are arguments, adjuncts, or 'mixed' by which we mean that they are conceived as being a continuum between arguments and adjuncts (for detailed analyses, see Hoffmann 2011: 65–72 and references therein). Pinker (1989) takes the view that they are adjuncts in the binary argument-adjunct organization. However, it has been pointed out that in the constructions with locative alternation, the prepositional phrases behave somewhat differently from adjuncts. First, let us consider the acceptability of (12).

(12) Sam loaded the truck. (Goldberg 1995: 178)

Goldberg (1995) notes that (12) is infelicitous unless the context tells us what was loaded onto the truck. This implies that the theme (e.g., (*the*) *hay*) encoded by the *with*-phrase is not simply an adjunct. Since the profiled theme role is realized as a *with*-phrase and so is not in the role of an argument structure construction, Goldberg (2006: 42) concludes that it is an argument contributed by the verb, rather than an argument contributed by the construction or a traditional adjunct. Iwata (2008, Section 3.5) claims that the *with*-phrase in the location-as-object variant, which he calls "locatum *with*," is a type of adjunct, rather than an argument. It is well known that arguments precede adjuncts, at least in English. Given this, the locatum *with* is more like an argument than an adjunct in that it is distinct from the "instrumental *with*," which is purely an adjunct. Let us examine Examples (13) through (15), which are given by Iwata (2008: 46–47):

(13) Mary loaded the wagon with hay with a pitchfork.

(14) a. Sam loaded the wagon with hay with a fork.
b. *Sam loaded the wagon with a fork with hay.

(15) a. ??Sam loaded the wagon quickly with hay.
b. Sam loaded the wagon quickly with a fork.

As (13) indicates, the locatum *with* co-occurs with the instrumental *with* (*with a pitchfork*); however, as (14) shows, whenever they co-occur, the locatum *with* always precedes the instrumental *with*. In addition, as the contrast in (15) suggests, unlike the case of the instrumental *with*, the manner adverb *quickly* can hardly intervene between the direct object (*the wagon*) and the locatum *with* (see also Goldberg (2006: 43) for a similar observation). The difference in behavior between the two types of *with* suggests that the locatum *with* is more like an argument than an adjunct. In spite of these aspects, Iwata conjectures that the locatum *with* is an adjunct, rather than an argument. Some evidence is provided in (16), which contains a resultative predicate, *full*.

(16) a. Joe loaded the wagon full with hay.
b. *Joe loaded the wagon with hay full. (Iwata 2008: 47)

According to Iwata, the resultative predicate *full* is analyzed as an argument and the fact that the locatum *with* cannot precede the resultative predicate may indicate that the locatum *with* is not an argument.

As Iwata (2008: 47) himself notes, however, this kind of analysis is not conclusive. Since we find it is nontrivial to determine whether the locatum *with* is an argument or an adjunct, it seems safe to say now that the locatum *with* behaves more like an argument than a pure adjunct, such as the instrumental *with*. This assumption is in line with constructional approaches, which propose that linguistic elements form a gradient, and that strict distinctions among elements are not always necessary. In the sections that follow, from the standpoint of diachronic construction grammar, various syntactic and semantic characteristics of the expressions with the verbs *load* and *spray* will be examined.

3. The historical development of constructions with *load* and *spray*

3.1 *Load*

The OED says that *load* was originally a noun in the Old English (OE) period, and (17) is the first recorded instance of *load* as a verb, meaning "to put a load on or in."

(17) Wher was a shype lyenge at rode Taryenge after the wynde and tyde And with moche spyces ryght well ***lode***
(?1504 S. Hawes *Example of Vertu* sig. aa.vi./OED)

The OED also notes that *load* was frequently used in the past and past participle forms such as *loaded (loaden) with*. The first citation was found 500 years after the first instance of its nominal use was attested, and *load* was used less frequently as a verb between the Middle English (ME) period and EModE period. Although, as in (18), *load* was sometimes used as a finite verb, most examples with *load* in EModE were used as the past participle form, as in (19).

(18) …the egyptians vexed vs, and troubled vs, and ***loaded*** *vs with* harde bondage (1583, Calvin, Jean *The sermons of M. Iohn Caluin*/EEBO)

(19) …the branches of the vine are ***loaded*** with clusters of grapes, not for themselues, but for others. (1593, Perkins, William, *An exposition of the Lords praier in the way of catechism*/EEBO)

On the other hand, the verb *lade* (OE *hladan*, (*ladan*), "to put the cargo on board [a ship]"), which is semantically similar to but etymologically different from *load*, was widely used between OE and EModE. According to the OED, *load* had a strong past participle form *loaden* until the 18th century, and it was formed on the analogy of *laden*, the past participle form of *lade*. Thus, *load* and *lade* entered into rivalry in this semantic field. Furthermore, *lade* is not used in the location-as-object variant and locatum-as-object variant in PDE. This means that, except for certain contexts, *lade* has been replaced by *load* in the history of English.

Now, let us see how the verb *load* was used in LModE. To understand this, I looked at 114 examples retrieved from ARCHER.[4] First, *load* was used as a verb in five grammatical forms, as in (20):

(20) a. We had two 15-inch guns ***loaded with*** 10,000 shrapnel bullet each, but….[**past participle**] (1915hami_j7b/ARCHER)
b. …, although the joint action of the stevedore and the crew was not "***loading***," yet the stevedore was not ***loading*** but the crew were in respect of this particular matter. [**present participle**] (1901lyso_l7b/ARCHER)
c. Put the baggage in prison as soon as may be, and ***load*** her down well with irons. [**finite verb**] (1893wilk_d6a/ARCHER)
d. …and after such separation it cost less ***to*** sell and ***load*** it (= coal) on cars than to put it on the refuse bank;…. [**infinitive**] (1909wood_l7a/ARCHER)
e. We drove him (= Dennis) home after ***loading*** the bike into the car and he gave yell of New York! [**gerundive**] (1977 wojn_y8a/ARCHER)

The category [finite verb] in (20c) subsumes both present and preterite forms. These types of usage can be observed in both variants, but their diachronic distributions are not uniform. Table 1 summarizes the distribution of each form from

4. The query was {load/V}, which actually retrieved 115 examples; one example appeared twice and the duplicate was excluded.

the seventeenth century onwards. In this table, the category [Neither of the above two] subsumes examples where *load* as a verb occurs neither with *with*-NP (noun phrase) nor with directional PP (prepositional phrase). The category [Others] subsumes examples where it occurs with *on*, which is ambiguous between directional and stative. The category [Both of the above two] subsumes examples in which both *with*-NP and directional PP appear in the same sentence (i.e., *a barge loaded with coal from the upper fleer to the boat below*). These three categories are not relevant to our discussion here since we focus on the two variants with *load*.

Table 1. Distributions of forms of the verb *load*

Century		**17th**	**18th**	**19th**	**20th**	**Total**
Number of occurrences		**18**	**42**	**27**	**27**	**114**
[location-variant] *with*-NP (*N* = 69) 60.1%	Past Participle	**12**	**27**	**9**	**11**	**59**
	Present Participle	0	0	2	0	2
	Finite Verb	1	3	1	0	4
	Infinitive	0	3	0	0	3
	Gerund	0	0	1	0	1
[locatum-variant] with Directional PP (*N* = 4) 3.5%	Past Participle	1	0	1	1	3
	Present Participle	0	0	0	0	0
	Finite Verb	0	0	0	0	0
	Infinitive	0	0	0	0	0
	Gerund	0	0	0	1	1
Neither of the above two (*N* = 34) 29.8%	Past Participle	4	6	3	2	15
	Present Participle	0	0	1	4	5
	Finite Verb	0	1	5	0	6
	Infinitive	0	1	1	1	3
	Gerund	0	0	1	4	5
Others (*N* = 3) 2.6%	Past Participle	0	0	0	2	2
	Present Participle	0	0	0	0	0
	Finite Verb	0	0	0	0	0
	Infinitive	0	0	0	1	1
	Gerund	0	0	0	0	0
Both of the above two (*N* = 3) 2.6%	Past Participle	0	0	1	0	1
	Present Participle	0	0	0	0	0
	Finite Verb	0	1	1	0	2
	Infinitive	0	0	0	0	0
	Gerund	0	0	0	0	0

In Table 1, at least three intriguing facts are observed. First, throughout history, about 60% of instances of *load* occur with the *with*-phrase, which contrasts sharply with instances with a directional phrase, accounting for 3.5% of all uses. This suggests that while *load* occurred frequently with the *with*-phrase, the occurrence with the directional PP (the *onto/into*-phrase) was not frequent at all as a construction type. Second, *load* was used most frequently in the past participle form, for 80 out of all instances. In relation to this usage, 59 out of the 80 instances (about 74%) occurred immediately before the *with*-phrase, as illustrated in (20a). In fact, 12 out of 18 seventeenth-century instances were the past participle [*loaded with*] combination. Third, as a consequence of the two facts given above, *load* was not frequently used as a finite verb throughout history, particularly in the initial stage of development.

In addition to these formal aspects, from a semantic-pragmatic point of view, in the seventeenth century, 12 out of 18 instances of *load* were used in the context of logistics, describing a resultative state wherein vehicles such as ships, boats, and trucks were occupied with items such as salt, gold, wood, and silk. (21) is a case in point.

(21) Whitelock was gone to rest, vice-admiral Clerk, who was on board with him, followed a ship to inquire if **she heard any news of a swedish ship *loaden with* salt from Portugal**; (1654whit_j2b/ARCHER)

From around the 15th century, when *lade* had been used in place of *load*, domestic and international trading became increasingly common in Britain. Therefore, it is natural that we find increasing numbers of examples describing situations where vehicles and containers were occupied with some item. These facts are in accordance with the assertion by Iwata (2008), who labels *load* as having "fill" semantics. Given these observations, we can say that the prototypical construction with the verb *load* was in fact adjectival in meaning ("some space, typically, a vehicle, is occupied with some item"), from which the location-as-object variant where *load* is employed as a finite verb came into use.

In contrast with the instances relevant to the location-as-object variant, there were only four instances with a directional PP, which are in relation to the locatum-as-object variant, as in (22).

(22) a. But where it (= the lighter) is ***loaded from the dry beach*** after the ebb, it is not above 4s (= currency unit). the Lighter; and all this charge of Lighterage is besides the land carriage. (1675hook_s2b/ARCHER)

b. But I must have a Fly; if I die, I must have a fly! Oh, for ***a pair of pistols loaded to the muzzle***. (1889madd_d6b/ARCHER)

c. Down the bay we drift, past great liner, ***fruit laden from the sunny South*** (1904wils_j7a/ARCHER)

d. We drove him (=Dennis) home after ***loading the bike into the car*** and he gave yells of New York! (1977wojn_y8a/ARCHER)

Of these, (22a–c) are used in adjectival passive sentences. Thus, the locatum-as-object variant in (22d), which is an instance of PDE, is a special case of usage with the verb *load*, in that it describes a dynamic situation.

3.2 *Spray*

In the literature the locative alternation is sometimes called *spray/load* alternation, but, from a diachronic perspective, the origin and frequency of *spray* are far from the same as those of *load*. According to the OED, the noun *spray* came into use at the end of thirteenth century, and the first citation of *spray* as a verb was (23), meaning "to diffuse or send in the form of spray."

(23) A strong beam of light. ***sprayed itself into innumerable sparks***.
(1829, T. Carlyle tr. 'Novalis' in *Foreign Rev*. Dec. 134/OED)

The tendency of nominal use for *spray* was firm throughout history. I found only one PDE instance of the verb *spray* from ARCHER, as in (24), and no examples from the Old Bailey Proceedings.

(24) For a long time – as insects buzzed about the screens, retreating when Monica ***sprayed them with a buzz-bomb***, shouting, Back, you black little bastards! (1971mich_f8a/ARCHER)

To understand how *spray*, as a verb, has been used, I looked at the BLHT.[5] Although this database is not a representative corpus, we found some examples, given in (25) and (26), from the nineteenth century.

(25) Behind is a small elevated seat of iron, with leather cushions, for a servant; beneath which is a portmanteau, and sufficient room for a trunk. On each side is a raised screen of iron, covered with leather, to protect the baggage from being ***sprayed with mud***.
(1828, Wilson, William Rae, *Travels in Russia*, p. 164./BLHT)

(26) There is a blue river, two miles wide, without ripple or ruffle on the surface, coming down from a great lake, pursuing its even course. There are breakers ahead – little clouds, then white foam ***sprayed into mid-air***. (1886, Vincent, Ethel Gwendoline, *Forty Thousand Miles over Land and Water. The Journal of a tour through the British Empire and America*, p. 19./BLHT)

5. BLHT brings together three collections: EEBO, ECCO, and 65,000 texts from the British Library 19th Century Collection. All of the examples given in this paper are from the last of these collections.

In both examples, *spray* is used as a past participle. As is the case with *load, spray* was used initially as a past participle rather than as a finite verb. Interestingly, as in (26), together with (23), the directional [*sprayed into*] pattern is also attested even in the early stage of development. As far as I know, (27) and (28) are the earliest instances of examples with *spray* used in the location-as-object variant and locatum-as-object variant, respectively.

(27) The man stopped him. It was not Mr. Golightly; it was a stranger; would not give his name; looked like a Catholic priest; had been there before, he thought. "Can it be – talk of the devil – " "Ask him up," said Drake. And while Drake bit his lip and clenched his hands, and ***Lord Robert*** took up a scent-bottle and ***sprayed himself with eau de Cologne***, they saw a man clad in the long coat of a priest come into the room…. (1897, Caine, Thomas Henry Hall K.B.E, *The Christian. A story*, p. 231./BLHT)

(28) Mr. Golding sat at the head of the table and Bob at the foot, Mammie, her red turban, stood behind her mistress's chair holding her fan and scent bottle, and sometimes between the courses when Mrs. Golding leaned back, ***Mammie*** fanned her face and ***sprayed the scent upon her hair***. (1891–1890, Westbury, Hugh Farrie, *The Deliverance of Robert Carter* vol.1, p. 124./BLHT)

As these examples indicate, unlike those of *load*, the location-as-object variant and locatum-as-object variant of *spray* began to be used almost simultaneously. Another interesting difference from *load* is that *spray* was used with various directional phrases, as in (29) and (30).

(29) But though her (= Miss Lanion) cheeks were flushed and her eyes too bright, it was a libel to say that fine little nose had undergone any transformation. Mary drew her into a chair and began fanning her; presently ***she sprayed a little scent towards the hot cheeks.***
(1896, Bradley, *Disturbing Elements: A Novel*, p. 181./BLHT)

(30) The peak of snow looked cold against the warm blue of the tropical sky, the ocean glittered like gold as the yacht, cutting through it, ***sprayed the water to the right and left.***
(1896, Hume, Fergus, *The Expedition of Captain Flick*, p. 160./BLHT)

This difference reduces to the semantic difference between the class of verbs given in (11), where *spray*-class verbs are "cover" semantics and they inevitably involve an emission of locatum toward something. Therefore, *spray* has a strong metonymical relationship with motion semantics, more so than *load* has.

3.3 Summary

Let us summarize what we have seen so far. As to *load*, along the lines with *lade* from ME, the adjectival participial use of the [[location] (be) *loaded with* [theme]] pattern became a popular construction unit first, and the location-as-object variant came into use afterward. On the other hand, the locatum-as-object variant of *load* has been less frequent throughout history. As to *spray*, the verbal use was quite a recent innovation and rarely found even in LModE. When *spray* was used as a verb, the past participial use was still common in the same way as *load*, but *spray* is different from *load* in that, even though it was far less frequent, both the location-as-object variant and the locatum-as-object variant were available at the earliest stage of its verbal use. The historical development of the constructions with *load* and *spray* can be sketched as Figure 3.

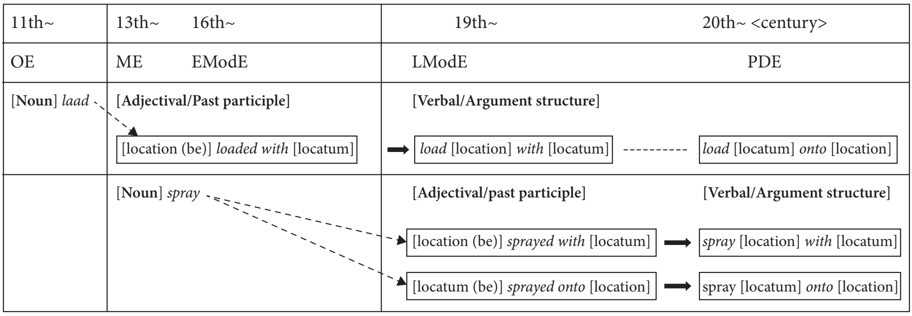

Figure 3. Historical development of constructions with *load/spray*

As far as *spray* is concerned, in contrast with Pinker's (1989) observation, there is no evidence to show that the location-as-object variant derives from the locatum-as-object one. In the next section, I will try to characterize the developments of two variants from the viewpoint of diachronic construction grammar.

4. An explanation

4.1 A usage-based model and diachronic change in constructions

Adopting a usage-based model framework is a research strategy shared by many cognitive and constructional approaches to grammar. This approach is based on the idea that a speaker's grammatical knowledge is acquired through communicative situations or "usage events" in a bottom-up fashion. Although grammatical knowledge itself is a highly abstract entity, it is built up on the basis of actual instances of use that speakers come across. Through recurrent experiences in usage events, a specific linguistic expression is "conventionalized" and stored in the brain as an abstract symbolic unit called a "schema," which ranges in size from a morpheme to a larger assembly of linguistic units.

Langacker (1987, 2000) proposes a usage-based network model to explain how constructions emerge and develop. The network model is based mainly on two types of categorization approaches: categorization by prototype and categorization by schema. Langacker defines prototypes and schemas as follows.

> A prototype is a typical instance of a category, and other elements are assimilated to the category on the basis of their perceived resemblance to the prototype.
> A schema […] is an abstract characterization that is fully compatible with all the members of the category it defines (so membership is not a matter of degree).
> (Langacker 1987: 371)

It is assumed that the schemas are not fixed but are dynamic organizations subject to creative extension and reshaping with language use. Consider Figure 4.

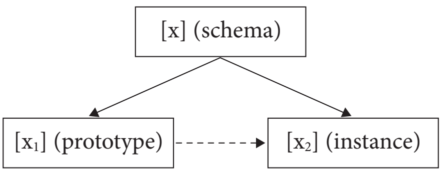

Figure 4. A network model (cf. Langacker 1987: 373)

When lexical item [x_1] is a typical instance of a category, with a concrete form, size, color, and so on, it is recognized as a "prototype" of that category. The prototype is a conceptual unit already established in the speaker's brain, and the linguistic characteristics may be retained for later use. This is called the prototype effect (Rosch 1975).

If speakers regard the instance [x_2] as being analogous to the prototype [x_1], even if there is some difference, then the instance is taken to be an "extension" from the prototype. The categorization based on analogical thinking is indicated in Figure 4 by the dotted line. In order for both [x_1] and [x_2] to be sanctioned as members of the same category, the schema is necessarily updated. The recognition of expressions by the schema is indicated by the solid line.

It is true that schemas are amenable to change through social interaction, but it is not correct to assume that schemas continue to change all the time in an unpredictable way. One of the most important functions of language is to exchange information with others. If each person in a specific speech community conceptualizes cats as having totally different schemas, this difference will cause serious misunderstanding. Consequently, change in schemas is supposed to take tiny and logical steps from the prototype or previous schemas and is synchronically gradient such that we are not even aware of it (Keller 1994).

Essentially the same applies to diachronic change. Prototypical expressions are usually compositional, with abstract schemas extracted from them. In construction grammar terms, the mapping between the form and the meaning of a construction becomes increasingly symbolic. However, diachronic schematic change does not proceed radically. An empirically attested token (or "construct" in Traugott & Trousdale 2013) becomes frequent when it is acceptable for a particular speech community. If the construct is used by many people in the community, it becomes more frequent. The change in frequency of each construct is scaled with token frequency. Once a construct becomes familiar, language users may use another construct similar to it, leading to an increase in type frequency. As many types of linguistic expression participate in a specific frame, the frame becomes more and more schematic. However, as we saw above, such schematization should be gradual because the schematic change should be stepwise if people are to understand without much confusion.

4.2 Explanation for the historical development

4.2.1 *Identifying the prototype*

There are similarities between *load* and *spray* in that they were used originally and primarily as nouns and, several centuries later, came to be used as past participles accompanying a *with*-phrase, which led to a finite verb occurring in the location-as-object variant. The prototypical structure for the location-as-object variant is proposed here as (31).

(31) [location] (be) *loaded/sprayed with* [locatum (e.g., locatum or liquid)]

In (31), the [location] role is more salient than the [locatum] roles. These two participant roles are necessary for the description of loading/spraying, and became frequent from the ModE period. Therefore, the [locatum] role is an important part of the prototype and this is retained later in the history, even when the location-as-object variant was invented. Because of the prototype effect, the *with*-phrase is obligatory in many of the instances of the location-as-object variant in PDE, as in (32) (see also Iwata 2008: 14–15).

(32) a. He piled the shelf with the books.
b. *He piled the shelf.

Another important similarity in the historical development of the two variants for *load* (*lade*)/*spray* is that they underwent the following categorical change.

(33) NOUN > ADJECTIVAL (past participle) > (finite) VERB

This categorical change seems plausible linguistically. Usually, the suffix *-ed* in English attaches to verbs to signal the past tense and past participle. Since it does not involve categorical change, this suffix is a type of inflectional form of a verb. However, it can attach to nouns functioning as adjectives, as in (34).[6]

(34) Skates and rays are descended from sharks, and sharks are already slightly flattened compared with bony fish which are typically ***deep-bodied*** and blade-like. A ***deep-bodied*** blade of a fish can't lie on its belly, it has to flop over its side.
(Richard Dawkins, *Climbing Mount Improbable*, p. 123./ Toyota (2008: 69))

Spray was also used adjectively, as in (35), where it is a prenominal preceded by *long*.

(35) There was a constant ripple of song from the ***long-sprayed*** bushes on the slopes, and the skylarks were fitfully audible up in the fathomless blue;
(1891, 1890, Pearce, Joseph Henry, *Esther Pentreath, the miller's daughter: A study of life on the Cornish coast*, p. 123./BLHT)

As Toyota points out, *-ed* is derivational when it is used in in the adjectival passive (as in *be* ***covered*** *with* and *be* ***interested*** *in*). This observation can be applied to *spray*. In (36), cited from a tutorial on how to purify petroleum, *spray* is used as a noun in the first place and then the speaker uses it creatively as an attributive adjective and a predicative adjective (C and D in (36) refer to points illustrated on the figure therein).

(36) The main steam supply enters at CD and passes to the nozzle through the annular space…. The steam thus draws in the oil, together with the necessary amount of air, and breaks up the oil into a ***spray***. The oil is further atomised by an independent steam supply passing through a hollow ring…, and strike across the current of partly ***sprayed*** oil…. This auxiliary steam supply also serves the important purpose of breaking up the main jet, so…. It was the first in which the principle of combustion at constant pressure was adopted, and was also the first in which the oil was ***sprayed***.
(1896, Redwood, Boverton, *Petroleum*, pp. 716–725./BLHT)

6. Historically, *-ed* can also attach to nouns functioning as adverbs. Toyota (2008: 69) gives the following example.

(i) then he petered out and died and then the job was going to be given to Baxter to finish it *single-handed* and then he very reasonably accrued a mighty team around him.

Brinton and Traugott (2005) point out that derivation is a type of word-formation, with the process often instantaneous. Given the derivational characteristic of the suffix *-ed*, it is plausible that the nouns *load* and *spray* were converted into adjectives first as nonce words to refer to a stative situation and then developed into more agentive finite verbs, retaining the prototypical argument structure.

4.2.2 *Extension from the prototype*

The categorical change from adjective to past participle to verb corresponds to a change in prominence. As the prototypes proposed in (31) indicate, the location is more salient than the substance. In Examples (1) and (2), where *load*/*spray* are used as verbs, their [loader/sprayer] role is placed in the subject position, being the trajector in the described scene. As a consequence, either the [location] or the [locatum] role is demoted to the second- or third-salient entity in the described scene (i.e. the landmarks), giving rise to the distinct variants. Historically, the [location] role is more frequent than the [locatum] role, so that the location-as-object variant came to be chosen.

In contrast with the location-as-object variant, the locatum-as-object variant has been less frequent throughout history for both words. This is because the [locatum] role is construed as the least salient. For *load*, the location-as-object variant fully developed with frequency by the LModE period and after that the locatum-as-object variant came into use. The historical developments of the two variants for *load* strongly suggest that they are independently motivated constructions, or that they are, at most, metonymically related to each other in the given loading scene. As to *spray*, both variants came into use simultaneously, even though they were used infrequently.[7] The difference between *load* and *spray* resides in the difference between the event schema they describe. Croft (2012: 302) cites Iwata (2005: 388) in arguing that *spray*, unlike *load*, encodes a scene in which the manner of movement of the liquid (moving in a mist) is construed as a subevent that can be focused on independently of the initial action of the external causer (the sprayer). Therefore, *spray* can appear in the intransitive motion construction.

(37) Paint$_{\text{liquid}}$ sprayed on the wall$_{\text{target}}$. (Croft 2012: 302)

As (37) suggests, since the spraying event inevitably involves emission of spray, *spray* can occur naturally in the locatum-as-object variant even though this was seen less frequently.

7. A reviewer refers to the possibility that the developments of the two variants for *load* made it possible to use *spray* with both variants immediately, by something like analogy. This suggestion seems promising, but the scarcity of examples with the two variants of *spray* leaves it as an open question.

5. Conclusion

In the present paper we have discussed the historical development of the verbs *load* and *spray*, which are considered typical locative alternation verbs. The historical developments of these verbs leading to the two variants, i.e., the location-as-object variant and the locatum-as-object variant are summarized in Figure 3. Both *load* and *spray* were originally nouns, which then became used as adjectival past participles accompanying a *with*-phrase to encode locatum. Soon after, the location-as-object variant came into use. The locatum-as-object variant was less frequently used than the location-as-object variant. The two variants have been independently motivated but, unlike *load*, the verb *spray* was used in both variants nearly simultaneously in LModE. The two variants were available for *spray* in the initial development of the verbal use because of the difference in the event structure expressed in the situation described.

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PART III

Orthography, vocabulary and semantics

In search of "the lexicographic stamp"

George Augustus Sala, slang and Late Modern English dictionaries

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This chapter is a contribution to the study of G. A. Sala and of the LModE period from the perspective of historical lexicography. Taking as its starting point "Slang", an article published by Sala in an 1853 issue of Dickens's *Household Words*, the study investigates Sala's reliance on previous glossaries of slang and the possible impact of the numerous examples he provides upon the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED1*), prepared shortly after. The analysis described concludes that, despite Sala's discussion of words previously unregistered in dictionaries, his text had a tenuous impact upon *OED1*; it shows furthermore that *OED1* did not ignore recent contemporaneous slang, testifying instead to the complex relation LModE speakers had with non-standard language.

1. Introduction

Opinions on prominent Victorian journalist George Augustus Sala (1828–1895) have always been divided. Perceived by many as a minor Dickensian author (see e.g. Sala 1894: 78–79) with "a reputation for drunkenness, quarrelsomeness, and financial and professional unreliability" (Edwards 2005: 1), G. A. Sala has also been acclaimed as a major figure in the English press by Victorian (e.g. Thackeray 1855; Escott 1879: 117) and particularly modern critics (e.g. Edwards 1997). A growing recognition of Sala's work is evidenced by an increasing academic interest in his multifarious activities and has recently resulted in the publication of a thematic biography of this author (Blake 2015). While acknowledging his scandalous behaviour (pornography writing and a self-professed interest in flaggelation), Blake's portrait confirms Sala as a capable graphic artist, an aspiring writer and especially "a prodigal journalist, a pioneer of 'new journalism' and a renowned 'special correspondent'" (Brake 2015: n.p.).

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This chapter aims to present a contribution from the perspective of historical lexicography to the study of G. A. Sala and of the Late Modern English (LModE) period (1700–1900; Tieken Boon van Ostade 2009: ix). The starting point for this study is "Slang", a press article authored by Sala and published in an 1853 issue of Dickens's weekly journal *Household Words*, in which hundreds of allegedly common slang terms are discussed and where an eloquent appeal for their inclusion in a dictionary is presented. A review of the article is followed by verification of the presence of a sample of the lexical items listed by Sala in (i) previous glossaries and dictionaries of slang, already available at the time, and (ii) the first complete edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforward *OED1*). This verification was directed toward a twofold aim, namely to check (i) whether Sala's selection of slang could have been inspired by previous records of this kind of vocabulary rather than being the result of his well-known observational skills, and (ii) the possible impact of Sala's text upon *OED1,* "the pinnacle of descriptive lexicography" (Brewer 2016: 491), which was prepared and in part published in his lifetime. This search for the "lexicographic stamp" (Sala 1853: 75) of the slang items listed by Sala provides a complement to the study not only of this complex Victorian figure but also of LModE lexicography and attitudes to slang vocabulary.

2. G. A. Sala and *Household Words*

Though a visual artist, writer and playwright, G. A. Sala worked mainly as a journalist, especially as a special correspondent. He wrote for very influential newspapers and periodicals of his time, such as *Household Words, All the Year Round, The Cornhill Magazine, The Illustrated London News, Illustrated Times* and especially *The Daily Telegraph*. His work became so prominent that Sala was often either praised or criticised by influential contemporaries, such as William Makepeace Thackeray (see Ray 1945: 470–471) or Matthew Arnold (1869: xi), respectively; and in 1895, Lord Rosebury, then Prime Minister, obtained for him a pension of £100 per year (Blake 2015: 5). Today Sala is especially acclaimed for his influence on the development of the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s (Blake 2015: 10).

G. A. Sala began his collaboration with *Household Words* (henceforward *HW*) at an early stage in his career. This was a two-penny weekly journal edited by Charles Dickens, which was published from 1850 to 1859. Aimed at both "working-class readers" and "affluent middle-class families and people of influence", *HW* dedicated itself to the publication of "original short fiction and crusading social journalism" (Drew 2009: 292), having from the start an impressive estimated circulation of 34,500 copies per week (Drew et al. 2011: n.p.).[1] Sala's contribution to this periodical was triggered by the ready acceptance of a text submitted in 1851, "The Key of the Street", which Dickens found "a very remarkable piece of description" (quoted in Lohrli 1971: n.p.).

Over the next five years, Sala contributed regularly to *HW*. He published a total of 160 texts in this journal (Blake 2016: 1), 28 of which in leading position, and he had a double participation in 14 issues.[2] It was also in *HW* that Sala started his career as a special correspondent. Among other destinations, he was sent to Russia after the Crimean War (1853–1856).

With time, however, Dickens seemed to grow tired of "the signs of dissipation he could see in Sala" (Blake n.d.: 2). Also, the latter's "dispute about travelling expenses [to Russia] and his delay in completing the agreed number of papers led to a bitter quarrel with Dickens" (Lohrli 1971: n.p.). This must have been the reason why Sala's services were dispensed with in 1856. His collaboration with Dickens would only be resumed some years later, within a different context.

Much of the information provided above results from Lohrli's thorough investigation of *HW*'s Office Books and of the payments registered in those records (1973). In fact, the texts published in *HW* were all anonymous and very often attributed to Dickens since there was a running header with the legend "conducted by Charles Dickens" on every page of every number of the journal (Drew 2009: 292). Indirect evidence suggests, however, that Sala's participation in *HW* was known at the time of publication, as is indicated by, for instance, Thackeray's favourable comments on him ("a man of curious talents certainly, perhaps a genius") and on his very first text in the magazine ("almost the best magazine paper that ever was written") in a letter to George Smith dated 1855 (Ray 1945: 470–471).

3. "Slang"

"Slang" is the title of an article authored by Sala and published in 1853 in *HW* (Vol. VIII, n. 183). It is one of the few texts dedicated to language that were published in the magazine (discussed in Barros 2017) and seems to echo the sociolinguistic sensibility found in Dickens's fictional writing.

Sala's concept of slang is explained in the text. He considers it to mean "words not to be found in standard dictionaries, not authorised by writings received as

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1. In 1850, *The Times* had a circulation of between 30,000 and 38,000, which shows how successful *HW* was (Drew et al. 2011: n.p.).

2. This information is based on *Dickens Journals Online* <www.djo.org.uk> and was confirmed in November 2018.

classics, and for which no literary or grammatical precedents can be adduced" (Sala 1853: 75). This category of words includes, in his view, the "unauthorised" jargon of "brigands, burglars, beggars, impostors, and swindlers", "mariners" and "mechanics" (1853: 74), resulting very often from "the arrival of every mail, the extension of every colony, the working of every Australian mine", "the columns of American newspapers" (1853: 73). But slang also comprises "the authorised and omnipresent slang […] [that] through all grades and professions of life runs" (1853: 77), which includes "bastard classicism[s]" and "slip-slop Gallicism[s]" (1853: 73). Sala identifies the following contexts and users of the latter, "authorised" slang: parliamentary debates, barristers in their robes, every mess table, every bar mess, every college commons, every club dining-room, the very top of the social Olympus, the world of criticism and the stage, both before and behind the curtain (1853: 76). Since it is omnipresent, slang should "be registered, etymologised, explained, and stamped with the lexicographic stamp" (1853: 75). And this call to register words is accompanied by literally hundreds of examples, e.g. *ticker* (watch), *beak* (magistrate) or *thé dansante* (tea-party).

Both the description of the concept and the examples provided show that, as noted by Green (2016: 21), Sala's article encompasses primarily "occupational slang" and "verbal affectation" and not so much that "class of deviant registers of the language" (Agha 2015: 306) which is more commonly associated with slang these days. This comes as no surprise, since Sala's readers were Victorian working- and middle-class families. Yet it is worth noting that, despite this bias, Sala's article is mentioned in James Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*, first published six years later, which deals with "low, vulgar […] unrecognised language" (1859/1860: 51). In fact, and though its author is not identified, "Slang" is referred to by Hotten no less than 24 times. It is extensively quoted in the introductory material (Hotten 1859/1860: 54, 56, 57), registered with unflattering comments in the final list of references ("interesting but badly digested article on slang; many of the examples are wrong"; 1859/1860: 284), and also the identified source of 14 entries and of their meaning.[3] It was even suggested at one time that Sala "was the compiler-in-chief of Hotten's Dictionary" (Burke 1939: 21). This claim cannot be verified for obvious reasons, but Coleman sees Hotten's *Dictionary* as a response to the "insistence on the need of a New Dictionary including such slang terms" that is explicitly stated in Sala's article under discussion (2008: 20).[4]

3. Those entries are *bosky, cask, crug, cut, dipped, disguised, duke, fiddler, go along, juniper, mooney, muzzy, ploughed* and *schwassle box*.

4. The ambiguity of the term *slang* is not exclusive of Sala's use of the word, but a persistent characteristic of the concept. It remains "a notoriously difficult word to define" (Coleman 2008: 1), with little agreement upon either the definition of the term or the identification of

In his article, Sala lists a large number of examples, but he claims to have quoted and registered only those that had occurred to him on the spot and which could be easily complemented with some effort. In his own words (Sala 1853: 76):

> The slang expressions I have herein set down I have enumerated, exactly as they have occurred to me, casually. If I had made research, or taxed my memory for any considerable time, I have no doubt that I could augment the slang terms and synonyms to at least double their amount.

The truth may however have been somewhat different. Sala may have resorted to previous registers of slang terms circulating at the time, very often in the form of lexicographic texts. In fact, notwithstanding the pervasiveness of prescriptive attitudes with regard to language use, the LModE period witnessed a fascination for non- and sub-standard language (Hakala 2010: 6). In fact, slang permeated literary texts (as for instance the language of Sam Weller, Dickens's famous character) and was the object of specialised glossaries and dictionaries, as shown in Coleman's monumental *History of Slang Dictionaries* (see in particular vols. 2 and 3, dated 2005 and 2008). Although Sala's use of those tools cannot be verified, it is possible to trace back the examples he discusses to previous attestations with the help of *Green's Dictionary of Slang* (2010 and 2018), as shown in Section 4.

4. G. A. Sala's examples in previous slang dictionaries

This section aims to verify whether the slang items listed and discussed by Sala in the article under study had been used or registered as slang in previous documents, in particular in specialised lexicographical tools available at the time. The first step taken to achieve this purpose was the selection of a sample of Sala's examples. This selection was intended to reduce the analysis to a collection of lexical items embodying, as closely as possible, the concept of slang as the special vocabulary characteristic of "the […] extreme 'informal' position on a continuum representing degrees of formality" (Thorne 2010: 489). The motivations for such a delimitation are two: on the one hand, the understanding of slang within modern linguistics corresponds primarily to language, especially lexis, of a highly colloquial type; on the other hand, this is the most interesting component of Sala's examples of slang to discuss against the backdrop of a highly conservative speech community, even

instances of this phenomenon, so that Dumas and Lighter (1978) have even questioned the usefulness of the word for linguists. Now slang is regularly seen as being made up of informal synonyms or near synonyms of standard lexical items (Thorne 2010: 489) and that is how it is understood in this chapter. See Section 4.

if he was not dealing with taboo words but with items that could be published in a press article aimed at Victorian middle and working-class readers.

With this in mind, mere neologisms (such as *alpaca*, or *poncho*: Sala 1853: 76), occupational slang (such as "railway phraseology": *buffer, switch, point, stoker* and *coal bunk*; Sala 1853: 76), and verbal affectation (e.g. the "unmeaning gibberish of Gallicisms [that] runs through fashionable conversation, and fashionable novels, and accounts of fashionable parties in fashionable newspapers", including *thé dansante, beau monde* and *chaperon* (Sala 1853: 76)) were dismissed, while a number of informal terms and expressions were considered. The final sample is composed of the slang synonyms of the words *drunk, gin, money* (and its various pieces), *poor, food, man, gentleman, low person* (sic), *policeman, thief, soldier, horse, donkey, hand, foot, boot* and the verbs *to steal, to go or run away* and *to beat*. Together such synonyms make up a list of 159 words, included in the Appendix at the end of this chapter. The presence and description of each of these words was checked in *Green's Dictionary of Slang*.

Green's work, which was considered "quite simply the best historical dictionary of English slang there is, ever has been […] or is ever likely to be" (Coleman 2012: 193), is, as indicated, a dictionary on historical principles, modelled on the *OED*. As such, *Green's Dictionary of Slang* traces the history of each entry and "presents the user with the documentary evidence that the lexicographers based their entries on" in the form of quotations or citations, i.e. "excerpts of original texts containing the target lexical item, with bibliographical details appended" (Lambert 2018: 4). Green's sources include previous dictionaries and glossaries of slang and so his dictionary is the best tool to expeditiously find out whether Sala's examples were first compiled by him in "Slang" or treated in previous lexicographical texts that he might have been aware of.

This search showed, in the first place, that *Green's Dictionary of Slang* does not register 11% (18/159) of the slang forms that make up the sample taken from Sala's article (*in one's cups, in liquor, not able to see a hole through a ladder, on the re-raw* and *three sheets in the wind*, synonyms of 'drunk'; *down on his luck, under a cloud* and *in a fix*, meaning 'poor'; *codger* 'man'; *nag* 'horse'; *finger* 'hand'; *to take tracks, to tip your rags a gallop* and *to vanish*, synonyms of 'to go or run away'; and *to hide, to larrup, to maul* and *to pummel*, meaning 'to beat'). There is no apparent reason for this omission, especially because Sala's article is quoted 28 times in his work.[5]

Information about the remaining 141 items is summarised in Table 1. Besides identifying raw and relative frequencies and examples of previously attested items,

5. The latter and online edition of Green's *Dictionary of Slang* is dynamic, which means that information is constantly under revison. Data used in this chapter was confirmed in November 2018.

on the one hand, or first recorded in "Slang", on the other hand, the table distinguishes lexicographic sources (e.g. Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* or Grose's *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, dated 1755 and 1785 respectively) from non-lexicographic previous sources (e.g. Shakespearean comedies, press articles, etc.).

Table 1. First attestation of Sala's sample according to *Green's Dictionary of Slang*

Previously attested		First attested in "Slang"
90% (127/141)		10% (14/141)
in lexicographic texts	in non-lexicographic texts	*buffy, ploughed* (drunk); *duke, gatter, white satin* (gin); *cart-wheel* (crown-piece); *bit* (fourpenny-piece); *quisby, sold up* (poor); *to step it* (to go or run away); *scurf* ("low person"); *go-along* (thief); *steppers* (feet); *grabber* (boot)
38% (53/141) e.g. *boozy* (drunk) included in Grose (1785)	52% (74/141) e.g. *cream of the valley* (gin), attested in an 1832 article in the *London Literary Gazette* (28 Apr. 268/1)	

As shown in Table 1, though only 10% of the slang words investigated were first registered in Sala's article, 52% of those items had not been listed in specialised lexicography before its publication. These percentages indicate that G. A. Sala could not have been inspired simply by previous lexicographic sources when writing his text, which confirms him as an attentive observer of his contemporaries' use of language and proves him right in his emphasis on the need for a new dictionary that would cover words in daily use but still unregistered at the time.

This is the reason why a similar study was carried out with *OED1*, as described in Sections 5 and 6. Though that major lexicographic project was completed in 1928, it originated long before, during the LModE period. And, similarly to what happened in the case of Hotten's *Dictionary of Slang* (1859/1860), *OED1* may have been influenced by suggestions made in a magazine edited by Dickens, with a wide circulation and by the hand of a renowned writer like Sala. This possibility will be discussed in the following sections.

5. Slang in *OED1*?

Before assessing the impact of Sala's compilation of slang upon *OED1*, some introductory remarks about this dictionary are well worth making. In fact, the consensual recognition of *OED1* as a landmark in world lexicography has not prevented analysts from criticising it for a typically Victorian bias that may have limited its attention to slang. Indeed, though the project adopted quite an innovative approach to the concept of *dictionary* – conceived as "an inventory of the language" destined to include "all the words, whether good or bad, whether they commend themselves to […] [the lexicographer's] judgment or otherwise" (Trench 1859: 4) and no longer as a "domain of proper and normative usage" as was then the norm (Mugglestone 2005: 86) – it has nevertheless been argued that it has let prescriptiveness and subjectivity creep in "by the back door" (Mugglestone 2005: 77).

This contradiction between the aim and practice of the first generation of *OED* editors has been widely discussed in the literature (see, in particular, Willinsky 1994; Mugglestone 2000a, 2000b and 2005; Brewer 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010 and 2011). Some critics have emphasised *OED1*'s Anglocentric viewpoint (e.g. Weiner 1987: 32), which emerges especially in the favouring of data representing almost exclusively British Standard English (Algeo 1998: 61), so that even domestic varieties with an "English type different from the Saxon" were initially discarded (Trench 1859: 3). Other analysts have mentioned class, gender and ethnic prejudice (e.g. Moon 1989; Béjoint 2000; Brewer 2011: 120), as shown for instance in the entry *blanket* (n.), first published in 1887: the seventh and attributive meaning of the word (7.a) is "[d]esignating American Indians who use the blanket as a garment, remaining in a primitive state of civilization and keeping tenaciously to their old tribal customs".[6] Various sources (e.g. Willinky 1994; Nevalainen 1999: 337) have also highlighted the dictionary's bias towards literary registers: it was even noted that Shakespeare was the single author contributing the largest number of citations to the first edition (Schäfer 1980; Willinsky 1994: 211).[7] Finally, and more importantly for this study, since slang is associated with particular semantic fields, *OED1* is considered to mirror Victorian prudishness and, as a consequence, to have ignored words then deemed obscene. That is the case of *condom*, though curiously enough, and according to Mugglestone (2005: 84–85), the word was indeed provided and defined by the surgeon James Dixon, its historical and contemporary usage suitably verified, but eventually omitted from the dictionary.

It is also true that perscriptivism was not entirely absent from the initial plan of *OED1*, notwithstanding its inclusive intentions. In fact, in his *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary*, the document that launched the whole

6. Information on *OED1*'s entries was collected from the online version of the dictionary on November 2018, except for Section 6; since this edition of the dictionary is an ongoing revision, information, especially numeric, can become rapidly outdated.

7. The central role of Shakespeare and of literary texts as a source of citations still holds: though surpassed by *The Times* (with 42,840), Shakespeare still comes second on the list of the top sources of citations (with 32,952) and is immediately followed by Walter Scott (with 17,132). For a complementary perspective on the value of literary texts as sources of the *OED*, see Grund (2013), where the instrumental role of such texts in the recording of 14th- and 15th-century alchemical vocabulary is unveiled.

project, Trench highlighted that "as soon as a standard language has been formed, […] the lexicographer is bound to deal with that alone" (1859: 3); furthermore, he made it clear that the purpose of the dictionary was to "contain every word occurring in the literature of the language" (1859: 2). However, as shown by Mugglestone (2005: 3), prescriptivism and bias were definitely reinforced by the pressure of the Delegates of Oxford University Press, senior members of the university academic staff who were "actively involved in the work of the press", and whose "approval was necessary" before any publication. Mugglestone also argues that reports published in 1893 and 1896 by a committee appointed by the Delegates stressed their "continued opposition to the words of science and technology, to the incorporation of modernisms […] and to the presence of slang and Americanisms" (Mugglestone 2005: 27), highlighting the Delegates' conviction that it was "a waste of time and brain to give (…) any serious attention in an historical dictionary to the latest specimens of Journalese, or the newest Americanisms" (Mugglestone 2005: 28).[8]

Against such a backdrop, *OED1* seems to have been bound to resist the inclusion of slang in its pages and to provide a prescriptive treatment of the specimens it listed. And in fact Green (2011: 158) argues that *OED1* only includes slang terminology which occurred in literary texts and maybe in 16th- and 17th-century special glossaries, while Mugglestone (2005: 87) mentions a prescriptive definition of the adverb *bloody* in the sense 'very' from 1887: "[n]ow constantly used in the mouths of the lowest classes, but *by respectable people considered 'a horrid word'*, on a par with obscene or profane language" (emphasis added).

There is reason, however, to dispute this expectation. First and foremost, the project's ambitious aim of comprehending "every word occurring in the literature of the language" was reinforced in the "General Explanations" that introduced the first volume of the dictionary, published 25 years later. Additionally, in this latter text, James Murray explicitly considers slang as part of the English lexis, as shown in the famous diagram describing his understanding of the composition of the English vocabulary (1884/1965: xxii) and reproduced in Figure 1. Murray further explains that "slang words ascend [to the common core] through colloquial use" and "touch […] on one side the technical terminology of trades and occupations, as in nautical slang […] and on another pass […] into true dialect" (1884/1965: xxii).

Furthermore, *OED1*'s selectivity seems to be less extreme than traditionally claimed, including literary bias. Though the reading programme adopted from the very beginning to collect citations included mainly literary works, the reading lists in the second (1879) and third (1880) reading appeals were in part open; moreover, James Murray explicitly stated that, for the 19th century, "slips from

8. The latter citation is part of an "uncatalogued draft of a letter in OED Archives at OUP from P. L. Gell to Murray and Bradley [April 1896]" quoted by Mugglestone (2005: 228).

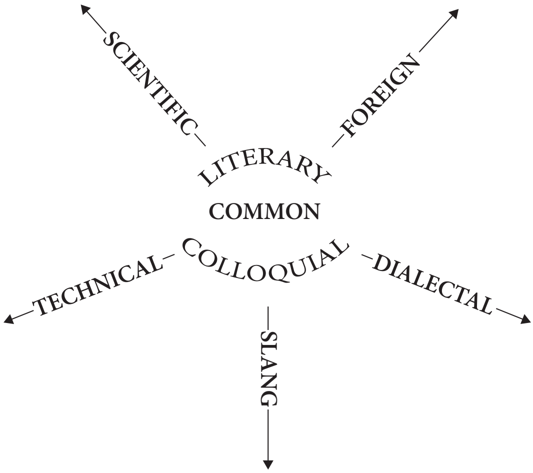

Figure 1. Composition of the English vocabulary according to James Murray

any current book, or other work are acceptable" (1879: 7; 1880: 7). Thus, *The Daily News*, for instance, provided *OED1* with almost 9,000 quotations (Willinsky 1994: 214), and Furnivall, also an important member of *OED1*'s editing team, is known to have regularly clipped his morning newspapers to attest new words and meanings (Mugglestone 2005: 94).

Finally, *OED1* editors did use slang glossaries and lexicons, numerous and popular in 19th-century England (see Coleman 2005 and 2008), as sources for definitions and citations. That is the case of James Hardy Vaux's "Flash Dictionary", dated 1819 and part of his *Memoirs*, which suggested and provided the first example of 51 entries (e.g. *conk* (n.), a synonym for nose).[9]

The presence in *OED1* of the slang items identified by Sala is therefore likely and, more importantly, worth checking, since it allows us to verify the possible impact of Sala's text upon *OED1* and to better understand this major work in English lexicographic literature.

9. In addition to *conk*, the entries first illustrated by this work are the following: *blowen*, n.; *bone*, v.2; *buff*, v.4; *buzz*, v.3; *buzzgloak*, n.; *buzzing*, n.2; *cadge*, n.2; *caz*, n.; *Charley / Charlie*, n.; *chatty*, adj.2; *cracksman*, n.; *fake*, v.2; *fakement*, n.; *fam*, v.; *gaff*, n.2; *gaff*, v.2; *galoot*, n.; *gory*, n.; *kickseys / kicksies*, n.; *lagging*, n.2; *lil / lill*, n.; *lumber*, v.3; *lush*, adj.2; *montra*, n.; *muff*, n.5; *nailing*, adj. and adv.; *nash*, v.; nib, n.3; *nob-pitcher*, n.; *out-and-outer*, n.; *poundable*, adj.2; *quod*, v.; *ramp*, n.6; *screwsman*, n.; *skilligalee*, n.; *slang*, n.4; *slavey*, n.; *slour*, v.; *smashing*, n.2; *sneaksman*, n.; *snuff*, v.3; *spell*, n.5; *staller*, n.2; *swaddy*, n.; *thimbled*, adj.; *unbetty*, v.; *unpalled*, adj.2; *unthimble*, v.; *vardo*, n.; *yokel*, n. and adj. *OED1* presented an incorrect publication date for Vaux's dictionary.

6. G. A. Sala's examples of slang in *OED1*

With a view to investigating how the sample of Sala's list of slang discussed in this chapter was included and treated in *OED1*, the *OED* online was used as the starting point. Information collected in this source was verified and supplemented by means of a 1961 reprint of the first complete edition of the dictionary.[10]

Each item on the list was looked up with the immediate purpose of finding out whether it was:

1. included with the meaning identified by G. A. Sala;
2. labelled as slang or similar;
3. identified as a recent, i.e. 19th-century, development;
4. attested by means of citations from "Slang" or other works by Sala;
5. proscribed by the lexicographer within the definition.

Analysis of the inclusion, in *OED1*, of the 159 items selected from "Slang" proved that 94% (149/159) of the words in the sample were registered, etymologised and explained in the dictionary, as suggested and asked by Sala. *Gonoph* ('thief'), the full entry of which is reproduced below, is a case in point.

> **gonoph**
> slang.
> (ˈgɒnəf) Also gonnof. [a. Heb. gannābh thief.]
> A pickpocket.
> 1852 Dickens *Bleak Ho*. xix, He's as obstinate a young gonoph as I know. 1876 *Life Cheap Jack* (ed. Hindley) 146 [A Jew loq.] Oh, you teif! you cheat! you gonnof! 1884 *Pall Mall G*. 29 Dec. 4/1 The company must consist of at least three, and preferably of four, gonophs (thieves).

This analysis confirms, then, that most slang lexical items in the sample identified by Sala were used widely enough to be included in *OED1* and thus that his article was a fair description of the informal vocabulary used in his time. The 6% (10/159) of the forms that are not included in *OED1* – such as *go-along* or *moocher* 'thief', *to paddle* or *to tip your rags a gallop* 'to go or run away', *red herring* 'soldier' or *duke* 'gin' – do not seem to be qualitatively peculiar and no apparent reason for their omission has been identified.

As regards *OED1*'s treatment of the 149 items effectively included in the dictionary, the majority of those items – 71% (106/149) – also received a usage label.

10. *OED1* was first released in 125 unbound fascicles, published from 1884 to 1928 under the title *The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. It was only in 1933 that the original dictionary was reprinted in twelve volumes and formally given its current title.

In other words, although those items are accepted in the lexicon's pages, they are recognised as special by the editors. Most of them are labelled *slang* (79% of those 106 items), by means of various tags; a considerable number are tagged *colloquial*, but not slang (13%); and a few items are listed as *regional* (5%) or *humorous* (3%). Table 2 summarises and exemplifies all these possibilities.

Table 2. *OED1*'s labels for Sala's items

Major label	Frequency	Subtype
slang	79% (84/106)	slang (66) – e.g. *white satin* 'gin' slang or colloq[uial] (6) – e.g. *joey* 'fourpenny piece' colloq[uial], slang (2) – e.g. *bits* 'money' colloq[uial], orig[inally] slang (2) – e.g. *swell* 'gentleman' now dial[ectal] or slang (1) – *to pay* 'to beat' slang and dial (4) – e.g. *sweep* 'miser' arch[aic] slang (1) – *disguised* 'drunk' dial[ectal] or slang (1) – *bosky* 'drunk' slang or obs[olete] (1) – *rowdy* 'money'
colloquial	13% (14/106)	colloq[uial] (12) – e.g. *coppers* 'pence' low colloq[uial] (1) – *codger* 'man' colloq[uial] or vulgar (1) – *to whop* 'to beat'
regional	5% (5/106)	e.g. *on the re-raw* 'drunk'
humorous	3% (3/106)	e.g. *half-seas-over* 'drunk'

First citation dates are retrievable for 136 of the total of 149 items considered. Table 3 summarises the information collected.

Table 3. First citation dates of Sala's items in *OED1*

Date of first citation	Frequency	Example
15th c.	2% (1/136)	*in one's cups* 'drunk'
16th c.	9% (12/136)	*to pummel* 'to beat'
17th c.	14% (19/136)	*rhino* 'money'
18th c.	19% (26/136)	*groggy* 'drunk'
19th c.	57% (78/136)	*foggy* 'drunk'

As Table 3 shows, though first citations date back to as early as the 15th century, most of the items investigated – 57% (78/136) – were first attested in texts dating from the 19th century, e.g. *foggy* 'drunk'. The relevance of this finding is twofold: it reveals that Sala was observant enough to register recent vocabulary in his *HW* article; and it shows that *OED1*'s editors were alert to contemporary non-standard vocabulary and not only to non-standard vocabulary from earlier periods, as claimed by Green (2011: 158).

As to the analysis of the sources of the examples provided, it has shown that only 5% (7/149) of the entries considered include a citation from Sala’s “Slang” (*scurf* and *sweep* ‘miser’; *steppers* ‘feet’; *white satin* ‘gin’; *on the re-raw, ploughed* and *tight* ‘drunk’) and that it is the first attestation of the word with that meaning in only two cases. Thus its influence proves to be quite tenuous.There are also examples drawn from Dickens’s literary works, to illustrate for instance *tin* ‘money’, *cut your stick* ‘run away’ or *bull* ‘a crown piece’, which represent 18% (27/149) of the entries. It is also worth mentioning that many entries considered two particular works: the above-mentioned James Hardy Vaux’s *Memoirs* (e.g. *cracksman*: “1812 J. H. Vaux Flash Dict., Cracksman, a house-breaker”), and Henry Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor*, a work first published as a series of articles in *The Morning Chronicle* printed during the 1840s (e.g. *scurf*: “1851 Mayhew Lond. Labour II 208 The inferior paying class… are… known among their work-people as ‘scurfs’”). Both these works seem to have been important sources of entries and citations in *OED1* and their relevance certainly deserves further research.

Finally, given the expectations raised in the literature, it was quite surprising that no prescriptive comments apart from the labelling were found in the definitions of any of the entries analysed (see e.g. *gonoph*, quoted above).

7. Conclusion

This analysis is a contribution from the perspective of historical lexicography to the study of G. A. Sala and of the LModE period.

One of its results is the confirmation of Sala’s observational skills. The paucity of previous lexicographical attestations of the examples of slang that he discusses, which was confirmed by means of the information presented in *Green’s Dictionary of Slang*, indicates (i) that Sala’s compilation of slang terms necessarily required an ear attentive to the speech of his contemporaries, and (ii) that his eloquent plea for a new dictionary was well-founded. It was nevertheless concluded that Sala’s text had only a tenuous impact upon *OED1*. This may be attributed to the literary bias of the dictionary, no doubt, but also to Sala’s notoriety, thus reflecting his status as a controversial figure in Victorian England.

The study presented in this chapter has furthermore contributed to showing that attitudes to slang during the LModE period were rather liberal. In fact, LModE witnessed not only the publication of a press article dedicated to the topic, filled with examples and aimed at working- and middle-class readers, but also, and more importantly, the preparation of a major lexicographical work which neither ignored nor avoided slang. In fact, the vast majority of the lexical items analysed in this study were registered and treated in *OED1*, with etymologies, definitions and attestations provided and their special status as slang very often recognised. Furthermore, *OED1* has proven not to restrict itself to the slang of literary texts and 16th- and 17th-century glossaries; instead, it also incorporated specimens of that kind of vocabulary that were recent at the time and which were, as a norm, not proscribed. The search for the lexicographic stamp of Sala's list of slang has therefore provided a novel encounter with the complex relation of speakers with non- and sub-standard language in the LModE period.

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Appendix

Sample of Sala's slang words considered in the study (arranged according to meaning and in alphabetical order):

– boot: *crabshell, grabber, trotter case*
– donkey: *moke, neddy*

- drunk: *in one's cups, beery, boozy, bosky, buffy, cut, disguised (therein), far-gone, foggy, groggy, half-seas-over, hazy, in liquor, lumpy, lushy, moony, mops and brooms, muddled, muggy, muzzy, not able to see a hole through a ladder, obfuscated, on the ran-tan, on the re-raw, ploughed, screwed, sewed up, slewed, swipey, three sheets in the wind, tight, winey* (this long list may have been influenced by "The Drinkers Dictionary", commonly attributed to Benjamin Franklin and first published in January 1737 in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*)
- food: *crug, grub, prog*
- foot: *stepper*
- gentleman: *nob, swell, tiptopper*
- gin: *blue-ruin, cream of the valley, duke, gatter, jackey, juniper, max, old Tom, tape, white satin*
- hand: *finger, flipper, mauley*
- horse: *nag, prad, screw, tit*
- low person: *gutter-blood, scurf, snob, sweep*
- man: *article, buffer, chap, codger, cove, cull*
- money: *blunt, brad, brown, chinker, chip, dibb, dust, horsenail, mopus, pewter, ready, rhino, rowdy, shiner, stuff, stumpy, tin*
  - crown-piece: *bull, cart-wheel*
  - fivepound-note: *flimsy*
  - fourpenny-piece: *bit, joey; penny: brown, copper, mag*
  - shilling: *bender, bob*
  - sixpenny-piece: *fiddler, tizzy*
  - sovereign: *cooter, quid, yellow boy*
- policeman: *peeler, bobby, crusher*
- poor: *in Queer Street, down on his luck, hard up, stumped up, under a cloud, up a tree, quisby, done up, sold up, in a fix*
- soldier: *swaddy, lobster, red herring*
- thief: *cracksman, go-along, gonoph, moocher, prig*
- to beat: *to hide, to larrup, to leather, to lick, to maul, to pay, to pummel, to quit, to tan, to thrash, to towel, to wallop, to whack, to whop*
- to go or run away: *to absquatulate, to be off, to bolt, to cut, to cut your stick, to evaporate, to hook it, to mizzle, to paddle, to slope, to step it, to take tracks, to tip your rags a gallop, to vamoose, to vanish*
- to steal: *to collar, to grab, to nab, to nail, to pinch, to prig*

“Divided by a common language”?

The treatment of *Americanism(s)* in Late Modern English dictionaries and usage guides on both sides of the Atlantic

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The present study investigates the treatment of the term *Americanism* and its plural form in their generic sense in selected British and American reference works of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It concentrates on two special types of reference books, namely dictionaries of Americanisms and usage guides from both sides of the Atlantic. By analyzing whether the paraphrase or the labelling conveys a positive, a neutral, or a negative stance, the terms *Americanism(s)* serve as keywords for Anglo-American linguistic attitudes towards the “other” variety. Methodologically, the study combines socio-lexicography and meta-pragmatics; the results show a change in the relationship of the two varieties and also substantive differences in how the two types of reference book deal with the topic.

1. Introduction

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines the term *Americanism* in its linguistic sense in the following way: “1. a A word, phrase, or other use of language characteristic of, peculiar to, or originating from the United States.” (OED, s.v. *Americanism*). This definition is descriptive. It does not define the term in relation to, or deviant from British English. The first citation (1) says that Americanisms are different from comparable British words or constructions and that all language users regardless of social status use them.

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(1) The first class I call Americanisms, by which I understand an use of phrases or terms, or a construction of sentences, even among persons of rank and education, different from the use of the same terms or phrases, or the construction of similar sentences, in Great Britain. The word Americanism, which I have coined for the purpose, is exactly similar in its formation and signification to the word Scotticism.

(J. Witherspoon, *Pennsylvania Journal*, 9 May 1/2, 1781)

Between this first citation and the present-day lexicographical definition lie more than two hundred years, during which the relationship between the two varieties of British and American English has changed fundamentally. By using Beal's (2004: 1) time frame for Late Modern English (1700–1945), rather than the usual framing (1700–1900), the objective of the present paper is to show how selected dictionaries and usage guides handle this change with regard to Americanism(s).

Therefore, the present paper compares the treatment of the term *Americanism* or its plural in their generic sense in selected British and American dictionaries and usage guides of the 19th and early 20th centuries, in order to work out whether the paraphrase or the labelling conveys a positive or a negative stance, and if so, whether this practice changes over time and gives way to an unmarked and unbiased description.

To this end, the study concentrates on two special types of reference book for closer inspection:

1. Dictionaries of Americanisms as a subtype of dictionaries for special purposes. Here, the prefaces or the definition of *Americanism(s)* can reveal motifs of the compilers.
2. Usage guides as a normative and often prescriptivist and opinionated text type. Here, stance markers and comments on Americanism(s) are of particular interest.

The study combines two methodological approaches, namely socio-lexicography and meta-pragmatics. Regarding the first, Algeo, in his survey of American lexicography, put the relationship between lexicography and society in this way: "Dictionaries, in both their content and their technique of making, mirror the society whose language they record. […] [D]ictionaries tell about the people who make and use them" (1990: 2006).

Secondly, the terms *Americanism(s)* can be regarded as keywords for Anglo-American linguistic relations and sentiment in the Late Modern English period. By investigating it as a meta-pragmatic lexeme "cultural models of communication rooted in particular practices of socio-culturally defined people" (Hübler & Busse 2012: 8) can be disclosed.

The results of this combined approach give some indication as to whether the "two nations [were] divided by the same language" (Milroy 2001) or not, and of how language attitudes or ideologies changed through language contact between the originally norm-providing variety of British English (BrE) and the emergent norm-developing post-colonial variety of American English (AmE).

2. Background and method

As mentioned in Section 1, the OED was used as a starting point for the present investigation. Before beginning with an analysis of a range of dictionaries of Americanisms and usage guides it makes sense to go back to the OED. Citation (1) by Witherspoon seems to be neutral, but the "sting in its tail" lies in the term *Scotticism*. Owing to this, a section on Scotticisms (see 2.1 below) follows, because the treatment of Scotticisms can be regarded as a kind of lexicographic blueprint for the subsequent treatment of Americanisms.

2.1 The Scottish connection: *Americanism* coined on *Scotticism*

The first citation (1) in the OED by Witherspoon is interesting, when we recall that Witherspoon deliberately coined the term *Americanism* in analogy to *Scotticism*: "The word Americanism, which I have coined for the purpose, is exactly similar in its formation and signification to the word Scotticism."[1] But what exactly is the connection between Witherspoon and Scotland? John Witherspoon was "one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence [and] one of the early presidents of Princeton University" (Baugh & Cable 2002: 390) and was himself a Scottish clergyman. Beal (2004: 210) argues that "[t]he language used by Witherspoon in his condemnation of Americanisms is exactly the same as that of British normative texts of the period".

However, Baugh and Cable (2002) point out that Witherspoon did not necessarily have a negative attitude towards the language of his new countrymen:

(2) It does not follow, from a man's using these [Americanisms], that he is ignorant, or his discourse upon the whole inelegant; nay, it does not follow in every case, that the terms or phrases used are worse in themselves, but merely that they are of American and not of English growth.
(Witherspoon 1781, cited in Baugh & Cable 2002: 390)

1. The OED defines *Scotticism* (attested from 1648 onwards) as "[a] characteristically Scottish word, phrase or idiom" and marks it as "frequently *depreciative*".

Obviously, Witherspoon was well aware of the linguistic effects of the Scottish enlightenment, which made Scotticisms socially undesirable and which led to quite a few collections of Scotticisms. Aitken (1990), in his outline of the lexicography of Scots, describes the purpose of dictionaries of Scotticisms in the 18th and 19th centuries as follows:

(3) Designed to "correct" supposed "errors" in the English speech and writing of Scotsmen were the numerous small collections of characteristically Scottish expressions, listed with the corresponding general English expressions alleged to be preferable. (Aitken 1990: 1983)

Aitken (1990: 1983) lists four glossaries in chronological order, ranging from 1752 to 1929. Some of their titles, including words such as "designed to correct improprieties",[2] make it very explicit that their authors had a negative attitude towards Scotticisms.[3]

Even if Witherspoon's statements above are somewhat ambivalent, he may have had in mind the decline of Scots from a fully-fledged language alongside English to a provincial dialect. He was, however, hopeful that American English would not follow the course of Scotland:

(4) Being entirely separated from Britain […] we shall find some centre or standard of our own, and not be subject to the inhabitants of that island, either in receiving new ways of speaking or rejecting the old. (Witherspoon 1781, cited in Baugh & Cable 2002: 364)

Despite the socio-political differences between Scotland and the United States, the history of Scottish lexicography can, nonetheless, be regarded as a model for the lexicographical histories of many New Englishes, including AmE. Aitken's outline can be summarized in the following way:

- In the 16th century, the Scottish tradition – independent from English English – starts with bilingual glossaries explaining vernacular Lowland Scots to Standard English users.
- As a special type of glossaries "dictionaries" of Scotticisms follow.
- John Jamieson's (1808) *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* starts the tradition of a fully-fledged Scottish dictionary: "Jamieson can claim

2. See, for example, Beattie, James. 1787. *Scoticisms arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improprieties of Speech and Writing*. Edinburgh [115 pp.; c. 500 entries] and Mackie, Alexander. 1881. *Scotticisms arranged and corrected*. London [52 pp.; c. 400 entries].

3. Sundby, Bjørge & Haugland (1991) use *Scotticism* as a label (among others) to categorise usage-'errors' perceived by 18th-century grammar writers.

to be the first ever completed dictionary on historical principles of any variety of English” (Aitken 1990: 1984).

– The 19th century also produced several pocket-size dictionaries.
– In the OED (1884–1928) and the EDD [*English Dialect Dictionary* 1898–1905] the formerly largely separate streams of Scottish and English lexicographical traditions merge.
– They separate again in DOST [*Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* 1931–1986] and SND [*Scottish National Dictionary* 1931–1976].
– 20th century: Several one-volume dictionaries of Scots appeared.
– 20th century: Scotticisms in varying numbers are included in general dictionaries of English. (adapted from Aitken 1990: 1983 ff.)

The different types of dictionaries and their historical sequence have parallels in the lexicographical treatment of AmE and other varieties. Görlach (1990) provides a detailed account of the historical development of dictionaries of transplanted varieties of English. His survey includes dictionaries dealing with native varieties of English, dictionaries of English as a second language, and dictionaries of English-based pidgins and creoles. In very many cases the following kind of “pattern” can be discerned:

– The lexicographical tradition of a specific regional variety would typically be started by a “glossarist”, a collector who need not be a linguist (and normally was not).
– The next step could well be a supplement of local words printed as a separate appendix in an existing dictionary.
– This could then be followed by either a scholarly dictionary of *-isms* (an exclusive dictionary, often on historical principles, and complementing the OED),
– or, by an inclusive dictionary providing the complete lexis of the region or nation.
– More specialised dictionaries of non-BrE varieties are most frequently represented by dialect dictionaries,
– or books advising on locally acceptable usage [that is, usage guides].
– The opposite, in a way, is represented by dictionaries of slang.
– Other types are extremely rare (ethnic varieties etc.).

(adapted from Görlach 1990: 1476 f.)

For the purpose of the present paper, focusing on the stance towards the term *Americanism(s)*, the glossarist tradition, dictionaries of *-isms*, and the books advising on locally acceptable usage (that is, usage guides) seem to be promising candidates for closer inspection.

3. Dictionaries of Americanisms

In terms of lexicography, glossaries of Americanisms follow in the tradition of collecting Scotticisms and other regionalisms, or *-isms* in general; that is, glossaries or dictionaries with a fairly simple microstructure devoted exclusively to the variety specified in the first part of the word. With regard to Americanisms, the glossarist tradition begins with Pickering (1816).

3.1 Pickering (1816)

Pickering started a tradition of glossaries and dictionaries solely devoted to collecting Americanisms. His aim was puristic: he "listed Americanisms in his *Vocabulary* (1816) in order to eradicate them" (Baron: 1982: 21). Baugh & Cable (2002: 391) confirm this assessment and add that " [a]lthough the work of an American, it is thoroughly English in its point of view". In the *Essay*, prefaced to his *Vocabulary*, Pickering also draws a connection between Americanisms and Scotticisms and regards them as similar imperfections. He was also highly critical of language reformers (such as Webster) and their attempts to regulate the language: "In this country, as in the case of England, we have thirsty reformers and presumptuous sciolists [superficial pretenders to knowledge; U.B.], who would unsettle the whole of our admirable language for the purpose of making it conform to their whimsical notions of propriety." (Pickering 1816: vi)[4]

Even though Pickering had collected Americanisms to eradicate them, "the mere hint of Americanism signalled anarchy […] to many in Britain." (Baron 1982: 16)

3.2 Bartlett (1848)

Bartlett's dictionary is much more compendious than Pickering's glossary. Bartlett's definition and treatment of *Americanism(s)* "foreshadows the criteria applied by the *DAE* [*Dictionary of American English*] and other exclusive dictionaries" (Görlach 1990: 1480). In the fourth edition from 1896, Bartlett's label *Americanism* includes the following classes of words:

1. Archaisms, i.e. old English words, obsolete, or nearly so, in England, but retained in use in this country.
2. English words used in a different sense from what they are in England. These include many names of natural objects differently applied.

4. Noah Webster, "[a]pparently regarding himself as one of the reformers […], fired off a fifty-page review-letter pointing out errors and disagreeing step by step with the young Pickering's opinions on the state of the language". (Baron: 1982: 36)

3. Words which have retained their original meaning in the United States, although not in England.
4. English provincialisms adopted into general use in America.
5. Newly coined words, which owe their origin to the productions or to the circumstances of the country.
6. Words borrowed from European languages, especially the French, Spanish, Dutch, and German.
7. Indian words.
8. Negroisms.
9. Peculiarities of pronunciation. (Bartlett[4] 1896: vii)

According to Baugh and Cable (2002: 392), in Bartlett's dictionary "the older attitude of Pickering has given place almost entirely to an interest in dialect[5] for its own sake". In a recent study, Ruano-García et al. (2015: 103 f.) show that Bartlett's rationale (as expressed in the Introduction (i–xxvii) of the first edition of the *Dictionary of Americanisms*) "was essentially to provide as detailed an account as possible of the terms that were peculiar to the US by the middle of the nineteenth century."[6]

3.3 Farmer (1889)

In the preface to his dictionary, Farmer lays down the rationale for his work and describes the principles of its compilation. He says that the linguistic differences existing between "the Queen's English and the English of the New World" (vi) are popularly known and described as Americanisms. "These, in the main, have long been a bugbear to purists, the despair of etymologists, and an unfailing source of wonder, amusement, and, in many respects, a puzzle to the general reader." (vi.)

The objective of his work is to "furnish some data as to how far American-English already differs from the vernacular of the mother country". (ix) To this end he divides the cover term *Americanism* into 9 subclasses (ix f.), which follow along the lines of Bartlett (1848). His target group are general readers in the US and in Britain: "This volume is the first on the subject ever published on this side of the

5. The implications of the term *dialect* were not negative at the time: "The new circumstances under which we are placed call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects. An American dialect will therefore be formed – *Thomas Jefferson to John Waldo, August 16, 1813, from Monticello*." (Thornton: 1912, frontispiece). Scholarly study of American dialects began with the foundation of the American dialect society in 1889.

6. Ruano-García et al. (2015) investigate the input of Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms* into Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*. By pointing out that it was translated into Dutch in 1854 and German in 1866 they also show that Bartlett's work had a transatlantic impact.

Atlantic [London], and it will be found to contain many authentic examples […]." (xiv): "The numerous illustrative extracts present a bird's eye view of American wit and humor and the multifarious aspects of transatlantic life, such as cannot fail, I think to interest the general reader." (xiv)

3.4 Thornton (1912)

In the foreword, Thornton states that "[i]t would be difficult, and indeed impossible, to construct a definition of an Americanism which should be comprehensive and concise." (i) Instead he subcategorizes Americanism(s) into the following six classes:

I. Forms of speech now obsolete or provincial in England, which survive in the U.S., such as *allow, bureau, fall*, […].
II. Words and phrases of distinctly American origin: such as *belittle, lengthy, lightning-rod*; […].
III. Nouns which indicate quadrupeds, birds, trees, articles of food, & c. that are distinctively American: such as *ground-hog, hang-bird, hominy*, […].
IV. Names of persons and classes of persons, and of places: such as *Buckeye, Cracker, Greaser*, […].
V. Words which have assumed a new meaning, such as *card, clever, fork*, […].
VI. Words and phrases of which I have found earlier examples in American than in English writers. These are inserted with the *caveat* that further research may reverse the claim. To this class belong *alarmist, capitalize, eruptiveness*, […].
(Thornton 1912, vol. 1: i–ii)

Further on, he states his principles for the inclusion of items: "This is an attempt to illustrate 'certain Americanisms' only: those, that is, of recognized standing or of special interest." (v)

Next, he comments on the work of his predecessors, that is Bartlett (1848) and Farmer (1889). He regards Bartlett's work as "[t]he principal dictionary of Americanisms hitherto published". (v) However, Bartlett's dictionary lacks citations: "It is no discredit to him that he lived before the method of arranging and dating citations came into vogue; and unfortunately only a few of his references can be verified."[7] (v) Then he comments on the work of Farmer (1848). His dictionary "is valuable in another way, as illustrating the great vitality of American modes of speech; […]." (vi) Finally, he admits that he has borrowed a number of examples from both of his predecessors.

7. Thornton's own dictionary contains "about 14,000 illustrative citations". (vi)

3.5 Summary

The development of this dictionary type from Pickering (1816) to Thornton (1912) can be summarised as follows. As far as the titles of these works are concerned, they still vary between *glossary* and *dictionary*. In terms of stance, methodology and data coverage, the works develop from small and selective samples of Americanisms, collected in order to show deficiencies or corruptions of the English language in America (see Pickering), to fully-fledged dictionaries with illustrative citations, compiled on historical principles to show the differences between AmE and BrE. The tenor changes from self-consciousness (in Pickering) to greater self-confidence in the later works. All of them are the works of Americans, but especially the dictionaries by Farmer and Thornton (being published in London) aimed at a transatlantic readership.

4. British and American usage guides

As mentioned in Section 1, a selection of six British and American usage guides shall be investigated next in order to scrutinise their treatment of *Americanism(s)*.

4.1 Alford (1864)

Alford does not use *Americanism* as a generic label. But in the first edition of *The Queen's English* (1864)[8] he explicitly blames the Americans and their usage for the deterioration of the English language. He does, however, not criticise American usage on linguistic but on moral grounds.[9]

> (5) Look, to take one familiar example, at the process of deterioration which our Queen's English has undergone at the hands of the Americans. Look at those phrases which so amuse us in their speech and in their books; at their reckless exaggeration, and contempt for congruity; and then compare the character and history of the nation – its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man; its open disregard of conventional right, where aggrandizement is to be obtained; and, I may now say, its reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel and unprincipled war in the history of the world. (Alford 1864: 6)

8. One year earlier, these essays had been published separately under the title "A plea for the Queen's English" in the journal *Good Words* (see Baron 1982: 190).

9. Crystal (2018: 87) notes that "[t]he American Civil War generated a flurry of articles on anti-Americanisms: something almost every year in the decade after 1862 […]."

This very passage[10] has been commented on in detail by Finegan (1998: 569 and 2001: 385) and Beal (2004: 100), but what is especially interesting for the present study is that "Alford's anti-American streak" (Baron 1982: 190) provoked immediate reactions by George Washington Moon and by Richard G. White.[11]

4.2 Moon (1865)

George Washington Moon, "a religious poet and novelist, who was the London-born son of American parents and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature" (Baron 1982: 190), wrote *The Dean's English: A Criticism on the Dean of Canterbury's Essays on the Queen's English* as a reply.[12] Moon's repartee reads as follows:

(6) Dean Alford's book certainly shows that not a few solecisms, and these by no means trivial, are to be met with even amongst educated persons in England. The English language as spoken in America, undoubtedly has some peculiarities; but to collect all the expressions to be found in American books or newspapers, or to be heard in the colloquial language of this country, that differs from the language of the best English authors, and to call these Americanisms, and to denounce us as corrupters of the English tongue, is manifestly unjust. (Moon 1876: 194 f.; Appendix)

According to Gilman (1989: 9a), "[t]he controversy fuelled several editions of both books and seems to have entertained readers on both sides of the Atlantic."

4.3 White (1870)

Richard Grant White was a journalist, amateur grammarian and language critic, whose "verbal criticisms appeared principally in venues like the *Galaxy* magazine, the *New York Times*, […] the *Nation* [and the *Atlantic Monthly*; U.B.]". (Finegan 2001: 385). They were then collected as *Words and Their Uses* (1870) and *Every-Day English* (1880).

White does not use the term *Americanism(s)*. But as a counter-reaction to Alford's accusation he coined the term *Briticism* on the model of *Americanism*. Two chapters are of particular interest, namely "British English and 'American'

10. This section was omitted from the fifth edition, of 1880. So it does not become apparent who or what was the main target of Alford's criticism.

11. For a more detailed comparison of Alford and White, see Busse (2015).

12. In their book titles, Alford and Moon play a kind of tit for tat (see Finegan 2001: 384 f.). An example for this is the following: "You sneer at 'Americanisms', but you would never find an educated American who would venture to say, '*It is me*', for 'It is I' […]." (Moon 1876: 48)

English"[13] and "Some Briticisms". In the first of these two chapters, White's main concern is to refute Alford's allegations and criticism of American usage as unfounded. While this chapter includes some comments on particular British "misuses" of certain words, the chapter on "Some Briticisms" deals with these exclusively:

(7) I HAVE heretofore designated the misuse of certain words as Briticisms. There is a British affectation in the use of a few other words which is worthy of some attention. (p. 183) […] The forms of speech which may be conveniently called Briticisms, are, however, generally of later origin than the beginning of the British empire. They have almost all sprung up since about A.D. 1775. (White 1886: 183, 184)

From a meta-pragmatic point of view, the term *Briticism* is clearly and deliberately modelled on the earlier term *Americanism*, and a view into the OED confirms that its coinage can be attributed to White:

(8) *Briticism*
orig. *U.S.* A word or phrase characteristic of the English of Great Britain but not used in the English of the United States or other countries.
1868 R. G. White in *Galaxy* Mar. 335 This use of the word is a widespread Briticism. (OED, s.v. *Briticism*)[14]

4.4 Fowler & Fowler (1906)

When we move on to the early 20th century, the Fowler brothers' *The King's English* (1906) calls for closer inspection.[15] This influential usage manual went through three editions (1906, ²1907, ³1931). It is not organized alphabetically, but in thematic sections. Part I is devoted to vocabulary and contains a separate section on Americanisms (pp. 23–26):

(9) *Americanisms*
Though we take these separately from foreign words, which will follow next, the distinction is purely *pro forma*; Americanisms are foreign words, and

13. The single quotation marks are used by White; they signal his doubts that AmE would ever become a variety in its own right.

14. Slightly later, the alternative term *Britishism* came up in the United States: "1879 *Galveston* (Texas) *Daily News* 7 Mar. 1/3 Their compiler was an Englishman and introduced what are called Britishisms." (OED, s.v. *Britishism* 2.)

15. For a more detailed outline of *The King's English* and *Modern English Usage*, see Busse & Schröder (2010).

> should be so treated. To say this is not to insult the American language. If any one were asked to give an Americanism without a moment's delay, he would be more likely than not to mention *I guess*. Inquiry into it would at once bear out the American contention that what we are often rude enough to call their vulgarisms are in fact good old English. *I gesse* is a favourite expression of Chaucer's, and the sense he sometimes gives it is very finely distinguished from the regular Yankee use. But though it is good old English, it is not good new English. If we use the phrase – parenthetically, that is, like Chaucer and the Yankees –, we have it not from Chaucer, but from the Yankees, and with their, not his, exact shade of meaning.
>
> (Fowler & Fowler [1906] ^{3}1931: 23)

In comparison to Alford, Moon, and White, the tone has become softer. However, to call Americans generically by the term *Yankees* – in itself worthy of a detailed socio-historical investigation – was definitely not a neutral designation for Americans in the early 20th century. More importantly, the argument that Americanisms were singled out from other foreign words on *pro forma* reasons is only superficial. This becomes apparent in the longer digression on Americanisms in literature. The Fowlers comment on Rudyard Kipling, whom they regard as a great and patriotic writer, but they accuse him of using Americanisms. In their opinion, American words and phrases should be jealously excluded from British literature to keep it pure: "The English and the American language and literature are both good things, but they are better apart than mixed." (Fowler & Fowler [1906] ^{3}1931: 25)[16]

4.5 Partridge (1942)

The book, written by a New Zealander resident in Britain, first appeared in the United States in 1942 and in Great Britain in 1947. In the foreword to the fifth edition from 1957, Eric Partridge ([1942] ^{5}1957: foreword) states that *Usage and Abusage* is designed to supplement and to complement Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, "and also to deal with usage of the period since 1926, when Fowler's work was issued".

In methodological terms, he decidedly differs from his forerunner in that he obtained permission to quote at length from the work of leading contemporary scholars as Otto Jespersen, C. T. Onions, George O. Curme, I. A. Richards, and William Empson. This difference in approach shows in Partridge's treatment of *Americanism*. He does not make comments or value judgments and does not cite any examples to expose supposed errors or blunders. Instead he simply lists

16. Fowler's most successful and best-known work *Modern English Usage* (1926) does not provide an entry for *Americanism*. However, the second edition, revised by Gowers in 1965, has an entry, which continues the anti-American discourse tradition (see Section 4.6).

six reference works, which his readers can consult for further information (see Partridge [1942] [5]1957: 108, s.v. *English and American usage*).

4.6 Gowers (1948)

The roots of Sir Ernest Gowers' *Plain Words*, a slim booklet of ninety-four pages, go back to 1943. So despite its date of publication it stills falls into the time frame (1700–1945).[17] It "was written at the invitation of the Treasury" (Gowers 1948: iii), and its main purpose was "to help officials in their use of written English" (Gowers 1948: 1). In Chapter IV, entitled 'Correctness', after a short historical outline mentioning Dean Swift and Dr. Johnson as "[e]minent men with a care for the language" (25), and a number of exemplary words (and comments on their use) ranging from Jane Austen's works to the present, Gowers explicitly criticizes verbs of American origin ending in *-ise*:[18]

(10) To-day the invaders come mostly from America, and the shock-troops are new verbs. Many of these are created by the simple process of tacking *ise* to an adjective. […] Others are formed by the even simpler process of treating a noun as though it were a verb. Sir Alan Herbert, Ivor Brown and others do their best to protect us against these undesirable aliens. But the defenders are few, the invaders are many, and the only weapon of defence is ridicule. Ridicule does kill sometimes. (Gowers 1948: 26 ff.)

The military term "shock-troops" may be due to Gowers' function in the Second World War: "Churchill appointed Ernest Gowers Senior Commissioner in charge of the Civil defence of London" (R. Gowers 2018: 70).

4.7 Summary

As far as American usage manuals are concerned,[19] White's attitude towards Americanisms is ambivalent; he criticises them, but at the same time he defends

17. Rebecca Gowers, a great-grandchild to Ernest Gowers, points out that in 1943, among other duties, he had to give improving lectures under the title 'Official English' to defence workers. When the book was published in 1948, "many of the actual sentences from 1943 remained exactly the same". (R. Gowers 2018: 70)

18. Even though Gowers does not use the generic label *Americanism(s)*, his criticism implies that he attributes this word-formation pattern to American usage and that he regards its members as Americanisms.

19. Gilman (1989: 7a–11a) provides a precis of the "History of English Usage" prefixed to *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*. See also Straaijer (2018: 19–21).

American usage against Briticisms, a term which he specifically coined for this purpose. On the British side, according to Finegan (1998), Alford draws on and popularises two important and influential notions about language in the late 19th century, namely:

1. The link between language use and morality.
2. The relationship between language practice and social or national identity. (See Finegan 1998: 568)

These two topics are kept alive in the discourse of 20th-century usage writers such as Fowler and Gowers. In British usage guides the tenor does not really change substantially from Alford to Gowers (excepting Partridge) in that Americanisms are seen as unwanted "immigrants" or illegal "aliens" that "infiltrate" BrE.

In the first half of the 20th century, the two varieties of BrE and AmE were influencing each other, and the direction was no longer a one-way street from Britain to the former colony, but rather the other way around (see Strang 1970: 35 f.). Strang emphasises that the presence of American soldiers brought the British into direct contact with AmE. In this respect, the status of Americanisms seems to have changed from a distant contact, mediated mainly through written records, to a direct contact by way of personal experience or exposure through the *wireless*; itself a "Briticism", long since superseded by AmE *radio*. In this respect it does, indeed, make sense to extend the Late Modern English period up to the end of World War II, as Beal (2004: 1) does.

For the American side, Kretzschmar and Meyer (2012: 141) argue that "[j]udging American English within the context of a British norm continued until the conclusion of World War II, when the United States emerged as a world power, giving American English greater international prominence".

Both findings tie in with Graddol's (1996: 41) conceptualisation of periods within the history of English. However, he reserves the label *Late modern English* for the period running from 1950 to the present (and calls the period from c. 1750–1950 *Modern English*), but justifies the caesura between these two periods, among other reasons, by stating that AmE has become "the dominant world variety".

5. Summary and conclusion

The foregoing analysis of dictionaries of Americanisms and usage guides has shown that we are dealing with two rather different kinds of works, differing in their objective, subject matter, methodology, diction, stance, and target group. They thus represent two different communities of practice and discourse.[20]

The dictionaries of Americanisms arose out of the glossarist tradition (begun by the dictionaries of Scotticisms). Here, the label *Americanism* opens up a new field of lexicographic practice; that is, the exclusive glossary or dictionary of Americanisms. In these works the term *Americanism* serves as a common denominator under which several subcategories of words peculiar to AmE are grouped and treated lexicographically to various degrees.

Early commentators such as Pickering consider Americanisms (in close analogy to Scotticisms) as errors, or impurities, and as something socially undesirable. Bartlett ([1848] ^{4}1896) and other writers of dictionaries of Americanisms regard it as their duty to document Americanisms in a lexicographically more and more detailed and professional manner and to make them known to the general reader on both sides of the Atlantic. The professionalization shows, for instance, by providing citations in the later works.

As outlined in Section 2.1 the "exclusive" dictionary of Americanisms is a typical way-stage in the lexicographical history of varieties of English. According to Görlach (1990: 1480) "[t]his early glossarist tradition still combined the various strands of dictionaries of Americanisms which in the [middle of] the 20th century were to separate into the *DAE/DA* project on the one hand, and the dialect and slang dictionaries on the other".

Usage guides are a text type in their own right. For the Hyper Usage Guide of English (HUGE) database, a research project carried out at the University of Leiden under the direction of Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, the following working definition has been developed. Straaijer (2018: 12) states that "[t]he usage guide constitutes a specific form of prescriptivist discourse, aimed at a wide audience […]." In form and content it draws on elements from several other genres, "such as dictionaries, writing guides, grammars, and popular books on language" (13), out of which dictionaries have been a major influence.

The comments on *Americanism(s)*, or AmE usage more generally, by the British writers from Alford (1864) to Gowers (1948) clearly show that they criticise or even condemn Americanisms for moral, national(istic) or aesthetic reasons. The personal comments remain negative throughout (excepting Partridge (1942)). The authors resent the impact of AmE on BrE and the treatment of the concept of *Americanism(s)* highlights this attitude.

20. See Watts' (2008) discussion of whether 18th-century grammarians should be considered as a community of practice or as a discourse community.

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Women writers in the 18th century

The semantics of motion in their choice of perfect auxiliaries

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The present study analyses perfect auxiliaries combined with a set of verbs that semantically encode an idea of motion, either physical or metaphorical (*arrived, become, come, departed, entered, fallen, gone, got, grown, passed, returned* and *run*) in a corpus of eight novels written by four women in the 18th century, Burney, Inchbald, Radcliffe and Wollstonecraft. The focus is on whether the semantics of the components of motion situations conditioned their choice of auxiliary, and on whether there are differences within the texts depending on where the perfect structures appear, in the narration or in the dialogue. The conclusion indicates that the semantics of motion situations, particularly the different types of FIGURE and GROUND, may have conditioned their choices.

1. Introduction

The present study concentrates on the choice of auxiliary verb, either *be* or *have*, in perfect tenses and the possible reasons for such a choice. Four English women writers of the Late Modern English period are the focus of attention, namely Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Inchbald, Ann Radcliffe and Mary Wollstonecraft.

Twelve verbs were chosen for the analysis. These are *arrived, become, come, departed, entered, fallen, gone, got, grown, passed, returned* and *run*. The reason for this choice lies in the fact that they were the twelve most frequent verbs used in combination with *be* in the study carried out by Kytö (1997). All these verbs lexicalise the idea of motion, either in a physical (i.e. *go* or *come*) or a metaphorical (i.e. *become* and *grow*) way. Consequently, the first question that arises concerns the possible influence of the components of motion situations (e.g. MOTION, FIGURE, GROUND and PATH) in the choice of auxiliary. While some of these components are always present in the surface structure, i.e. in the statement as such, others may

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be present or not in such a structure. These are the GROUND and the PATH, which despite being essential components of motion events may not be represented in the surface structure, but they will always be present in both the semantic and the syntactic analysis of the motion situation (see Section 3).

Two more specific questions derive from the main question. First, whether the different types of motion components may contribute to the choice of auxiliary. For instance, it is important to distinguish between human and non-human FIGURES (i.e. *John* or *a letter*), as well as between physical or metaphorical GROUNDS (i.e. *somebody's house* or *old*, as in *grow old*). Second, to what extent each of the components and its presence or absence in the surface structure have an influence on such a choice. In other words, not all the components may influence the presence of one auxiliary verb or the other.

Finally, since the instances analysed were extracted from novels, it is essential to take into account the possible differences between the language used in the narration and the language of the speakers in conversations. This leads to the final question that concerns the possibility that the writers might have opted for different auxiliaries to represent speech and the higher intervention of editors in the narration of the texts rather than in the dialogic sections.

2. Previous studies on perfect tenses in Late Modern English

It was not until the late 1990s that more attention began to be paid to the Late Modern English period by researchers (Beal 2004: xi). This was also the time when perfect tenses in Late Modern English became the subject of study although these structures had been the object of attention for years from a syntactic point of view (Mustanoja 1960; Traugott 1972; Visser 1963–1973; Denison 1993). The first scholars to offer a detailed description of perfect tenses with mutative verbs, i.e. verbs that indicate motion or change of state, in the 18th and 19th centuries were Rydén & Brorström (1987). Their study includes two types of texts, letters and comedies, as well as numerous authors of both centuries. They provide a description of the uses of the two auxiliaries along the period analysed, and they also identify differences depending on the type of sentence or complementation present in the sentence. The type of complementation is to some extent connected to what is described in the present study as the GROUND (see Section 3). However, whereas complementation only refers to syntax, a deeper analysis is considered in the present study, since both syntax and semantics are taken into account. In addition, despite the in-depth study carried out by Ryden & Brorström in terms of number of authors and tokens analysed, it is restricted to two genres, which as they indicate 'probably come reasonably close to the "real" speech of the day' (Rydén &

Brorström 1987: 13). They draw several conclusions regarding the choice of auxiliary verb, that is, *be* or *have*. These include that the use of *have* is conditioned by specific contexts, such as some hypothetical sentences, iterative/durative contexts and some verbal forms. However, they also acknowledge that some authors seem to follow their own patterns. Furthermore, when comparing the works written by men and women, they conclude that generally women tend to use *be* more often than men and for a longer time, even in the 19th century, when *have* had become fully established as the auxiliary verb used in combination with the past participle form of the verbs in this kind of structure.

Kytö (1997: 17) also carried out a study of perfect tenses with intransitive verbs of 'transition or change'. Her study covers a long period of the history of the English language, from Middle to Modern English, and the mid-18th century proves to be 'the final turn-over in the history of the paradigm' (Kytö 1997: 32). Her study presents an in-depth detailed analysis of both external and internal factors influencing the choice of auxiliary verb in perfect tenses. The author considers differences in text type, gender, sentence type and complementation in general, but she also acknowledges the need for further studies to rule out other possible influences.

Sorace (2000) investigates the different types of intransitive verbs and their possible influence on the choice of auxiliary. This study involves several Western European languages, including English. The focus is on the type of motion and as the author suggests, 'the choice of auxiliary with particular verbs is characterised by gradience: some verbs more consistently select a particular auxiliary than others' (2000: 886).

Werner et al. (2016) investigate the perfect tenses from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view. They include both theoretical and empirical studies on these structures in different varieties of English around the world. One of the most significant results (Werner 2016) is that the *be*-perfect structure is still productive in many English varieties around the world. The author concludes that the prevalence of this structure cannot be explained only by the continuation of the Old English structure since auxiliary *be* is found not only in combination with intransitive verbs, but also with transitive verbs in some of these varieties.

More recently, McFadden (2017) examines the disappearance of *be* as an auxiliary with perfective structures in the Late Modern English period, which is dated to have taken place around 1800. The author describes the possible reasons for this disappearance and he concludes that it 'must have involved the loss of a particular stative-resultative participial structure' (McFadden 2017: 172). Similarly to other authors, the need for further studies is also acknowledged.

Finally, the use of perfect tenses in Jane Austen's novels and letters has been analysed (Calvo Cortés 2019). Two new aspects are considered in connection with the choice of auxiliary. The first aspect refers to the influence of the components of motion events in the choice of auxiliary. The author concludes that the different types of FIGURE, GROUND and PATH (see Section 3), particularly regarding their semantic content, might condition the type of auxiliary used. The second aspect concerns possible editorial intervention in this choice, since a discrepancy can be observed between the use of these auxiliaries in the novels and in the letters. In general, in the letters *be* is used more often than *have*. In fact, when the results for different verbs are compared, it can be observed that there are some verbs that show a clear preference for *be* (e.g. *go* and *grow*), and others for *have* (e.g. *fall* and *pass*). Despite the possible manipulation of the letters by editors, this type of text is more likely to show a personal way of writing and less likely to have undergone such manipulation in comparison to the novels.

3. Basic motion situations

Talmy's description of lexicalization patterns (1987) initiated the interest in motion situations from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective. The analysis of motion situations has basically described the elements of factive and fictive motion situations, i.e. real or metaphorical motion events (Talmy 1975, 1987, 2000; Ramscar et al. 2009). These studies have also classified the languages of the world depending on the representation of the different components of motion situations in the surface structure (Matsumoto 1996; Slobin 1996; Talmy 2000). Additionally, the change of meaning in the PATH and GROUND components in some motion situations has been investigated (Calvo Cortés 2014).

A basic motion situation (see Figure 1) involves the following elements: the MOTION (*is running*), which could be represented either by a deep Be-located verb (e.g. *stand*) or a deep Move verb such as *go* (Talmy 2000: 340); the FIGURE (*the girl*), or object that moves or is located somewhere; the GROUND (*the church*), the place where the FIGURE is moving to or where it is located; and the PATH (*to*), which refers to the trajectory of the movement.

The elements described for the motion situation in Figure 1 represent 'cognitive functions' (Talmy 2000: 311). They are always present in the deep structure of any motion event, although they do not necessarily have to be present in the so-called surface structure (Talmy 2000), which is connected to the representation of such motion events. As will be seen in the analysis of the examples in the present study, the components of MOTION and FIGURE are always present in the surface structure in English, unless the sentence is imperative, i.e. 'come here', where the FIGURE (*you*) in implied, but not present in the surface. In contrast, the components of PATH and GROUND are sometimes omitted in such a structure,

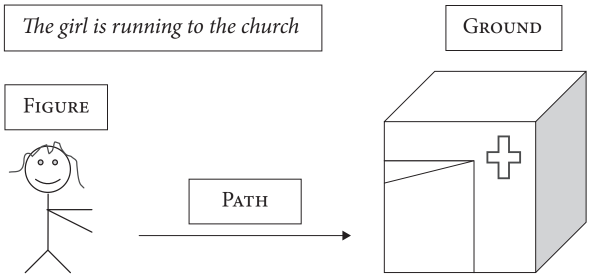

Figure 1. Basic motion situation[1]

for instance, in 'they have come', the statement finishes with the verb although the PATH and the GROUND can be inferred. In addition, this difference in surface representation might determine the presence of one auxiliary or the other.

The twelve verbs included in the present study are deep Move verbs. As a result, they all share the notion of motion, and they all involve some kind of movement in their deep semantic structure, but this movement is not always physical. The different components of each motion situation (i.e. MOTION, FIGURE, GROUND and PATH) may be more or less physical in themselves, and they may also convey a more or less metaphorical meaning when combined with the rest of the components. For example, the verb *go* clearly has a physical meaning of motion, but in combination with a GROUND implying a change of state, such as *mad*, as in *go mad*, the meaning changes from a physical to a metaphorical movement. Nevertheless, in the deep structure there is an underlying semantic content of motion independently of the metaphorical meanings of the different elements involved. In other words, in the case of *go mad*, there is a motion event implying some kind of movement from a state of not being *mad* to one of being *mad*.

When the twelve verbs (*arrived, become, come, departed, entered, fallen, gone, got, grown, passed, returned* and *run*) are analysed more closely, it can be clearly observed that although some of them refer only to physical types of movement (e.g. *depart*), most of them are very often used in a metaphorical context (e.g. *enter* in 1a, and *fall* in 1b), even some apparently very physical ones, such as *run* (2), where the *eyes* are the ones that move while reading the *letter*, but the person does not physically *run* anywhere. In contrast, verbs like *become* or *grow* are always expected to appear in a metaphorical context in which there is a change of state (3).

(1) a. he has *entered* into no verbal engagement (*Camilla*, Burney)
b. Angelo had *fallen* in a foreign engagement
(*A Sicilian Romance*, Radcliffe)

1. This is the only example that has not been extracted from the corpus. The reason for this is that a verb in present continuous form was thought to be clearer to explain the concepts of a basic motion situation rather than a verb in a perfect tense.

(2) she had *run* over this letter (*Camilla*, Burney)

(3) a. he was already *become* a Methodist (*Maria or The Wrongs of Woman*, Wollstonecraft)
b. Miss Woodley is *grown* old (*A Simple Story*, Inchbald)

It is clear that all the chosen verbs share the same semantic characteristics of motion in their deep structure and that very often the FIGURE and the GROUND elements are the ones that will determine the change from a physical to a metaphorical meaning. On the contrary, the PATH component may be the same in physical and in metaphorical contexts, for instance, *to* is the same PATH both in 4a and in 4b, but while in the former the meaning is understood as physical because of the GROUND, *place*, in the second example the GROUND is metaphorical, *any resolution*, which confers a metaphorical meaning on the whole expression. As a result, the differences shown in the components of motion events are expected to contribute to the choice of auxiliary verb in perfect tenses.

(4) a. I should never have come to this vastly horrid *place* (*Camilla*, Burney)
b. they had come to *any resolution* (*Camilla*, Burney)

4. Method

The first step to carry out the present study was to choose a corpus and extract the perfect tense instances to analyse. Since an analysis had been previously carried out on Jane Austen's novels and letters (see Section 2), because she had been said to be particularly conservative in her use of auxiliary verbs with perfect tenses (Rydén & Brorström 1987), an analysis of other women writers was thought to be important to observe if they were also conservative or influenced by the components of motion events. For these reasons, a corpus of novels written by women contemporaries of Jane Austen was compiled especially for the present study, but for reasons detailed below, only the novels they had written at the end of the 18th century were selected.

The chosen writers were Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Inchbald, Ann Radcliffe and Mary Wollstonecraft. The corpus comprises 1,095,640 words in total and it was compiled by downloading two novels by each of the four writers from the Gutenberg Project. There were several reasons why two novels by each were chosen. First, even though these women were contemporaneous with each other, they lived for a longer or shorter time and the idea was to choose novels that had been written in a similar span of time. Secondly, by choosing the same number of novels, the number of words was expected to be relatively similar, which would ideally have facilitated the comparison of results. This proved to be wrong, and in the end there was a considerable disparity in the size of each woman's subcorpus of novels, as can be seen in Table 1.

The eight novels chosen were all written over a period of twenty years, between 1778 and 1798. Table 1 shows the life span of these four writers as well as the novels selected by each of them for the corpus.

Table 1. Selected women, novels and number of words

Woman writer	**Novels***	**Total number of words**
Fanny Burney (1752–1840)	*Evelina* (1778) *Camilla* (1796)	513,593
Elizabeth Inchbald (1753–1821)	*A Simple Story* (1791) *Nature and Art* (1796)	153,714
Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823)	*A Sicilian Romance* (1790) *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794)	359,329
Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797)	*Mary: A Fiction* (1788) *Maria or The Wrongs of a Woman* (1792)	69,004

*The year of publication is the one given in brackets here, whereas the reference list provides both the year of publication and the year in which each book was released as an e-book on the Gutenberg Project's webpage.

Once the corpus had been compiled, the next step was to extract the tokens of the perfect tenses to analyse. The participial forms chosen were the following twelve: *arrived, become, come, departed, entered, fallen, gone, got, grown, passed, returned* and *run*. Since these were the most frequent verbs in combination with *be* in Kytö's study (see Section 1), it was expected that there would be enough examples to analyse in the corpus.

The *AntConc* program was used to extract the examples. Some of the participial forms are also past simple forms of the same verbs (e.g. *departed, entered*) or infinitive forms (e.g. *come, run*). Additionally, the participle is occasionally used on its own, without an auxiliary introducing it, and contracted forms of auxiliary verbs, such as *'s* or *'d* were also encountered. All this led to a process of discarding the examples that would not be valid for the analysis. In the end, the discarded forms were the following: (1) verbal forms clearly being used as the past simple tense of verbs (5) or infinitive and/or present simple (6a and 6b respectively); (2) participles on their own (7); (3) examples of clear passive voice, in which the verb *be* was not an auxiliary of perfect forms but of passive voice (8); (4) the structure *have been* + participle, which usually does not show a clear perfect tense meaning (9); and (5) tokens that included the contracted forms *'s* or *'d* when it was not clear what the contracted form was (10a and 10b).

(5) they all *departed* for Elmwood Castle (*A Simple Story*, Inchbald)

(6) a. to *become* a wife (*A Simple Story*, Inchbald)
b. how I *come* to be so stupid (*Evelina*, Burney)

(7) the heart once *gone* (*A Simple Story*, Inchbald)

(8) the race should *be run* at five (*Evelina*, Burney)

(9) you might *have been got* off (*Camilla*, Burney)

(10) a. He*'s* gone away (*Camilla*, Burney)
b. I thought you*'d* come to (*Evelina*, Burney)

The third step was to analyse all the remaining examples. Each verb was analysed manually within each subcorpus. The first analysis involved the distribution of auxiliaries in the four subcorpora. This was followed by the analysis of the components of motion situations. Finally, the distribution of auxiliaries was also analysed in relation to the sections of the text where they appeared, the narration or the dialogue parts.

5. Results

As shown in Table 2, despite the discrepancy in the size of each subcorpus, when instances are normalised, three of the four authors use these expressions in a similar way. Only Mary Wollstonecraft uses perfect tenses in general with a frequency of less than half when compared to the rest. As described in this section, it is precisely Wollstonecraft's results that differ slightly from the others. This may be partly explained by the lower number of instances found in her subcorpus.

Table 2. Corpus size, instances and normalised frequency

Author	Corpus size	Instances	Normalised frequency*
Fanny Burney	513,593	476	92.680
Elizabeth Inchbald	153,714	152	98.885
Ann Radcliffe	359,329	423	117.719
Mary Wollstonecraft	69,004	29	42.027

*The normalised figures are by 100,000 words.

Although the present study shows both similarities and differences among the four selected women writers, more similarities than differences are present. This can be observed even when the raw numbers of occurrences vary considerably.

Table 3 includes the raw data and the corresponding percentages of the distribution of auxiliaries in the four subcorpora. Such a distribution indicates variation and the preferences of each writer for one auxiliary or the other. Whereas Burney, Inchbald and Radcliffe do not have a considerable preference for *have* or *be*, Wollstonecraft clearly prefers *have*. Since these results are not very conclusive, the analysis of the motion situation components is expected to provide an explanation for the choice in the different instances.

Table 3. Distribution of auxiliaries

Author	**Instances of *have***	**Instances of *be***
Fanny Burney	212 (45%)	264 (55%)
Elizabeth Inchbald	76 (50%)	76 (50%)
Ann Radcliffe	237 (56%)	186 (44%)
Mary Wollstonecraft	20 (69%)	9 (31%)
Total	**545 (51%)**	**535 (49%)**

5.1 The motion situation components

The choice of the auxiliary is expected to be influenced by the type of the motion situation components involved in each occurrence. For the purpose of the present analysis, the FIGURES were divided into human and non-human FIGURES. The division of the types of GROUND and PATH were established as follows: (1) no explicit GROUND and/or PATH in the surface structure (11); (2) physical GROUND (12, where *bed* is the GROUND); (3) metaphorical GROUND (13); (4) GROUND referring to change of state[2] (14, in which *tired* is the change of state); (5) GROUND indicating an action (15, in which there has been a change of location to a place where some specific action takes place); and (6) PATH on its own (16, where *out* is the PATH). Interestingly, the results found in all the authors in relation to these components show appreciably more similarities than differences.

(11) I am gone (*Nature and Art*, Inchbald)

(12) my wife had … gone *to bed* (*The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Radcliffe)

(13) a lady who had gone *out of her mind* (*Camilla*, Burney)

2. The metaphorical GROUND and the GROUND referring to change of state are similar in the sense that the two indicate abstract GROUNDS. The difference lies in the verb: whereas in the metaphorical GROUND the abstract concept is present only in the GROUND, the change of state affects both the verb and the GROUND in combination.

(14) others … are become *rich* (*A Simple Story*, Inchbald)

(15) the old housekeeper, who was come *to shut the windows* (*The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Radcliffe)

(16) the others were gone *out* (*Evelina*, Burney)

5.1.1 *The* FIGURE

Most FIGURES in motion events are realised by humans, but it is not uncommon to find non-human FIGURES in these structures. These non-human FIGURES either refer to objects that people can carry or move (e.g. *packet* in 18a, or *boat* in 18b), or they encode a metaphorical meaning (e.g. *darkness* in 19a, or *fortune* in 19b). As a result, it is not surprising to find that both auxiliaries are more frequently found in combination with human FIGURES, with the exception of Mary Wollstonecraft, where a clear preference is shown for *have* with non-human FIGURES (see Table 4). All the authors prefer to use *have* rather than *be* with non-human FIGURES. The results indicate that whereas Radcliffe's preference for *have* is slight, the other three writers show a considerable difference in the use of both auxiliaries, with almost 50% or more instances with *have* than with *be*.

(18) a. a *packet*, which ought to have arrived (*Camilla*, Burney)
b. the fishing *boat* was come in (*Camilla*, Burney)

(19) a. *Darkness* had long fallen upon the earth (*A Sicilian Romance*, Radcliffe)
b. that small *fortune* was gone (*Camilla*, Burney)

Regarding the human FIGURES, Burney is the only author who seems to have an appreciable preference for *be*. Inchbald also appears to use *be* more often, but the difference between both auxiliaries is not so sharp. On the contrary, both Radcliffe and Wollstonecraft opt for *have* slightly more often than for *be* when human FIGURES are present.

Table 4. Verb distribution by type of FIGURE

Author	***Have* – human**	***Be* – human**	***Have* – non-human**	***Be* – non-human**
Fanny Burney	138 (39%)	214 (61%)	74 (60%)	50 (40%)
Elizabeth Inchbald	46 (46%)	55 (54%)	30 (59%)	21 (41%)
Ann Radcliffe	173 (57%)	132 (43%)	64 (54%)	54 (46%)
Mary Wollstonecraft	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	13 (81%)	3 (19%)
Total	**364 (47%)**	**407 (53%)**	**181 (59%)**	**128 (41%)**

5.1.2 *The* GROUND *and the* PATH

The GROUND and the PATH are more complex components than the FIGURE since they display more variation, in other words, there are more types of them than of the FIGURE. Six categories were established (see Sections 4 and 5), and the results show many similarities when the four writers are compared, as shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. Distribution of the types of GROUND and PATH with *have*

Author	**No explicit ground**	**Physical ground**	**Metaphorical ground**	**Change of state**	**Action**	**Path only**
Fanny Burney	57 (27%)	92 (43%)	33 (16%)	12 (5%)	4 (2%)	14 (7%)
Elizabeth Inchbald	22 (29%)	31 (40%)	10 (13%)	9 (12%)	1 (1%)	4 (5%)
Ann Radcliffe	66 (28%)	114 (48%)	30 (13%)	9 (4%)	7 (3%)	11 (5%)
Mary Wollstonecraft	8 (42%)	7 (37%)	3 (11%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)
Total	**153 (28%)**	**244 (45%)**	**76 (14%)**	**31 (6%)**	**12 (2%)**	**30 (5%)**

Table 6. Distribution of the types of GROUND and PATH with *be*

Author	**No explicit ground**	**Physical ground**	**Metaphorical ground**	**Change of state**	**Action**	**Path only**
Fanny Burney	158 (60%)	37 (14%)	5 (2%)	32 (12%)	16 (6%)	16 (6%)
Elizabeth Inchbald	43 (56%)	10 (13%)	2 (3%)	12 (16%)	6 (8%)	3 (4%)
Ann Radcliffe	117 (63%)	35 (19%)	0 (0%)	12 (6%)	5 (10%)	6 (12%)
Mary Wollstonecraft	5 (56%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	3 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	**323 (62%)**	**83 (16%)**	**7 (1%)**	**59 (11%)**	**27 (6%)**	**25 (4%)**

In general, the results indicate the preferences of *have* for physical and metaphorical GROUNDS, and *be* for no explicit GROUNDS, GROUNDS indicating change of state and GROUNDS referring to action. Apart from the presence or absence of an explicit GROUND, the most important differences concern metaphorical contexts, which prefer the combination with *have* (20), and actions, which tend to be combined with *be* (21).

(20) a nun she had entered *into conversation* with
(*Mary a Fiction*, Wollstonecraft)

(21) a surgeon being come *to examine* his wounds (*A Simple Story*, Inchbald)

Whereas Burney, Inchbald and Radcliffe show more similarities, Wollstonecraft differs from the rest particularly in the case of *have*, where a similar distribution can be observed for the uses of *have* with no explicit GROUND and with a physical GROUND.

Finally, it is not very common to find the structure of the PATH component without a GROUND. The results indicate no preference for one auxiliary or the other, with the exception of Radcliffe, whose instances with *be* + PATH are more frequent than the ones of *have* + PATH. This is not surprising, as the PATH component can often be used similarly in physical and metaphorical contexts.

5.2 Narration versus dialogue

Novels usually contain a combination of narration and dialogue. Perfect tenses are generally more frequently used in the narration sections of the novels as opposed to the dialogue ones. This is the case in all the authors analysed, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Distribution of auxiliaries in narration and in dialogue

Author	***Have* in narration**	***Be* in narration**	***Have* in dialogue**	***Be* in dialogue**
Fanny Burney	159 (49%)	162 (51%)	53 (34%)	102 (66%)
Elizabeth Inchbald	59 (54%)	51 (46%)	19 (45%)	23 (55%)
Ann Radcliffe	209 (65%)	113 (35%)	28 (28%)	73 (72%)
Mary Wollstonecraft	17 (74%)	6 (26%)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)
Total	**444 (41%)**	**332 (31%)**	**103 (9%)**	**201 (19%)**

In a close analysis of the results displayed in Table 7, it can be seen that when both auxiliaries are compared, *be* is preferred in the direct speech sections of the novels, with the exception of Wollstonecraft, who uses both auxiliaries identically in this respect. This is especially the case in Burney and Radcliffe, whose percentage of *be* in conversation is double that of *have* in the same contexts. Inchbald also prefers the use of *be* in conversations, although the difference between the use of *have* and *be* is not as considerable as in the case of the previous two authors. As regards the choice of auxiliary in the narration sections, whereas Burney only displays a slight preference for *be*, the other three writers clearly prefer to use *have*. This is particularly evident in the cases of Radcliffe and Wollstonecraft.

6. Discussion

The two factors that have been suggested as possibly contributing to the choice of auxiliary in perfect tenses have been confirmed to do so, particularly the variation in the components of motion events. Previous studies had indicated that *have* was more frequently used in combination with a complement in the sentence (Rydén & Brorström 1987; Kytö 1997). While this has proved to be the case in the present study, as the GROUND component is often realised by a complement in the surface structure, it has also been demonstrated that not all the complements are the same, and that semantics also plays an important role in the choice discussed. In other words, the semantic analysis of the different components of motion events has shown that the more abstract a context is, the more likely it is for the structure with *have* to be present. This is the case for both the FIGURE and the GROUND components. Although differences can be observed when the four authors are analysed, some similarities are also found. When FIGURES are non-human all the writers analysed prefer *have*, and when the GROUNDS are metaphorical the same occurs. Similarly, when an action is part of the GROUND, *be* is the preferred auxiliary.

The manipulation of editors had also been pointed out in relation to the choice of auxiliary verbs (Calvo Cortés 2019). The differences shown in the uses of *have* and *be* in dialogue and in narration within the same novels suggest two possible explanations. First, the writers may have wanted to reflect dialectal variation in the speech of some characters in particular by using *be* more often, as this auxiliary was in the process of being replaced by *have*. Second, the editors may have intervened especially in the narration sections of the novels so that the text would conform to the common usage of the time, i.e. *have* becoming more frequent than *be*. They would not have altered the dialogues so as to allow the writers' representation of everyday speech in these sections of the novels.

7. Conclusion

The twelve verbs analysed behave similarly in the four authors in relation to the auxiliary verb chosen depending on the semantics of the components involved in each motion event. Burney and Inchbald show more similarities in relation to the FIGURE and GROUND components. However, they differ in the distribution of auxiliaries depending on the section of the novel where they appear. Whereas Burney shows a clear preference for *be* both in the narration and in the dialogue sections, Inchbald prefers *have* in the narration and *be* only slightly in the direct speech parts of the novels. Radcliffe and Wollstonecraft's results also reflect a clearer preference for *be* in conversation, as opposed to *have*. Similarly, whereas Radcliffe's results regarding the different types of FIGURES only indicate slight differences between the two auxiliaries, although she follows the same tendency as the others regarding the use of *have* more frequently with non-human FIGURES than *be*, the GROUND component in her instances is the one that determines the choice more significantly than in any of the other writers. Wollstonecraft is clearly the most different author. She has a higher preference for *have* with non-human FIGURES than the others, although Burney's and Inchbald's preference is also high, whereas her uses of *be* are similar to the other writers in this respect. As regards the GROUND component, despite the results being similar to the others, she uses *have* similarly to *be* when no GROUND is present in the surface structure.

Although the results regarding Wollstonecraft need to be taken with caution due to the lower number of occurrences found in comparison to the other authors, it can be concluded that she was the least conservative of the four, as she uses *have* more often and also without a GROUND represented in the surface structure. For this reason, an analysis of more texts written by her will provide more conclusive results.

Finally, all the verbs display differences if the analysis is carried out individually for each of them. Due to the presence of few instances of some of them, and particularly in some of the authors, it has not been possible to point out these differences. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that physical and metaphorical GROUNDS favour the presence of *have*, while the motion situation involving a change of state, the absence of GROUND in the surface and the GROUNDS involving an action favour the combination with *be*. Likewise, although some verbs are more easily combined with non-human FIGURES than others (e.g. *fall* and *pass*), the general analysis has shown the tendency of *have* to be combined with these more frequently than *be*. As a result, those verbs that are almost exclusively used with non-human FIGURES probably began to be used with *have* earlier than the rest.

This study requires further research in order to confirm the influence of the components of motion events in the choice of auxiliary verb. Since women have been considered conservative in the use of *be* in perfect structures, a comparison with novels written by men authors is required. The analysis needs to be extended to novels written in the 19th century, both by women and men, and not only at the end of the 18th century, which seems to have been the turning point in the decline in the use of *be* as a perfect auxiliary. If the semantics of motion events show similar results, more definite conclusions could be drawn. Also, it is essential to analyse these structures in other genres, particularly personal documents, such as diaries and letters, since they will probably show a more personal style, and they are less likely to have been manipulated by editors. Original manuscripts would be the ideal resource for research on these expressions to confirm or rule out such manipulation.

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Eighteenth-century French cuisine terms and their semantic integration in English

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A great variety of French culinary vocabulary has been taken over into English down the ages (e.g., Chirol 1973). During the eighteenth century, too, French served English as an important donor of lexical items which reveal the finesse of French cookery. The present analysis sets out to shed light on the semantic integration of French-derived culinary terms. An essential objective of this paper is to find out whether (a) a particular sense a borrowing adopts after being introduced into English has its origins in French (as a result of the continuing influence of French on English) or (b) whether the relevant change in meaning is due to an internal sense development within the receiving language.

1. Introduction

French has long served the English language as an important source of a plethora of culinary terms (e.g. Serjeantson 1935: 104–170). The term *cuisine* itself represents a French borrowing[1] which was adopted into English in the eighteenth century. The present survey concentrates on the variety of words and meanings taken over from French in the field of gastronomy between 1701 and 1800. A diachronic perspective will be assumed to examine the semantic development of the different French-derived items from their first attested use in English until today, which has been investigated little if at all in current research. The meanings of the English borrowings will be compared to those of the French originals.[2]

1. For a definition of the term *borrowing*, see Section 1.4.1 below.

2. The various aims and the methodology of the present analysis will be described in detail in Section 1.3.

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1.1 Previous studies of the French impact on the English vocabulary

A multitude of analyses focus on the influence of French on the English lexicon. There are, for example, a number of surveys which examine French borrowings on the basis of semantic aspects: according to their meaning, the borrowings are grouped into various subject areas, such as the fine arts, fashion and cookery. Mackenzie (1939) represents an early analysis of the language contact situation between French and English down the ages. Mackenzie considered the earliest editions of English translations of several French works, such as La Bruyère's *Les Caractères* and J. J. Rousseau's *Premier Discours*, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Murray, Bradley, Craigie & Onions 1884–1933; Burchfield 1989; Simpson & Weiner 1993–1997; Simpson, Weiner & Proffitt 2000–, henceforth *OED*), to assess the first documented usage of words of French origin in English. He outlines essential areas from which French lexical items were adopted into English, encompassing nineteenth-century French literature (what he refers to as "La Littérature française du XIXe siècle"), society and fashion ("La société et la mode"), and gastronomy ("La gastronomie"). Chirol (1973) constitutes quite a comprehensive study of French borrowed words in modern English. Chirol's monograph contains 2500 French borrowings, the majority of which were retrieved from Bliss's *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1966). Chirol (1973: 34–124) lists three important semantic areas influenced by French in the past few centuries: "Un Art de vivre", comprising the fields of cuisine, games, fashion, entertainment and travelling, "Un Savoir-faire", consisting of borrowed words from literature and art, and "Un Savoir-vivre", encompassing spheres of life such as social relationships.

Linguistic studies which focus on French culinary vocabulary are scarce. An example is Bator's (2011) analysis, which concentrates on the semantic area of food. Bator researches French culinary terms in fourteenth-century English. Her findings are due to a close review of *Curye on Inglysch (English culinary manuscripts of the 14th century)*, edited by Hieatt and Butler in 1985. Bator's paper provides significant linguistic insights in many respects, but it does not offer a detailed investigation of the semantic changes of the fourteenth-century culinary items.

Schultz's (2012) and (2016) studies constitute the first exhaustive surveys of the sense developments of twentieth- and nineteenth-century borrowings from French to English. Electronic media such as digitalized dictionaries and databases made possible these types of analyses. The methodology applied by Schultz to examine French borrowings also served as a frame of reference for the present investigation. The results of previous work on cookery terms from French in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be compared with the results provided by the present study to see whether tendencies in the results are the same or different.[3]

It will be important to examine (a) whether a specific sense a borrowing adopts after its introduction into English goes back to French (as a result of the continuing influence of French on English) or (b) whether it can be classified as an internal sense development within the receiving language. Such a comprehensive semantic analysis of French-derived culinary terms is missing in prior surveys.

1.2 The *OED Online* as a source of French culinary terms

The *OED Online* provided the data presented in this paper. The *OED* is currently subject to its first complete revision. The electronic version of the *OED* includes the entire text of the 1989 edition (henceforth *OED2*), the 1993 and 1997 *OED Additions Series*, as well as a significant proportion of updated and new dictionary entries which will make up the Third Edition of the *OED*. The digitalized variant of the *OED* is being added to every quarter with the preliminary findings of the *OED3* revision work.[4]

The *OED* usually allows a comprehensive count and an analysis of words and their senses from their earliest documented use until today. According to Brewer (2007: 109),

> It is universally acknowledged that the *OED* is an unrivalled and invaluable source of information and erudition on words and their meanings, together with their etymology, historical development, currency, spellings, and pronunciation. Not only does this remarkable dictionary provide a systematic and comprehensive account of lexical items from 1150 to around 1928 (the date the first edition was completed), but it also prints, for each entry, a wealth of quotations evidencing usage.

However, the eighteenth-century sample of French-derived culinary terms may be less complete than that for other periods such as the nineteenth century. Brewer (2007: 114) points out that the usage examples from the eighteenth century appear to be fewer in comparison with other time periods covered by the *OED*:

> It has long been recognized that quotations from the eighteenth century in the *Oxford English Dictionary* seem to be fewer than for other periods, despite the major increase in literacy, reading, and publishing over this period. […] Why should this be? The first major researcher on *OED* methodology, Jürgen Schäfer, thought that reader's slips for this period had somehow got lost, but documents

3. For a comparison of the semantic development of eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century borrowings, see the conclusion (Section 3) of the present study.

4. For more information on the compilation of an electronic version of the *OED*, see Charlotte Brewer (2004: 1–43).

from the late 1850s, i.e. the early days of the dictionary's compilation, indicate that the American readers who had undertaken the task of reading books from the eighteenth century did not, for one reason or another, fulfil their promise.

Brewer (2007: 114–135) draws attention to the fact that there is still a gap in the documentation of eighteenth-century lexis in both the new and the unrevised version of the *OED*. In the present study, corpora serve as valuable sources to collect more of the supporting linguistic evidence which reflects the semantic development of eighteenth-century culinary vocabulary.

1.3 Aims and methodology

As pointed out before, studies on French-derived culinary vocabulary are scarce. A comprehensive investigation of the semantic integration of the words of French origin is missing in the majority of prior analyses. Exceptions are Schultz (2012, 2016), which offer a systematic description of the semantics of French culinary terms from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The present paper will complement those findings. Much importance will be accorded to those eighteenth-century cuisine terms which have not yet been comprehensively investigated in previous studies, comprising French-derived terms for cooking styles and the preparation of food, food items and products, beverages, dishes, desserts and items of confectionery. With the following search option, the various eighteenth-century French borrowings recorded in the *OED Online* were identified: *Advanced Search: Entries containing "French" in "Etymology" and "1701–1800" in "Date of Entry."* Subsequently, the search was further refined. By selecting the subject field "consumables", the *OED* software was then used to retrieve all the culinary terms from the list of eighteenth-century French borrowings. The reader should note that the sample of *OED* entries included false matches which were eliminated.

The various cuisine terms investigated in this study were collected from the *OED* in 2018. All the different types of borrowings identified by the *OED* (i.e. borrowings from Standard French, borrowings showing a complex etymology and possible French borrowings; see Section 1.2)[5] were considered in this article. The *OED* sample also comprises possible borrowings, i.e., words which might have been adopted from French. This is valid for the word *epergne*, for instance, which has been documented since 1761 in English as a term for "[a] centre-dish, or centre ornament for the dinner-table, now often in a branched form, each branch supporting a small dish for dessert or the like, or a vase for flowers" (*OED2*). According to the *OED2* it may perhaps go back to the French word *épargne* 'saving', 'economy'.

5. In this paper, an asterisk is placed after the earliest recorded uses of words which represent possible French borrowings.

The focus of linguistic concern is on borrowings that entered English in the eighteenth century. Vocabulary which (being used in English earlier) gained culinary meaning in the eighteenth century was not taken into account. The culinary terms were classified as French-derived if they had been introduced from French as the immediate source language. Thus, *salpicon*, for example, "[a] kind of stuffing for veal, beef, or mutton, also used as a garnish for vol-au-vents and the like" (*OED2*), was categorized as an adoption of the French *salpicon*, although the item ultimately goes back to Spanish.

To enable comparison between the meaning of a borrowed lexical item and that of its French associate, French general-purpose dictionaries such as the *Trésor de la langue française* (Imbs & Quemada 1971–1994, henceforth referred to as the *TLF*), the 48 volumes of *Datations et documents lexicographiques* (Quemada & Rézeau 1959–1965, henceforth referred to as *DDL*), a database which contains further linguistic evidence which supplements the *TLF*, and the Robert *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique* (Rey 2001, henceforth the *Grand Robert*) were taken into consideration. Such a detailed analysis of the sense developments of French culinary terms from the eighteenth century has not been made in this way before.

An important aim of this analysis is to assess recent sense developments not only of the cuisine terms listed in *OED3* but also of the *OED* entries which have not yet been updated. A close review of corpora of current English helps to achieve this aim. The linguistic evidence provided by the *OED2* does not document recent uses of borrowings since it was published in 1989. To examine semantic shifts of unrevised *OED* words in Present-day English, additional documentary evidence is included in databases such as *LexisNexis*. At *LexisNexis*, corpora comprising newspapers and magazines which reveal the usage of French-derived words in the last 20 to 30 years are available online. The database comprises a wide range of newspapers, for example *The Times* (London), *The Independent* (London) and *The New York Times*. The documentary evidence available at *LexisNexis* allows a contextual analysis of the borrowings under review. As will be seen, a careful perusal of the linguistic material offered by *LexisNexis* permits the assessment of a number of recent uses of French culinary terms which have not yet been made explicit in the unrevised edition of the *OED2*. Some of them constitute semantic changes within English, whereas others are paralleled in French.

1.4 Terminology employed in the present analysis

1.4.1 *Types of loan influences*

The terminology used in this paper relies on Carstensen's (1968) approach because it comprises the essential types of lexical borrowing and is applicable to various loan influences and language contact situations. I shall confine myself to the categories which occur among the eighteenth-century borrowings presented in this study.

a. *Borrowing*

Schultz (2016: 39) points out that "[*b*]*orrowing* functions as the conventional term for a word or a meaning taken over from another language. It can also be used to designate the process by which a language adopts new linguistic material (i.e. a word or a meaning) from a foreign language."

b. *Direct loan*

Most of the culinary terms introduced from French into English in the eighteenth century are direct loans. The term is used to designate a foreign word which shows no or only minor integration into the receiving language with respect to its pronunciation and spelling form. An example is the word *chou*, which was borrowed into English in 1706 as a term for "[a] small round cake of pastry filled with cream or fruit" (*OED2*). The *OED2* informs its users that it is pronounced /ʃuː/ in present-day English. The word reflects the French *chou* /ʃu/. Clearly, the spelling of *chou* was maintained during the borrowing process, and the pronunciation of the item is similar to that of its French equivalent.

c. *Adaptation*

Adaptation relates to a foreign lexical item which has been assimilated into the linguistic system of the borrowing language. *Poupiets*, which is first recorded in 1702 in the *OED3*, serves as an example. It represents an adaptation of the French *poupiettes*/*poupiette*, relating to "[a] dish consisting of long, thin slices of bacon, each topped with a veal steak and a layer of forcemeat, then rolled up and roasted" (*OED3*). Another example is *gofer*, a type of batter-cake which was adapted from the French *gaufre* in 1769. As is evident, the orthographic naturalization of the borrowed word at the same time leads to its phonological integration into the system of the language taking it over.

In distinguishing between direct loans and adaptations, boundaries are often fluid. The *OED* sometimes records various forms of a borrowing which reflect different degrees of assimilation, as is the case with *purée* and *purry*, both of which correspond to the French *purée*. In present-day English, *purée* is more common than the adapted spelling variant *purry*. According to the *OED3*, the latter has become historical and rare in current usage. The reader should observe that in this article, borrowings such as *purée* are classified as direct loans since they still show foreign influence in terms of their pronunciation and spelling. The *OED3*, for instance, includes the pronunciation forms /ˈpjʊəreɪ/ and /ˈpjɔːreɪ/ for British English and /pjʊˈreɪ/, /pjəˈreɪ/ for American English, the latter two of which reflect the French stress pattern. In addition, the French accents have been maintained in the spelling. The assimilated variant *purry*, however, which has been completely integrated into the linguistic system of the receiving language, is considered an adaptation that goes back to the same French source term.

d. *Loan translation*

According to Schultz (2012: 50), "[a] loan translation is the complete, semantically accordant reproduction of each constituent of a foreign word by use of synonymous word forms in the receiving language. The term not only relates to the translation process but also to its 'product'." *Chocolate cream*, for instance, is a loan translation of the French *crème de chocolat*. It entered English in 1702, specifying a chocolate dessert.

1.4.2 *Types of semantic change*

In this article, French-influenced and independent semantic change will be classified separately. Both semantic change that took place in English after the original borrowing and also semantic change in the original loan process, between the meaning of the French source and the original meaning of the English borrowing will be taken into account.

Six varieties of semantic change (broadening, narrowing, metonymy, metaphor, amelioration and pejoration) are normally regarded as the most essential in scholarly literature (e.g., Bréal (1897); Stern (1931); Ullmann (^{2}1967)). As they represent accepted standard types of change in meaning, they will be used as a reference frame in order to classify the sense developments of the lexical items investigated in this article.

a. *Broadening*

Broadening (also referred to as *expansion, extension, generalization* or *schematization* in studies on types of semantic change)[6] is used to designate the process by which a word expands its semantic extent. The term can also refer to the result of this process. The culinary term *matelote* constitutes an example of semantic broadening. Its first attested use dates from 1723 in the *OED3*. It refers to "[a] French dish of fish stewed in wine (typically eel in red wine), usually served garnished with small onions, mushrooms, and rashers of bacon", as is illustrated by a 1998 *OED3* example:

6. For details on the various types of semantic shifts and the terminology used to assess sense developments, see Traugott (2006: 124–131) or Traugott & Dasher (2005: 24–34).

(1) 1998 *Independent on Sunday* (Electronic ed.) 30 Aug. The matelote was good, dark and richly flavoured, the eel falling tenderly from the bone.

Matelote came to broaden in meaning in 1758 in English, functioning, just like the equivalent French word, as the name of a type of dance. This meaning is rarely attested in English. The latest usage example included in the *OED3* dates from 1890:

(2) 1890 *Cent. Dict. Matelotte*, an old sailors' dance, in duple rhythm, similar to the hornpipe. The dancers wore wooden shoes and had their arms intertwined behind their backs.

Both senses of *matelot* go back to French. The relevant meanings of the French original which were adopted into English are paraphrased as follows in the *TLF*:

> Mets composé d'une ou de plusieurs sortes de poissons accommodés généralement avec du vin rouge et des oignons. *Matelote d'anguilles. Matelote à la marinière* (*Ac.* 1935). *Rois puissants qui ruinâtes la superbe Troie (…) votre table était mauvaise. Réduits à la cuisse de boeuf et au dos de cochon, vous ignorâtes toujours les charmes de la matelotte.* (BRILLAT-SAV., *Physiol. goût*, 1825, p. 392)
>
> Danse au rythme vif, autrefois à la mode chez les matelots. (Dict. XIX^{e} et XX^{e} s.)
>
> 'Dishes consisting of one or more types of fish usually served with red wine and onions. *Matelote of eels. Matelote à la marinière (Ac. 1935). Powerful kings ruined the superb Troy (…) your table was bad. Reduced to the beef leg and the back of a pig, you still did not know the charms of the matelotte.*
> (BRILLAT-SAV., Physiol. taste, 1825, p. 392)
>
> Dance with lively rhythm, once fashionable among sailors.'
> (Dict., 19th and 20th centuries)

Carstensen (1968: 44) would classify this type of borrowing as a double loan. However, Carstensen's categorization of borrowed lexical items as double and multiple loans will not be carried out in the present paper since it is, as Duckworth (1977: 55) emphasizes, slightly difficult: the meaning of a word might be influenced by the original donor language for years after its introduction into another language. This process will not be identified as a re-adoption of the same word but merely as a sense development of a borrowing in the receiving language.

It should also be noted that the *OED3* systematically indicates whether a meaning a lexical item adopts over time goes back on foreign influence or constitutes a semantic change within English. However, there are also more problematic cases, i. e. where it is not clear whether a sense development goes back to French impact or not. There might be parallel but unrelated developments in French which do not influence the meaning of a borrowing in English.[7]

b. *Narrowing*

Narrowing (also *restriction* or *specialization* in the scholarly literature) refers to the process by which the sense extent of a word becomes more restricted. The term can also specify the result of this development. The noun *blanquette*, for instance, underwent a semantic narrowing when it was adopted into English, where it refers to a dish consisting of meat (typically veal) served in a white sauce. Its French source shows a much wider semantic scope: *blanquette* is used with reference to a range of white objects, such as a type of white wine (see *TLF, Grand Robert*).

c. *Metonymy*

In metonymy, a word which designates an entity, an object, etc., is associated with another item relating to a feature, a quality, "or something to which it is conceptually contiguous" (see Schultz 2012: 39). *Terrine*, for example, which was taken over from French in 1702, originally denoted a dish containing small pieces of meat, poultry, etc., cooked in a stock in a vessel. By metonymy, *terrine* came to designate the vessel in which the dish is prepared, as it is attested in the *OED3*:

(3) 1706 *Phillip's New World of Words* (ed. 6) *Terrine* (Fr.), an Earthen Pan.

Both senses of *terrine* seem to be influenced by French. The French equivalent initially referred to a type of vessel in which dishes such as *terrines* were cooked. According to the *OED3*, it has been recorded in this sense since 1412 in Middle French in the form *therine*. The French word came to be used to specify the dish prepared in this vessel in 1684 (see *OED3*). Both meanings were adopted into English with the difference that the borrowing first referred to the dish in the receiving language and later to the vessel in which it is made.

d. *Metaphor*

Schultz (2012: 38) draws attention to the fact that "[i]n metaphor, a word is transferred to a different, quite often more abstract area or field which is, to some extent, similar or analogous to that which it literally denotes in order to make an implicit comparison." The borrowing *bon-bon* serves as an example. It was adopted from French towards the end of the eighteenth century as a term for a sweet or a candy, typically one with a soft centre. Metaphorical senses of the borrowing have been made explicit since 1856 in the *OED2*. By metaphor, *bon-bon* refers to a particular pleasure, enjoyment or relish, a very specific treat, as in:

7. In this study, doubtful or problematic cases will be explicitly identified.

(4) 1955 *Times* 30 Aug. 5/4 They opened this morning with a programme of French *bon-bons*.

The French source *bonbon* manifests a parallel semantic development in the donor language. A metaphorical use of the French word is included in the *TLF*: "*P. métaph*. Chose très douce, délicieuse jusqu'à l'excès parfois […]", literally meaning 'very sweet thing, delicious to the point of excess sometimes […].' The relevant use is illustrated by the following *TLF* example taken from a French novel:

(5) Mais ce qui combla d'aise la Poulot, ce qui la fit revenir, un soir, avec le sourire d'une bienheureuse qui aurait entrevu dans une extase le fronton du paradis, ce fut de recueillir quelques détails sur la mort et l'enterrement du petit Lazare. Le reste, assurément, n'était pas à dédaigner, mais cela, c'était la *friandise,* le **bonbon** *fin,* le *nanan* de sa vengeance! Elle savait maintenant où frapper. BLOY, *La Femme pauvre,* 1897, p. 255
'But what filled the Poulot with ease, which made her return one evening, with the smile of a blessed woman who had glimpsed in ecstasy the pediment of paradise, was to collect some details about the death and the funeral of little Lazarus. The rest, certainly, was not to be disdained, but that was the *delicacy*, the *fine* **bonbon**, the treat of his revenge! She now knew where to hit.' BLOY, *The Poor Woman*, 1897, p. 255

Clearly, the usage examples of *bon-bon* in English very much resemble those of the corresponding French term. It may well be, therefore, that French provided the impetus for the assumption of a metaphorical sense of *bon-bon* in the receiving language.

e. *Amelioration*

Amelioration (in some cases also called *melioration*) refers to the development of a more positive meaning or more positive implications. With the meaning of 'a very special delicacy', *bonbon* has far more positive connotations than its use in the original sense for a piece of candy. This can also be seen when comparing the different usage contexts of the borrowing. In its original, culinary meaning, *bonbon* refers to a sweet that is known to the 'ordinary' speaker of English and for whose consumption no special opportunity must be offered. Yet, the metaphorical use of the word is confined to contexts revealing special occasions where a very specific treat or delicacy is provided. One might thus argue that the assumption of a metaphorical use of *bon-bon* in the sense of 'a very specific treat' can at the same time be classified as a semantic amelioration of the borrowing.

f. *Pejoration*

Pejoration denotes the acquisition of a more negative sense or more negative connotations. The adjectival borrowing *réchauffé* may be adduced as an example. In English as well as in French, the word literally means 'reheated'. *Réchauffé* was subjected to a grammatical-semantic development in English which brought about a semantic pejoration of the item. Since 1805 the borrowed lexical item has shown a nominal use in English, denoting, just like its French associate, a dish which has been warmed up or, by metaphor, "a reworking or rehash" (*OED3*). In the latter sense, *réchauffé* is mainly used depreciatively in English, as is exemplified by the following *OED3* quotation:

(6) 2006 P. Mandler *Eng. National Char.* v. 157 Methodologically it was hardly more than a *réchauffé* of Buckle and Christian liberalism.

Semantic change where the new meaning falls outside the sphere of cookery was also considered in the present study. Possible examples of the opposite, i.e. terms that originally were not about cookery but underwent semantic change and took on cookery-related meanings were equally taken into account.

The different categories of semantic change occasionally overlap. The semantic broadening of the borrowing *réchauffé*, for instance, can be classified as both an adoption of a metaphorical sense and a semantic pejoration of the item: in the metaphorical meaning, it is chiefly documented as a derogatory term for 'a rehash' in English.

2. The semantic integration of French culinary terms in the eighteenth century

In all, English adopted 110 French-derived culinary terms in the eighteenth century.

The collection of culinary terms recorded in the *OED* comprises French borrowings relating to cooking styles and the preparation of consumables, food items and products, beverages, dishes, desserts and items of confectionery. Let us begin with an overview of the eighteenth-century borrowings referring to cooking styles and the preparation of food. It should be noted that an asterisk is placed after those words which represent possible borrowings from French.

2.1 Cooking styles and the preparation of food

Twelve culinary terms relating to cooking styles and the preparation of food were transferred from French into English during the eighteenth century.

1. Nouns
   pale (first recorded as a term for a kitchen utensil in 1728); *rôtisseur* (1751); *marmiton* (1754); *regisseur* (1778); *carafe* (1786); *cuisine* (1786)
2. Phrases[8]
   2.1 Noun phrases
   batterie de cuisine (1773); *nouvelle cuisine* (1774); *chef de cuisine* (1798)

3. Verbs
   to zest (1702); *to princess* (1769)*; *to braise* (1797)

As will be seen, various types of semantic changes can be identified among the borrowings relating to dishes. In this paper, some representative examples of French-derived culinary terms which deviated from their original meaning over time will be provided.

Of the items included in this group of borrowings, *cuisine* and *nouvelle cuisine* refer to cooking styles. Their meaning stays the same over the centuries.

Batterie de cuisine, carafe and *pale* relate to kitchen utensils and devices used in cooking and for preparing food. It should be noted that *pale* manifests a culinary use two years after its earliest attestation in English. The word was initially borrowed into English in the sense of "[a] small plug or peg, used to control the flow of a liquid in a pipe, cask" (*OED3*). It has been recorded as a term for a type of cheese-scoop since 1728 in English. This is a particular use of the French equivalent *pale* 'scoop', 'shovel' (see *OED3, TLF*).

Four terms refer to individuals involved in cooking and the preparation of food. These are *chef de cuisine*, a head cook, *rôtisseur*, "[a] chef specializing in roasting" (*OED3*), *marmiton*, "[a]n assistant to a chef or cook" (*OED3*), and *regisseur*, which is mostly documented in French-speaking contexts as the name of a person supervising a vineyard or, in a more general use, as "a stage manager or artistic director" (*OED3*) in ballet or theatre contexts. These are specialized semantic applications of the French source *régisseur* 'governor', 'supervisor'.

To braise, to zest and *to princess* are verbal borrowings which relate to the preparation of food. Of these, *to braise* means, just like its French associate *braiser*, "to stew in a tightly-closed pan (properly with a charcoal fire above and below), the meat being surrounded with slices of bacon, herbs, etc" (*OED2*). *To zest* was originally adopted from the French verb *zester* in the sense of "[t]o scrape the zest from (a citrus fruit) for use as a flavouring" (*OED3*). According to the *OED3*, the borrowing developed a metaphorical sense in English which was not influenced by French, meaning 'to add piquancy or spice to', as in (7):

8. The grammatical terminology used in this paper relies on Quirk et al. (1985). For the definition of *phrase* see Quirk et al. (1985: § 2.3 and §§ 2.25–2.33).

(7) 1737 Ld. Hervey *Mem.* (1848) II. xxx. 288 Many more expressions not quite so strongly zested, though but few degrees weaker. (*OED3*)

To princess "[t]o dress (meat) in a certain way" (*OED3*) might go back to the French adjective *princesse*, which has been used to refer to a way of preparing meals since 1735 (see *OED3, TLF*). According to the *OED3, to princess* has become obsolete in English.

2.2 Food items and products

The *OED* identifies six terms for food items and products as eighteenth-century borrowings from French.

1. Nouns
   tapioca (1707); *salep* (1736); *roux* (1793)
   1.1 Proprietary name
   Roquefort (1762)

2. Phrases
   2.1 Noun phrases
   fines herbes (might have been adopted into English in 1750); *petit pain* (1766)

Among the lexical items in this category, there are terms for food products such as *tapioca*, a type of starch. According to the *OED2*, the word was influenced by the Portuguese *tapioca*, the Spanish *tapioca* and the French *tapioca*. Similarly, the borrowing *salep*, "[a] nutritive meal, starch, or jelly made from the dried tubers of various orchidaceous plants" (*OED2*), was derived from more than one language: it goes back to the French *salep*, the Spanish *salép* and the Portuguese *salepo.*

Roux can be adduced as an example of semantic narrowing. It was borrowed in a specific culinary meaning into English, designating "[a] mixture of fat […] and flour heated together and used in making sauces and soups, generally as a thickening agent or to impart flavour" (*OED3*). It corresponds to a nominal use of the French adjective *roux*, literally meaning 'red', which is used in phrases such as *beurre roux* 'browned butter' (see *TLF*).

Roquefort constitutes a proprietary name for a variety of cheese. It reflects the name of the French town in which it is produced. The borrowing is quite frequently used attributively in English, as in *Roquefort cheese* (see *OED3*).

Two nominal phrases belong to this group of lexical items: *fines herbes*, 'fine herbs', and *petit pain*, "a small bread roll" (*OED3*). None of these items underwent a shift in meaning in English.

2.3 Beverages

The *OED* comprises twenty-six eighteenth-century French borrowings relating to beverages. Most of them maintain their original meaning in English.

1. Nouns
   fenouillette (1706); *persico*[9] (1709)*; *liqueur* (1742); *sève* (1742); *château* (first attested as a designation of a wine in 1754); *Pineau* (1763); *reste*, n. (1773)*; *primeur* (1775); *noyau* (1787); *vin blanc* (1789); *rancio* (1800)
   1.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns
   Margaux (1705); *mirabelle* (1706); *Lafite* (1707); *Barsac/barsac* (1728); *Chambertin* (1775); *Pommard* (1775); *Mâconnais* (1777); *Montrachet* (1789); *Alsace* (1793); *Médoc* (1793); *Armagnac* (1797)

2. Phrases
   2.1 Noun phrases
   gout de terroir (1781)
   2.1.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
   Clos Vougeot (1789)

3. Adjectives
   pétillant (1783); *mousseux* (1784)

The group of French-derived terms for beverages includes several terms for wines which correspond to the names of the place or area where they are produced: *Margaux, Lafite, Barsac/barsac, Chambertin, Pommard, Mâconnais, Montrachet, Alsace, Médoc* and *Clos Vougeot*. Most of them do not show any semantic changes over time. An exception is *Montrachet*, first recorded in 1789 in English as a designation of a white wine made in the *Montrachet* district in Burgundy. The borrowing broadened in meaning in the later decades of the twentieth century. Since 1973, it has served as a proprietary name of a variety of cheese, as in (8):

(8) 1973 J. Githens tr. P. Androuet *Guide de Frommage* 352 (Gloss.) *Montrachet*, province: Burgundy … taste: mild and creamy … use: end of meals. (*OED3*)

Like *Montrachet, mirabelle* adopted an additional meaning since its introduction into English in the eighteenth century. The borrowing has been used since 1706 as the name of a type of plum. It has been documented with reference to a specific liqueur produced from this fruit since 1940, as in (9):

9. *Persico*, a type of cordial, either represents the French *persicot* or the Latin *persicum* (see *OED3*).

(9) J. Meades *Pompey* (1994) 239 She went down to his study, poured herself a double-double *Mirabelle* … and idly inspected the contents of his desk. (*OED3*)

Château represents an example of a borrowing which is first recorded in a culinary sense some time after its adoption into English. The word was originally and chiefly used as a term for "[a] castle; a large mansion or country house" (*OED2*) situated in France. In 1754, it came to designate "[a] French vineyard, usually in the neighbourhood of a château" (*OED2*) or, by metonymy, the wine produced there, e.g.

(10) 1754 Chesterfield in *World* No. 91.2 The wine was the very same which they had all approved of the day before; and … was a true *Chateau* Margoux. (*OED2*)

The adjectival borrowings *pétillant* and *mousseux* are quite often used in relation to sparkling wine. A close review of the *OED3* quotations reveals that *mousseux* also occurs in a metaphorical meaning in English, just like its French equivalent, e.g.

(11) 1906 W. De Morgan *Joseph Vance* xl. 400 I feel like the contents of a bottle, and am very curious to know what will happen when the bottle is uncorked. Perhaps I shall be *mousseux* – who knows? (*OED3*)

A term which underwent semantic narrowing during the borrowing process is *reste*, now an obsolete term in brewing for "[a]n annual round of visits by a brewer to the inns, public houses, etc., supplied by him, for stocktaking and monitoring the state of the business" (*OED3*). The French equivalent term *reste*, from which it might be derived, generally means 'rest' in the donor language.

2.4 Dishes

French enriched the English lexicon with 52 new words relating to dishes from 1702 to 1793.

1. Nouns
   poupiets (1702); *ramolade* (1702); *terrine* (1702); *boucon* (1706); *brusole* (1706); *casserole* (1706); *croquette* (1706); *fricandeau* (1706); *grenade* (1706)*; *grenadine* (1706); *pupton* (1706); *rissole* (1706); *tourte* (1706); *purée* (1710); *daube* (1723); *matelote* (1723); *salpicon* (1723); *vermicell* (1724); *marinade* (1725); *miroton* (1725); *howtowdie*[10] (1728)*; *cannelon* (1733); *remoulade* (1733);

10. According to the *OED2* the word *howtowdie*, a type of chicken dish, apparently reflects the Old French *hétoudeau/estaudeau* 'fat chicken used for the pot'.

épigramme (1736); *blanquette* (1747); *canapé* (1750); *chowder*[11] (1751)*; *hachis* (1751); *purry* (1751); *salmi* (1759); *epergne* (1761)*; *plat* (1766); *soupe* (1767); *pâté* (first attested as a culinary term in 1768); *galette* (1775); *aspic* (1789); *pot-au-feu* (1792)

1.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

Basque (1769)

2. Phrases

2.1 Noun phrases

bonne bouche (1721); *hors d'oeuvre* (first attested as a designation of a dish in 1742); *soup maigre* (1754); *pomme de terre* (1776)

2.1.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

Perigord pie (1751)

2.2 Prepositional phrases

à la bourgeoise (1702); *à la reine* (1723); *à la bonne femme* (1733); *à la creme* (1741); *au jus* (might have been adopted into English in 1750)

2.2.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

à la Portugaise (1793)

3. Adjectives

rôti (1757); *réchauffé* (1778); *printanier* (1793)

A number of terms for dishes also show semantic variability in English. *Casserole* shows a sense development in English which has not yet been documented in the *OED2*. The borrowing traditionally refers to a type of stew pan or, by metonymy, to the savoury dish prepared or served in this. It seems noteworthy that the original recipe of a *casserole* has been modified in recent years. The usage examples included in *LexisNexis* suggest that the dish may now comprise sweet ingredients, such as apples, dried fruits and chocolate:

(12) *The Washington Post*, 5 May 1991; headline: "Plum choice": When I was there, we had roast pork, corn pudding, broccoli salad, apple *casserole* and chocolate cake with raspberries. […].

(13) *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), 20 September 2006; headline: "Culinary nod to New Year's holidays: Rosh Hashanah meals are served as much for what they symbolize as for their sweet, good taste": Today, when Jews gather for the festive meals of Rosh Hashanah foods are served as much for

11. *Chowder* refers to "[a] dish made of fresh fish (esp. cod) or clams, stewed with slices of pork or bacon, onions, and biscuit" (*OED2*) in New England, Newfoundland, etc. According to the *OED2* it apparently reflects the French *chaudière* 'pot'.

what they symbolize as for how they taste. Sweet *casseroles*, featuring dried fruits and root vegetables, are popular, for instance, as symbols of hope for a sweet year. […]

(14) *Liquid*, 1 February 2011; headline: "Taku": Chocolate lovers will adore the spicy chocolate *casserole* accompanied by tangy papaya chutney. The Taku experience is nothing short of heavenly.

One may conclude that *casserole* manifests a semantic broadening in English due to the modification of the original recipe of the French-derived dish.The dictionaries consulted do not attest a comparable semantic change for French.

Rissole and *pot-au-feu* are examples of culinary terms which show metaphorical uses in English. *Rissole* traditionally denotes "[a] ball or flattened cake of chopped meat, fish, or vegetables mixed with herbs or spices, then coated in breadcrumbs and fried" (*OED3*). The *OED3* only includes one example of a metaphorical meaning of the borrowing:

(15) 1933 T. H. Harrisson *Let. to Oxf.* xiii. 58 Fascism … is a revolt against age and at the same time a protest against taking a chance on the future, by making a *rissole* of history.

Pot-au-feu entered English in 1792 as a term for a large cooking pot. By metonymy, the word can also refer to a dish cooked in this pot, especially a soup consisting of vegetables and meat. Just as in the case of *rissole*, the word assumed a metaphorical meaning in the receiving language, as is illustrated by the following *OED3* citations:

(16) 1909 H. James *Novels & Tales* XV. Pref. p. xvii, We can surely account for nothing in the novelist's work that … hasn't, in that perpetually simmering cauldron his intellectual *pot-au-feu*, been reduced to savoury fusion.

(17) 1989 *Art Line* Apr. 30/2 An English man, who devised the show has collected rich *pot-au-feu* … of images by over 100 painters … and photographers.

Semantically accordant metaphorical uses are not made explicit for the French terms *rissole* and *pot-au-feu*. It thus seems likely that the developments of the metaphorical senses of the borrowings are internal changes in meaning which took place within the English language.

The adjectival borrowings *rôti* and *printanier*, all of which entered English in the second half of the eighteenth century, show a grammatical-semantic development in the target language. *Rôti* originally meant 'roasted', and it was also attested as a postmodifier in English, as is corroborated in the *OED3*:

(18) 1841 Thackeray *Memorials Gormandising* in *Fraser's Mag.* June 714/1 Saddle of mutton *rôti*.

The latest recorded use of *rôti* as an adjective dates from 1909 in the *OED3*. The word was converted into a noun in 1771. Just as the corresponding term in French does, *rôti* functions as a designation of a dish of roasted meat, as in:

(19) 2005 S. Brackett et al. *Slow Food Guide to San Francisco* 67 The *Roti* of Squab and Quail Stuffed with Mushrooms and Wrapped in Crisp Potatoes. (*OED3*)

The adjective *printanier* was borrowed from French in 1793, relating to a dish which includes spring vegetables. This meaning was adopted from the culinary use of the French source term in phrases such as *potage printanier* (see *OED3*). In a 1965 *OED3* citation the borrowing is also documented as a noun, a use which is not recorded for French in the dictionaries consulted:

(20) 1965 *House & Garden* Dec. 84/2 *Printanier*, neatly … diced very young vegetables, sometimes cooked in with the dish, but mainly used for garnishing.

Some of the culinary terms under consideration instead became more restricted in meaning during the borrowing process. An example is *épigramme*, "[a] name given to small cutlets of mutton, veal, etc. dressed in a particular manner" (*OED2*). This is a specific culinary application of the French source term, which is not restricted in its use to cookery contexts: the French word *épigramme* generally refers to an epigram in the donor language. Like *épigramme*, the word *plat* narrowed its semantic scope when it was adopted into English. English assumed *plat* in the particular sense of "[a] dish of food" (*OED3*), while disregarding its French designation of 'a plate'.

2.5 Desserts and items of confectionery

Fourteen terms for desserts and items of confectionery came into English from French during the eighteenth century. The earliest borrowing dates from 1702, and the latest word of French provenance in this area was taken over into the language as late as 1796.

1. Nouns
   chou (1706); *feuillantine* (1706); *meringue* (1706); *praline* (1714); *abesse* (1725); *caramel* (1725); *biscotin* (1727); *cannelon* (1733); *gofer* (1769); *galette* (1775); *bon-bon* (1796)
   1.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
   charlotte (1796)

2. Phrases
   2.1 Noun phrases
   chocolate cream (1702); *bonne bouche* (1721)

A number of borrowings relating to desserts and confectionery have expanded their semantic scope after their introduction into English. Some of these sense developments appear to have been induced by French, while others constitute indigenous changes in English. Let us begin with the semantic shifts which might be induced by French. *Chou*, for example, a French variety of cake with a cream or fruit filling, has adopted an additional meaning. Since the nineteenth century, the word has been employed as a fashion term in the sense of "[a] knot of ribbon, chiffon, etc., as an ornament to a woman's hat or dress" (*OED2*). This is corroborated by the following *OED2* citation:

(21) 1957 M. B. Picken *Fashion Dict.* 62/2 *Chou*, soft cabbage-shaped rosette or knot of velvet, satin, ribbon, lace, etc.

Its French source *chou* is attested earlier in both meanings in dictionaries such as the *TLF* and the *Grand Robert*.

One might hence conclude that the semantic broadening the borrowing underwent in English might be due to the impact of French.

An additional example is *praline*, which was borrowed into English in 1714, denoting, just like its French equivalent, "a confection made by browning almonds or other nuts in boiling sugar; a nut prepared in this way" (*OED3*). The borrowing now usually designates the sweet paste made from almonds and boiled sugar, typically used to fill chocolate. By metonymy, it is also used in relation to a chocolate with this type of filling. More generally, *praline* can even specify other sweets prepared in a similar manner, e.g.,

(22) 1809 A. Henry *Trav. & Adventures Canada* 265, I left our fort on Beaver Lake,… provided with dried meat, frozen fish, and a small quantity of *praline*, made of roasted maize, rendered palatable with sugar. (*OED3*)

General-purpose dictionaries such as the *TLF* record equivalent senses for the French original *praline* and its spelling variant *prasline* (now obsolete) which might have influenced the semantic expansion of the English borrowing. The two French forms have been attested since 1846 or earlier with reference to an item of confectionery filled with a paste made from almonds (see *OED3, TLF*). In regional use (mainly in Belgium), the French word can also refer to any variety of filled chocolate, similar to the borrowing in English. This usage goes back to the name of the *Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin* (1598–1675), whose cook invented the recipe for this sweet (see *TLF*). As in the case of *praline*, the borrowing *caramel* became more extended in meaning. It initially denoted a type of sweet substance obtained from heating sugar or a variety of candy made from butter, sugar and milk. The *OED2* records a further meaning of *caramel* for 1909. The word can also denote a light shade of brown resembling the colour of the confection:

(23) 1927 *Daily Express* 12 Mar. 3/5 *Caramel*, a useful light brown, suitable for all kinds of walking costumes. (*OED2*)

Since the French source term *caramel* is identical in meaning, it may well be that all the senses of the English borrowing have their origins in French.

Chocolate cream developed a further meaning in English which, according to the *OED3*, is not related to French. The phrase originally specified a chocolate dessert, traditionally prepared with milk, sugar, eggs and chocolate. This meaning was derived from the French *crème de chocolat*:

(24) 1702 J. K. tr. F. Massialot *Court & Country Cook* 97 *Chocolate-cream* [Fr. *Crême de Chocolat*]. Take a Quart of Milk with a quarter of a Pound of Sugar, and boil them together for a quarter of an Hour: Then put one beaten Yolk of an Egg into the Cream.., mix it with some Chocolate, [etc.]

Since the mid nineteenth century *chocolate cream* has also been used to describe "[a]n item or type of chocolate confectionery with a fondant centre" (*OED3*). In this sense, the phrase frequently occurs in attributive position, particularly in *chocolate-cream bar*, as in:

(25) 1992 M. Baren *How it all Began* 25/1 The increased demand was at least partly due to the introduction of the now famous *chocolate cream* bar in 1866. (*OED3*)

The French original does not show an equivalent use in the sources consulted.

Two of the twelve French-derived terms for desserts and confectionery developed a metaphorical meaning in English: *meringue* and the afore-mentioned *bonbon*, the sense development of which has already been described in Section 1.4.2. Of these, *meringue*, an early eighteenth-century borrowing, denotes "[a] light mixture of stiffly beaten egg whites and sugar, baked until crisp; a shell or other item of confectionery made of this mixture, typically decorated or filled with whipped cream" (*OED3*). Since 1920, the borrowing has been used in a metaphorical sense in several different contexts apart from gastronomy, as is shown in *OED3*:

(26) D. H. Lawrence Touch & Go 7 Men who are somebody, not men who are something … not burly pairs of gaiters, stuffed and voluble, not white *meringues* of chastity.

(27) 1991 *Guardian* 13 May 34/5, I expressed my concern that I didn't want a power hairdo, that bouffant *meringue* known affectionately as Big Hair.

The French original *meringue* is documented in a similar use which may have influenced the corresponding semantic change in English. The French word can be used, for instance, in the phrase *en meringue*(*s*) with reference to an object, a phenomenon, an occurrence etc., which somehow resembles the quality or form of a *meringue*. In the following passage included in the *TLF*, for instance, *meringue* is used to describe the condition of clouds:

> *Un ciel lavé d'aquarelle où s'arrondissent d'aimables nuages en meringues* (SEM, *Ronde de nuit,* 1923, p. 61). *L'horizon était encombré de nuages en meringue.*
> (LA VARENDE, *Pays d'Ouche,* 1934, p. 122)

> '*A sky washed with watercolor where round clouds of meringues* (SEM, *Ronde de nuit,* 1923, p. 61). *The horizon was crowded with clouds in meringue*.'
> (LA VARENDE, *Pays d'Ouche,* 1934, p. 122)

3. Summary and conclusion

The French culinary vocabulary which was borrowed into English in the eighteenth century is characterized by its diversity, encompassing 110 terms for cooking styles and the preparation of food, food items and products, beverages, dishes, desserts and items of confectionery.

As has been outlined in this study, a number of the French-derived cookery terms underwent a sense development after their introduction into English. Some of these changes in meaning seemed to be induced by French, while others constituted internal semantic shifts within the receiving language. Some sense developments of the cooking terms of French descent have not yet been described in the *OED*: a number of borrowings under review manifest a new sense in corpora reflecting present-day language usage which is not listed in the unrevised edition of the *OED2*.

A variety of semantic changes (i.e. broadening, narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, metonymy and metaphor) could be identified in the collection of *OED* items presented in this paper. One development was the variation of traditional French recipes in recent years which resulted in a shift in meaning of the relevant culinary terms, converting savoury dishes into items of confectionery or desserts.

It seems important to point out that the nineteenth- and twentieth-century French cuisine terms examined by Schultz (2012: 274–275 and 2016: 477–512) manifested a similar semantic change: a careful review of the usage examples showed that several dishes were no longer cooked according to the classic French recipe in recent decades. Schultz (2012: 275) comes to the conclusion that

> It looks as if towards the end of the twentieth century and in the beginning of the twenty-first century cooking in England has become more independent. The classic French dishes have done their duty in inspiring more adventurous or exotic ventures.

It would be worth investigating whether this tendency is also apparent among cookery items taken over from other foreign languages apart from French.

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Online resources

DDL <http://atilf.atilf.fr/jykervei/ddl.htm> (30 December 2017).
LexisNexis <http://www.lexisnexis.de/> (30 December 2017).
OED Online <http://www.oed.com/> (30 December 2017).
TLF <http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm> (30 December 2017).

Spelling normalisation of Late Modern English

Comparison and combination of VARD and character-based statistical machine translation

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To be able to profit from natural language processing (NLP) tools for analysing historical text, an important step is spelling normalisation. We first compare and second combine two different approaches: on the one hand VARD, a rule-based system which is based on dictionary lookup and rules with non-probabilistic but trainable weights; on the other hand a language-independent approach to spelling normalisation based on statistical machine translation (SMT) techniques. The rule-based system reaches the best accuracy, up to 94% precision at 74% recall, while the SMT system improves each tested period. We obtain the best system by combining both approaches. Re-training VARD on specific time-periods and domains is beneficial, and both systems benefit from a language sequence model using collocation strength.

1. Introduction

Language technology for historical texts poses challenges going beyond those encountered when dealing with present-day texts. The fundamental problem is that there are fewer resources, for example less trained data for part-of-speech taggers.

While NLP tools are needed at all levels of processing, spelling is a particularly obvious candidate, for at least two reasons. First, historical variants not only differ from present-day spellings. They also often lack normalisation within their period – the same word can appear with several different spelling variants in the same period. As a consequence, even simple lexicon-based research is hampered: either very complex corpus queries listing all forms are needed, which in turn invites precision errors, or we need to accept considerably lower levels of recall.

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Second, spelling variants affect all subsequent processing levels – tokenisation, part-of-speech tagging and parsing. We use the Penn Treebank tagset (Marcus et al. 1994) in this article. For example, frequent variants like *call'd* for *called* lead to a tokenisation error, which in turn results in wrong tagging (*call_NN d_MD*, i.e. a noun followed by a modal verb), and as a consequence parsing quality is also affected. Rayson et al. (2007), Scheible et al. (2011) and Schneider et al. (2014) report that about half of the changes induced by automatic spelling normalisation lead to improved tagging and parsing.

Many approaches for mapping historical variants to present-day standard spelling exist. For English, VARiant Detector 2 (VARD) (Baron & Rayson 2008) is a popular tool. Pettersson et al. (2014) compared three statistical approaches: (1) a filtering approach, (2) a Levenshtein-distance approach, and (3) a character-based statistical machine translation (SMT) approach. These approaches were applied to five languages, and for four of these (including English), the SMT-based approach yielded the best results. We have thus chosen SMT as the most suitable method for comparison with VARD (see Section 3).

In this paper, we report on our experiences with applying VARD to the ARCHER corpus of historical English and American texts, which we introduce in Section 2. Then we summarize and discuss the recent findings that re-training VARD on the target domain and period is beneficial (Schneider, Pettersson & Percillier 2017). Next, we compare the results to a more recent, and completely language-independent technique: an SMT-based spelling normalisation approach applied to the same corpus.

The comparison between SMT and VARD is rewarding, since the approaches are significantly different: SMT is a probabilistic, language-independent approach, whereas VARD combines lexicon-lookup with rules and non-probabilistic though trainable weights. As the approaches are so different, they produce different types of mistakes. We show in Section 5 that combining them actually leads to a performance that is higher than that of any individual system. We show in Section 6 that performance can also be improved by considering the context, for which we use the collocation metric O/E. In Section 7, we give an example of an application that profits from spelling normalisation.

2. Data and annotation

2.1 The ARCHER corpus

The ARCHER corpus (Biber et al. 1994) is a historical corpus sampled from British and American texts from 1600 to 1999. It is balanced on three levels: first by period, second by British versus American texts, and third by genre. Its current version (3.2) contains 3.2 million words. We are converting ARCHER to XML/TEI to make it more systematically accessible, and adding linguistic annotation on several levels. For the level of spelling normalisation, we decided to use an adapted version of VARD. Since there are increasingly fewer non-standard spelling variants in later texts, we have only used texts up to 1850. After 1850, so few normalisations are needed that normalisation tends to produce more mistakes than corrections of the few remaining forms that differ from present-day English (PDE). The amount of non-standard spelling decreases from a mean of 315 per document in the period 1600–1649 to 24 in the period from 1800 to 49. Also the variance is very large: the standard deviation in the period 1600–1649 is 266, while in the period 1800–1849 it is 52, which indicates that individual writing styles vary considerably. We use the XML-format in a way that allows retrieval both of the original and of the spelling-normalised version. The following example shows one of the few instances where the manual and the automatic normalisation differ:

> Here would I <normalised orig="faine" auto="true">fine</normalised><normalised resp="compiler" content="fain" /> make a full point.
>
> (ARCHER 1603dekk_p1b)

In this way, corpus query interfaces such as DependencyBank (Lehmann & Schneider 2012) offer the possibility of querying the normalised form while displaying the original form. Where manual normalisation is available, it is given preference over the automatic one. The vast majority of documents have not been spelling-normalised by manual annotation. In the following, we describe how we have used a small set of annotated documents to train automatic tools.

2.2 Training

It is vital to keep training and evaluation strictly separate, as any algorithm over-adapts and performs considerably better on documents seen in the training phase than on different documents. For the training set, we have manually annotated 109 documents (about 200,000 words), stratified by 4 periods (1650–99, 1700–49, 1750–99, and 1800–49), with a total of 6,975 manual normalisations. For the evaluation set, we have manually annotated a further 30 documents, containing 1,467 normalisations.

3. Methods

3.1 VARD2

The automatic normalisation tool VARD2 (Baron & Rayson 2008) is a rule-based system. The rules have weights which decide which rule is to be given preference if they contradict each other. These weights can be adapted to a new domain by feeding the system with a manually annotated training corpus, and the system also learns new rules and their weights.

The first version of VARD was a purely dictionary-based system. VARD2 extends this approach as follows:

> First, every word that is not found in the tool's present-day English (PDE) spelling lexicon is marked as a candidate. Second, PDE variants for candidates are found and ranked, according to the following three methods:
>
> 1. the original VARD replacement dictionary
> 2. a variant of SoundEx, which maps phonetically similar words onto each other
> 3. letter replacement rules, which represent common patterns of spelling variation, for example interchanging *v* and *u* or dropping word-final *e*.

Each of these rules is given a non-probabilistic confidence score, and each replacement candidate is also weighted by edit distance. When further annotated corpora are added, the replacement dictionary is extended and the weights of the three methods are optimised.

VARD2 has a user-friendly interface which allows interactive normalisation. A screenshot of the interactive mode is given in Figure 1. Variants for which a normalisation is suggested are highlighted in yellow, and clicking on them shows the suggestions: here in red, the normalisation *silk* is suggested for the original word *silke*, with a confidence score of 95.06%.

Since VARD2 is a rule-based and non-probabilistic system, the question of how it performs in comparison to state-of-the-art statistical approaches needs to be addressed. It has been shown, for example in the domain of part-of-speech tagging (Samuelsson & Voutilainen 1997; Loftsson 2008), that carefully written rule-based systems can perform at the same level as or better than statistical systems. At the same time, developing a rule-based system with complex and interacting rules can take considerably more time than applying a language-independent statistical one.

3.2 Statistical machine translation (SMT)

In the SMT-based approach, spelling normalisation is treated as a translation task. To address changes in spelling rather than the full translation of words and

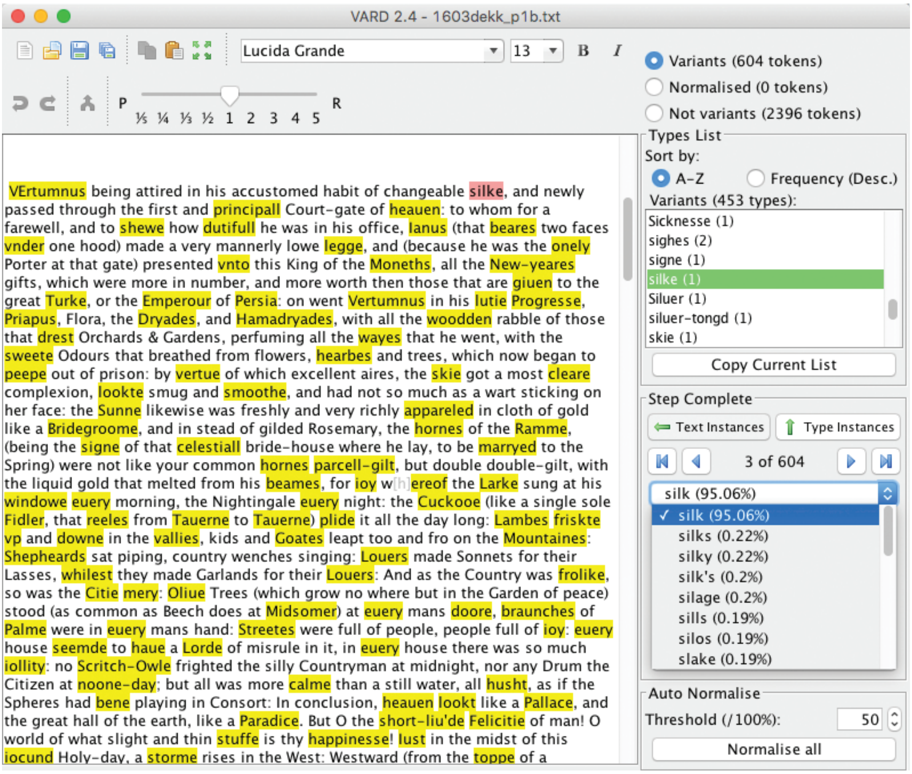

Figure 1. Screenshot of VARD2 showing an interactive normalisation session with the document *ARCHER 1603_dekk_p1b*

phrases, the translation system is trained on sequences of characters instead of word sequences. Character-based SMT has been shown to perform particularly well on closely related languages (Tiedemann 2009), such as Danish and Swedish. Given this background, it makes sense to think of spelling normalisation of texts from Late Modern English to PDE, with the constraint that word-order should not be changed.

The various statistical machine translation approaches all learn the statistical translation probabilities from large parallel corpora. Finding parallel words is usually also done automatically, using algorithms such as GIZA++ (Koehn et al. 2007; Och & Ney 2003). Figure 2 shows a traditional word-alignment and a character-based alignment in comparison. The detailed settings are described in Schneider, Pettersson & Percillier (2017).

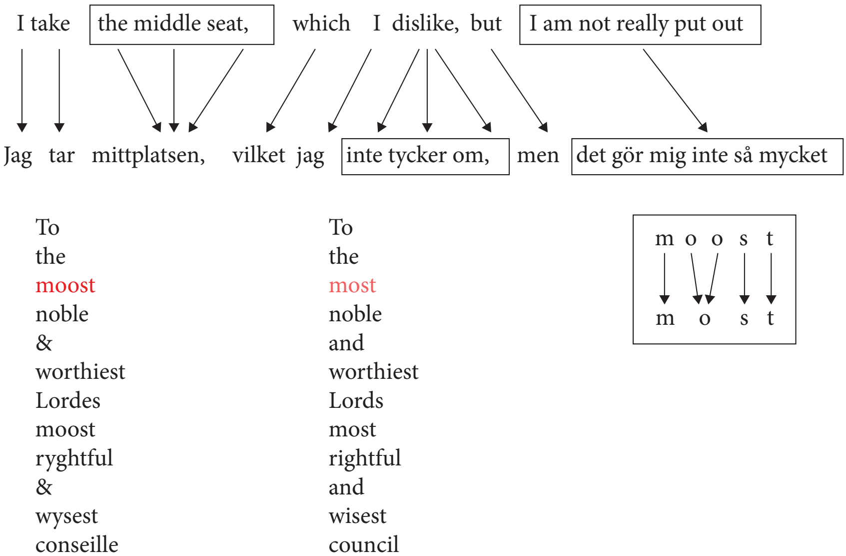

Figure 2. Illustration of a traditional word-alignment (top) and a character-based alignment

3.3 Ensemble systems

Combinations of different systems, which are also called ensemble systems, can benefit from their mutual advantages, as long as the individual participating systems are quite accurate and diverse (Dietterich 1997; van Halteren et al. 2001). The different perspective which different approaches add is important. In Computational Linguistics, this is often the difference between probabilistic and rule-based approaches. In the case of ensemble systems for POS-tagging, Helgadóttir (2004) and Schneider et al. (2016) show that an ensemble system that includes only probabilistic taggers does less well than one that also includes a rule-based system, which brings in a substantially different perspective.

The different systems can be combined in many ways, ranging from majority voting to using meta-classifiers. We use a simple majority voting approach in Section 5: three different settings of VARD, and the best SMT setting.

3.4 Collocations

Both VARD and the SMT approach normalise words in isolation. Some of the normalisations suggested by the system represent frequent PDE words, but they are very unlikely in their context. We have chosen to use collocations (see e.g. Evert 2008). We use the simple metric of O/E, extracted from the BNC (Aston

& Burnard 1998). We use O/E at the level of two adjacent words (i.e. bigrams) to rank the candidates for the target word at position n, as follows:

$$\text{Collocation-score} = \text{O/E}(\text{word}_{n-1}, \text{word}_n) * \text{O/E}(\text{word}_n,\text{word}_{n+1})$$

We apply smoothing by assigning an O/E value of 0.2 to unseen bigrams. Smoothing ensures that data which is only partly available can also be used meaningfully. Without smoothing, O/E would result in a zero division error for unseen bigrams. Assigning a default value of 0 would mean that the collocation score is zero whenever either of the two bigrams does not occur in the BNC. A meaningful value expressing a low collocation value as default allows the algorithm to integrate partial information.

4. Performance of the individual systems

4.1 Performance of VARD2

The results of applying VARD2 are shown in Table 1. We are giving **Precision** (how many of the suggestions by the automatic normaliser are correct?, how many words are spelled correctly out of those that the system normalises?), **Recall** (how many of the changes made in the test set are found by the system?, the number of words that are targeted for normalisation out of those which *should* have been?).

We also show per-word rates, as this is an important figure: how many of the words in the text are spelled correctly (**Correct words**) according to PDE expectations after normalisation? This figure depends on the number of words that do not need to be normalised (**Unnorm. words**) because their historical form is identical to PDE. **Correct words** expresses the percentage of words that are spelled correctly after normalisation, i.e. i.e. those which do not need normalisation (**Unnorm. words**) plus those which get normalised correctly, minus those where normalisation introduces an error.

The default settings of VARD2 (**VARD Default**) already led to a considerable and highly significant improvement, which shows that the default settings are generally suitable for the period from 1600 to 1850. Almost 90% of the suggested normalisations (precision) are correct. Over 70% of the 660 normalisations that were made in the manual annotation (recall) are also suggested correctly by the system.

When using the training from the manually annotated 109 ARCHER documents (in addition to the default rules provided in the VARD2 distribution), the results, which are given in the column entitled **+ trained on ALL ARCHER**, show improvement over the default settings. The training mainly improves precision, while recall slightly deteriorates, except in the latest period, 19th century texts,

Table 1. Overview of the performance of several VARD settings and SMT, ensemble system (Section 5) and collocation system (Section 6)

	VARD default	+ trained on ALL ARCHER	+ trained on ARCHER ct.	best SMT	Voting	Collocation	Voting & Collocation
17th Century Corpus (*N* = 507, *W* = 9682)							
Precision	88.31	94.81	99.43	78.93	88.89	88.86	86.80
Recall	74.56	72.00	69.42	67.26	72.00	73.57	74.35
Unnorm. Words	94.76	94.76	94.76	94.76	94.76	94.76	94.76
Correct Words	98.15	98.33	98.38	97.34	98.60	98.57	98.39
18th Century Corpus (*N* = 92, *W* = 11478)							
Precision	83.75	94.42	100.00	78.31	84.85	87.88	85.86
Recall	72.82	66.30	65.22	70.65	66.30	69.56	71.73
Unnorm. Words	99.20	99.20	99.20	99.20	99.20	99.20	99.20
Correct Words	99.67	99.69	99.72	99.61	99.80	99.85	99.82
19th Century Corpus (*N* = 61, *W* = 9617)							
Precision	90.63	87.23	100.00	60.71	69.81	77.36	71.70
Recall	47.54	67.21	24.59	27.87	47.54	54.10	49.20
Unnorm. Words	99.36	99.36	99.36	99.36	99.36	99.36	99.36
Correct Words	99.64	99.73	99.52	99.58	99.58	99.67	99.60

where we find the opposite. The overall increase in precision between VARD default and trained on ALL ARCHER is significant (chi-square contingency test, p-value = 0.03%), while the decrease in recall is not (chi-square contingency test, p-value = 0.21%). In terms of the crucial number of correct words, an overall improvement can be observed.

Training only over the matching century also seems to add a further improvement, although it is less clear. In the last period, performance is lower. We need to point out, however, that data is particularly sparse in this period: only $N = 61$ normalisations need to be made in the evaluation corpus, so this result is not very reliable. We find it interesting that training over the matching century only leads to an improvement, because two opposing trends are involved: less training data typically leads to poorer results, while a better adapted, more specific training corpus can lead to better results. Using less training data leads to results with higher precision and lower recall. The finding that this is generally the best VARD configuration is also important because these are the settings that are applied for the distribution of ARCHER V 3.2.

The last three columns of Table 1 will be explained in Sections 5 and 6. The "best SMT" column is discussed in the next two subsections.

4.2 Performance of SMT

The performance of the best SMT system from Schneider, Pettersson and Percillier (2017) is given in the column entitled **best SMT**. Performance is a bit lower, but the SMT system is also more versatile, completely language-independent, and no manually crafted rules are needed. We also see from the comparison of the rows **Unnorm. words** and **Correct words** that, as in the ARCHER systems, the number of correct words is always considerably higher than before normalisation. This indicates that although some new errors are introduced (i.e. word forms that should not be changed are changed by the system, affecting precision), far more historical variants are correctly mapped to their corresponding PDE form.

4.3 VARD2 and SMT in comparison

We have just observed that all systems presented here produce more correct results than incorrect "new" errors. This can also be quantified as the relative error reduction. It expresses how many "new" errors are introduced, and how many of the non-normally spelled words do get correctly normalised. Figure 3 gives a graphical comparison of the systems. On the 17th and 18th centuries we obtain a net improvement of between 50% and 70%. Most systems perform considerably worse on the sparse 19th century, i.e. the last period from 1800 to 1850. The performance in the last period is partly so low because there are only very few words that require correction, thus absurd corrections such as changing *idiotism* to *idiocy* affect precision. Recall is strongly affected by rare words and rare but correct variants, such as *silicious* which is not corrected to *siliceous*. It might be advisable to stop using historical spelling correction already at 1800 instead of 1850.

We also observe that SMT performs below the other systems. Looking at the output of the SMT system, we can observe some specific patterns, though, particularly when it comes to recall errors. One of the major causes of recall errors involves apostrophes. Other common recall errors of the SMT system involve word endings like *-ie*, *-y*, *-e* and *-eth*. In these cases, a set of pre-processing rules could improve the performance easily. VARD also has errors that could relatively easily be avoided. Due to its definition of *word*, hyphenation changes (e.g. *sun-shine* to *sunshine*) cannot be handled.

As a general observation, SMT makes mistakes that are different from those of VARD. This is not surprising, as the approaches are fundamentally different. We consider in the next section whether we can profit from the differences.

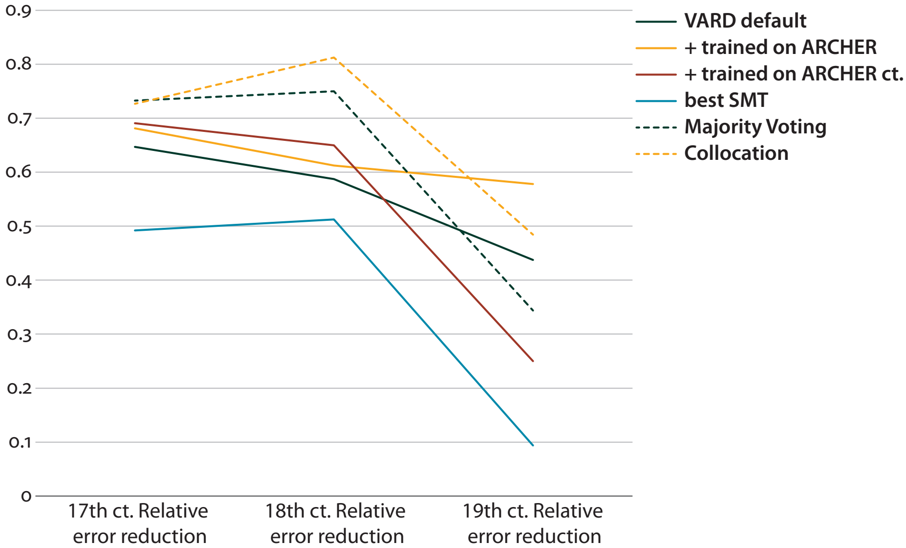

Figure 3. Relative error correction rates of the individual systems presented in Section 4, the voting system (Section 5) and the collocation model (Section 6)

5. Majority voting ensemble system

If several systems are significantly different, and thus make significantly different errors, combining them often leads to a system that performs better than the individual systems. We have observed during the evaluation that there are many cases in which one or two of the systems that we use delivers the correct answer. To assess the potential for improvement, we thus look at the cases where the system that was trained on the full ARCHER training set (+ **trained on ALL ARCHER**) produced an error: in how many cases does at least one of the other systems used in these experiments (**VARD Default, trained on ARCHER ct., SMT**, see Table 1) deliver the correct normalisation? Concerning precision errors, in 72 out of the 84 errors, i.e. 85%, one system would actually contain the correct spelling. If we had an oracle that always picked the correct one for us, the rate of remaining errors could be reduced by 85%. Concerning recall, 51 out of the 205 errors, i.e. 25% are contained within the set of the answers of the other three systems.

Of course we have no oracle that can tell us which of the systems are correct if at least one delivers the correct answer. But a frequent simple method is to use majority voting: if several of the involved systems agree, then the chance that they are right is higher than a suggestion based on just one, even if the best, system. We use the four systems presented earlier. If there is a draw, i.e. the same number of systems suggesting different normalisations, we use a preference hierarchy based on the performance of the individual systems:

trained on ARCHER ct. > trained on ALL ARCHER > VARD Default > SMT

The performance of the majority voting system is given in Table 1, column **Majority Voting.** We can see a considerable improvement, except in the last period. The scores for the last period can be improved at the cost of the other periods if the above hierarchy is altered, as the system **trained on ARCHER ct.** has a steep decline in the last period (see Figure 3).

Our evaluation corpus does not contain enough data to consistently reach significance levels. Table 2 shows the contingency table of the comparison between **VARD Default** and **Majority Voting** at the level of **Correct words** for the 17th century. This difference is significant, at $p = 1.257\%$.

Table 2. Contingency table for chi-square test between 17th century VARD default and majority voting, compared at the level of correct words

	Incorrect words	**Correct words**
VARD default	180	9502
Majority Voting	136	9546

6. Adding a language sequence model

Some normalisation errors appear to be easy to correct when the context is given. For example, in the following Shakespeare passage, the suggestions for normalisation of *'gins* include (1) *gins*, (2) leave *'gins* as is, and (3) the correct normalisation *begins*, which only the SMT systems suggests. The context, between *now* and *to*, makes it easy for humans, but also word-sequence models, to prefer the correct normalisation: *now begins to* is more likely than *now gins to* or *now 'gins to.*

All three of them are desperate: their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after,
Now <normalised orig="'gins" auto="true">gins</normalised> to bite the spirits. I do beseech you
That are of suppler joints, follow them swiftly
And hinder them from what this ecstasy
May now provoke them to.

(ARCHER 1611shak_d1b)

There are many operationalisations available for language sequence models. We use O/E, as explained in Section 3.4. The collocation value of *now begins* multiplied by *begins to* is more than 100 times higher than the smoothing value of 0.2 which we give to the unseen bigrams involving the other forms.

The performance of the collocation system added to **trained on Archer ct**. is given in Table 1, column **Collocation**. This system reaches better performance than any individual system, and is about as accurate as the voting system. Particularly in the later periods, the collocation system profits more from PDE lexis and sequences from which the data has been extracted (BNC), and the fact that sequences of words that need to be normalised are getting rarer. The performances in terms of relative error reduction are given in Figure 3, showing the very strong results for the 17th and 18th centuries of the collocation and also the ensemble system.

We have also added the language sequence model to the majority voting system. The results are given in the last column (**Voting & Collocations**) of Table 1. No further improvement emerges, however, probably due to ceiling effects.

7. Application: Data-driven historical linguistics

In this section, we give two examples of applications that profit from spelling normalisation: improved recall on queries in Section 7.1., and overuse of lexis and POS tags in 7.2.

7.1 Concordancing: The impact of normalisation on recall

We have mentioned that even a simple corpus query is affected by spelling variants. The exact extent of the impact is not possible to assess generally, as it depends on whether a query includes words that were partly spelled differently from the PDE variant. In total, 3% of all words are spelled in a different way, as Table 1, row **Unnorm words** shows. In the 17th century data more than 5% are, i.e. about one word per sentence. Some lexemes are affected particularly. Searches for the affected words lead to grossly incorrect counts. In historical linguistics where an increase of 5% or 10% can already indicate a trend, the risk that an alleged increase is due to non-PDE spelling is high. Subsequent processing like tagging and parsing is affected even more. A single mistagged word can easily lead to a wrong parse for the entire sentence.

Instead of a vague answer, let us consider an example: for a Digital Humanities project, we investigated the representation of poverty across time, using the EEBO collection. As one needs to first obtain a reliable list of query words, we have used the OED to generate a list of synonyms, containing 37 items.[1]

We first queried the original version of EEBO, then a version of EEBO which we had normalised using the default settings of VARD. The number of hits per 1 million words is given in Figure 4, from 1520 to 1690. The effect after about 1600 is relatively small, so we can safely conclude that the topic of poverty is mentioned less after the peak in about 1610, but the alleged rise in the earlier periods is harder to prove as, without normalisation, we would miss up to a quarter of all hits – and more: we should bear in mind that VARD does of course not catch all the normalisation variants. We can glean from the relative error reduction rate (Figure 3) that VARD can catch 60–80% of the variants from 1600 to 1800. If the error reduction rate were considerably lower before 1600, the rise from 1520 to 1600 could be much flatter or perhaps even an artefact.

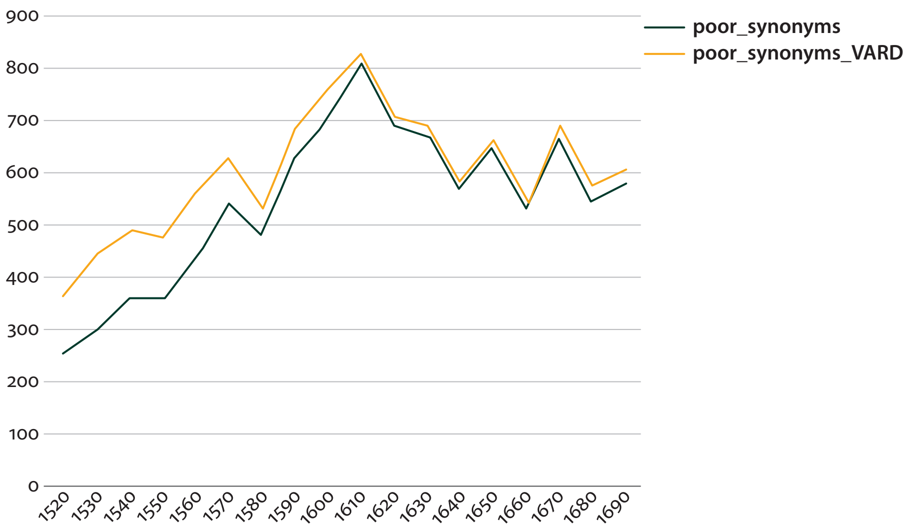

Figure 4. Impact of spelling normalisation in the EEBO corpus on a search of synonyms of *poverty,* per 1 million words

1. The items were *poor, needful, helpless, wantsome, misease, unwealy, needy, feeble, poorful, miseased, indigent, succourless, unwealthy, behove, misterous, miserable, beggarly, starved, threadbare, penurious, fortuneless, wealthless, wantful, necessitous, inopulent, egene, starveling, necessitated, inopious, destitute, want of, pauper, ruined, beggared, impoverished, pennyless,* and *moneyless.*

7.2 Overuse of lexis and POS tags

Diachronic linguistics can also be investigated in a data-driven way, by comparing frequencies of all words and a vast set of grammatical patterns across time. Such an approach to diachronic linguistics is still used rarely (see e.g. Hilpert & Gries 2016: 44–45). An obvious grammatical set of patterns to compare are part-of-speech tags and sequences. But as we mentioned in the introduction, the accuracy of POS taggers deteriorates considerably when they are faced with spellings that are different from those in the PDE texts with which they were trained, which can considerably affect results. Spelling Normalisation typically reduces the error rate of POS tagging historical texts by about 50% (Rayson et al. 2007). Primary material that has undergone spelling normalisation is thus a prerequisite for presenting results such as those given below with reliability.

During the ARCHER period, the number of changes that have taken place is generally said to be quite small. López-Couso, Aarts, and Méndez-Naya (2012) write that the progressive passive and the grammaticalisation of the *get*-passive are the only categorical innovations. Rissanen (1999) even writes that by about 1700 "the structure of the language was gradually established so that eighteenth-century standard written English closely resembles the present-day language" (Rissanen 1999: 187). López-Couso, Aarts, and Méndez-Naya (2012) state that a number of statistical changes took place, however. These can potentially be captured particularly well with data-driven methods. While we are investigating the frequency of POS tags in this experiment, many other data-driven representations can be investigated, for example tag sequences and dependency grammar relations.

For our investigation, we compare the earliest two centuries of ARCHER (the 17th and 18th centuries) to the latest, the 20th century. Table 2 shows the POS tags that are overused in the early part, according to the Treetagger (Schmid 1994), which delivers a slightly extended version of the Penn Treebank tagset (Marcus et al. 1994). The results are sorted by decreasing O/E; the table also contains values for the alternative overuse metric T-score. O (Observed) is the frequency in the corpus of the early half of ARCHER. E (Expected) is the frequency that we would find if the tag were equally frequent throughout ARCHER, i.e. distributed homogeneously.

The interpretation of the tables of overuse (Tables 3 and 4) is not straightforward; we thus discuss them now.

Table 3. Overused POS tags in the early half of ARCHER (1600–1800)

#	TAG	F(early)	F(late)	E	O/E(early)	O/E(late)	Example	Comment
1	VHG	1001	353	677	1.479	0.521	having shwewd	perfect progressive participle
2	VBG	2002	812	1407	1.423	0.577	being attired	prgressive passive participle
3	RBS	1263	644	953.5	1.325	0.675	most	
4	WDT	10094	5760	7927	1.273	0.727	which	full relative clause
5	:	21873	12701	17287	1.265	0.735	:	complex clauses
6	PDT	2620	1559	2089.5	1.254	0.746	all	
7	PRP$	30792	18495	24643.5	1.249	0.751	your	personal pronoun
8	,	102740	62145	82442.5	1.246	0.754	,	complex clauses
9	VB	9430	6486	7958	1.185	0.815	be	verby
10	MD	19484	14165	16824.5	1.158	0.842	shall	verby
11	VHN	286	208	247	1.158	0.842	had	verby
12	CC	52380	39847	46113.5	1.136	0.864	and	paratactic style
13	JJS	2071	1621	1846	1.122	0.878	best	
14	LS	1239	984	1111.5	1.115	0.885	(list item)	
15	NNPS	2176	1749	1962.5	1.109	0.891	(proper name)	(Capitalisation)
16	IN/that	9494	7661	8577.5	1.107	0.893	that	full subordinate clauses
17	FW	341	279	310	1.100	0.900	a priori	
18	TO	35161	28827	31994	1.099	0.901	to	verby

Most of the overuses can be explained by statistical changes that took place since the Early Modern English period. Row 1 (VHG) lists *-ing* forms of the verb *have*. *Have* is a stative verb and is only rarely used in the progressive form. Most instances in this period are auxiliary forms of *have*, perfect progressive participles, as in the following example:

(1) … that since *having seen* her again accidentally, he had not been able to guard his heart from a particular inclination it resented for her beauty … (ARCHER 1664bult_f2b)

Row 2 (VBG) also refers to an *-ing* form, but inspecting the examples reveals that many forms are not progressives, but again participles, this time present participles, for example:

(2) VErtumnus *being attired* in his accustomed habit of changeable silke, and newly passed through the first and principall Court-gate of heauen (ARCHER 1603dekk_p1b)

Row 3 (RBS), adverbs in the superlative, is more difficult to explain. On the one hand, there are a number of fixed expressions involving adverb superlatives, for Example (3a). On the other hand, we also find sentences that abound in superlatives, some bordering on the formulaic, for Example (3b).

(3) a. Sir, I'm gone; I shall disturb you no further; your *most* humble servant, sir. (ARCHER 1680otwa_d2b)
b. Our will indeed of all things is *most* our own; the only gift, the *most* proper sacrifice we have to offer; which therefore God doth chiefly desire, doth *most* highly prize, doth *most* kindly accept from us. (ARCHER 16xxbarr_h2b)

Row 4 (WDT) says that *wh*-determiners were overused. They include relative pronouns, which were more frequent partly because of more complex sentence structure, and partly because reduced relative clauses were less frequent.

(4) Wherefore in overcoming our will the stress lieth; this is that impregnable fortress, *which* everlastingly doth hold out against all the batteries of reason and of grace; *which* no force of persuasion, no allurement of favour, no discouragement of terror can reduce: this puny, this impotent thing it is, *which* grappleth with Omnipotency, and often in a manner baffleth it. (ARCHER 16xxbarr_h2b)

Row 5 (:), colons and semicolons, is also due to more complex and longer sentences, as Example (4) illustrated, or equally Example (5).

(5) With thy Fantastics hence; here is no place Longer for them or thee; Entheus alone Must do Jove's bidding now: all else be gone. (ARCHER 1613camp_d1b)

Row 6 (PDT) shows that pre-determiners like *all the* and *such a* were used more. While it is not obvious why they should have decreased in frequency, independent sources, in particular Google N-gram viewer, also confirm the fact that a reduction by up to two thirds has taken place since 1700, as Figure 5 shows. Only relatively few of the hits, for Example (6), involve uses that are not observable in PDE.

(6) "O Lord our Governor, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth!" (ARCHER 17xxwesl_h4b)

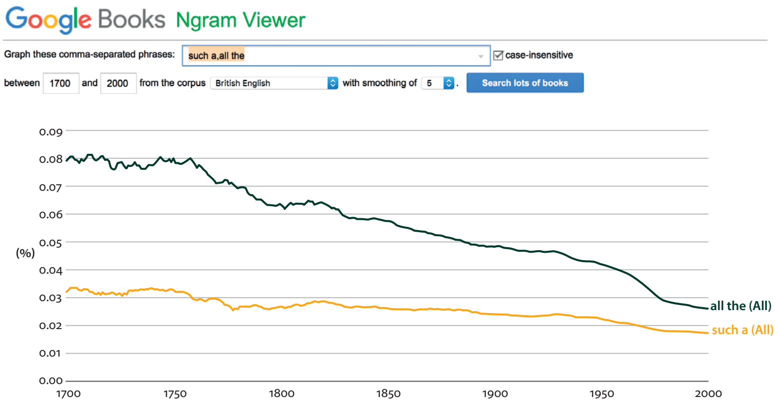

Figure 5. Development of *all the* and *such a* according to Google N-gram

Row 7 (RPR$), possessive pronouns, is partly more frequent due to titles and address forms, as in Example (7).

(7) And if *your highness* please to hear the entrance Into their first acquaintance, you will say – (ARCHER 1628ford_d1b)

Row 8 (,) refers to commas. Sentence structure and length were considerably more complex in the early ARCHER period than in PDE. Fries (2010: 31) reports a decrease in sentence length in the ZEN corpus from 42 words per sentence in 1661 down to 29 words per sentence in 1791, while PDE figures (from the BNC) are about 21 words per sentence. An example of a long sentence is given in (8).

(8) The ship, the Amerantha, had never yett bin att sea, and therfore the more daungerous to adventure in her first voyage; butt she was well built, a fayre ship, of a good burden, and had mounted in her forty pieces of brasse cannon, two of them demy cannon, and she was well manned, and of good force and strength for warre: she was a good sayler, and would turne and tacke about well; she held 100 persons of Whitelocke's followers, and most of his baggage, besides her own marriners, about 200. (ARCHER 1654whit_j2b)

Row 9 (VB) states that the verb *be* in the infinitive was more frequent. On the one hand, the subjunctive form of *be* (Skevis 2014) is found frequently, as in the following examples.

(9) a. This *be* the sentence. (ARCHER 1608tour_d1b)
b. and I think this *be* the fairest woman in the company (ARCHER 1636anon_d1b)
c. if your grace *be* jealous I can remove (ARCHER 1641shir_d1b)

On the other hand, the majority of verb tags are more frequent in the Early ARCHER period (see rows 1, 2, 10, 11, 18). A major reason for this will only become evident when we look at the latest ARCHER period, in which nouns have become more frequent. Language has moved from a more verbal to a more nominal orientation.

Row 10 (MD), modal verbs, both points to generally higher verb frequency and shows that the modal verb system has changed, from full modal verbs to a much higher frequency of semi-modals in PDE. Particularly the modal verb *shall* is retreating.

(10) He is not so sure he *shall* die, as that he *shall* be restored.
(ARCHER 1608hall_p1b)

Row 11 (VHN), *have* in its past participle form *had*, also points to generally higher verb frequency; but in addition, we suspect that the clash between *have* as auxiliary and main verb may have been less acutely perceived by writers of the early periods, either because *horror aequi* was less pronounced or because *have* still enjoyed a stronger status as full verb.

(11) I thank thee though I *have had* but small encouragement from Widows yet I'll have one fling more but who comes here? (ARCHER 1693powe_d2b)

Row 12 (CC), coordinating conjunctions, points to longer sentence structures, but also highlights the paratactic, narrative, "rambling" style which PDE speakers find surprising when reading ModE texts, as in (12).

(12) Livingstone being administering, *and* took my sacramt upon the renovation of my personal covt with God on the terms as it stands written *and* signed, *and* promised *and* vowed in the Lord's strength to beg grace to morn for leaving my first lov, *and* to repent *and* doe my first works, *and* be more diligent *and* faithful in duties then ever I have been.
(ARCHER 1659hay-_y2b)

Row 13 (JJS), adjectives in the superlative, can be explained in terms similar to row 3 (adverb superlatives). On the one hand, there are a number of fixed expressions with adverb superlatives that were more frequent in early ARCHER, such as *for the most part*, for Example (13a). On the other hand, we also find sentences that abound in superlatives, which may semantically seem naïve to us, as in (13b).

(13) a. For Art is for the *most part*, irregular and disorders men's understandings more then it rectifies them and leads them into a Labyrinth whence they'll never get out and makes them dull and unfit for useful employments. (ARCHER 1666cav2_f2b)

b. For the *best* countries, which yield the *best* wheat and the *best* wool, yield also the *best* honey. (ARCHER 1634butl_p1b)

Row 14 (LS), list item, turns out to be a false positive, based on a pre-processing error.

Row 15 (NNPS), proper noun in the plural, is largely a false positive, based on tagging errors. VARD does not attempt to correct capitalization. Unknown words which are capitalized are given a strong statistical preference to be proper nouns by default in the algorithm of the Treetagger. While this leads to reliable results on present-day texts, the frequent capitalized common nouns result in many errors in historical texts. This is one of the few cases where normalisation does not lead to reliable results for our data-driven approach. An example showing the incorrect POS tags is given in (14).

(14) You know there is no disease more dangerous than that of the mind the physicians have no Receipt_NNP nor *Apothecaries_NNPS* any drug that may avail to heal it. (ARCHER 1629anon_p1b)

Row 16 (IN/that) refers to subordinating conjunctions, which are more frequent in early ARCHER due to more complex sentence structure. This feature is also highly genre-dependent, with the legal genre showing nearly twice as many instances as fiction.

(15) … and though *that* all these statutes concern one thing only, and for *that* to some intent may be said to be special, yet they are all general laws, and so he concluded *that* judgement shall be given for the defendant. (ARCHER 1610chal_l1b)

Row 17 (FW), foreign words, shows the stronger influence of Latin, and partly also Greek and French, in the Early period.

(16) Nor can I well understand what Julius Palmarius (*de morbis Contagiosi*) means by the third Paroxism of an Hydrophobia before which he would have his never failing Antidote to be given which our dispensatory calls *pulvis Antilissus*. (ARCHER 1683list_m2b)

Row 18 (WP), *wh*-pronouns in questions and relative phrases, indicates higher sentence complexity in the early period.

(17) If those words in that mournful accent she pronounced them were capable to move the most indifferent Spectators *who* now began to plead for her, I leave you to judge *what* deep impressions they made in me. (ARCHER 1664bult_f2b)

A further reason why relative pronouns are more frequent is that reduced relative clauses were increasing only in the late ARCHER periods, and increasingly replace many of the full relative clauses (Hundt et al. 2012).

Let us now turn to those POS tags which are used more frequently in the 20th century part of ARCHER (PDE) than in the 17th and 18th centuries (Modern English). The results are given in Table 4, again sorted by decreasing O/E value.

Table 4. Overused POS tags in the most recent ARCHER century (1900–1999)

#	TAG	F(early)	F(late)	E	O/E(early)	O/E(late)	Example	Comment
1	UH	1328	2933	2130.5	0.6233	1.3767	wow!	spoken-like
2	)	1769	3557	2663	0.6643	1.3357	)	scientific
3	(	1763	3450	2606.5	0.6764	1.3236	(	scientific
4	SENT	56682	87462	72072	0.7865	1.2135	.	shorter sentences
5	RP	4342	6657	5499.5	0.7895	1.2105	give up	verbal particle
6	VVZ	8104	12262	10183	0.7958	1.2042	eats	not 'eateth'
7	EX	1673	2414	2043.5	0.8187	1.1813	there	Existentials
8	VVG	13439	18984	16211.5	0.8290	1.1710	eating	progressive forms
9	CD	15743	21588	18665.5	0.8434	1.1566	123	scientific
10	NNS	43817	54589	49203	0.8905	1.1095	houses	nouny
11	VBN	2337	2825	2581	0.9055	1.0945	been	perfect
12	NN	147474	176123	161798.5	0.9115	1.0885	house	noun compounds
13	VVP	11873	14058	12965.5	0.9157	1.0843	eat	?
14	VBZ	11156	13180	12168	0.9168	1.0832	is	progressive forms
15	VHZ	2608	3043	2825.5	0.9230	1.0770	has	perfect
16	POS	716	826	771	0.9287	1.0713	\'s	Saxon Genitive
17	JJ	71367	77695	74531	0.9575	1.0425	big	nouny

Row 1 (UH), interjections, shows that interjections are used 1.37 times more often in the latest ARCHER century, which indicates vernacularisation. Not surprisingly, most interjections come from the genres *drama* and *fiction*, some from *letters* and *sermons*.

Rows 2 (closing bracket) and 3 (opening bracket) show the rapid increase of bracketing for appositions and scientific references.

Row 4 (SENT), full stop, is more frequent as sentence length has decreased considerably, as we have discussed in row 8 of Table 2 and Example (8).

Row 5 (RP), adverbial particle, is a typical feature of spoken language. Its increase can also be seen as an indication of written language becoming more spoken-like in certain respects. Example (18) shows one of the rare sentences with four occurrences of adverbial particles.

(18) Dougie picked *up* his two kids and we set *up* to interview them – also finally worked *out* how to get the images off the quicktake without resorting to getting the manual *out* from the depths of the car. (ARCHER 1996pope_j8b)

Row 6 (VVZ), verbs in 3rd person singular present tense is partly a false positive. As the spelling normalisation did not correct all instances of verbs ending in *-th* to *-s* endings in the early ARCHER period, VBZ has low recall and thus reports too few instances. Due to the verbal context, about a third of the verbs ending in *-th* are incorrectly tagged as verb in the present tense (VVP) or base form (VV) instead as 3rd person verb. Example (20) shows a sentence containing a correctly normalised and an unnormalised and incorrectly tagged instance.

(19) He <normalised orig="breaketh" auto="true">*breaks_VVZ*</normalised> the bow, and *cutteth_VV* the spear in sunder. (ARCHER 1793prie_h4b)

Row 7 (EX), existential *there*, has increased in frequency. Breivik (1990) argues that *there* becomes more and more common from Old English onwards. According to Jenset (2010) *there* is fully symbolic, i.e. locative, deictic and increasingly turns into an indexical, i.e. empty, existential construction in Middle English. While he argues that “the mean probability of existential there has changed very little since the 16th century” (Jenset 2010: 291), the fact that the frequency has further increased in ARCHER indicates that grammaticalisation is still ongoing. The fixation process is continuing, as the contraction into *there’s* and recent rise of *there+is* followed by plural noun indicate. Sentence (20) is an example of a fully symbolic use, while sentences (21) and (22) show instances of *there+is* plus plural noun, both from the genre Drama, which aims to represent spoken style.

(20) We left our encampment about 3 o’clock P. M. and marched about 100 rods in front and *there encamped* at night. (ARCHER 1779gore_j4a)

(21) you know how it is sometimes when *there ’s* all *those men* together and. (ARCHER 1960_vidl_d8a)

(22) *There ’s* always been enough *dictators* to ease its misery. (ARCHER 1969bond_d8b)

Rows 8 (VVG), full verbs in the *-ing* form, and 14 (VBZ), verb *be* in 3rd person singular present, indicate an increase in the use of the progressive form. According to López-Couso, Aarts and Méndez-Naya (2012) this is one of the big statistical changes between Modern English and PDE.

One of the few categorical changes, the rise of the progressive passive, also contributes to the increase in progressive forms. 50 of the 64 found passive progressives, for example sentence (23), come from the 20th century.

(23) This approach *is_VBZ still_RB being_VBG evolved_VBN* and carries a much higher mortality (13,14) than the Mustard for simple TGA but may prove useful for more complex transposition situations.
(ARCHER 1985smit_m8b)

Row 9 (CD), cardinal digit, shows the increased use of numbers, not only but most markedly in the scientific domain.

Rows 10 (NNS), common nouns in the plural, and 12 (NN) common nouns in the singular, demonstrate that language is turning more noun-oriented. In particular, it mirrors one of the numerically strongest changes of the 20th century: an enormous increase in noun compounds (Leech et al. 2009). Sentence (24) contains one of the longest compound nouns in the entire ARCHER corpus, consisting of four nouns.

(24) The *pore pressure dissipation phase* was generally completed in times of 1 min or less and the settlement thereafter could be described by a creep model. (ARCHER 1997krin_s8a)

Rows 11 (VBN) and 15 (VHZ) in combination illustrate the undisputed general increase of the present perfect. According to Elsness (1997), the present perfect increases over the centuries but decreases slightly again from the late 18th century on. Hundt and Smith (2009) show that the differences in the LOB family of corpora, comparing the 1960s to 1990, are not significant. They rather observe a stabilization and decreasing variability between the genres.

Row 13 (VVP), verbs in the present, suggests an increase. This is unexpected, as the majority of other full verb tags decrease in the late period (VVD, VVN), stay nearly equal (VVD) or can be explained as partly false positives, as in the case of VVZ in row 6. Comparing the tags expressing present tense among the full verbs (VVP, VVZ) to past tense (VVD, VVN) reveals the unexpected result that the early period has relatively more past tense verbs than the latest period. The ratio, i.e. (f(VVD)+f(VVN)) / (f(VVP)+(f(VVZ)) decreases from 3.1 to 2.1. Also counting non-finite forms (VV) as present tense, based on the insight that 3rd person present tense verbs ending on *-th* are sometimes tagged as VV (see row 6), does not alter the general picture: (f(VVD)+f(VVN)) / (f(VVP)+(f(VVZ)+f(VV)) decreases from 1.1 to 0.94. The difference can hardly be explained on purely linguistic grounds, since the choice of present or past tense is hardly ever in the envelope of variation (Labov 1969). Does it potentially mirror cultural changes, a slight move from a more history-oriented to a more present-oriented society, or is it merely a chance of text selection? More research will be needed.

Row 16 (POS), possessive marker, indicates an increase in the use and widening functions of the Saxon genitive. This increase has been widely investigated, and is in line with previous studies, for example Röthlisberger and Schneider (2013), and Rosenbach (2014).

Row 17 (JJ), adjectives, is also an indication of language turning more noun-oriented. Particularly technical terms are often composed of adjectives and nouns.

(25) _ (1977) performed consolidation tests on laboratory specimens of *saturated_JJ milled_JJ municipal_JJ waste_NN materials_NNS*, consisting mostly of shredded paper of sizes up to 1–2 inches.
(ARCHER 1997krin_s8a)

8. Conclusions

We have compared a rule-based system with trainable weights to character-based SMT. The rule-based system (VARD) reaches the best accuracy, up to 94% precision at 74% recall, while the SMT system improves each tested period and is fully language-independent. We have tested different settings, and observed typical mistakes. As the two approaches are considerably different, they make different types of mistakes. We have thus combined several settings and both approaches in an ensemble system using majority voting, thereby obtaining the best system. As both approaches normalise words in isolation, we have added a language sequence model using collocation strength. The language sequence model improves the quality of the individual systems, but no clear improvement on the ensemble system could be observed, probably as a result of a ceiling effect. We also show that re-training VARD on specific time-periods and domains leads to improved results. Finally, we have illustrated an application for the normalised ARCHER corpus: data-driven historical linguistics, showing that normalisation is beneficial, although remaining normalisation errors add a small level of noise (e.g. proper names in Table 2, row 15), which demands a careful and detailed interpretation of the results. The careful application of data-driven approaches, however, opens up entirely new perspectives in historical linguistics.

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PART IV

Pragmatics and discourse

A far from simple matter revisited

The ongoing grammaticalization of *far from*

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In Present-day English *far from* belongs to a class of constructions (*close to, near to, next to*) which have undergone grammaticalization and/or constructionalization. The present corpus-based, diachronic study shows that the development of *far from* appears to be a clear case of grammaticalization, with quite significant changes in the Late Modern English period, including the extension of the downtoner to attributive contexts and the development of the emphasizer function. More importantly, the claim that "a well-known trajectory" (Méndez-Naya 2008a: 215) is from degree adjunct to degree modifier is not borne out in this case. What we see here is a change from degree modifier to degree adjunct, a change consistent with Athanasiadou's (2007) argument for an increase in subjectivity from degree modifier to emphasizer.

1. Introduction

In Present-day English (PDE), *far from* exhibits a range of syntactic structures and functions. In addition to serving as an adverbial construction denoting physical distance (1), it may function as a downtoner (degree modifier) (2a), as a degree adverb (adjunct) (2b), and as a pragmatic marker (2c):

(1) this information is transmitted to the office, which is *far from the village*. (2017 *Human Organization; The Corpus of Contemporary American English* [COCA])

(2) a. But the future of this abundance is *far from certain*. (2002 *Smithsonian*; COCA)

b. The optimistic picture that Mr. Stassen painted for us *far from exists*. (1957 *Time; The Corpus of Historical American English* [COHA])

c. She wasn't perfect. *Far from it*. (2009 Cabot, *Paper Roses*; COCA)

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This paper is a corpus-based study of the development of *far from*. It argues that the structures exemplified in (2) result from an internal process of change, namely, grammaticalization, which has been ongoing since Old English but which became more elaborate and varied in the Late Modern English (LModE) period. A synchronic analysis of *far from* in PDE is presented in Section 2. It sets out the three main uses of *far from* and reports on the synchronic analysis of the degree modifier/adjunct use proposed in the literature. A diachronic analysis of *far from* is presented in Section 3. We set the groundwork by discussing the development of degree modifiers in general before turning to a presentation of the historical corpus data on the rise of *far from*. Section 3.4 proposes a scenario for the grammaticalization of the form; here LModE proves to be a crucial stage in the full grammaticalization of *far from*. Section 4 summarizes the paper, contrasting the development of *far from* with previously proposed pathways for the development of degree modifiers.

2. *Far from* in Present-day English

Far from occurs in three primary functions in PDE:

– *far* is an adverb, with *from* X as its complement;
– *far from* serves as a (unified) downtoner or degree modifier of an adjective, adverb, preposition, or verb; and
– *far from it* functions as pragmatic marker.

2.1 Adverbial *far* + *from* X

In its basic, or lexical, use as an adverb, *far* may take a prepositional phrase (PP) complement with *from* (*Oxford English Dictionary* [Proffitt 2000–; OED]: s.v. *far,* adv., def. 1a). The object of *from* is a noun phrase (NP) with concrete (3) or abstract (4) meaning; *from* NP may occur in the predicate of a sentence (3a, 4) or, especially when negative, postpositive to the noun it modifies (3b).

(3) a. At hotels, ask for a room that doesn't face the street and is *far from the elevators and ice machine*. (2012 *Shape*; COCA)
b. The original spa and resort site, not *far from the current casino*. (2015 *New York Times*; COCA)

(4) a. research finds that pay is *far from the biggest source* of job satisfaction. (2012 *Money*; COCA)
b. Not a lot of people choose it, but it is *far from the craziness* of Hollywood. (2010 *Town and Country*; COCA)

The object of *from* is frequently a gerund, accompanied by its complement, as in (5). These constructions typically occur in the predicate of sentence, as the complement of BE.

(5) a. He is *far from being a thug*. He is a very, very educated young man. (2014 *Denver Post*; COCA)
b. My voice some nights is *far from being perfect*. (2004 CNN_King; COCA)
c. We are *far from having standardized its grammatical and syntactical rules*. (1997 *Academic Questions*; COCA)
d. The story on this movie is *far from being written*. (2013 *New York Times*; COCA)

The most common gerund is *being*; in COCA, 44 percent (1169/2666) of the gerund complements of *far from* are *being* (searched 15 February 2018). Moreover, of a sample of 100 instances of *far from being*, 43 percent have a simple adjectival or (past) participial complement (not followed by a noun). This structure is important in leading to the reanalysis of *far from* as a downtoner, as will be discussed in Section 3.4.

The construction *(so) far* $_{\text{ADV}}$ *from* + gerund (or NP) may also serve as an independent adverbial adjunct (not as a predicate complement):[1]

(6) a. *Far from being a quiet solitary activity*, this study found that children's computer play is vibrant and interactive. (2012 *Education*; COCA)
b. The idea was that fascism, *far from being defeated in 1945*, simply went underground. (2013 *Journal of Popular Culture*; COCA)
c. Yet, *so far from this being the case*, the artist was never more at his ease. (2011 Aspinall, *Mr. Chorley on M. Liszt in London*; COCA)

The construction[2] is used "when something is denied or something opposite asserted" (OED: s.v. *far,* adv., def. 1d) or "to describe something that is almost the opposite of something else" (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's*: s.v. *far*, adv.). Burchfield (1996: 284) notes that it was first recorded in the 17th century and is still current (without *so*).[3]

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1. Fowler (1965: 188–189) notes this as a "curious idiom" but "established" and sees it as a mixed construction, perhaps more acceptable if *so* is omitted.

2. For a more detailed discussion, see De Smet (n.d.). In addition to this construction, which De Smet calls a 'contrastive construction', he distinguishes a 'correlative construction' (BE *so far from* V-*ing … that*) and an 'emphatic negative construction' (BE *far from* V-*ing*).

3. Data from COHA show a decrease of sentence-initial *so far from -ing* after 1900, with an increase of the form without *so* in the 20th century.

2.2 Downtoner/degree modifier: *Far from*

More often than serving as a complex adverbial construction, *far from* functions as a downtoner or degree modifier preceding an adjective (7), an adverb (8), a preposition (9), and occasionally a pronoun, predeterminer, or numeral (10):

(7) a. a victory in the October pumpkin challenges would be *far from certain*. (2011 *Smithsonian*; COCA)
b. and he's become *a far from reliable Western client* in recent years. (2014 *Christian Science Monitor*; COCA)

(8) a. the personal data in the databases of marketers and advertisers is *far from completely* accurate. (2012 *PC World*; COCA)
b. It also, *far from incidentally*, points toward the sort of redemption that characters like Fenstemaker can achieve. (2005 *Washington Monthly*; COCA)

(9) a. he's *far from out of* the fight. (2015 Robinson, *Mirror World*; COCA)
b. Juliana may have been done with Doctor Uwaydah, but he was *far from over* her. (2014 CBS; COCA)

(10) a. We don't have enough food to buy and, of course, *far from everybody* would like to celebrate on this day. (1991 PBS_Newshour; COCA)
b. Some, but *far from all*, Caldwell lighting fixtures are stamped with a "C" in a diamond. (1998 *Magazine Antiques*; COCA)
c. we have been *far from 100* percent consistent on routine procedures. (2009 *Washington Post*; COCA)

As a downtoner (see Stoffel 1901), *far from* serves to minimize or diminish the quality expressed by the word it modifies. In Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification, it would be a 'downtoner ~ minimizer' (like *scarcely, hardly,* or *barely*) which scales downward from a norm and means '(not) to any extent'; it may serve as a "partial denial" (1985: 445, 597, 599). In Paradis's (1997) schema, it would be an 'attenuator ~ diminisher' serving to lower the force of the words it applies to, preferably combining with scalar adjectives of neutral or negative character (1997: 89, 90).

In its downtoner function, *far from* has been compared to such forms as *near(er) to, next to, close to/on, apart from,* and *distant from,* but also to *sort of* and *kind of* (Kajita 1977: 51; Akimoto 2001: 8–9; Liberman 2006 [2003]) modifying adjectives (11a) and verbs (11b).[4]

4. Liberman's informal survey of these forms finds that older speakers tend to reject all but *sort of* and *kind of,* while younger speakers accept *far from* and *close to* as well. On downtoner *near/next to*, see Brinton (2018).

(11) a. Eliminating leaks is *near to* impossible. (1994 *Washington Post*; COCA)
As *close to* perfect as a human can get.
(2009 Frank, *Forever Dorian*; COCA)
b. its three European teams are *close to* breaking even financially;
(1991 *USA Today*; COCA)
It *near to* took your head off as it is.
(1997 Frazier, *Cold Mountain*; COCA)

The use of *far from* as a verb modifier is very rare in standard corpora:

(12) a. The impermanence of many of Goldsworthy's works is at the heart of his art; he *far from objects* to it. (1990 *Christian Science Monitor*; COCA)
b. But she *far from destroyed* the material, as standing ovations greeted a selection from her "Between the Lines" classic album, …
(quoted in Inoue 2010)
c. It *far from exhausts* even all the relevant considerations, but our aim is not to examine any one parenthetical verb exhaustively;
(1952 J. O. Urmson, Parenthetical verbs, *Mind*, p. 489; cf. Kajita 1977)

Liberman (2006 [2003]) considers this usage "syntactically odd", capable of "no plausible syntactic analysis". In response, Beaver (2003) points out that a Google search of "they far from" yields 481 examples, of which 50% are the relevant construction; from this he estimates that the frequency is about 1/10 million. He argues that the reanalysis Liberman sees as incipient is in fact well advanced.[5]

Whether *far from* modifying a verb is correctly analyzed as a downtoner, or whether it should be interpreted as a (negative) emphasizer like *really* (see Quirk et al. 1985: 447) adding to force, not degree, is discussed below (see Section 3.4).

2.3 Pragmatic marker: *Far from it/that*

The independent use of *far from it/that* is commented upon online and in learner's dictionaries, where it is said to be "used for saying that what was just said is not all true, and that the opposite is probably true" (*Macmillan Dictionary*: s.v. "far from it"):

(13) a. It was not a security detail or a police escort. *Far from it*.
(2014 *Washington Post*; COCA)
b. It's not that California has no seafood industry. *Far from it*.
(2010 *San Francisco Chronicle*; COCA)
c. Chase was no slouch when it came to lovemaking, *far from it*.
(2017 Edsen, *Beyond Your Touch*; COCA)

5. We believe that Beaver overestimates the number of relevant examples. We did not find anything close to 50% of the examples collected by googling "they far from" to be relevant.

The OED (s.v. *far*, adv., def. 1d) describes this usage as "interjectional". We suggest that it is better understood as a pragmatic (or discourse) marker. It does not function as an expression of emotion nor otherwise fall into any of the recognized types of interjections;[6] rather, it is analogous to the class of forms Fraser identifies as discourse markers that "signal a relation between the discourse segment which hosts them and the prior discourse segment" (2009: 296).[7] Specifically, it falls within Fraser's category of 'contrastive discourse marker', e.g. *on the contrary, even so, however* (2009: 300). Since these pragmatic markers are making a contrast to the discourse that precedes, they often refer anaphorically back to this discourse, as shown by the examples cited by Fraser: *despite this/that, in spite of this/that, in contrast to this/that, instead of this/that, rather than do this/that, regardless of this/that*.

2.4 Synchronic analysis

Kajita (1977: 49–51; see summary in McCawley 1988: 731–735) describes the downtoner usage (e.g. *These people are far from innocent*) as a case of "syntactico-semantic discrepancy" or "head-nonhead conflict" which leads to the reanalysis (or rebracketing) of *far from* as an adverbial phrase, with reversal of the head-nonhead relationship: i.e. *far* as semantic head is replaced by *innocent* as semantic head. Further evidence of the reinterpretation, he says, is its occurrence in preverbal position (e.g. *It far from exhausts the relevant consideration*).[8]

In all synchronic accounts, downtoner *far from* is understood as deriving from the structure with a gerund complement. Kajita (1977: 49–50; see McCawley 1988: 732) sees "suppression" of the gerund as occurring, such that *Those people are far from being innocent* leads to *Those people are far from innocent*, with *far from* reinterpreted as an adverbial modifier of the head *innocent*. According to Liberman (2006 [2003]), *far from fulfils* involves "structural re-analysis" of *be far from fulfilling* with subsequent "lexicalization" of the adjective[9] + preposition sequence as a type of adverb or "pseudo-adverb".

6. While the delimitation of interjections is difficult, we subscribe to the classification of Ameka (1992: 113–114), who identifies three types of interjections: expressive, indicative of speaker's mental state, either emotional (*yuk, ouch*) or cognitive (*aha, oh)*, conative, directed at auditor (*psst, eh*), and phatic (*mhm, uh-huh*).

7. Unlike prototypical pragmatic markers, which are attached to a host clause, *far from it* is usually (but not always; see 13c) an independent utterance.

8. In contrast, van Riemsdijk (2001: 25–28) sees *far from* as being 'demoted' from head and 'grafted' onto the syntactic structure as a modifier of the noun.

9. Kajita (1977), Akimoto (2001), and Liberman (2006 [2003]) all consider *far* as an adjective in the *far from* construction; we follow the OED in interpreting it as an adverb.

3. Historical development of *far from*

The history of degree adverbs in English is receiving increasing attention in the literature (see, e.g., Nevalainen & Rissanen 2001; Traugott 2006, 2008; Méndez-Naya 2008b; Rissanen 2008; Claridge & Kytö 2014a, 2014b), but the history of *far from* and its cohorts has been overlooked, with rare exceptions (Akimoto 2001; De Smet 2012; see also Van Goethem et al. 2018 and De Smet et al. 2018 on the Dutch cognate *ver(re) van* 'far from').[10]

3.1 The development of degree adverbs

An early study by Peters (1994) identifies five sources of degree adverbs, including local dimensional adverbs (e.g. *highly, extremely*), as is the case here. He sees such adverbs as developing by "scale transfer" – a special case of metaphorical meaning change – from position on one kind of scale (e.g. quantitative scale) to position on another kind of scale (i.e. degree intensification).

A "well-known trajectory" (Méndez-Naya 2008a) for development for downtoners is the following:

> (manner or spatial) adjunct > degree adjunct > degree modifier (downtoner)

Such a developmental path is argued for in the case of *downright* (Méndez-Naya 2008b), *rather* (Rissanen 2008), *pretty* and *fairly* (Nevalainen & Rissanen 2001) (see also Claridge & Kytö 2014a, 2014b). For example, according to Méndez-Naya (2008b), *downright* arises from a spatial adjunct meaning 'straight down'. It progresses to a degree adjunct meaning 'out-and-out, absolutely' modifying verbs, especially verbs meaning 'strike', 'blow', 'beat', 'cut', etc. Finally, it becomes a modifier of scalar adjectives/adverbs meaning 'completely, extremely' serving as a degree adverb, or 'maximizer' (e.g. *downright rude*). Nevalainen and Rissanen (2001) understand *fairly* as developing as follows:

> manner adjunct (derived from the adjective): *fairly inscribed on a label* >
> "subjunct" (emphasizer/amplifier): *we will fairly make 'em this offer* >
> degree modifier: *they were all fairly well.*

In the emphasizer function, in which *fairly* modifies a verb, as in *She fairly screamed at him, fairly* serves to reinforce the truth value of a clause or part of

10. In Dutch, the adjective/adverb combination of *ver(re) van* became differentiated, with *verre van* grammaticalizing as the degree modifier and *ver van* reserved for spatial distance (see Van Goethem et al. 2018: 197–199).

a clause (2001: 361); it is seen as an intermediary step between manner adjunct and degree modifier.

In contrast, Traugott (2008), in a study of the downtoners *a sort of, a lot of,* and *a shred of,* sees a different pathway of development. Following a change from a pre-partitive to a partitive sense, *sort of* proceeds in the following sequence:

> degree modifier (downtoner): *a sort of a gentleman* >
> degree adverb: *sort of bewildered, sort o' stirs*[11] >
> free adjunct: *being old friends, sort of.*

Importantly, here the degree modifier use precedes the degree adverb and free adjunct uses, whereas Méndez-Naya (2008b) and Nevalainen and Rissanen (2001) see the degree modifier as arising from the degree adjunct.[12] According to Traugott (2008: 234), this is a clear case of grammaticalization, involving free > constrained position, concrete > abstract meaning, rebracketing and reversal of headship, functional shift to grammatical modifier, host class expansion (concrete to abstract heads), syntactic expansion (from pre-adjectival to pre-verbal to free adjunct), semantic-pragmatic expansion (from approximator to degree modifier), layering, and renewal of already extant categories.

The semantic-pragmatic development of degree modifiers involves 'subjectification', in which "meanings are recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs" (Traugott 2010: 35). The sources of degree modifiers are adjectives of dimension, quantity, quality, etc., which have objective, concrete, and often measurable meaning. Degree adverbs, in contrast, involve the speaker's "assessment and evaluation of intensity, position on a scale, ordering of alternatives, etc." (Traugott 2006: 343). The change from non-subjective to subjective meaning in degree (and focus) modifiers is summarized by Athasasiadou (2007: 557):

> [degree modifiers] involve the speaker's assessment and evaluation of intensity … [t]hey derive from less subjective meaning and thereby exhibit the widely-attested semantic extension achieved by subjectivity. These less subjective meanings have their sources in adjectives of dimension, of quantity, of quality, … Then, as modifiers they place the entities they apply to on a scale of subjectively assessed intensity.

11. While Traugott (2008: 299) does not clearly distinguish between 'degree modifier' and 'degree adverb', she notes the earlier occurrence of the degree modifier usage.

12. The terminology used is not entirely consistent. Méndez-Naya (2008b) refers to the use of *downright* in front of a verb as a 'degree adjunct'. Nevalainen and Rissanen (2001) call this same usage 'subjunct' (emphasizer/amplifier), while Traugott (2008) seems to see the use before a verb as an extension of the degree modifier use, with 'degree adjunct' reserved for the independent use (e.g. *Yes, sort of*).

Athanasiadou (2007) argues for a progression of subjectification involving a movement from adjective/adverb to degree modifier to 'emphasizer'. The first step involves a change from quantification to intensification, e.g. from *a perfect wreck*, where *perfect* expresses a position on a quantificational scale (from a bit of a wreck to an absolute wreck), to *a perfectly spoken language* or *make a position perfectly clear*, where *perfectly* is confined to the notion of scaling and hence functioning as a degree modifier, expressing "nothing but the notion of degree" (2007: 560). The second step involves a change from intensification to emphasis. Emphasizers do not express degree but "are only used either to express a high degree of certainty or speaker commitment or to express a certain degree of reserve of low speaker commitment" (2007: 551) (e.g. *We understand, don't we? Oh, absolutely*).

3.2 History of *far from*

We turn now to the history of *far from*. Akimoto's (2001) study sets the groundwork for our work, but his conclusions are based on a small data set, consisting of the OED database and a small corpus of English novels (c. 60,000 words). He focuses on the "idiomaticization" of *far from*, which he sees as motivated by the expansion of the complement types (from concrete to abstract nouns and to increasingly less noun-like forms). Basing his study on COHA, De Smet (2012) is primarily concerned with articulating the "actualization pathway" of *far from*, i.e. with explaining the late appearance of *far from* in attributive position as the result of the novelty of this position and its greatest distant from the locus of reanalysis.

Because of the low frequency of *far from,* our study involved searches of a wide variety of English historical corpora, including the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC), *Early English Books Online* (EEBO; 1470s–1690s), the *Corpus of English Dialogues* (CED; 1560–1760), *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER; 1600–1999), *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET3.0; 1710–1920), the *Old Bailey Corpus* (OBC; 1720–1913), the *Hansard Corpus* (Hansard; 1803–2005), COHA (1810–2009), *The Corpus of English Novels* (CEN; 1881–1922), and *English Drama* (late 13th to early 20th century), as well as the quotation databases of the OED and *Middle English Dictionary* (MED; Kurath & Kuhn 1952–2001). In addition to amassing a large data set, our study is also concerned with explaining all the steps in the development of *far from*.

Adverbial *far* complemented by *from* NP is attested already in Old and Middle English, with both literal (14a–b) and metaphorical meaning (see 14c):

(14) a. he sæde him, ne art þu *feorr fram Godes rice.*
(OE Gospels; Mark 12.34; DOEC)
'he said to him, you are not far from the kingdom of God'

b. Hire [hawks'] mewis mosten be *fer from smoky* [L fumosis] *places*.
(a1398 *Trev. *Barth.* (Add 27944) 143a/b; MED)
'Their hawks' mews must be far from smoky places'

c. They be next to the profites and *fer from the losses*, and sonner wold cheese to forsake thaire naturell lord for to kepe and encreece thaire richesses than to suffre losse.
(c1475 *Chartier Quad. (1)* (UC 85) 183/18; MED)
'They are close to profits and far from losses and sooner would choose to forsake their natural lord to keep and increase their riches than to suffer losses'

Far from begins to take a gerund complement in the 16th century (cf. Akimoto 2001: 3–4). As De Smet (2012: 611) notes, this structure must always be interpreted as metaphorical (cf. also Akimoto 2001: 5) and hence "lies at the basis of the subsequent downtoner use of *far from* meaning 'not at all'".

(15) a. To moue thy myndes/ i truely were full lothe to gyue good cousaile is *far from beyng* wrothe.
(1521 Barclay, *The Boke of Codrus and Mynalcas*; EEBO)

b. yea he was so *far from writing* that he had not a woord to saye or a thought to thinke. (1576 Pettie, *A Petite Palace of Pettie*; EEBO)

c. we are rauished with delight to see a faire woman, and yet are *far from being* moued to laughter: (1595 Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie*; EEBO)

d. chrysostom was *far from thinking* christ was iustlie hanged.
(1599 Bilson, *The Effect of Certaine Sermons*; EEBO)

As is the case in PDE, *being* is the most common gerund; 34 percent (5421/15830) of the gerund complements of *far from* in EEBO are *being(e)/beyng/beeing*. Moreover, in a sample of 100 instances of *far from being*, the complement is a simple adjective (ADJ) or past participle (PART) 54 percent of the time.

The construction *(so) far* $_{\mathrm{ADV}}$ *from* + gerund (or NP) begins to appear in the 17th century as an independent adverbial adjunct, no longer functioning as the complement of BE:

(16) a. our souldiers flye from the assailants, who with moderation use their victory: *so far from drawing blood*, th' abstaine from spoyle.
(1640 Habington, *The Queene of Arragon*; EEBO)

b. insomuch that the whole, *far from reforming misusages*, tended only to foment Scandal. (1669 Porrée, *A History of Antient Ceremonies*; EEBO)

c. But he, *so far from taking good advice*, replied.
(1720 Pittis, *The Jamaica Lady*; ARCHER)
d. My uncle Harlowe, it seems, *far from disapproving of what his brother said*, declared … (1748 Richardson, *Clarissa*; CLMET3.0)

The earliest downtoner uses of *far from* appear in the 16th century; these become increasingly common in the 17th century.[13] The first syntactic context in which they may occur is in the position preceding an adjective in either predicative or postnominal position, but not attributive position:

(17) a. the butterflie repeteth thargument before made: in his grose termes, not *fer from full*: (1556 Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie*; EEBO)
b. Far, *far from bold*, for thou hast known me long Almost theis twentie yeares, and halfe those yeares Hast bin my bedfellow.
(1606 Chapman, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight*; EEBO)
c. the ordinarie gouernment of the ROMANS was *far from barbarous*.
(1624 Bolton, *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie Depraued*; EEBO)
d. those things, which are so agreeable and gratefull to our reasonable nature, commandments *far from grievous*, a gracious yoke, as well as a light burthen. (1660 Hammond, *Charis Dai Eirene*; EBBO)
e. that witchcraft was a sin *far from venial*.
(1689 Mather, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts*; EEBO)

De Smet (2012: 614) shows that this use increases over the 19th century in the COHA data. He sees the use of the downtoner *far from* first in predicative position as a "logical first step" in its grammaticalization, as the context is "closest to the locus of reanalysis (a copular construction with a gerundial nominalization as subject complement…)", as in his example "He was … far from being insensible of those joys …" (618). The use of *far from* in postnominal position (as in *a sin far from venial* [17e]) "reflects a similarity relation to the original use of *far from*" (618). We note that in this context the syntactic reanalysis of *far from* is indeterminate, and thus this serves as a bridging context for grammaticalization. *Far* may be analyzed either as the head of the postmodifying phrase with the *from* prepositional phrase as complement (NP [far [from ADJ]]) or reanalysis may have occurred, with *far from* analyzed as modifier of the adjectival head (NP [[far from] ADJ]).

We have found no comparably early examples of downtoner *far from* modifying an adjective in attributive position. An unusually early example is given in the OED (18a) from the mid-18th century, whereas other early instances date

13. Akimoto (2001: 3–4) finds examples of *far from* + ADJ as early as the 17th century, but shows them as becoming common only in the 19th century. According to De Smet (n.d.), the downtoner use shows a "dramatic gain" in frequency between roughly 1650 and 1750.

from the mid-19th century (18b–d). De Smet (2012: 614) dates the first such uses in COHA after 1850.

(18) a. A pit in my chin has *a far from disagreeable effect*
(1749 J. Cleland, *Mem. Woman of Pleasure* I. 38; OED)

b. and as he entertained *the far from gratifying conviction* that those words, however few, would prove unacceptable
(1836 House of Commons 25 July; Hansard)

c. to *the far from amicable state* of our relations with China:
(1841 House of Commons 12 May; Hansard)

d. the integrity of the narrative of which they do form a part and which after all is *a far from unimportant piece* in the mechanism of the novel.
(1876 *Galaxy*; COHA)

e. and reinforcing *the far from sanguine temperament* of one.
(1886 Pater, *Essays from The Guardian*; CLMET3.0)

f. Left entirely to his own devices in *a far from moral city*, many a lad falls …
(1890 Conan Doyle, *The Firm of Girdlestone*; CEN)

In this context, *far from* can be analyzed only as an adverbial modifier of the adjectival head and is thus fully grammaticalized as a downtoner. De Smet (2012: 614–615) suggests that the use of *far from* modifying a post-nominal adjective (as in 17d–e) "may have been employed to compensate for the low acceptability of *far from* with attributive adjectives",[14] but a more obvious explanation may be that *far from* in the pre-nominal position is a more grammaticalized form than that found in the post-nominal position, and thus would be expected to appear later.

De Smet argues that it is the "novelty" of *far from* following a determiner (DET) that contributes to its late appearance. Evidence for this he finds in the fact that *far from* occurs more often (than expected) with the second or later adjective following *and*, a context that serves to "conceal its syntactically innovative character, in this case by avoiding immediate consecution of a determiner and *far from*" (2012: 619). While plausible, this argument is based on a small sample of 29 examples from COHA. In our view, if the conjoined structure contributes to grammaticalization of *far from*, we would expect to find earlier examples of conjoined rather than non-conjoined forms. We have found no conjoined examples (19) which predate the earliest non-conjoined examples (18), and thus

14. In COHA, *far from* modifying a post-nominal adjective peaks in the period 1850–69 and then falls off as *far from* modifying an attributive adjective gains ground (De Smet 2012: 615, Figure 4).

do not find convincing evidence for the importance of the conjoined context for grammaticalization.[15]

(19) a. a formal manifesto; in which short, but very distinct *and far from flattering sketches* were given of the characters of the prominent applicants: (1830 *North American Review*; COHA)

b. The very remarkable *and far from exhilarating sounds*. (1842 Dickens, *American notes*; <https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/dickens/>)

The use of downtoner *far from* as an adverbial modifier (20) follows shortly after its use as an adjectival modifier in predicative position (shown above in (17)):

(20) a. making hell to be in the center of the earth, it is *far from infinitely* large, or deep; yet, on my conscience, where ere it be. (1656 Cowley, *Poems*; EEBO)

b. wherein i am *far from confidently* affirming, all his particular movements from place to place. (1699 Gipps, *Tentamen Novum Continuatum*; EEBO)

c. It is self-evident that the duty in this case is so *far from necessarily* implying the right. (1817 *The Federalist*; COHA)

d. To the Hotel de Castille, where I passed a month *far from disagreeably*. (1824 Fox, *The Journal of the Hon. Henry Edward Fox*; ARCHER)

Downtoner *far from* as a modifier of a (lexicalized) prepositional phrase, on the other hand, dates from the late nineteenth century:

(21) a. Nay, not always so. Just now I am *far from at peace*. (1886 Gissing, *Demos*; CEN)

b. I need not tell you that my mind was *far from at ease*. (1892 Conan Doyle, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*; CEN)

c. she knew well enough that she was *far from out of danger*. (1932 Anderson, *Beyond Desire*; COHA)

The use of *far from* as a verb modifier – which is perhaps better understood as an emphasizer rather than downtoner – makes a very late appearance. Standard corpora provide examples from the early twentieth century (22b–d), though we found one example in Google Books dating from the mid-nineteenth century (22a):[16]

15. A reviewer notes that plural nouns often occur without determiners and thus might provide a motivating context for the attributive use of *far from*. We do not, however, find early or frequent examples of this construction. For instance, the earliest example in COHA dates from 1852: *it will be, doubtless, remembered by many with* ***far from*** *pleasant feelings* (Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*).

16. De Smet (2012: 615) claims to have found one example of *far from* preceding a present tense verb in the 19th century in COHA. We could not replicate this finding.

(22) a. it must be admitted that they *far from agreed*, even at the present day, as regards their history.
(1842 Lambotte, *Remarks on the Globules of Blood*; <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1365-2818.1842.tb06288.x/abstract>)

b. He very *far from kissed* the hand; he held it just long enough to turn me around into the light and give me one long looking-over from head to feet. (1912 Daviess, *The Melting of Molly*; COHA)

c. With a more than average percentage of liberal minds on its faculty, and with a man of uncommon quality at its head, it *far from deserves* to be cited as a horrible example.
(1923 Dunbar, *Women at Man-made Colleges*; COHA)

d. Britain and Britons I *far from excoriate*, I deeply admire their Poet Laureate. (1931 O. Nash, *Free Wheeling* 57; OED)

The early example (22a) coincides with the use of *far from* in perfect constructions. While it might be postulated that the verbal modifiers arrive via the perfect (where *far from* modifies a past participle), this form is extremely rare, with only two 19th century examples in COHA:

(23) a. his literary labors, for which previous education … *had far from qualified* him. (1847 Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*; COHA)

b. and he *had far from made* up his mind what to say in this
(1884 Eggleston, *Queer Stories for Boys and Girls*; COHA)

De Smet (2012: 614) considers, and rejects, the possibility that the source of *far from* + V may be passive structures, noting that the past participles modified by *far from* are typically adjectival in nature. While we find early examples of true passives with *being* + past participle (24a) or *having been* + past participle (24b) with an agentive *by*-phrase, examples of simple passives are very late and rare (24c–d) and thus the passive seems an unlikely source:

(24) a. Callimachus obstinate in his fond conceit, was so *far from being perswaded by* this old Hermit. (1580 Lyly, *Euphues and his England*; EEBO)

b. A thing *so far from having been denyed* at any times *by* His Majesty.
(1648 *The Kings most Gracious Messages for Peace*; EEBO)

c. Gregson and Lestrade seemed to be *far from satisfied by* this assurance.
(1888 Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet*; CEN)

d. and this balance is *far from rectified by* the movement of the precious metals. (1900 *The Atlantic Monthly*; COHA)

Finally, the pragmatic marker *far from it* makes its appearance in the 17th century:[17]

(25) a. ivs# i meane a child of the horne-thumb, a babe of booty, boy; a cutpurse. moo. # o lord, sir! *far from it*: this is master dan. (1631 Jonson, *Bartholmew Fayre*; EEBO)

b. A hater of thy person, a maligner? *So far from that*, I bought no malice with me. (1647 Fletcher, *The Pilgrim*; ED)

c. No, Monsieur, *far from it*; you cou'd not oblige us, nor your Country any other way than by disowning it. (1673 Wycherley, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*; ED)

d. Mr. Manly. He has no *felo de se*. Haz. *Very far from it*. Mr. Man. The Man talks riddles. (1675 Anon., *The Mistaken Husband*; ED)

e. Queen … Are you not Marry'd, said you! Dian. *So far from that*, his Person I've not seen in twelve long Months. (1682 Banks, *Vertue Betray'd*; ED)

f. No really; *far from it*. You tell me fine Stories. (1694 Boyer, *The Compleat French-Master*; CED)

3.3 Timeline

A summary of the dates for the appearance of the various forms of *far from* is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Timeline for the appearance of forms of *far from* in the history of English

Adverb ***far* + *from* X**	**Degree modifier** ***far from* + ADJ/ADV/PP/V**	**Pragmatic marker** ***far from it***
far from + NP (concrete/abstract) OE/ME		
BE *far from* + gerund 16th c.		
adverbial clause: *(so) far from* + gerund 17th c.	BE *far from* ADJ/PART early 17th c.	*far from it/that* 17th c.
	(DET) *far from* ADJ N (mid 18th)/mid 19th c.	
	BE *far from* PP late 19th c	
	far from V (mid 19th) early 20th c.	

17. Akimoto (2001: 3) finds one example of *far from it* in the 17th century and one in the 18th century.

3.4 Proposed development

Both Akimoto (2001) and De Smet (2012) see the development of *far from* as a case of grammaticalization, but they propose somewhat different pathways of development. De Smet (2012: 615) suggests an "actualization pathway" for *far from* as follows: Pred.A > Postn.A > Attrib.A > V(?).[18] Note that De Smet expresses doubts about the derivation of the verbal modifier (p.c.). Akimoto (2001: 8) describes changes in the complement structure of *far from*: N (concrete) > N (abstract) > *-ing* gerund > *being* (NP/Adj/PastPart) > Adj/PastPart. For Akimoto, when *far from* takes a noun or gerund complement, *far* is still adjectival, but when *far from* begins to take an adjective or past participle – which he dates to the 19th century – it becomes an 'intensifier' (5). Akimoto further notes that the intensifier sense 'not at all' denotes "an emotional attitude of the speaker" and is hence subjective in nature, while *far from it* expresses anaphoric/textual meaning (5–6).

We propose five stages in the development of *far from*:

Stage I: *Far*$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*from* NP]

Here *far* is an adverb complemented by a *from* prepositional phrase. The object of *from* may be either a concrete or an abstract noun; in the latter case (found already in Middle English), *far* expresses metaphorical distance.

Stage II: BE *far*$_{\text{ADV}}$ [*from* gerund]

Far remains adverbial at this stage, but the *from* prepositional complement begins – in the 16th century – to occur with gerund objects. The most common gerund is *being*, which over 50 percent of the time is itself complemented by a simple adjective or participle, rather than an NP. The gerund complement of *being* forces a metaphorical reading (Akimoto 2001; De Smet 2012). The syntactic structure [*far from being* ADJ/PART] sets the stage for the grammaticalization of *far from* as a downtoner (in Stage III).

The use of *so far from* + gerund as an adverbial adjunct expressing a denial or asserting opposition is roughly contemporaneous. We can understand this usage as developing by simple ellipsis of a pronominal subject and the verb BE, as shown in the following:

(26) While I thus spoke, your Father calmly look'd on me with an Air of Compassion, ~~he was~~ *far from being provok'd*;
(1699 Fénelon [trans.], *The Adventures of Telmachus*; EEBO)

18. The shorthand here must presumably be read as follows: *far from* occurs first as an adverb modifying (a) an adjective in predicative position, then (b) an adjective occurring postnominally, then (c) an adjective in attributive position, and finally (d) a verb.

Note that in the 17th century, *far from* + gerund invariably either follows BE or serves this adverbial function.[19]

The pragmatic marker use of *far from it/that*, which also appears in the 17th century, is most likely a development from the adverbial usage, as it is semantically and pragmatically similar,[20] though syntactically independent. It may imply a greater degree of subjectivity and force (as evidenced in PDE, for example, by distinctive prosody).[21]

Stage III: BE [*far from*] ADJ/PART

The downtoner, or degree modifier, use of *far from* develops via grammaticalization in the early 17th century. As suggested by synchronic analyses (see Section 2.4), the source of the downtoner is predicative *far from* followed by *being*, with *being* complemented by an adjective or participle (the most common syntactic context at Stage II). Ellipsis of *being* and rebracketing or reanalysis of the originally complex relational expression leads to the downtoner, with coalescence and loss of compositionality of *far from*, as shown:

BE [*far* [*from* [being + ADJ/PART]]]	were [far [from [being barbarous]]]
BE [[*far from*] ADJ/PART]	were [[far from] barbarous]

The negative meaning of *far from* denoting "remoteness" or "distance" is semanticized in the degree meaning of 'not to any extent'.

The syntactic context in which grammaticalization of the downtoner occurs explains its first appearance in predicate or postnominal position (e.g. *a sin far from venial* < *a sin which is far from venial*). It also explains its rapid extension to the position before an adverb, which also appears in the predicate of the sentence; the earliest examples of these (e.g. *is far from infinitely large* < *is far from large*) occur in the mid-17th century. The late appearance before prepositional phrases (e.g. *is far from at peace*) in the 19th century is most likely explained by the fact that lexicalization of these prepositional phrases as adjectives is itself a fairly recent phenomenon.[22]

19. Even in PDE, a verb other than BE is extremely rare before *far from* + gerund. Of 268 instances of V + *far from* + gerund in COCA, 242 (90%) are BE; most of the remaining verbs are other copulas (*seem, look, remain, appear, happen*).

20. *(So) far from* + gerund and *far from it* are treated in the same definition in the OED (s.v. *far*, adv., def. 1d).

21. Interestingly, Dutch *verre van* in the usage can occur without a complement, a fact that Van Goethem et al. (2018: 200) argue is a sign of more advanced grammaticalization of the Dutch form.

22. This topic requires further investigation.

Stage IV: DET *far from* ADJ N

The use of the downtoner as a modifier of an attributive adjective can be dated to the mid-19th century (with one earlier mid-18th century example). The expansion of the downtoner to this context represents host-class expansion and further grammaticalization of the form. However, its late appearance (up to two centuries after the use of the downtoner in predicative position) is obviously a puzzle. De Smet (2012) explains this delay by the "novelty" or "conspicuousness" of this syntactic context (following DET), given the origin of the downtoner use (as explained above) in the predicative or postnominal position. As De Smet argues, the spread of a construction (actualization) is driven by analogy: "the locus of reanalysis is likely to be an important determinant of the actualization trajectory" and a "reanalyzed item will extend from one environment to another on the basis of similarity relations between environments" (608). In De Smet's view, then, this context is very far from the original context of reanalysis and hence not strongly motivated by analogy. While we are not in the position to dispute De Smet's argument entirely, we question some of the evidence he adduces, such as the preference of attributive *far from* for conjoined structures.

Stage V: *Far from* V

The degree adjunct use of *far from* as a modifier of the verb is the newest use of the construction, exhibiting further host-class expansion and ongoing grammaticalization. This usage may arise as early as the mid-19th century, though most examples date from the early 20th century onwards. Even in contemporary corpora, these forms are very poorly represented, if at all, though internet examples are quite common:

(27) a. We *far from nailed* it. <https://www.checkupnewsroom.com/going-media-free-part-4/>

b. they *far from reflect* all the work that has been done. <https://www.linguee.com/english-spanish/translation/they+are+far+from.html>

c. Greasy foods and beer may comfort us until they *far from do* any longer. <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/our-reality-far-from-temporary-nancy-steidl>

d. they *far from represent* the whole of John Paul's ethical beliefs. <http://democracyuprising.com/2005/04/04/john-paul-iis-economic-ethics/>

e. We *far from understand* the power of the ancient gods of Heaven and Earth (2013 Carroll, *The Third Path*; <https://books.google.ca/books?isbn=1897435983>

f. But *far from 'kill'*[23] the radio star, social media has done exactly the opposite, it has made people stars
<https://www.blueclaw.co.uk/2013/09/19/social-media-and-the-musical-revolution-does-the-money-add-up/>

g. We *far from made* a good scale recovery on the audit
(2001 Beattie et al. *Behind Closed Doors*; <https://books.google.ca/books?isbn=0230599419>

This usage does not seem to derive from *far from* before past participles in perfect or passive constructions, as these are rare and/or late. Rather, it seems to represent the extension of downtoner *far from* to an entirely new syntactic context, possibly with a new function/meaning. That is, while downtoner *far from* must always modify a scalar adjective, it would appear that the verb modified, though frequently a matter of degree (*understand, comfort, reflect*), does not always denote a state or action that lends itself to comparison (*kiss, kill, make*). Thus, *far from* seems to serve as an emphasizer expressing a high degree of certainty 'not at all', not as a downtoner.[24]

4. Conclusions

The Late Modern English period is witness to two important changes in *far from* indicative of its ongoing grammaticalization: the extension of the degree modifier (downtoner) *far from* from its predicative and postnominal position to the position in front of attributive adjectives (e.g. *a far from disagreeable effect*) and the use of *far from* as a degree adjunct or emphasizer preverbally (e.g. *far from agreed, far from kissed*). Studies of a number of downtoners in the history of English by Nevalainen & Rissanen (2001), Méndez-Naya (2008b), and Rissanen (2008) appear to bear evidence to a "a well-known trajectory" (Méndez-Naya 2008a: 215) from adjunct to degree adjunct to degree modifier, but *far from* does not follow

23. As noted by a reviewer, the occurrence of *far from* in the context before an infinitive here (as opposed to before a finite verb) represents further host class expansion and grammaticalization.

24. A construction that we have not had space to discuss in this paper is "very far from". *Very* occurs as an intensifier modifying *far from* (*very far from scandalous* 1687 [EEBO]) and in the independent degree adjunct use (*very far from it* 1675 [EEBO]) in the 17th century. But its appearance in attributive position is recent (*the very far from fussy* 1950 [COHA]). De Smet (2012: 620) considers this to be a 'hybrid' use in which *far from* functions as a downtoner while at the same time *far* is an adjective intensified by *very*. "This shows that the old analysis of *far from* still exerts a comparatively strong pull on the downtoner uses, which may have hindered actualization."

this trajectory. Its development is more in line with the pattern observed by Traugott (2008) for *sort of* in which the degree modifier predates the degree adjunct. That is, *far from* as a downtoner modifying adjectives, participles, and adverbs is the first step, followed by its further grammaticalization as a modifier of the verb, where its function is more properly understood as an emphasizer. This progression is entirely consistent with Athanasiadou's (2007) stepwise development – quantification > intensification and intensification > emphasis – showing increasing subjectivity. Unlike the cases discussed by Traugott (2008), however, the 'free adjunct' use – or what we see as the pragmatic marker use – is not a direct development from the degree adjunct use. Rather it is an offshoot of the adverbial use of the *far from* + gerund construction. It is the *far from* + gerund construction (especially with the most common gerund, *being* – which lends itself to ellipsis – with its participial or adjectival complement) which is crucial for the reanalysis of *far from* as a downtoner.

Questions concerning the development of *far from* remain, especially related to its very late appearance as emphasizer modifying the verb. Future studies of related markers of locative distance/proximity that have been (partially) grammaticalized as downtoners, such as *near(er) to, next to, close to/on,* and *distant from*, might shed light on these outstanding questions and contribute to our understanding of grammaticalization processes, especially in the Late Modern English period.

Corpora

ARCHER = *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers 3.2*. 1990–1993/2002/2007/2010/2013. Originally compiled under the supervision of Douglas Biber (Northern Arizona University) and Edward Finegan (University of Southern California); currently managed by a consortium of participants at fourteen universities. See <http://www.projects.alc.manchester.ac.uk/archer/>

CED = *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*. 2006. Compiled under the supervision of Merja Kytö (Uppsala University) and Jonathan Culpeper (Lancaster University). Available through the Oxford Text Archive. See <http://www.engelska.uu.se/forskning/engelska-spraket/elektroniska-resurser/a-corpus>

CEN = *The Corpus of English Novels*. Compiled by Hendrik De Smet. See <https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/cen.htm>

CLMET3.0 = *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, Version 3.0* (CLMET3.0). Created by Hendrik De Smet, Hans-Jürgen Diller & Jukka Tyrkkö. See <https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/clmet3_0.htm>

COCA = *The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 560 Million Words, 1990 – present*. 2008–. Compiled by Mark Davies. Available online at <https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>

COHA = *The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 Million Words, 1810–2009*. 2010–. Compiled by Mark Davies. Available online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>

DOEC = *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*. 2011. Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin & Xin Xiang (eds). Toronto: University of Toronto. See <https://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html>

ED = *English Drama*. 1996–2014. John Barnard et al. (eds). Chadwyck-Healey Ltd. (ProQuest Company). See <http://www.proquest.com/products-services/databases/english_drama.html>

EEBO = *Early English Books Online*. 2017. Compiled by Mark Davies. Part of the SAMUELS project. Available online at <https://corpus.byu.edu/eebo/>

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Hansard = *Hansard Corpus 1803–2005*. 2015–. Marc Alexander & Mark Davies (comps.). Available online at <http://www.hansard-corpus.org>

OBC = *Old Bailey Corpus, Version 2.0*. 2013. Compiled by Magnus Huber, Magnus Nissel & Karen Puga. See <hdl:11858/00-246C-0000-0023-8CFB-2>

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What it means to describe speech

Pragmatic variation and change in speech descriptors in Late Modern English

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This article explores the form, frequency, and function of "speech descriptors" (such as *softly* in *"It matters little," she said, softly*; CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839) in Late Modern English. Drawing on the narrative fiction category in the CLMET3.0 corpus, I show the rise of speech descriptors across the period, their linguistic characteristics, and their various pragmatic functions. Most descriptors are evaluative in that they indicate the narrator's or author's assessment of how the speech was delivered. Often, the usage is connected with characterization, demonstrating the evaluation of the original speaker in addition to the speech. I also stress the importance of approaching speech descriptors using variationist principles rather than word normalization.

1. Introduction

This article is concerned with the resources language users employ to represent what someone else has said. Such speech representation is a complex undertaking. Language users make decisions (consciously or subconsciously) about what to represent, and the form of the representation is adapted accordingly. In (1), the writer signals that speech representation is taking place with the help of the reporting expression *he said*, and the speech is in what is called Direct speech, purporting to represent the speech as it was actually delivered by the original speaker (see Section 3).

(1) "Oh, Aldous seems to like her very much," he said *despondently*.
(CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

Both the range of reporting expressions used and the modes of representation have received considerable attention in previous research (see, e.g., Semino & Short 2004 and references therein). What has attracted much less attention are features

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beyond these two aspects, such as the adverb *despondently* in (1), which broadly speaking describes the manner in which the speech was delivered. These "speech descriptors" are significant in that they describe aspects of the speech that cannot otherwise be easily represented in writing, as in the indication of the strength of voice in (2). They are also important in that they can show the speech reporter's assessment of a speaker's intentions or state of mind, as *despondently* appears to do in (1). In other words, they provide metalinguistic commentary on the nature of the speech (and, by extension, on the alleged characteristics of the speaker).

(2) "It matters little," she said, *softly*.
(CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839)

This article is concerned with these speech descriptors. More specifically, it aims to survey the form, frequency, and function of speech descriptors in Late Modern English, and changes in their make-up over time. Drawing on the CLMET3.0 corpus, I focus on narrative fiction in this initial survey of the phenomenon in Late Modern English. A secondary aim is methodological: my previous studies of this phenomenon in Early Modern English (Grund 2017, 2018) have shown wide variation among individual texts in their employment of speech descriptors. This variation may partly be an artifact of how we gauge the relative frequency of speech descriptors: per number of words or per number of speech representation instances. I explore that question in this article, and some of the methodological decisions for this study will thus be guided by this concern. Overall, the study demonstrates that speech descriptors are optional, highly strategic tools that are used to convey a range of characteristics of the speech constructed by writers of fiction or characteristics attributed to the speaker who delivered the speech. While it remains uncertain whether there is a clear line of development of these features over the period considered, the study contributes to the relatively neglected field of historical pragmatic study and pragmatic change in Late Modern English (Lewis 2012: 911).

Before the discussion of the results in Section 4, I provide some grounding in previous research on speech representation (Section 2) and a discussion of material and methodology (Section 3), which is particularly important for this study in light of its secondary, methodological aim.

2. Previous research

Speech representation plays a significant role in language use. Scholarship on present-day English has shown the varied and sophisticated means that language users employ to represent other speakers' voices in a broad range of spoken and written contexts (among many others, Tannen 1989; Baynham & Slembrouck

1999; Semino & Short 2004; Holt & Clift 2007). Research on speech representation in the history of English has seen an uptick in the past few years, but it is still lagging behind present-day studies in terms of the contexts and aspects investigated (e.g., Camiciotti 2007; McIntyre & Walker 2011; Moore 2011; Jucker & Berger 2014; Lutzky 2015; Claridge 2017; Evans 2017; Walker & Grund 2017; for an overview, see Grund & Walker forthcoming). In Late Modern English, linguistic research appears to have been restricted more or less to use in literary texts (e.g., San Segundo 2016; Busse forthcoming).

Research on what I have called "speech descriptors" is minimal, as far as I have been able to ascertain, and mainly involves brief comments in passing (see Brown 1990: Chapter 6; Oostdijk 1990: 239; de Haan 1996: 36–37; Lippman et al. 2005; San Segundo 2016: 117). In her study of gendered aspects of speech representation in the *Harry Potter* series, Eberhardt (2017: 239–241) includes a discussion on speech descriptors under the heading "verbal modification." While the discussion is brief, Eberhardt (2017: 239) shows that these features are relatively frequent, used in about a third of the Direct speech representations she considers.

Speech descriptors are clearly not obligatory in speech representation, but studying them can give us insights into various aspects of language use. Eberhardt (2017) shows how they can signal implicit gender stereotypes. My studies of the phenomenon in Early Modern English witness depositions and prose fiction (Grund 2017, 2018) highlight how they fulfill a range of genre-specific and genre-crossing pragmatic functions. In particular, I have argued that they are part of a larger system of stance, or a language user's assessment, attitude, and feelings, an area that continues to see broad interest in research on both present-day and historical English (among many others, Biber et al. 1999; Hunston & Thompson 2000; Biber 2004; Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009; Busse 2010; Gray, Biber & Hiltunen 2011; Chaemsaithong 2012). Indeed, these markers help us see not only how a speech reporter evaluates a particular speech event, but also their attitude towards the original speaker, a crucial aspect of stance, as Du Bois (2007) argues. I will show that this holds true for Late Modern English narrative fiction as well, but, as with the early modern prose fiction that I studied in Grund (2018), *whose* stance a given speech descriptor signals is a complex issue.

With its focus on fiction texts and its reliance on corpus linguistic principles, the article also joins the growing body of research in corpus stylistics (see, e.g., Semino & Short 2004; Mahlberg 2013). The main goal of this article is not to elucidate the linguistic usage in particular literary texts and connect it to how we interpret and appreciate the texts, a core goal of corpus stylistics (Mahlberg 2013: 5). However, in order to understand the dynamics of speech descriptors in this genre, we need to look at what authors (and narrators) do with these resources, globally as well as locally, which involves exploring issues of characterization and theme.

Indeed, working with stance necessitates considering such core stylistic concerns (see, especially, Section 4.3).

3. Material and methodology

My material comes from A Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET3.0). This corpus "is a principled collection of public domain texts drawn from various online archiving projects," consisting of ca. 34 million words of English English text and covering the period 1710 to 1920 (<https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/>; see also De Smet 2005).[1] Six genres are represented: narrative fiction, narrative non-fiction, drama, letters, treatises, and "other"; most texts appear to be represented in full. As a first step, I have focused on the narrative fiction category, which amounts to about 16 million words.

Speech descriptors present a challenge for corpus-based approaches. They appear in a variety of forms and thus cannot be searched for comprehensively with lexical searches. Additionally, speech representation is extremely common in the fictional texts, which made using the full corpus unfeasible. Rather, I chose three texts from each of the three subperiods of the corpus, shown in Table 1, amounting to about 830,000 words. The texts were selected in order to represent well-known as well as less well-known works, by male and female authors.

Table 1. Narrative fiction texts selected from CLMET3.0

Period	Title	Author	Word count
1(1710–1780)	*The History of Lady Julia Mandeville*	Frances Brooke*	62,486
1(1710–1780)	*Dorando*	James Boswell	6,203
1 (1710–1780)	*The Voyages, Dangerous Adventures and Imminent Escapes* […]	William Rufus Chetwood	78,816
2 (1780–1850)	*Pride and Prejudice*	Jane Austen	123,888
2 (1780–1850)	*A Christmas Carol in Prose*	Charles Dickens	28,518
2 (1780–1850)	*Wuthering Heights*	Emily Brontë	117,848
3 (1850–1920)	*The Caged Lion*	Charlotte Mary Yonge	108,609
3 (1850–1920)	*Clara Hopgood*	Mark Rutherford (aka William Hale White)	50,160
3 (1850–1920)	*Marcella*	Mrs Humphry Ward (aka Mary Augusta Ward)	249,624
Total			**826,152**

*CLMET3.0 mistakenly records Henry Brooke as the author.

1. I am grateful to Hendrik de Smet for allowing me access to CLMET3.0.

To make the study manageable even in a corpus of this size and to enable me to explore my second, methodological aim, I investigated all speech representations initiated by a form of the verb SAY, which is the most common reporting expression in this sub-corpus. The forms were identified by creating a word list with the help of WordSmith 6, which was manually checked. All in all, there are 4602 instances of SAY in various forms (attested as *say, says, said, saying, sayin*). Non-verbal as well as unclear and ambiguous uses were manually removed. I pared that number down further by focusing on Direct, Indirect, and Free Indirect speech contexts. Direct and Indirect Speech, as exemplified in (3) and (4), were by far the most common (the former being more frequent than the latter), with only a handful of clear Free Indirect examples. I excluded other types of representations, such as Narrator's representation of voice, in (5), where the dynamics of speech descriptors are different, as I have shown in Grund (2017, 2018).

(3) "And so ended his affection," said Elizabeth *impatiently*.
(CLMET3.0, *Pride and Prejudice*, Period 2: 1813)

(4) Bob Cratchit said, and *calmly* too, that he regarded it as the greatest success achieved by Mrs. Cratchit since their marriage.
(CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839)

(5) Every word she *said* lay absolutely within her sphere as a nurse.
(CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

The Direct speech in (3) purports to represent the previous speech event faithfully, in a fictional sense, since this speech is ultimately an author's construction. The representation is enclosed in quotation marks, and the deictics are those of the original speaker (Semino & Short 2004: 10–12). The Indirect speech in (4) provides more of a summary in the reporter's words, focusing on capturing the content rather than the exact form of the original speech. It is usually written from the perspective of the reporter, in the third person, and in the past tense (Semino & Short 2004: 10–12). In (5), we get only a sense that speech happened, but we see no specifics about the form or content (Semino & Short 2004: 69–73). The interplay of the mode of speech representation and speech descriptors will not be discussed further in this study, and it hence conflates the figures for Direct, Indirect, and Free Indirect Speech. But the interplay does deserve further attention in the future. This delimitation led to a final dataset of 3636 examples.

This study is what Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 19) have referred to as function-to-form mapping in diachronic pragmatics. My work starts from a functional question ("what features describe the delivery of a speech event?") and attempts to find forms that fulfill that function. Of course, on one level, the study does start out with form, that is, different forms of the verb SAY. However, the distinction here from form-to-function approaches is that I do not study the functions of the forms of SAY; rather, in this study, the verb forms are a vehicle for more easily collecting and narrowing down the dataset to be able to ask the function-to-form question.

The procedure adopted was mostly straightforward, but there are also forms that are related to speech descriptors but which perform slightly different functions (as in (6)), and unclear and ambiguous features also occur (as in (7)).

(6) […] and turning to Rodomontado, said *with a very sly look*, ?"What say you to it, my old Trojan? Will you be tossed from the tower of Toledo now?"
(CLMET3.0, *Dorando*, Period 1: 1767)

(7) Aldous hesitated and laughed. "I have certainly no reason to suspect him of principles. His conscience as a boy was of pretty elastic stuff."
"You may be unfair to him," said Hallin, *quickly*.
(CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

With a very sly look in (6), for example, describes a concomitant action, but not the speech itself. Such examples were excluded. *Quickly* in (7), on the other hand, is ambiguous. If *quickly* describes the way the speech was delivered (i.e., 'in a quick way'), then it is relevant. However, if *quickly* relates to how the speaker delivered the speech in relation to the previous speech (which is likely here), that is, 'quickly following the previous speech, he said,' then it describes the context of the speech rather than the speech itself. Unless the context could determine the status of the usage, examples of this kind were excluded from consideration.

4. Results

4.1 Overall results and text dispersion

In Grund (2017, 2018), I collected all examples of speech descriptors, for all representation modes and for all reporting expressions, not only instances of SAY in Direct, Indirect, and Free Indirect speech contexts, as in the present study. Considering the large number of examples in the earlier studies, it was not feasible there to collect all instances of speech representation in all texts where speech descriptors did not but could have occurred. In other words, I could not gauge whether language users had an equal number of opportunities to employ speech descriptors. I was thus forced to compare texts within and across periods in terms of speech descriptors per 10,000 words. This is of course a standard normalization procedure, but what it ignores is that speech representation may be more or less common in individual texts; that is, the texts may vary in terms of the slots where speech descriptors could occur. In (8) and (9), for example, we see the type of variation that I am concerned with. Example (8) contains the speech descriptor *gallantly*, while Example (9) includes the same kind of structure ("he said"), but no speech descriptor is used, but could arguably be used.

(8) "You alarm us, you know," he said *gallantly*, waiving her question.
(CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

(9) "I wish you didn't trouble yourself so much about it," he said.
(CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

Potentially, then, a short text with a great deal of speech representation but with few speech descriptors could still show speech descriptors to be relatively common. In this study, by including all Direct, Indirect, and Free Indirect speech representation instances of SAY, irrespective of whether they were accompanied by a speech descriptor, I wanted to gauge whether normalization per X words is misleading or whether it can be a proxy for looking at the number of speech descriptors per speech representation, which is a potentially more time-consuming procedure considering the retrieval process. The issues broached here have been brought up in other contexts of discourse-pragmatic variation, especially in the study of so-called discourse markers (see, e.g., Pichler 2013: 28–32; Waters 2016; and references in both sources; see also below).

Tables 2 and 3 illustrate the overall results and the development over time, from two perspectives: Table 2 shows normalization per 10,000 words, while Table 3 gives the variation between instances of SAY that are modified and not modified by speech descriptors.

Table 2. Overall frequencies of speech descriptors and frequencies according to period, normalization per 10,000 words (raw counts within parentheses)

Period 1 (1710–1780)	Period 2 (1780–1850)	Period 3 (1850–1920)	Total
0.34 (5)	2.89 (78)	14.72 (601)	8.28 (684)

Table 3. Overall frequencies of SAY introducing indirect, direct, and free indirect speech and frequencies according to period, examples modified by speech descriptors and not modified by speech descriptors compared

Categories	Period 1 (1710–1780)	Period 2 (1780–1850)	Period 3 (1850–1920)	Total
Modified by speech descriptors	5 (2%)	78 (8%)	601 (25%)	684 (19%)
Not modified by speech descriptors	208 (98%)	960 (92%)	1784 (75%)	2952 (81%)
Total	**213 (100%)**	**1038 (100%)**	**2385 (100%)**	**3636 (100%)**

Based on different measurements, the two tables appear to tell the same overall story: speech descriptors become increasingly more common over the three periods, with a particularly large jump between Periods 2 and 3. This would seem to suggest that either measurement may work to gauge the frequency of speech descriptors over time and across texts.

However, the picture is less straightforward than these tables indicate, especially in terms of what individual texts and authors do, and, when we take "text dispersion" into consideration, the two measurements are not always in accord. Douglas Biber (among others) has stressed that it is crucial to consider text dispersion in corpora (Gray 2013: 371–372), that is, we have to look at how much individual texts contribute to a particular linguistic pattern and what the range in frequencies might be among texts that are classified as belonging to one and the same category. In Grund (2017, 2018), I showed that individual texts varied considerably in their use of speech descriptors. At the same time, it was not obvious whether the fluctuation was due to the case explained above: namely that normalization was not nuanced enough to be able to capture how speech descriptors were deployed. In other words, the fluctuation could be an artifact of the method of measurement. The description in Table 4 attempts to get at that issue.

Table 4. Individual text frequencies, modified and non-modified uses compared and normalization per 10,000 words

Text	Modified by speech descriptor	Not modified by speech descriptor	Total	Per 10,000 words
PERIOD 1				
The history of Lady Julia	–	52 (100%)	52 (100%)	–
Dorando	1 (6%)	16 (94%)	17 (100%)	1.6
The voyages, […]	4 (3%)	140 (97%)	144 (100%)	0.5
PERIOD 2				
Pride and Prejudice	42 (11%)	346 (89%)	388 (100%)	3.4
A Christmas Carol	14 (6%)	214 (94%)	228 (100%)	4.9
Wuthering Heights	22 (5%)	400 (95%)	422 (100%)	1.9
PERIOD 3				
The Caged Lion	84 (13%)	562 (87%)	646 (100%)	7.7
Clara Hopgood	14 (7%)	182 (93%)	196 (100%)	2.8
Marcella	503 (33%)	1040 (67%)	1543 (100%)	20.2
Total	**684 (19%)**	**2952 (81%)**	**3636 (100%)**	**8.28**

Table 4 shows that text dispersion is a factor in the results, irrespective of the measure adopted. In Period 1, speech descriptors are found in between 0 and 6% of the instances of speech representation with SAY; at the same time, it should be noted that the raw frequencies are very low, since speech representation with SAY is uncommon. We see a similar "dispersed" picture in Period 2, although the raw frequencies are more robust and the percentage overall higher (5%–11%). Finally, in Period 3, we see the biggest difference among the three texts, with the extremes of *Clara Hopgood* at 7% and *Marcella* at 33%, a difference of 26 percentage points. It is clear from this picture that the overall trend is influenced by individual texts, and that the high percentage in the final period is attributable to *Marcella*. Indeed, the examples in *Marcella* represent 74% (x503) of the 684 instances in the dataset.

Another significant issue revealed by Table 4 is that the two measurements do not fully agree. The major discrepancy seems to concern three texts in particular: *Pride and Prejudice, A Christmas Carol*, and *The Caged Lion*. If we consider the relative frequency of speech descriptors per 10,000 words, *Pride and Prejudice* contains the lowest frequency (3.4), followed by *A Christmas Carol* (4.9), and *The Caged Lion* (7.7). However, the ratio of modified to unmodified speech representations with SAY tells a different story. Here, *A Christmas Carol* has the lowest frequency of speech descriptors per speech representation expression, with 6%. This is similar to *Clara Hopgood*, at 7%, whose normalized frequency is much lower at 2.8. *Pride and Prejudice* and *The Caged Lion*, on the other hand, are close, at 11% and 13%, respectively, which is much closer than the normalized scores of 3.4 and 7.7 would suggest.

The implications appear to be that the length of a text (in terms of number of words) can skew our sense of the frequency of speech descriptors. For example, in the case of *A Christmas Carol*, the relatively low number of words in this text in comparison with the number of speech representation instances appears to inflate the perceived frequency of speech descriptors when we normalize per 10,000 words. The measurement of modified vs. unmodified usage instead gives us a sense of where language users didn't but could have used a speech descriptor, that is, where they had a choice.[2] The fact that the overall results for the two measurements (presented in Tables 2 and 3) were similar would seem to be attributable to an "evening out" process, and the fact that they line up may simply

2. As a reviewer rightly points out, it is of course possible that the writer first decided to use a speech descriptor or provide a characterization more generally and then invented or used represented speech as a vehicle for this goal. This would seem less likely in the course of a longer dialogue, but it would perhaps be possible to gauge if we looked at places where speech descriptors occurred together with represented speech at the beginning of a dialogue or as one-off instances of speech representation. That has been beyond the scope of this study to pursue.

be a coincidence. The overall lesson must be that textual comparisons of speech descriptors have to use more sophisticated normalization procedures than number of words. Considering possible slots for speech descriptors as well as actual use of speech descriptors would appear to give a more methodologically and theoretically sound picture.

Of course, this approach can also be seen to be in keeping with variationist linguistic study, which stresses the importance of "accountability," i.e., "that any variable form (a member of a set of alternative ways of 'saying the same thing') should be reported with the proportion of cases in which the form did occur in the relevant environment, compared to the total number of cases in which it might have occurred" (Labov 1969: 738). Labov's principle has been extended and reworked especially in recent work on discursive and pragmatic features (for a synthesis of this scholarly discussion, see Waters 2016). This scholarship has demonstrated that the notion of "semantic equivalence" (or "saying the same thing") is too restrictive to accommodate variation in pragmatic features, and researchers have suggested other approaches (such as "functional equivalence," as adopted in my "function-to-form" mapping approach). However, although still debated, the idea of closely monitoring instances of use as well as non-use remains fundamental to work in the area (Pichler 2013: 28; Waters 2016: 43–44).

One question remains unresolved: is there a clear trend of change? The considerable text dispersion makes that question difficult to gauge, and *Marcella* in Period 3, which represents 74% of the speech descriptors, is a potential outlier. At the same time, this kind of dispersion is in line with my earlier studies of speech descriptors in Early Modern English (Grund 2017, 2018), which revealed considerable variation among individual texts of the same genre. (It should of course be remembered that my earlier studies used the kind of normalization procedures that have been shown here not to be optimal.) The picture in this study is likely a result of the pragmatic nature of the feature. I will return to these issues in 4.3.

4.2 Linguistic realizations

Given that this study focuses on speech descriptors modifying the verb SAY, it is hardly surprising that the form of the speech descriptors is rather restricted (especially compared to my earlier studies, which involved a more comprehensive inclusion of speech representation modes and expressions, as noted in 4.1.). The results for the present study are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Linguistic realization

Linguistic realization	**N (%)**
Adverb (phrase)	463 (68%)
Prepositional phrase	193 (28%)
Participle construction	20 (3%)
Other	8 (1%)
Total	**684 (100%)**

Adverb phrases predominate (as in (10)), and prepositional phrases are a distant second (as in (11)). The two remaining categories are rare: participle constructions (as in (12)) and "Other" (which includes, among others, noun phrases or absolute constructions like (13)).

(10) […] and he soon afterwards said *aloud*, "Mrs. Bennet, have you no more lanes hereabouts in which Lizzy may lose her way again to-day?"
(CLMET3.0, *Pride and Prejudice*, Period 2: 1813)

(11) 'Yes, to King Harry!' he said, *in his trumpet voice*.
(CLMET3.0, *The Caged Lion*, Period 3: 1870)

(12) "Who were you then?" said Scrooge, *raising his voice*.
(CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839)

(13) […] he said to her, *his voice hoarse with fatigue*: "Did I do your bidding, did I rouse them?" (CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

Adverb phrases and prepositional phrases rise steadily as speech descriptors become more common. Notably, 18 of the 20 participle examples and all of the "Other" examples occur in Period 3. Although this may point to an expansion of the resources used in speech description with SAY over time, *Marcella* again influences the figures significantly, representing 24 of the 28 examples. So it is uncertain whether this represents a trend or whether *Marcella*'s author is innovating.

What is striking about the adverbs and prepositional phrases is their versatility. Among the 463 examples of adverbs, there are 176 different types. Only eight adverb speech descriptors occur 10+ times: *drily* (x23), *quietly* (x23), *slowly* (x22), *eagerly* (x11), *coldly* (x10), *gravely* (x10), *kindly* (x10), and *steadily* (x10). In all, these represent 26% of the total number of adverb descriptors. Most of the instances are hapaxes (x98 types; 56% of all types) or occur twice (x33; 19% of all types). Adverb types that are found between three and nine times never exceed a total of ten each.

Prepositional phrases show an even more diverse picture with 169 different types, among the 193 examples; in other words, there are very few repeated descriptions. Of course, the definition of "type" is different for prepositional phrases than for adverb phrases. In general, there are two overarching templates for prepositional phrases: phrases with *in* and phrases with *with*. These templates create a number of types depending on the words they combine with. Examples (14)–(16) illustrate this kind of variation: from *emphasis* to *low emphasis* to *insidious emphasis*.

(14) 'I maintain,' said Clara *with emphasis*, 'that if a man declines to examine, and takes for granted what a party leader or a newspaper tells him, he has no case against the man who declines to examine, or takes for granted what the priest tells him. (CLMET3.0, *Clara Hopgood*, Period 3: 1896)

(15) "The village water-supply is a disgrace," she said *with low emphasis*. (CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

(16) "Well, there are worse things than being a fool," said Aldous, *with insidious emphasis* – "sulking, and shutting up with your best friends, for instance." (CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

I consider these three different types, but, another measurement would be to classify these as variants of one type, based on the head noun of the prepositional complement (here *emphasis*). If we do so, the number of types is still substantial: 75. As in the case of the adverbs, there is a limited number of recurring types. Only three of the 75 occur more than five times: *voice* (x47), *tone* (x29), and *emphasis* (x17). These three descriptor types represent 48% of the 193 prepositional phrase descriptors.

The overall picture, then, is that, while there is a limited number of high-frequency items, low-frequency items make up the majority of uses. This considerable, creative variation is undoubtedly related to the wide range of pragmatic functions speech descriptors perform, not only in the context of individual speech representation examples, but in the text more broadly, as we shall see in 4.3.

4.3 Speech descriptor functions

In Grund (2017), I suggested a semantic-functional framework for classifying speech descriptors. Discussing the full framework here is not productive, as the vast majority (670 or 98%) of the 684 instances fall into one category (Evaluation).[3] This is not wholly unexpected: my study of early modern prose fiction (Grund 2018) showed that some of the categories that were devised to classify data from witness

3. The remaining 2% is made up by Frequency/Quantity (e.g., *repeatedly*) and "other" (e.g., *merely*).

depositions (Grund 2017) were not relevant or of marginal significance for prose fiction. For example, Clarification descriptors (such as *meaning*) or Formulation hedges (e.g., *or words to that effect*) are very frequent in depositions since precision and (claims of) accuracy are important concepts for speech representation in legal contexts, but less so for constructed speech in fiction. Undoubtedly, the focus on one verb, SAY, and Direct, Indirect, and Free Indirect speech representation only, has also affected the results. What I will concentrate on here is laying out some of the finer details of the one category, "Evaluation," where most of the narrative fiction examples occur (as they did in prose fiction in Early Modern English; Grund 2018: 276).

As the label "Evaluation" suggests, these speech descriptors, broadly speaking, express an assessment of the manner in which a statement was made. In other words, they are part of a system of stance (see Section 2). However, within this category, we find a great deal of variation in terms of what type of evaluation the speech descriptors encode, the level of interpretive involvement by the speech reporter (whether one of the characters or the narrator/author; see below), and by extension the kind of stance these descriptors signal. Table 6 gives an overview with examples of the subcategories identified.

Table 6. Evaluation subtypes

Evaluation subtypes	Examples
Mental state	*pensively, mournfully, eagerly, testily, doggedly, impetuously, passionately, shyly*
Strength	*quietly, aloud, in a low voice, almost inaudibly*
Style of speaking	*interrogatively, mechanically, with emphasis*
Speech quality	*huskily, in a much shaken voice, with a strangled voice, in the tone of Lady Macbeth*
Intent	*scornfully, in a soothing voice, insistently*
Speed	*slowly, hurriedly, quickly*
Speech character	*recklessly, repellingly, perversely*
Length	*briefly, rather shortly*
Language variety	*in the gentlest of accents, in pretty good English, making his accent more home-like and Scottish than Malcolm had ever heard it before*
Pitch	*with a quick lift of the voice above its ordinary key, in a high, jocular voice***

**This example is coded both as Pitch (because of *high*) and Intent (because of *jocular*). Such double codings involving two different subtypes occur in twenty-five examples. This double coding is not reflected in the total of 670 instances cited earlier.

The most straightforward evaluations involve physical aspects of the speech, as in the categories of Speed, Strength, Pitch, and Speech quality. Here the speech reporter evaluates the physical production, and the level of interpretation appears (at least on the face of it) to be low. Of course, assessing whether something is said loudly, quickly, etc. involves comparisons with some kind of norm, which could differ from person to person, but there is presumably a general shared sense of what such speech production would entail.

While still seemingly anchored in the physical aspects of the speech, other descriptors signal a higher degree of interpretation on the part of the speech reporter. This is often the case with speech descriptors that involve prepositional phrases with the nouns *tone* and *voice*, as in (17) and (18).

(17) "Well, not yet," said Marcella, *in a soothing voice*; "the case isn't clear enough. Wait till they come back. […]" (CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

(18) […] it was impossible for Darcy to leave her, or to refrain from saying, *in a tone of gentleness and commiseration*, "Let me call your maid. […]" (CLMET3.0, *Pride and Prejudice*, Period 2: 1813)

In (17) and (18), the speech reporter suggests that the voice or tone carried an additional quality of "soothing" or "gentleness and commiseration." In other words, the reporter indicates that the speech was intended to have a particular effect: to sooth or offer kindness and commiseration. However, while such a conclusion may have had a basis in physical aspects of the speech, it clearly involves an interpretive leap, or, more importantly in fictional texts, insight into the original speaker's intentions and psyche that only an omniscient narrator or author can have. This is significant as we shall see below.

An even further step away from a grounding in physical aspects of the speech are descriptors that comment on the style of speaking or the language variety. Although there is no explicit connection in the descriptor, adverbs such as *mechanically* and *interrogatively* appear to center on the mechanics of the speech production or delivery, perhaps alluding to tone or intonation. Indeed, in (19), *interrogatively* is combined with a marker suggesting pitch (*with a high, long-drawn note*), emphasizing the production of a question.

(19) "Ah?" said Mrs. Jellison, *interrogatively*, with a high, long-drawn note peculiar to her. (CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

The large majority of speech descriptors, however, have no indicated basis in the speech itself. Rather, we are left uncertain about what the basis of the evaluation is. Speech descriptors such as *pensively, mournfully, eagerly, testily, doggedly, impetuously, passionately*, and *shyly* do not signal how such qualities were deduced from the speech. Indeed, it seems difficult to make such a determination on the basis of speech alone; even if the description is attributed to the speech, it appears to involve a more holistic evaluation of the delivery, including perhaps body language, facial expressions, and actions, and, even so, it is difficult to see how eagerness, passion, testiness, and other qualities can be aspects of speech, or speech alone.

This is where it becomes crucial to consider the nature of the speech representation, including the speech descriptors. In the narrative fiction texts, the representation is of course *fictional*, a result of creative construction. The evaluation expressed is thus a reflection of an author's, narrator's, and/or character's point of view, and our interpretation of the function of a given speech descriptor is dependent on the kind of author, narrator, and character we are dealing with. As I pointed out in Grund (2018: 277, 280), the author or an omniscient narrator, for example, has full knowledge of the fictional world, including the characters' mental state, intentions, and wishes. A character or a more limited, first-person narrator obviously does not operate with the same tools, and thus provides a radically different access to other speakers and speech reporters. The use of speech descriptors must therefore be viewed in the context of the narrator and the point of view expressed.

A good example of this dynamic is found in the mental state markers. These speech descriptors include a range of indirect indicators of a person's state of mind, including instances such as those in (20)–(23).

(20) 'It was not booty, Sir; they said traitors were hid here,' said Percy, *sulkily*.
(CLMET3.0, *The Caged Lion*, Period 3: 1870)

(21) "You've never been and got in Westall's way again?" she said *anxiously*.
(CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

(22) "No," said Mrs. Boyce, *reluctantly*. (CLMET3.0, *Marcella*, Period 3: 1894)

(23) 'Good-morning.' Frank stopped, and returned her greeting. 'You was here the other day, sir, asking where them Hopgoods had gone.' 'Yes,' said Frank, *eagerly*, 'do you know what has become of them?'
(CLMET3.0, *Clara Hopgood*, Period 3: 1896)

All of the descriptors in (20)–(23) are attributed to the speech. At the same time, they also provide a characterization of the speaker. If the speech is delivered in a sulky, anxious, reluctant, or eager way, that presumably means that the speaker was sulking, anxious, reluctant, or eager. For example, it is clear that Frank in (23) is eager to hear news about the Hopgoods: we get a sense of his mental state as well as a picture of how his question might have been posed, what his body language was like, and similar traits. Indeed, we get a sense of the character, whether that sense is the author's, narrator's, or another character's. In Grund (2018: 280), I suggested that in early modern fictional prose, irrespective of whose stance is revealed, that stance is projected to the reader and becomes part of the overall characterization of the text's personas. Where the nature of the narrator matters is in our assessment of how to understand the evaluation provided. With an omniscient narrator, we are likely to accept the evaluation as a true reflection of the mental state, intentions, and nature of the character delivering the speech. With a more limited, first-person narrator or with a fictional character reporting the speech, we would likely question the basis of the evaluation: how could a non-omniscient narrator know that the speaker was impetuous or shy when speaking? What does the evaluation suggest about the intentions and motivations of the *narrator*? As such, speech descriptors are not only a mechanism for speech representation, but they are part of an inventory of characterization tools employed in fictional texts and other media that help us understand characters as well as narrators (see, e.g., Culpeper 2001; Bednarek 2011; San Segundo 2016; Eberhardt 2017).

This kind of characterization can have local importance in the passage in which the speech occurs, but it can also have more global significance for portraying a character more generally and for helping to signal thematic shifts. An illustrative example comes from Dickens's *Christmas Carol*. While the speech descriptors in (24)–(26) apply locally to the scene in which they are deployed, they also emphasize the protagonist Ebenezer Scrooge's mindset at different stages of the story and his development: from a miser who indignantly curses Christmas, to someone who is starting to realize the error of his ways (reflected in his submissive tone), to, finally, a philanthropist who wholeheartedly embraces his fellow humans and the Christmas spirit. Naturally, these markers do not alone carry the functional load of conveying Scrooge's conversion, but they serve as one means for the narrator/author to convey his redemption.

(24) If I could work my will," said Scrooge *indignantly*, "every idiot who goes about with 'Merry Christmas' on his lips, should be boiled with his own pudding, and buried with a stake of holly through his heart. He should!" (CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839)

(25) The Ghost of Christmas Present rose. "Spirit," said Scrooge *submissively*, "conduct me where you will. I went forth last night on compulsion, and I learnt a lesson which is working now. To-night, if you have aught to teach me, let me profit by it." (CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839)

(26) "A merry Christmas, Bob!" said Scrooge, *with an earnestness that could not be mistaken*, as he clapped him on the back. "A merrier Christmas, Bob, my good fellow, than I have given you, for many a year! I'll raise your salary, […]" (CLMET3.0, *A Christmas Carol*, Period 2: 1839)

5. Conclusion

I have shown the outlines of the use of speech descriptors in Late Modern English narrative fiction. They are found across the Late Modern English period, signaling a range of aspects of the represented speech with SAY. They can play a role not only in particular contexts and situations, but they can also operate on thematic levels, where the narrator or author can portray particular characters or relationships more generally. Their potential for strategic use is likely the reason for the considerable text dispersion in usage, where authors make use of speech descriptors for particular thematic and characterization purposes that may not be the same across the texts considering their varying casts of characters and topics. This text dispersion also makes it uncertain whether there is a clear line of development across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, one text, *Marcella*, has a major influence on the temporal patterns. A larger study involving more of CLMET3.0's narrative fiction texts would undoubtedly prove enlightening.

On a methodological note, it is clear that charting these features across texts relying on normalizations according to number of words can be misleading. A more accurate measure would be to look at the proportion according to slots where speech descriptors could potentially occur. The approach adopted here was manual, which is time-consuming. It may be possible to develop annotation schemes that could assist in automatic retrieval.

Of course, there are many avenues for further research, e.g., expanding the consideration to other speech reporting expressions beyond SAY and looking at other genres in the Late Modern English period. One area that remains unclear is the relationship between speech reporting expressions (SAY in this study) and speech descriptors. What expressions occur with speech descriptors and which do not? How do language users deploy seemingly synonymous expressions such as *he said with a stutter* and *he stuttered*? How does one establish that (i) a speech reporting verb accompanied by a speech descriptor and (ii) a speech reporting verb where the evaluation is incorporated into the verb are variable ways of expressing the same "meaning"? And what happens in those cases where such pairings do not seem to exist (*he said impatiently* vs. ?)? These questions obviously intersect with methodological and theoretical debates in the scholarship on discourse-pragmatic variation (as shown in 4.1), and exploring them could provide new angles on and avenues for how to think about this kind of variation. Overall, despite the challenges, further study of speech descriptors could deepen our understanding of the complex array of practices that language users employ and their motivations for their choices.

More broadly, this study suggests that when we look at stability and change in Late Modern English, it is important to look not only at grammatical or phonological features, but also at pragmatic and textual ones. This area clearly remains understudied (Lewis 2012: 911). Speech representation phenomena would be a central topic to pursue further considering their wide range of communicative, stylistic, and social functions in Present-Day English.

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Being Wilde

Social representation of the public image of Oscar Wilde

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This article focuses on the news reporting on Oscar Wilde during the 1895 trials in which he was accused of sodomy and gross indecency. We discuss the positive and negative labelling associated with Wilde during and after the trials. Our data are drawn from the *British Library Newspapers*, consisting of over 1,500 articles from a variety of both rural and metropolitan British newspapers. Our results demonstrate that during the course of the trials, the reference to Wilde shows not only variation, but also change: his public persona changes from a well-known author to an accused criminal.

1. Introduction

> At the clubs it has been found necessary to impose a fine of "drinks round" or some equivalent punishment for any one who mentions the name of Oscar Wilde. It is curious, by the way, how, since his cross-examination at the Old Bailey trial, he has lost the prefix "Mr." Until then, nearly all the newspapers described him as Mr. Wilde or Mr. Oscar Wilde. But he is now "Wilde," or "Oscar Wilde," or "the man Wilde." (*The Lichfield Mercury*, 2 April 1895)

Already in the nineteenth century the popular press had information contents which were often mixed with entertaining characteristics (Conboy 2010: 80). The press generally used melodramatic, fiction-like text in presenting the darker sides of social life including rudimentary psychological analyses and a fascination with shocking detail (Conboy 2010: 87; see also Diamond 2003; Mayr & Machin 2012). Newspapers feasted on such topics as the corruption of the upper classes and famous people. One such person, Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), was involved in three major trials during 1895 for sodomy and gross indecency. Wilde was a well-known Irish playwright and poet, who was at the height of his popularity in the 1890s (for

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his life and career, see e.g. Ellmann 1987). As a consequence of the trials Wilde's representation in the media changed, and as the above excerpt from the time of the trials shows, this change also extended to the manner he was referred to in the newspapers. We chose Wilde as the subject of this study because he forms a contrast to the common criminals studied earlier (see e.g. Nevala 2016). Unlike most people accused of crimes, Wilde was already famous at the beginning of the trials.

In this study, we focus on labelling: what are the positive and negative attributes and descriptions associated with Wilde during and after the trials, and how was his public image changed in the process? Labelling means creating and maintaining impressions by using labels which, when being negative, give a less favourable, and often false, image of the target. It can often be used as a strategy to imply that people considered 'normal' do not have the capacity to behave badly and immorally, as Wilde was considered to have done. Such linguistic evaluation carries an element of moral judgment, since when expressing, for example, our reluctance to be associated with a particular person or group, we simultaneously assess the characteristics of them as negative (Martin & White 2005). Labelling has not been widely studied in historical material, particularly not in the Late Modern English period when the popular press became a medium for public image construction and social representation (see e.g. Conboy 2010: 73, 77, 91).

Our data are drawn from the *British Library Newspapers*, thus consisting of news reports from a wide variety of both rural and metropolitan British newspapers. We focus on mentions of Wilde within the timespan 3 April – 31 May 1895, which covers the time of the three trials concerning the so-called Queensberry case. The data consist of over 1,500 articles, including news reports from 1–2 lines to several columns in length.

We begin by introducing the concepts of social representation and labelling, then present a brief overview of the three trials of Wilde. After a more detailed description of the data, we show how Wilde was labelled both negatively and positively in the news reports.

2. Social representation and labelling

The notion of social representation has its origins in social psychology. It means those values, ideas, metaphors, beliefs, and practices that are shared by the members of groups and communities (cf. Moscovici 1984). In critical discourse analysis, moral evaluation is "linked to specific discourses of moral value" (van Leeuwen 2008: 110). Representation of a particular individual or a group can manifest itself by the use of adjectives such as *healthy, normal*, or *natural*. This is what van Leeuwen (2008: 109) calls "moral legitimization": it consists of the processes of evaluation, abstraction, and comparison. People are categorized on the basis of positive and negative values into different sociocultural groups.

Language can indeed be used to reinforce or undermine categorical differences (Hogg & Abrams 1988: 212). The most typical way of manifesting public images, identities and intergroup relations is in so-called in-group and out-group discourse. Wodak (2008: 61), in her study of discursive exclusion and inclusion strategies, notes that the reference of *we* varies according to prevailing ideologies and power relations: sometimes *we* means 'all of us reasonable people' and, at other times, clearly defined and restricted groups. As van Dijk (2009: 141) states, giving attributes to the self and others is related to interactional and societal contexts. This means that defining the self and others is not only governed by macro-level norms or shared knowledge, but is also dependent of micro-level interactions and situations. Ochs (1993: 289) sees the process of building an identity, and thus also representation, as something usually not explicitly encoded in language use, but rather "a social meaning" inferred in act and stance meanings. It can be seen to evolve and vary in social interaction in response to the acts and stances of other interlocutors, but also according to the speaker's own attitude towards each interactional situation (Ochs 1993: 298).

Similarly to Wodak, van Leeuwen (2008: 147) has found various strategies that can be used to refer to people as 'others'. In public discourse, people can, for example, be excluded in contexts where, in reality, they are present. They can be depicted as inferior, deviant, criminal, or even evil, or shown to be members of homogeneous groups and, in this way, denied their individual characteristics and differences (i.e. meaning, 'they are all the same'). Other exclusion tactics include the strategy of negative cultural connotations and the strategy of negative stereotyping.

Often the values and norms of a particular group are manifested in the labelling practices used about other groups or members of those groups. This means creating and maintaining – mostly – negative impressions, which can be aided or achieved through the use of "labels of primary potency" (Allport 1986: 264). Consequently, certain characteristics, like male/female, white/black, or law-abiding/criminal, carry more perceptual potency than others, and signal difference from what is considered mainstream. In this study, for instance, characterising Oscar Wilde as an "indecent" homosexual might not only make characteristics such as being a good writer or a celebrated author seem secondary, but also emphasise Wilde's social identity and representation at the time as a deviant and a criminal. Example (1) is an excerpt from a news report during the second Wilde trial, by the time of which it was clear to everyone that Wilde had been guilty of "indecency" and "intimacy" with another man. Labelling is done here more by implicit than explicit means: Wilde is explicitly referred to by his name or by the term *prisoner*, but the close context reveals the negative impression of Wilde, presented by the prosecution, that the writer wants to convey to the readers. Wilde is described with negative attributes, such as "ill and anxious" and as having "continued the intimacy" and "flaunted Lord Alfred at hotels", against Lord Alfred's father's, Lord Queensberry's, wishes.

(1) The trial of **Oscar Wilde** on charges of indecency was resumed at the Old Bailey, London, to-day, before Mr Justice Wills. **Prisoner**, who <u>looked ill and anxious</u>, having entered the dock, the Solicitor-General resumed his speech in reply for the prosecution. He asked what was the relationship of **prisoner** with Lord Alfred Douglas, and said though <u>Lord Queensberry resented the intimacy between **prisoner** and Lord Alfred, **prisoner** continued the intimacy, and flaunted Lord Alfred at hotels in London and the country</u>.
(*Edinburgh Evening News*, 25 May 1895)[1]

According to Perdue et al. (1990: 476; see also Hogg & Abrams 1988), terms referring to in-group categorisation, such as the pronoun *we*, may over time accumulate connotations that are primarily positive, whereas out-group-referent words (such as *they*) are more likely to have less favourable, even negative connotations. Similarly, nominal reference terms may be used for the purposes of implying positive or negative characteristics: it is naturally considered preferable, for example, to be a *pious virgin* compared with being a *rotten thief*. Actual terms and expressions used about the members of an in-group or an out-group can thus be based on certain general concepts and stereotypes that exist in society at large.

The division between what could be called neutral, positive, and negative labelling then clearly reflects a prevalent, societal attitude either in favour of or against particular groups and group members, as e.g. in the case of criminals and law-abiding citizens. By creating and using negative terms and attributes, 'respectable' people place criminals in a 'detestable' out-group. Studies have shown that there are, for example, specific naming strategies for criminals (Mayr & Machin 2012: 57). Clark (1992: 224) calls this process of extreme negative labelling "fiend naming": when criminals are referred to as monsters, they are depicted as so evil and alien that they cannot fit into humankind and society. Negative labelling then becomes a strategy based on the notion that no 'normal' person would be capable of such a 'monstrous' crime. In comparison, victims are often labelled positively with what could be called 'angel naming', respectively (cf. Nevala 2016). Tabbert (2015: 152) has found that, in the press, victims are often described in terms of their social network and environment, as well as their character. For example, a victim whose identity is constructed as being loved and cared for by others

1. In all examples, direct nominal reference to Wilde is in bold and contextual reference underlined. We have not studied pronominal reference to Wilde in this study.

evokes more empathy and concern, because readers think they must be a good person (2015: 104). The more people are affected, the more the impact of the crime gets emphasised.

As already stated, labelling can manifest itself in actual labels and attributes, such as personal pronouns (*we, you, those/them*) and terms of reference (*Mr. Jones, the prisoner, the old man*). In addition, there is a variety of other discursive ways in which interlocutors' social images are encoded. The juxtaposition of different groups and their members can occur through speech acts of criticism and praise (*they worked wonders, they did not know what they were doing*), or by variation in stance-taking by modal verbs (*he should have known*) and evaluative expressions (*he is a monster/the angel*), or otherwise. In this study, we have concentrated on nominal reference terms (including evaluative labels and expressions) and their immediate textual context, which together contribute as to what we understand as social representation.

3. The trials of Oscar Wilde

In April – May 1895, Oscar Wilde participated in three trials at the Central Criminal Court in London. The first trial, in which Wilde sued the Marquess of Queensberry for libel, opened on 3 April and lasted until 5 April, when Wilde withdrew the prosecution as Queensberry had presented damning evidence against Wilde. On 5 April, with remarkable speed, Wilde was arrested (Bristow 2016: 44) and the following day he and Alfred Taylor were jointly charged "with offences under Criminal Law Amendment Act" for committing acts of gross indecency (Hyde 1948: 103). The second trial, where Wilde and Taylor stood accused, began on 26 April and lasted until 1 May, when the jury announced that they could not agree on a verdict. Wilde was released on bail on 7 May and the re-trial of the case began on 21 May. The judge ordered Wilde and Taylor to be tried separately. Taylor was found guilty the following day and Wilde on 25 May. On that day Wilde and Taylor were sentenced "to two years' imprisonment with hard labour" (Hyde 1948: 104).

All three trials dealt with the homosexuality of Wilde and Taylor. This had been criminalised in Britain only a year earlier. Coste (2014: 4) argues that the main point of contention was Wilde's lifestyle in a larger sense, "promotion of the beautiful, and the emphasis on artistic form, […] including works, practices and persons with a different (dissident?) relationship to mercantile society". Not only were Wilde's actions with men the matter before the court, but also his works were cited as proof of his decadence and discussed at length (Bristow 2016: 43). Wilde "contested Victorian norms", including respectability, education and capitalism and promoted individualism (Coste 2014: 17).

While Wilde was standing trial for sodomy and gross indecency, Bristow (2016: 48) argues that the terms were never sufficiently defined to the juries "that had in any case expressed confusion about the nature of the charges". The witnesses – many of whom received compensation from the pocket of Queensberry – confessed their guilt in the same acts as Wilde and in many cases blackmail, but they were not charged with either. During the second trial the foreman of the jury asked whether a warrant was issued against Queensberry's son Lord Alfred Douglas, indicating that they felt Douglas should have stood trial as well. Justice Wills claimed ignorance of Douglas's actions and any proceedings against him. Bristow (2016) sums up many contemporary legal critics' views which argue that Wilde did not in fact receive a fair trial.

There are apparently no surviving court transcripts of the trial, only newspaper accounts, which were "highly mediated stories whose narrative structures organized and gave meaningful shapes to the events they purported to accurately represent" (Cohen 1993: 4). The evidence of the newspapers is therefore not only evidence of the public treatment of Wilde but also the only surviving evidence of the trial itself.

4. Data and methods

The data for the study were collected from the *British Library Newspapers*. The search term used was simply "Wilde", and references to other persons with that name were excluded. The timespan of our data collection was from the beginning of the first trial, i.e. 3 April 1895 to the end of May 1895. The actual reporting of the trial started on the first day of the trial. The end date for data collection was decided so that we could catch not only reports of the trial but also some reactions to the final verdict on 26 May 1895.[2]

All in all the data collected comprise 1,526 news items. In length they vary from 1–2 lines to several columns and discuss not only Wilde's trials but also some related matters. Stories related to Wilde's trial alone number 1,255, and this count includes reporting and editorials. Other topics include gossip about Wilde's person, his dress, his health, his whereabouts and his life in prison (162 items), often under headlines such as "Personal Gossip", "Chit Chat", "Our London Letter" or simply "Oscar Wilde". One notable side event was the so-called "Queensberry Fracas", a fistfight on 22 May 1895 between the Marquess of Queensberry and his son, Lord Douglas (48 items). The reporting of this fight was explicitly connected

2. According to Cohen (1993: 210) the end of the third trial marked a notable decline in newspaper stories concerning Wilde.

to the Wilde trials in these stories, but as our focus was on Wilde we did not look for fracas stories without this link. The fracas stories in our data were often placed adjacent to reporting of the Wilde trials, increasing the implied connection between the two news stories. Our search brought up episodes only tenuously linked to the trial but pertinent to Wilde's public image, such as the case of a dock labourer, who reportedly "while laughing in the Crown Public-house, Commercial-street, on Tuesday night, at a joke in connection with the Wilde case, suddenly fell down and expired" (*The Hampshire Advertiser*, 27 April 1895). In order to gain an overview of the type and amount of data collected, we have classified each item by length and content type. We give an overview of these features in Sections 4.1 and 4.2.

4.1 Length of news items

We have classified our data into four length categories: brief (1–2 lines), short (1–2 paragraphs), medium (3 paragraphs to one column) and long (more than one column). Some of the problems included in this evaluation are obviously paragraphs of varying lengths (very short paragraphs of 1–3 lines were not counted as individual paragraphs), the newspapers' tendency to publish several small items related to the Wilde trial consecutively (these were counted as one news item regardless of possibly having separate headlines) and the division of stories on several pages. The divided stories were treated as separate items, because even though the front-page item was continued on a later page, there was a separate headline and often a different angle. Because of retrieval problems, we were also not able to make sure we have all such continuous pairs. As a whole, we believe this way of classification gives us a fairly robust measure of the length of news stories related to Wilde's trials.

In order to track the representation of the trials in the press, we have divided the news stories into news cycles. The first cycle is 3–6 April, i.e. the first trial. We include the day after the trial, because that was when the news of the "sensational ending" was reported. The second cycle is 26 April – 2 May, the second trial with again the day after the trial included. The third cycle is 22–27 May, which covers the third trial with its aftermath. In addition to these, there are the two interim periods: 7–25 April and 3–21 May and the post-trial period 28–31 May, when there were stories related to the preparation for the trials, bail hearings, Wilde's prison experience and other matters. Figure 1 (and Table 1 in the Appendix) gives an overview of these patterns. It is very clear that the first trial was reported at greater length than the other trials. The second trial received the lowest percentage of long reports, perhaps because many of the details presented at court were assumed to have been familiar to readers already. By the time of the third trial, possibly because of the length of time that had passed after the first one or because it could be estimated, particularly after Taylor's conviction, that the trial was final, the data again show a rise in the proportion of long stories. Brief and short stories are commonest between trials as could be expected, but particularly during the break between the second and third trials there seems to have been very little of substance to write about.

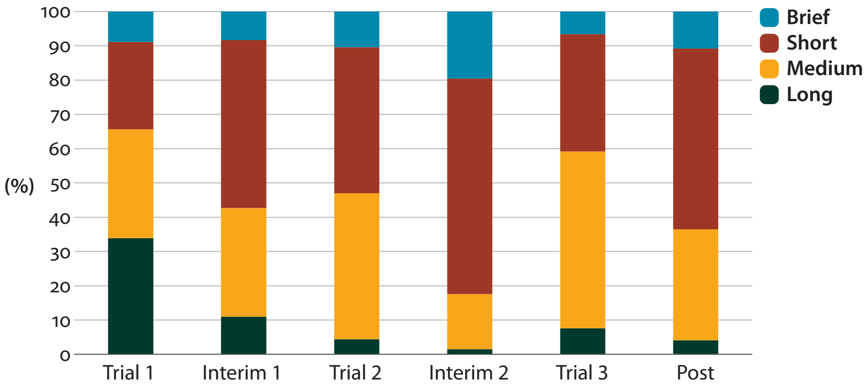

Figure 1. The length of news items reporting on Oscar Wilde during his trials

4.2 Content of news items

In terms of content, we assigned four main categories. The category called Details refers to news items reporting either details of courtroom incidents or Wilde's actions. In the category Summary, the news is reported without a great deal of detail. Different papers might report the same event in these two different styles. There might also be a Summary item in an earlier edition and a report containing Details later that day or the following day. The third category is Editorial. This contains the opinions of the paper itself, quotes from the editorials of other papers, one letter to the editor and occasional columns by London or society correspondents. We have already mentioned Gossip, which centred on matters such as Wilde's whereabouts between the second and third trials and his life in prison.[3] We include in this category reporting of the Queensberry fracas and all the other incidents tenuously linked with the trials, whether duels in Paris or laughing dock labourers. The different types of content were usually of different lengths: summaries and gossip items were typically short while reporting on details could range from short to

3. There were many rumours concerning Wilde's location from Torquay to Guernsey, but apparently he spent most of the time at his friends' the Leversons' house in London (Ellmann 1987: 440–443).

long. In some cases a news story contained elements from several types. In those cases the most salient content type was recorded.

When we look at the types of stories during these different phases of the period studied, we can see in Figure 2 (and Table 2 in the Appendix), unsurprisingly, that detailed reporting of the proceedings and Wilde's behaviour are most frequent during the trials themselves. Summaries are more common between the trials, particularly between the second and third ones. Editorials seem particularly common after the third trial, which is perhaps unsurprising, as before that there was no final verdict. The amount of gossip seems to increase as the process drags on. Speculation on Wilde's health, whereabouts and life in prison is common during the second and third trials and after the third trial, and the reporting of the Queensberry fracas bulks the numbers during the third trial. The reports on other episodes, such as a donkey named Oscar Wilde or the Glasgow political heckler who yelled "Oscar Wilde" during a campaign event are also more frequent during periods when there are no actual facts to report.

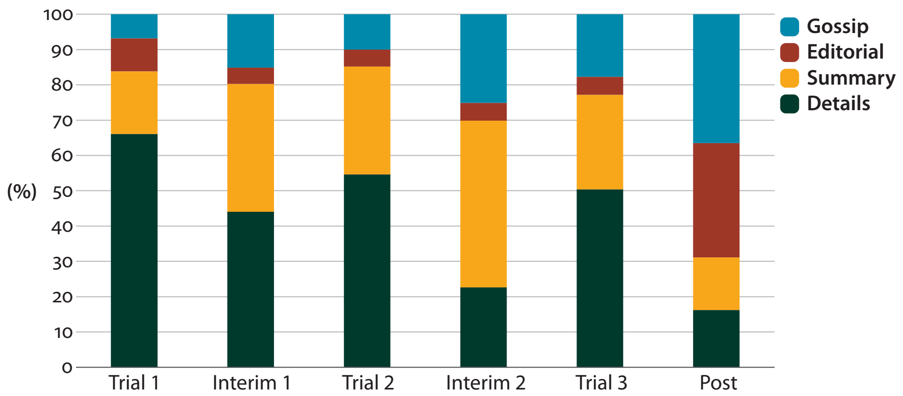

Figure 2. The type of news items reporting on Oscar Wilde during his trials

5. The representation of Oscar Wilde

5.1 Previous studies on Wilde in the press home and abroad

The trials were widely reported in the British press, and previous studies indicate that "many newspapers exaggerated Wilde's demeanour in court" (Bristow 2016: 47; see also Cohen 1993: 173–209). By the time of the third trial the press had mostly settled on a condemning tone and after it they "lived up to Wilde's expectations by almost universally praising the verdict of the jury" although there were differing voices such as *Reynolds News*, which on 20 May "refused 'to gloat over the ruin of the unhappy man'" (Ellmann 1987: 446, 450). There is also some evidence of reporting elsewhere. Before the trials Wilde was called "the brilliant Irishman" outside the British Empire, but after that his ethnicity was reframed as the "Anglais", "Englander" or "Britisher" (Sullivan 1972: 3).

The severity of the crime was commented on in the French press, as they noted "with some bewilderment, [that] in England sodomy ranked only one step below murder" (Ellmann 1987: 431). Canovas (2015) shows that on the surface the French journals supported Wilde unanimously, but there were differences between papers. Wilde's actions were framed not as crimes, but as a sin (2015: 74). Many defended Wilde because he was such an exceptional writer and artist, and claimed that laws should not be applied to a man of such genius (2015: 76–77). Wan (2006: 51) argues that the French press created a discursive "journalistic prosecution", i.e. a textual courtroom, allowing the reading public to be the judge and jury. Particular attention was paid to Wilde's appearance and dress, which portrayed him as effeminate and decadent (2006: 56). There was also a clear tendency to report on Wilde's declining health during the process (2006: 61). Cohen (1993: 207) identifies a similar trend in the English press.

In the North-American press, Wilde's trial was also covered, as he had been a well-known literary figure since his 1881 lecturing tour of the United States and Canada (Robinson 2015). In the New York press aimed at the middle class, the nature of the offences was never clearly mentioned, although code words were used allowing the reader in the know to understand what was being described. The popular press in New York "contained rather more free discussion of the more delicate (or lurid) portions of trial testimony" (Robinson 2015: 10).[4] According to Robinson (2015) the popular paper *New York Sun* referred to Wilde as a "pampered exquisite" and a "poor creature" who "had not sufficient pluck to blow out his brains", arguably evoking dislike and empathy at the same time.

In Montreal the English-language press followed the New York press while the francophone papers approached matters more in line with the French press, condemning the English double standard and hypocrisy (Robinson 2015; Wan 2006). Robinson (2015: 16) sums up the reportage in North America by saying the "attitudes towards Wilde reflected class, social, and national prejudices as well as moral ideals".

5.2 Labelling in the British press

As stated in the introductory example, the contemporaries of Oscar Wilde already noticed the way in which reference to him changed in the course of the three trials.

4. The publication has no pagination. This is the page number of the pdf file.

Similarly, our data include variation in labelling practices from what could be interpreted as positive towards negatively connotative ones. At the time of the first trial, and particularly before, Wilde seems to have been publicly seen as a great author and wit. He is often referred to in headlines and copy by *Mr (Oscar) Wilde*, or *Oscar Wilde*. Other positive labels also appear, as in Example (2). Although referring to "acts of gross indecency", thus repeating the cause for the charges, the reporter reminds the readers of Wilde being "the brilliant man of letters". Also, at this time, expressions like "alleged" and "the guilt … is either proved or disproved" still appear, as well as a reminder to readers not to judge Wilde ("it behoves the public to suspend judgment").

Example (3) is from the end of the third trial, when Wilde was sentenced to hard labour. The overall attitude in the report appears to be sympathetic to Wilde, and he is directly referred to with labels *the distraught man, the brilliant wit, the man of fashion, the voluptuary*, and *the poet*. He is seen as someone to be pitied, further emphasised by contextual cues like "the despair … was terrible to see", and "the maddening torture of two years' hard labour", which both also show the writer's melodramatic style.

(2) **Oscar Wilde** and his alleged accomplice in <u>acts of gross indecency</u> have had their trial at the Central Criminal Court, and on Wednesday evening the jury could not come to an agreement, so that a fresh trial is to take place. Until <u>the guilt of</u> **the brilliant man of letters**, whose private career is open to <u>such grave accusations</u>, is either proved or disproved it behoves the public to suspend judgment. (*Northampton Mercury*, 3 May 1895)

(3) When **Wilde** heard his sentence <u>the despair depicted in his shrinking face</u>, as the crowded court rose and leaned towards him, <u>was terrible to see</u>. "May I say nothing, my lord?" asked **the distraught man**, <u>his brain reeling and his great intellect deserting him</u>. "No!" was the stern rebuff. No! **the brilliant wit** was doomed to the silence of solitary imprisonment, **the man of fashion** was condemned to shorn locks and the convict's garb, **the voluptuary** to the labour of the treadmill, **the poet** to <u>the maddening torture of two years' hard labour</u>. (*Western Mail*, 28 May 1895)

Despite a few sympathetic approaches, we can see a development towards a more negative evaluation and construction of Wilde's public image. In Examples (4)–(9), Wilde is, for example, referred to as *(Mr.) Oscar Wilde, the man (Wilde)*, or *the great offender*. Example (4) reports Queensberry's defence attorney, Edward Carson, referring to Wilde being "tolerated" and having "disgusting audacity".

(4) Mr Carson remarked, with much emphasis, that it was a wonder **the man Wilde** had been tolerated in London society so long. He regretted to have to call the young man Parker, because he had joined the service of his country, and now bore an excellent character. The learned counsel characterised **Wilde's** behaviour to a Worthing fisher boy as an instance of his disgusting audacity. (*Northern Echo*, 6 April 1895)

The most negative labelling is often used in editorials that discuss the trials and Wilde's character from the point of view of societal judgment. An example of such labelling can be seen in (5), where Wilde is referred to with nominal labels such as *this unclean creature* and *not a man, but a horror that one shudders to approach*. The moral condemnation is further emphasised by the phrases "our loathing and our contempt" and "simple abuse", which are both used to describe the harmful things Wilde has inflicted on respectable people. Wilde is depicted as someone who should have been seen as a common enemy from the beginning.

Certain themes that appear in the Wilde reporting are similar to those used in other nineteenth-century crime news. Previous studies (e.g. Nevala 2016, 2017) have found that crime and criminals are often associated with, for example, fiends, monsters and other unhuman creatures, animals and vermin, infection and contamination, as well as evil and obscene behaviour. Here also the report in (5) tells us of Wilde's influence being "a contamination", as well as him dragging "others down into that awful pit of obscenity" and infecting us with his contempt for Victorian morals and conventions.

(5) And of **this unclean creature, Oscar Wilde**, what shall or can we say that would be adequate? Words fail us to express our loathing and our contempt, and simple abuse, even were it called for, would be wasted. **Oscar Wilde is not a man, but a horror that one shudders to approach**. His influence has been a contamination, and he has dragged others down into that awful pit of obscenity where few eyes dare to peer.
(*The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Standard*, 9 April 1895)

One of the difficulties in analysing the construction of Wilde's image in the newspapers has been the heterogeneous nature of the labelling practices. Some news reports contain both positive and negative description, and even the most negative ones may show Wilde as a simultaneously pitiful and disgraceful character. Accounts such as that in (6) are common in the data. The report tells us that Wilde arrived at the Holloway prison, where he will be waiting for the trial. At first glance, the reader might interpret the passage as a positive one, since it says that Wilde has been "conveyed to one of the better-class cells", and other prisoners will take care of his "menial duties" for him. The list of privileges is, however, quite lengthy, and the contrast between them and the only thing he is not allowed to do, smoking, is noticeable. Telling the audience of all the things an offender is allowed to have instead of those he is not is a clever means of making the readers think about whether Wilde deserves them.

(6) The Press Association states that when **Mr. Oscar Wilde** arrived at Holloway Gaol on Saturday, after the proceedings at Bow Street, he was conveyed to one of the better-class cells, the occupation of which is provided for by the prison regulations on the payment of about a shilling a day. It has been arranged that one of the prisoners at present at Holloway shall perform the menial duties which every prisoner is bound himself to perform unless prepared to pay for a substitute. His meals will be supplied by a local caterer, and he will be allowed to receive a daily visit from a friend. He will, however, be obliged to forego cigarette smoking, and to attend the parade of prisoners at the gaol awaiting trial.
(*Evening Telegraph and Star and Sheffield Daily Times*, 8 April 1895)

Example (7) shows another instance of reporting containing both positive and negative labelling. Wilde is referred to as "a man who occupies a prominent and distinguished position and who is regarded by his fellow-country men and women as a very apostle of art and culture and all that is ideal and elevating". At the same time, he is negatively described as conducting "atrocious, abominable, and inhuman practices".

(7) The verdict of the jury, if it be in accordance with truth and fact, warns the whole country, not only that atrocious, abominable, and inhuman practices exist in our midst, but that these practices may be carried on by **a man** who occupies a prominent and distinguished position and who is regarded by his fellow-country men and women as a very apostle of art and culture and all that is ideal and elevating. (*Northern Echo*, 27 May 1895)

One thing that is usually expected of criminals is being ashamed of what they have done. The fact that Wilde did not particularly show remorse, or beg for forgiveness, was often noted in the news reports during the trials. Also, after the sentence was given, Wilde was described as not being "overcome with shame at the dreadful ignominy of his position" (Example (8)). In (9), moral judgment of such lack of remorse is shown by extreme negativity: Wilde, "a gross offender", has had "a corrupting influence" on an entire society, and "the spectacle … of his shame and degradation, and of the utter ruin" should be taken as a warning example first and foremost to those of "the same class", but, in reality, to everyone.

(8) The general impression he conveyed was of a man filled with a vague hopeless terror, not of one overcome with shame at the dreadful ignominy of his position.
(*Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 27 May 1895)

(9) Of this, however, there can be no doubt, that he has not only been **a gross offender** himself, but has exercised a corrupting influence the extent of which can hardly be measured. In view of the mischief that **such a man** does, the sentence he has received compares but lightly with those almost every day awarded for infinitely less pernicious crimes. The spectacle, however, of his shame and degradation, and of the utter ruin that has overtaken him when at the zenith of his fame and popularity should at least serve as a wholesome warning to others of the same class who still remain at large.
(*Evening Telegraph and Star and Sheffield Daily Times*, 29 May 1895)

In general, attributes such as *obscene, atrocious, abominable, inhuman, dreadful*, and *corrupting*, as well as nouns like *disgrace, terror, mischief, shame*, and *degradation* are all commonly used of criminals and their condemnable character and immoral behaviour (see e.g. Nevala & Hintikka 2009; Nevala 2016, 2017). Such conduct was seen as condemnable and unforgivable in Victorian society.

6. Concluding remarks

The trials of Oscar Wilde were covered in great detail in the British press, and much of the court proceedings was reported verbatim. The reports did not contain only neutral reporting, however, as quotations were interspersed with reporters' and editors' own views, painting a picture of Wilde, his appearance and behaviour. In addition to trial reports, Wilde's actions between trials and many related events were noted in the press, adding to a complex picture of condemning and often ridiculing the well-known author standing trial.

The data offer an opportunity to peruse the treatment of a socially high ranking offender in the press, and allow us to consider how the role of previous celebrity and social standing affect the use of labelling. Unlike in the case of common criminals, the reading public already had a perception of Wilde as an author, wit and man about town. Wilde's reputation appears to have changed as the trials proceeded: from initial positive labelling and support for the allegedly wronged party to a more neutral attitude and finally to extreme negative labelling. These trends were not consistent: there was some strongly negative labelling quite early but also positive and neutral – or mixed – labelling even during the final trial. At least some contemporaries were aware of the changing labelling practices.

The negative labelling of Wilde follows the trends established in the study of common criminals. Just as they were discussed through images of contamination and lack of human characteristics, so was Wilde painted as a representative of illness and falling below human beings. Unlike average murderers, however, Wilde also received some empathy from commentators, often in mixed commentary combining pity and disdain. Even this show of seeming sympathy can to some extent be seen as negative: as an object of pity Wilde has fallen from his previous position as an admired and celebrated author. Wilde's lack of remorse was taken as evidence of his corrupt nature, although it was also a manifestation of his earlier privileged life.

This study has given rise to some further questions we were not able to cover in this paper. One avenue worth pursuing would be the consistency or inconsistency of various newspapers in their labelling practices. While one and the same newspaper, even in one and the same issue, could engage in both positive and negative labelling, it is our overall view that some papers were more consistently negative. There seems to be some indication that Wilde was associated with a "London" lifestyle which the more wholesome rural readership of some papers could wholeheartedly disapprove of. Another question is the distinction between more explicit and implicit practices of labelling, which can be seen in the examples included in this paper, but could not be pursued for reasons of space. Finally, the differences between story type and length in labelling practices are likely to provide a fruitful course of enquiry.

We do know the reputation Wilde gained during the trials lived on, as Woodcock (1989: x–xi) reports: "in a small English provincial town at the end of the 1920s […] his very name still carried a connotation of evil in large sections of English society. […] [H]e had become a kind of monster figure in folk mythology, the hero of smutty verses and bar-room legends."

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Appendix

Table 1. Number of stories/subperiod

	Trial 1	Interim 1	Trial 2	Interim 2	Trial 3	Post	Total
long	65	24	11	6	30	3	**139**
medium	61	69	106	64	204	24	**528**
short	49	107	106	250	135	39	**686**
brief	17	18	26	78	26	8	**173**
Total	**192**	**218**	**249**	**398**	**395**	**74**	**1526**
per day	48.0	11.5	35.6	22.1	49.4	18.5	

Table 2. Types of stories/subperiod

	Trial 1	Interim 1	Trial 2	Interim 2	Trial 3	Post	Total
details	127	96	136	90	199	12	**660**
summary	34	79	76	188	106	11	**494**
gossip	13	33	25	100	70	27	**268**
editorial	18	10	12	20	20	24	**104**
Total	**192**	**218**	**249**	**398**	**395**	**74**	**1526**

"I am desired (…) to desire"

Routines of power in the British Colonial Office correspondence on the Cape Colony (1827–1830)

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Historical pragmatic analyses have underlined the discourse dependence and pragmatic sensitivity of speech acts. As a result, researchers' attention has shifted from form, structure and tokenisation of utterances to interactive frameworks. This paper follows suit and argues that speech acts in historical correspondence – in this paper, the letters of the British Colonial Office on the Cape Colony – bear a close resemblance to speech events, interactional moves or speech actions. It presents a qualitative approach to speech act identification and classification that relies on the routines of power and the notion of macro-speech act. In the process of speech act identification, co-textual features and outcomes (perlocutionary effects) serve as crucial reference points. The findings confirm the significance of the status differentials for an early nineteenth-century specialised discourse domain of institutional correspondence.

1. Introduction

Specialised discourses tend to be routinised on different levels of linguistic organisation. This applies to a sample of early nineteenth-century correspondence which involves a closed network of interactants, i.e. the letters of the British Colonial Office on the Cape Colony (1827–1830). Internal letters of the CO cover a specific scope of themes; they also involve a hierarchical organisation of the exchange and certain codes and norms that the correspondents were obliged to follow. Previous work has demonstrated some of these in greater detail, including specific linguistic reflections (Włodarczyk 2013, 2015 and 2017). It has been shown that CO letter exchanges exhibit a specific spectrum of routine tasks, such as recommending, requesting, and regulating (Włodarczyk 2013: 418–420). These may be described as modes of exercising power and framed within speech act theory (Austin [1962]

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1975; Searle 1969, 1979). This approach offers background and tools for an analysis of the connections between linguistic form, functions and pragmatic effects of interaction on the interlocutors, as well as real world effects of utterances.

The recent development of historical speech act analysis has provided new theoretical insights and methodological solutions for research based on written data (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2008; see Archer 2010 for an overview). However, studies of speech acts in Late Modern English are few and far between (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010; Jucker & Taavitsainen 2014), while relevant research based on correspondence has focused on individual speech act types (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008; Dossena 2010; Włodarczyk 2015). At the same time, the variables of power and social distance between the interactants, as well of situational setting, foregrounded by contemporary and historical studies into Early Modern English (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984; Harris 2003; Archer 2007; Culpeper & Archer 2008), remain understudied. In order to bridge this gap in research based on Late Modern English correspondence, I undertake an analysis of speech acts related to the exercise of power by writers of low and high institutional rank. The paper addresses the following questions: which speech acts are central to the exercise of institutional power, and what differences in the use of speech acts may be observed in the letters up and down the institutional hierarchy? Overall, the analysis presents a speech act profile of institutional correspondence in the early nineteenth century.

In order to tackle the questions listed above, I focus specifically on the "routines of power" viewed as context-bound realisations of institutional procedures and transactions that fulfil regular communicative aims of the correspondents.[1] In Section 2, I introduce the relevant concepts and terminology used in speech act analysis, including the notion of "macro-speech acts" (van Dijk 1977). Next, I outline the context and present the data for analysis (Section 3). In Section 4, I define and illustrate the routines, and relate these to the macro-speech act framework (4.1 and 4.2). Micro-analysis is conducted in Section 4.5, and it shows primarily the effects of status differences on the most prevalent routines. A concluding Section (5) closes the paper.

1. The use of the term "routines" in this paper is pragmatic, rather than linguistic (cf. the definitions in Ajmer 1996; Włodarczyk 2016: 240–245, where the term covers conversational or epistolary formulae).

2. Speech acts and macro speech acts

The basic tenet of speech act theory is that "[s]peaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on (…)" (Searle 1969: 16). Speech acts are thus pragmatic units of interaction which serve specific purposes, referred to as "illocutionary aims" or "points". For instance, *Open the window, I need some air* and *Would you mind opening the window?* are instances of directive speech acts, in which the speaker aims to evoke a specific action on the part of the listener. A taxonomy of speech acts based on illocutionary points (Searle 1979: 12–16; cf. Holtgraves 2005: 2026 for a modification) includes, next to directives, also commissives, expressives, assertives and declarations. Speech acts entail specific "perlocutionary effects": a commissive (e.g. a promise) involves a commitment to future action; an expressive speech act (e.g. a compliment or an insult) exerts psychological effects, e.g. may make or ruin somebody's day, a declaration pronounced in court may change somebody's legal status. Perlocutionary effects (i.e. real world or psychological results of actions) are based on certain conditions, the so-called "felicity conditions"; for instance, a prison sentence declared in a bar is ineffectual. Linguistic realisations of speech acts are culture- and context-bound as studies based on contemporary languages show, using elicitation methods and experiments (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984; Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris 1996; Harris 2003). Present-day research demonstrates not only that both the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects, as well as their linguistic realisations, are dependent on a range of extralinguistic factors such as authority, social distance and situational setting, but also that they are relational and negotiable (Lorcher 2004) and largely unpredictable (Terkourafi 2002: 197) despite a tendency for some speech act types towards conventionalisation (e.g. apologies; see Lutzky & Kehoe 2017).

Historical speech analysis cannot rely on an experimental basis and is therefore a methodologically challenging field (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2007: 109; cf. also Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000: 69–70) single out three prerequisites for such studies: the identification, classification and role of speech act verbs vs. the speech acts that they name (i.e. the distinction into the so-called performative uses vs. descriptions).[2] Below I present a qualitative approach to speech act identification and classification that relies on the routines of power and on the notion of the macro-speech act, and I test the suitability of the latter for the analysis of historical institutional correspondence viewed as a specialised domain. Such an approach is

2. *I promise* is an explicit performative speech act in contrast to a mixed bag of other uses classified as "descriptive" according to the analytic classification provided by Taavitsainen & Jucker (2007: 112–113).

fruitful for discourse-based perspectives on specialised interaction. With a view to drawing a general picture of interaction, the approach outlined below aims to capture the local interplay of various speech acts on the micro-level, as well as broader speech act profiles on the macro-level. This enables the identification of the part these play in rendering discourses specialised.

Speech act identification and classification may be based on viewing speech events, rather than individual utterances, as macro-speech acts defined as a "sequence[s] of speech acts mapped as a whole (…) in terms of the global intention or purpose" (van Dijk 1977: 228). Thus, a macro-speech act has some core characteristics, usually related to a general illocutionary point of a given speech event, i.e. a petitioning letter may in its entirety be considered a request, a type of directive speech act. As such, in a discourse perspective, it has a specific, usually somewhat conventionalised structure while, in a semantic-pragmatic perspective, it spans a specific pragmatic space (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000: 74; Taavitsainen & Jucker 2008: 6–7). This space very often involves other speech act types (e.g. apologies and offers often accompany requests; directives span orders, pleas, offers, etc.) and supportive content (e.g. request justification) (Archer 2010: 380–381). In the micro-approach to speech acts, the core or head act is usually identified as a specific utterance or discourse chunk, around which a range of auxiliary linguistic means cluster: preparatory devices, boosters, etc. The difference that remains between the two approaches is that the macro-speech act view does not involve searches for the one and only head act, but takes stock of the general illocutionary point of a discourse unit. This facilitates analysis of relatively complex cases, where delimiting the head act is far from intuitive, or linguistic complexity blurs the hierarchy of meanings. The macro-speech act approach seems to be well suited to the analysis of written texts as units characterised by wholeness (through coherence relations) and processed in their entirety rather than in chunks. Examples of individual letters viewed as macro-speech acts in an exchange dyad[3] are provided below (Section 4, Examples 1a and b).

3. Historical context and data

In autumn 1795 British forces annexed the Cape of Good Hope, under the rule of the Dutch East India Company since 1652 (Freund 1989: 324). Between 1803 and 1806, the Colony returned to the Dutch for the so-called Batavian interlude

3. The notion of interactional dyads, rather than "adjacency pairs" (Sacks et al. 1974) is utilised here due to the time distance between initiation and response that is a characteristic of correspondence.

(Freund 1989: 325). Following this, the Empire secured its authority over the administration of the Cape Colony, which was conducted through the CO. A major change in the history of the territory came in 1820, when the British government implemented a settlement scheme involving c. 4,000 people. The arrival of the 1820 settlers, and the consequent population growth, had a huge impact on the administrative activity of the local government, upon which a range of new tasks were imposed. The manifold challenges and responsibilities of the British institutions in the Cape Colony are reflected in the correspondence between the CO in London and the local administration and echoed in the consolidation of the hierarchies of power[4] and relative autonomy compared to the initial period of the British occupation (see Włodarczyk 2017: Sections 3.2–3.3 for more details).

Colonial Office correspondence on the Cape Colony is an important historical resource for research on the British activity in the Cape of Good Hope. In my previous work, I have relied on the extant edition of the material by a historian of the Public Record Office (Theal 1897–1905, 36 volumes; henceforth *RCC*), as well as on some manuscripts. This analysis is based on a sample drawn from the edition (Table 1). The printed resource is not limited to correspondence, so in line with the focus of my investigation, I selected letters only, in particular internal correspondence of the officials and clerks employed by the institution in Britain and in the Cape Colony. The sample covers the period of 1827–1830 and comprises 179 letters from 36 to 37 recipients (c. 57,000 words). The letters focus largely on institutional tasks and are relatively concise. The data reflect the socio-historical context, i.e. the period of the peak of CO activities in the Cape Colony and the increasing professionalisation of the operation of the institution (Włodarczyk 2017).

Table 1. CO data

YEAR	Word count	Letters No.	Av. words/letter	Senders	Recipients
1827–1830	57,638	179	322	36	37

4. Routines of power

Routines of power are context-bound realisations of institutional procedures and transactions that fulfil regular communicative aims of the correspondents. The notion is used here as an umbrella term for the fuzzy concept of "a speech act" and a sequential organisation of speech acts in specialised discourse, which means

4. Details of the institutional grid of the CO with the relative positioning of the staff are provided in Włodarczyk (2017: 163–165, Appendix).

that a routine of power can be both a speech act and a sequence of speech acts in interaction, such as an exchange dyad (e.g. request-permission). More specifically, the routines are viewed in reference to the macro-perspective on speech acts introduced above (Section 2). Routines comprise initiating macro-speech acts and actual (or a spectrum of predicable) responses. Illustrations are provided below (1a–c):[5]

(1) a. Richard Plasket to Major-General Bourke

(Cape Town, 20th December 1827; *RCC* 34: 253–254)

Sir, You are already aware that it was my intention to take advantage on the 1st of January next, of the leave of absence granted to me by His Majesty's Secretary of State. <u>**I am now induced to request your permission** to retire on such leave</u> forthwith, and for the following reason (…) that one of the most important privileges attached to my office of Councillor has been withheld from me by you (…). Under these circumstances and with a view to avoid any unpleasant discussion or contention on the subject, which could not but tend to impede the Public Service, <u>**I am induced to request your permission** to give up my official duties forthwith, and to take advantage of the leave of absence granted to me by His Majesty's Secretary of State</u>.

b. Major-General Bourke to Richard Plasket

(Government House, 20th December 1827; *RCC* 34: 254)

Sir, I have received your letter of this day, and in compliance with the request it contains, <u>you have my permission to avail yourself of your leave of absence</u> from this date.

c. Richard Plasket to R. W. Hay

(Cape Town, 22nd December 1827; *RCC* 34: 255, 258)

<u>**I have since been induced**</u> from an unpleasant difference that has taken place between the Lieutenant Governor and myself <u>to ask to be relieved forthwith</u>.

(…)

<u>I wrote to him a letter</u> (of which I also enclose copy with his reply) <u>**requesting permission** to be relieved forthwith.</u>

In Example (1a), a letter of request (macro-speech act) from a lower to a higher official is quoted in full and it features an institutional task (obtaining permission for a leave of absence). It is constructed through a repetition of a conventionally mitigated directive ("I am induced to request your permission") in the opening and closing of the letter body, and a justification (the withholding of "privileges")

5. The underlined passages indicate speech acts which have determined the macro-reading of a given letter.

is inserted in between. The response to the letter presented in (1b) is a conventionalised and relatively explicit permission from the superior. It is surprisingly succinct and relates to the general aim of the letter only, i.e. the macro-speech act of request, while ignoring the supporting justification. (1a) and (1b) are thus a dyad of initiation and response that captures the linguistic dimension of exercising power with its co-text, specific illocutionary point and perlocutionary effect. In this routine of power (request-permission; i.e. directive-commissive dyad initiated up the hierarchy)[6] institutional authority has been mobilised to the effect of accomplishing a specific institutional task. Routines of power tend be realised by short transactional letters as their dominant tasks. Sometimes, if no gaps in correspondence occur, the actual replies are identifiable. In most cases, a routine of power tends to involve a predictable spectrum of addressee reactions; thus some assumptions can be made even if a completing response is not attested (cf. the notion of preference organisation in discourse, Schegloff et al. 1977). For instance, based on close reading of the sample it is observed that typical tasks initiated at the bottom of the institutional hierarchy involve requests, which are met either with permission/acceptance or with refusal, and recommendations/suggestions which are met with approval or refusal on the side of the superiors.

Not all routines of power initiated at the top of the institutional hierarchy meet with a verbal response, as their felicity does not require a verbal confirmation of the perlocutionary effect of their authoritative force as in Example (1d) below (e.g. directives, positive expressives such as praise and approval, and negative expressives, i.e. criticism and reprimands). Thus, a lack of verbal response does not necessarily indicate a gap in correspondence, but a situation when action is taken on an order, in fact constituting a non-verbal response (cf. "the source's desire for the future act as the reason to act" Culpeper & Archer 2008: 48 based on Bach & Harnish 1979: 48).

(1) d. R. W. Hay to J. C. Herries (Downing Street, 22nd June 1827; *RCC* 32: 35)
I am to desire you will move their Lordships to give directions to the Principal Officers of Customs (…)

In summary, routines of power involve speech acts that fulfil the aims of exercising power and tend to evoke responses from the addressees. The routines can be classified along the lines of the illocutionary aims of dominant speech acts (macro-speech acts), but they are usually more complex and include supportive content, for instance in the form of further speech acts, which are less central to their aims (e.g. an apology as a preparatory move for a request). Routines may be brought

6. The illocutionary reading of the verbs *permit* and *consent* is controversial between directives (Searle 1969: 58) and commissives (Holtgraves 2005: 2029; Smith 1991: 87).

to completion in interactional dyads, i.e. responses in the form of corresponding macro-speech acts. In the dyads, specific perlocutionary effects (i.e. preferred or dispreferred responses) become discernible.

4.1 Writer performed speech act vs. described speech act

In the examples above (1a, b and d), the agency of the writer is not fully explicit, e.g. it involves modification through passivisation and semi-modal construction. In addition, the speech acts involve different agents: (1a) and (1d) rely on first person predication ("I am induced to request", "I am to desire"), while (1b) uses a hearer-based statement ("you have my permission"). In the latter case (1b), the semantics of the verb and the nominalisation reduce the writer's performative scope to the patient role encoded in the object ("my permission"). Despite this gradation of agency and strong backgrounding of the writer in Examples (1a, b and d) the encoder of the letter still performs a given speech act, i.e. expresses a request and grants a permission. Thus, the writer is a speech act source, while the recipient is a speech act target. Contrary to such *writer performed* speech acts, others are only *described*, with the speech act source and/or target not being identical with the writer and recipient of the letter (cf. a similar distinction in Taavitsainen & Jucker 2007: 112–113 and footnote 2 above). This is the case in (1c), where the encoder Richard Plasket reports his own previously performed speech act (1a) to R. W. Hay, who is letter recipient but not the target of the request. The target of this described request for a leave of absence is still the original correspondent (i.e. Major-General Bourke; recipient of 1a and writer in 1b).

Described speech acts are particularly important in CO correspondence (Examples 2b and c below), because the hierarchical organisation of the correspondence networks in the CO frequently results in the employment of intermediaries or proxies. For instance, the Secretary of State (William Husskisson) rarely engages in correspondence directly (as in Example (2a)). More frequently, an official lower in rank writes letters on his behalf (R. W. Hay, the under-Secretary in Example (2c)). This has significant bearing on the linguistic realisation of speech acts and patterns of terms of address, as previous studies have shown (Włodarczyk 2015: 173; 2017: 162).

(2) a. Rufane Donkin to William Huskisson

(Park Street, Grosvenor Square, November 1827; *RCC* 34: 163)

<u>I beg leave to request your approval of the appropriation of the latter sum</u> made by my orders under the following circumstances.

b. R. W. Hay to Rufane Donkin
(Downing Street, 7th December 1827; *RCC* 34: 182)
I am directed by Mr. Secretary Huskisson (…) to acquaint you in reply that the <u>Commissioners of Colonial Audit have been instructed to relieve you from the surcharge (…).</u>

c. R. W. Hay to the Commissioners of Colonial Audit
(Downing Street, December 1827; *RCC* 34: 182)
Gentlemen, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Huskisson to transmit to you the Copy of a letter which has been received from Major General Sir Rufane Donkin <u>requesting the sanction of the Secretary of State for the appropriation of 18000 Rix Dollars</u> (…), and I am to acquaint you that <u>in the opinion of Mr. Secretary Huskisson Sir Rufane Donkin should be relieved from the surcharge in question</u>.

Example (2) above illustrates such an instance by featuring a request (2a), which is a writer performed speech act; an approval in the form of a described speech act (2b); and an instruction issued in connection with the approval, which also includes a description of a speech act "requesting the sanction" (2c). In the dyad of (2a and b), a routine of power is initiated and completed. The distinction between (2a), i.e. writer performed vs. described speech acts (2b and c) is linguistic in that different deictic centres affect the use of terms of address. Differences in deixis aside, in some cases a described speech act (bolded in Example (1c), and the original performed speech act (bolded in 1a), are phrased in nearly identical wording. However, it does not seem to have a bearing on the illocutionary point or the perlocutionary effect of the routine, i.e. is not transactional. This means that, in the institutional power grid of CO, described speech acts may exert the same perlocutionary effect as the performed ones (Examples 2b and 2c), but this need not be the case (Example (1c)).

4.2 Macro-speech acts

In order to gain more insight into the nature and distribution of the routines of power, I analyse the letters with respect to the dominant macro-speech act. In doing so, I identify the dyads and describe the components in terms of their illocutionary points. In the presentation of the results, I do not use the Searlean classification, but the relevant metacommunicative references that describe the purpose of exchange and, provisionally, also the routines of power (Table 2). In the asymmetrical power relations that pertain to institutional correspondence, orders (down the hierarchy) and requests (up the hierarchy) are relatively straightforward categories involving a directive illocutionary point. Appointments or nominations for vacant posts are typically made and conveyed by superiors. Replies to appointments and to orders/requests are letters initiated by earlier correspondence or actions. Typically, replies to appointments include thanking, while approvals, refusals or suggestions constitute replies to orders/requests. Recommendations are letters in which a third party is strongly supported in their advances towards a specific institutional position or another goal. Suggestions comprise letters in which both superiors and inferiors express opinions and make observations implying a prospective course of action. Although the categories are not always mutually exclusive, this restricted set covers the macro-speech acts in the majority of the letters. Occasionally, longer letters with more than one dominant purpose pose some difficulties, which cannot be discussed in detail owing to limitations of space. One further group of letters proved problematic for the macro-speech act analysis: these were long reports from inferior staff. These included letters of explanation (e.g. in relation to misconduct) and letters with narrative or informative content marked as reports in Table 2. A closer look at this category reveals a relatively familiar relationship between the interactants indicated by the term of address used in salutation ("My Dear Sir"), despite the differences in institutional rank. This may suggest that reports are not as transactional in nature as the majority of the letters. Instead, they involve a relational component. A similar distinction between relational and routine correspondence was observed in the analysis of contemporary business correspondence by Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris (1996: 642). The former group, which could be compared to reports, included longer and more complex letters characterised by multiple pragmatic purposes. In contrast, the latter, routine letters "tend to be brief, since they often contain requests which carry a low weighting" (Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris 1996: 652).

Table 2. Macro-speech acts and reports

Macro-speech act	**UP**		**DOWN**	
	raw	**%**	**raw**	**%**
order/request	48	43%	30	45%
appointment	–	–	5	8%
reply to appointment	4	4%	–	–
reply to order/request	8	7%	27	41%
recommendation	7	6%	2	3%
suggestion	14	13%	2	3%
report	31	27%	–	–
ALL	112	100%	66	100%

The results of the macro-speech act analysis are presented in reference to the parameter of institutional distance-crossing, despite the discrepancy in numbers between the letters up (112, c. 63%) and down (66, c. 37%).[7] The label 'report' captures letters up the institutional scale where a dominant speech act was not transparent. The remaining categories describe the dominant macro-speech act in an individual letter. While some categories ('appointment' and 'reply to appointment') were only attested either from superiors (8%) or from inferiors (4%), others ('order/request', 'reply to order/request', 'recommendation' and 'suggestion') can apply to letters exchanged in both directions. The most significant macro-speech act, order/request, accounts for 43% and 45% of the letters up and down respectively. Replies to requests/orders were very common down the hierarchy (41%) and uncommon up (7%). Recommendations and suggestions were in turn very rare in correspondence from superiors (3%), and a bit more frequent in the other group (6% and 13% respectively). Overall, the picture of the letters from superiors is uniform with order/request and reply accounting for 86% of the letters. On the contrary, the inferiors wrote their letters with a more varied spectrum of purposes,[8] while in c. 27% of the cases no dominant illocutionary point could be identified.

4.3 Macro-speech acts: Discussion

Based on the analysis conducted above the following routines of power were identified: 1. orders/request with replies; 2. appointments with replies; 3. suggestions; and 4. recommendations with no predictable completing response. In the letters down, the exercise of power relies to a great extent on issuing orders and instructions and, to an almost equal extent, on responding to requests, as well as on deciding upon appointments, albeit much less commonly. Institutional inferiors are mostly responsible for making the requests and, to a much lesser extent, for responding to appointments. Interestingly, inferiors typically do not acknowledge the reception of orders, which suggests that they are more likely to act on these. The scope for negotiation thus appears marginal; however, writers of lower rank sometimes attempt to influence the decisions of superiors through suggestions or even refusals (see Section 4.5 and the Appendix for details).

Some of the results seem striking in relation to the findings of research based on modern institutional discourse. In particular, the relatively similar, high numbers

7. The total number of the letters in the sample is 179; however, a single letter between institutional equals was excluded for the sake of clarity.

8. Clearly the difference in the spectrum of macro-speech acts may also stem from a larger number of letters 'up' in the sample. On the other hand, my previous study shows that the ratio showed a similar tendency (65%, 25% and 10% of letters up, down and between equals respectively) in an earlier sample of a similar word-count (1796; Włodarczyk 2017: 157). It is thus possible that such a distribution is characteristic of CO exchange.

of letters in the order/request category (which may be viewed as costly to the recipient as orders and requests elicit some action) from the superior and inferior group of writers contradict the statement that in institutional discourse initiatives of considerable strength are distributed asymmetrically (Harris 2003: 31). On the other hand, Locher points out that "interactants with lower status can decide to exercise power over people with relatively greater status", whereas "people with higher status can refrain from exercising power" (2004: 31; cf. also Culpeper 2008: 35).[9] In CO correspondence, clearly the letter writers who were lower in institutional rank participate actively in the routines of power and take on a considerable share of transactional tasks (43% of letters are requests, 13% make suggestions), despite their relative powerlessness compared to their institutional superiors. As for the latter, their involvement in the exercise of power is indeed considerably greater (45% of their letters are orders, 41% replies to requests and 8% appointments). However, it is important to note that regardless of the nature of the reply, the very fact of acknowledging requests from inferiors by replying indicates an important relation of mutual responsibility in the institutional network. In such contexts, as Harris notices "the degree of negotiation is constrained (…) by interactants' formal positions of power (or powerlessness)" (Harris 2007: 126). In other words, not only the writers low in rank, but also their superiors follow certain obligations.

4.4 Initiation: Response dyads

In the discussion below, which bridges the macro- and micro-speech act analysis (Section 5 below), I focus on the actual interactional dyads found in the data. Such dyads were found in 46 letters (c. 26%), i.e. 23 initiations and 23 responses.[10] Of the initiations, 14 come from correspondence up and 9 from correspondence down the hierarchy. In the 'up' category, the majority of initiating letters were requests (10 of 14). In the letters down, appointments, approvals, orders and refusals were more or less equally represented (3, 2, 2 and 2 out of 9). Since in some cases gaps in correspondence preclude the possibility of identifying responses, it

9. Due to the dearth of studies into historical institutions discourse, I have relied on research into contemporary languages, also beyond English. As for Locher's claims, these are drawn from research in a different context and period and may not be directly relevant to this study. However, they have been used as a reference to historical data (Culpeper & Nevala 2012).

10. The sequentiality of discourse organisation blurs the distinction between initiation and response, as responses may become initiations if exchange continues (e.g. request-approval-thanks). Such overlaps are problematic from the perspective of macro-speech acts. Therefore, I have viewed such sequences as two separate dyads. This meant that a letter in response to a request was not described in terms of a typical response, but based on the macro-speech act reading independent of the respective initiation.

is not justifiable to make any generalisations or draw a comparison on this basis. More importantly, however, the sample reveals a striking fact about the dyads: next to some predictable cases (e.g. approvals, refusals, suggestions in response to requests), a number of less typical interactional epistolary turns are observed: request – request, order – request, appointment – request. These show that institutional routines are not completely fixed and writers at both ends of the hierarchy contribute creative solutions next to the more conventionalised ones.

Table 3. Initiations and responses in dyads

Initiation up			**Initiation down**		
Initiation	Response	No.	Initiation	Response	No.
request	approval	7	appointment	thanks	1
request	refusal	3	appointment	(un)recommendation	1
request	suggestion	1	appointment	request	1
request	request	1	approval	request	1
recommendation	suggestion	1	approval	thanks	1
suggestion	order	1	order	request	1
			order	recommendation	1
			refusal	approval	1
			refusal	suggestion	1
ALL	23	14			9

4.5 Micro-speech acts

The macro-speech act analysis presented above has distinguished the most common routines of power. In the Appendix, I present in detail the linguistic realisations of three of these: the dyads of order – reply (1), appointment – reply (2) initiated from above in the hierarchy; and request – reply (3) initiated by writers lower in rank. The Appendix also features the most common replies, the illocutionary points of the individual speech act realisations (micro-speech acts) and the direction of initiations. In the orders from superiors (1), the directive intention dominates, while in the replies to these, an array of options occurs. First of all, the desired action, i.e. the perlocutionary effect may be achieved, though it need not be expressed verbally. Secondly, orders meet with refusals realised as directives ("we … request"), declarations ("I have deferred acting") and expressive ("I fear", "I regret") speech acts. Suggestions in the form or directives ("I would therefore submit/recommend") or expressives ("I have the strongest grounds for believing") are also commonly found in replies to orders. In approvals initiated by orders, commissives ("I shall not fail") and expressives occur ("I think", "I am happy"). The reversal of the routine described above is illustrated by the request – reply initiated by writers lower in rank (3). This routine of power is also characterised by a directive illocutionary point. Here, the replies are of two types: refusals and approvals, thus their scope is narrower than in the case of replies to orders (1). Refusals and approvals initiated by requests addressed at superiors are not uniform in terms of the illocutionary point. Both are realised as commissives ("His Majesty's Government cannot sanction a rule", "Your Lordship had been pleased to promise"), expressives ("I am not of the opinion", "Mr. Secretary Huskisson has had much pleasure in acceding") and declarations ("you are not authorized", "His Majesty does not disallow"). In addition, approvals also come in the form of directives ("Major General Bourke will be instructed to employ your brother"). The less frequent routine of power, appointment – reply is presented in (2). Appointments are typically realised as declarations, while the replies take the form of the expressive speech act of thanking. Overall, the spectrum of illocutionary points of the speech acts employed in the three most common routines of power is relatively uniform in the case of initiations (orders and requests), while the replies (approvals and refusals, as well as suggestions in the case of routine (1)) show an array of options involving expressives, declarations, commissives and directives.

In the routines described above, the orders down (1) and requests up (3) provide the best grounds for assessing the impact of the status and power differential on the linguistic realisation, as they feature the most frequent pragmatic function and are well-focused in terms of their illocutionary point (directives). Orders issued by writers higher in rank are realised through a typical pattern that involves a modification by external necessity, use of a speech act verb followed by a subordinate clause with the target featuring as subject. The verb phrase in the clause is usually headed by a modal verb (*will*, rarely *should* or *have to*). Other patterns involve nominalisations ("It will be your duty") or infinitival clauses headed by an adjective phrase ("it will be incumbent upon you"). The less common forms are phrased much less explicitly (1b): "call your most serious attention to the necessity". The use of *will*, which expresses volition, is strikingly consistent in orders down the hierarchy, with occasional indication of obligation through *should* or necessity through *have to*. On the other hand, the least elaborate examples among the typical realisations ("You will immediately communicate", "You will discharge") indicate a strong prediction, i.e. imposing the necessity of action by the source on the target in a manner verging on an imperative form (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade & Faya Cerqueiro 2007: 427–428 for a similar interpretation). Overall, orders tend to be hearer- rather than speaker-based (cf. defocalisation, Haverkate 1984). If they feature the source, their actions are modified by internal or external necessity, but not by their own judgment or stance statements.

Examples listed in (3a) feature instances of directives up the institutional hierarchy. With the exception of "I beg" and "requesting", these are typically characterised by a modification describing the internal necessity of the source ("I am", "I have to"), conviction and evidentiality ("I feel", "I trust", "I cannot doubt") or external force ("I am desired"). The intended action of the target is either nominalised (the pattern with distance marking address term or honorific in the possessive form), or in a verb phrase with the modal *will* which indicates volitional action. The illocutionary point may also be expressed as initiated through the action of third party or dependent on the permission of the target, and is usually passivised ("he may be authorised", "we may be relieved", "should be raised"). In such cases, the modal *may* also indicates volition of the target, albeit less directly than *will*, as it embraces actions that require, beyond the will of the target, also the fulfilment of some external conditions and the compliance of third parties ("authorised"). The modal *should*, which is rare in these requests, inclines more towards obligation. Overall, a typical request from inferior to superior writers is modified indicating the necessity or uncertainty on the side of the source and directed in most cases at the volition of the target, with some indication of institutional conditions. The requests listed in (3b) are unconventional realisations of the speech act also up the institutional hierarchy. In these, the relationship of the source and target that surfaced from the more typical forms in (3a) is absent. For instance, in "Would you be kind enough" the source does not feature at all, and the focus is fully on the good will of the target. In the example "I venture to urge the necessity", the absence of the target and the lack of modification render the request relatively blunt. "I would feel obliged", in turn, relies on a prospective debt of gratitude on the side of the source, i.e. a reward to the target as the only way in which he is taken into consideration. The departures from conventional realisations may be determined by the relatively low costs of the request to the target, i.e. an answer to a question ("how this difficulty may be obviated") or "consideration", rather than taking action. The blunt unmitigated request for a salary increase remains puzzling and the striking form is not easy to interpret without a closer contextual analysis.

In order to take stock of the similarities and differences in the realisation of directives as the most prevalent routines of power characterised above and to assess the impact of status and power differentials, I take recourse to the parameters of variation used in a study of Early Modern English requests (Culpeper & Archer 2008: 47–48, 78–79; cf. Archer 2010: 385–386). The features include contextual beliefs and interpersonal beliefs, formal and co-textual features, outcomes and degree of explicitness (see Table 4 below for details). The inventory has built on a preliminary spectrum of variables proposed by Searle (1979: 2–8), who lists twelve "significant dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ" and on some later studies. The parameters may be used to "track the forms, functions and social contexts" (Archer 2010: 386) not only of requests, but also of other speech acts. I would also like to argue that these may be instrumental to an overall characterisation of the routines of power that captures both their prototypical realisations and gradience. As Table 4 shows, in the specialised communication of the CO, some parameters surface as less scalar (contextual and interpersonal beliefs and outcomes). For the remaining ones, qualitative illustrations are necessary to provide the scope of variation (formal and co-textual features, explicitness). The significance of the status differentials surfaces in the differences between contextual beliefs; i.e. strong certainty of compliance for orders vs. weak certainty for requests. This parameter correlates with the linguistic realisations of modality and an emphasis on strong prediction/necessity in the letters from social superiors and with volition in the case of the letters from inferiors. Both the writers up and down the institutional scale reveal awareness of risks and acknowledge the space of the target through preparatory devices. The writers of higher rank support

Table 4. Parameters relevant to the routines of power

Parameter	Routine	
	Directive from superiors (order) (distance crossing down)	**Directive from inferiors (request) (distance crossing up)**
Contextual beliefs (felicity conditions)	strong certainty of compliance expressed by prediction/necessity preparatory devices reference to higher authority	weak certainty of compliance expressed by volition preparatory devices reference to necessity, conviction
Interpersonal beliefs (cost and benefit considerations)	irrelevant	relevant
Outcomes (perlocutionary effects)	action refusal suggestion approval	refusal approval
Formal features	I ([modifier]) DESIRE/DIRECT/ (that) [target reference] WILL/ SHOULD/HAVE to [ACTION]; It will be YOUR DUTY/ INCUMBENT to [ACTION]; YOU WILL ([modifier]) [ACTION]	I ([modifier]) REQUEST/ SOLICIT/TRUST/BEG (to) [SA/ ACTION] /(that)/ [target/source reference] / [modal] WILL/MAY/ SHOULD [ACTION];
Co-textual features	(predicted) response	(predicted) reponse
Explicitness	low (descriptive uses; some mitigation)	low (formulae; high degree of mitigation)

their directives by references to higher authority, and sometimes to necessity, as opposed to the writers low in rank, who rely mostly on necessity and sometimes on internal conviction (stance). Interpersonal constraints which involve cost and benefit considerations are not relevant for the orders down the hierarchy, but are relevant for the requests up the institutional scale. The perlocutionary effects show a broader spectrum of options in the case of the replies from inferiors than in the case of the replies from superiors. As for the formal features, orders show a broader scope of formally similar options than requests, but both reveal a degree of conventionalisation. Moreover, with respect to the form of directives, although the speech act verbs employed differ (*desire, direct* vs. *request, beg*), similar syntactic structures with a subordinate *that*-clause are used. In the subordinate clause, both the superiors and inferiors formulate the required effect in a similar way: modal verbs are used to modify the action of the target. The co-text of both routines performed down and up the institutional hierarchy involves the actual and predicted responses. The last feature, explicitness, is low in both orders and requests, with embedded speech acts and some mitigation characterising the former and formulae and high degree of mitigation characterising the latter.

5. Conclusions

This paper has presented a qualitative analysis of speech acts in a sample of specialised Late Modern English letters. A qualitative methodology was adopted to ensure that unpredictable and non-conventional forms of speech acts were not excluded and that the inventory was not limited to cases including a speech act verb. In the process of speech act identification, co-textual features and outcomes (perlocutionary effect) were crucial reference points to warrant that a given speech act had taken place (cf. Culpeper & Archer 2008: 58–59). The macro-speech act approach was the initial step in the study, but it was not entirely sufficient due to its focus on the dominant speech act and a failure to account for many others. In order to make up for this deficiency, I have also proposed a qualitative micro-analysis of speech acts which sheds some light on the relationships of form and function on the level of individual utterances. Most importantly, and in line with the aims of this analysis, the macro-speech act perspective combined with the notion of the routines of power has allowed taking stock of a more general speech act spectrum, while the micro-analysis accounted for selected features of language.

Although some work has been conducted on speech acts in Late Modern English (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2014) only few studies were based specifically on non-familiar correspondence. The findings presented here contribute to the field by substantiating Del Lungo Camiciotti's observation that directives and commissives are fundamental to business communication (2008). However, the analysis has also shown a considerable share of declarations and expressives employed in the replies to directives, thus indicating a more diverse speech act profile of institutional correspondence in the Late Modern period. The analysis presented above also broadens our knowledge of the ways in which orders and requests are made in a specialised discourse domain in the early nineteenth century. In particular, the data shows the dearth of conventional courtesy markers, such as parenthetical *please* and *pray* attested in Late Modern letter writing manuals (Faya-Cerqueiro 2011) and in correspondence (Tieken-Boon van Ostade & Faya-Cerqueiro 2007). This distinguishes institutional letters from more-speech based contemporary data and familiar correspondence.

The characterisation of the routines of power presented above has singled out directive speech acts and replies to these as the most prevalent modes of exercising power in the institutional correspondence of the CO. Overall, the speech act profiles revealed in the analysis allow placing CO correspondence in the realm of power within the framework of civility (cf. Harris 2011). The setting provides a context in which directives are most frequent and "strategies which heighten formality and social distance, arguably, tend to lessen the risk of confrontation, in part by making resistance to such directives on the part of the less powerful interactant more difficult" (Harris 2003: 33–34). Such strategies are also commonly employed by social inferiors, which indicates that these not only reduce the risk of confrontation, but also underline the mutual interdependence of actors within an institutional grid both high and low in the hierarchy.

Although it is impossible to extend the findings presented above to other discourse domains in Late Modern English, they may potentially be relevant to the speech act profiles of contemporary institutional letters especially in the domain of governance. Speech act variation in such settings is in general related to status and power differentials and manifests itself in the degrees of participation in the routines of power by groups of high and low rank as well as in further parameters presented in greater detail above. Some of the patterns presented above, however, are likely to be specific to the analysed data sample and need not apply to other institutional correspondence networks. In the CO letters one such distinctive trait is that the process of exercising power features different sources of authority: decision making and transmission are often indirect and mediators representing different levels of hierarchy are involved. For this reason, next to the performed ones (i.e. writer performed speech acts), described speech acts also characterise the CO exchange. This means that the writers tend to refer to speech acts of others, transmit their contents further, comment, add to them, etc. rather than only perform these explicitly via speech act verbs or conventionalised phrases. This is a result of (1) the importance of the hierarchical organisation of the institution, where the actors endowed with the highest authority do not engage in interaction directly but via proxies; and it may also be related to (2) the profoundly written nature of the exchange (cf. Kohnen 2000 and Williams 2012 who connect performativity to orality in Old and Early Modern English respectively) and the significance of the written accounts for protocol as evidence for proper conduct and transparency.

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Appendix. Micro-speech acts in the most prevalent routines of power

1. directive orders →	[action]	perlocutionary effect
a. I have to desire that you will restore her His Royal Highness has been pleased to sign a Warrant appointing Sir John Wylde I have to desire that you will take the earliest opportunity of appointing that Gentleman to some vacant Ministry I am to desire that you will not in future certify such Account it is Mr. Huskisson's wish that you should grant to Mr. Erith a portion of land I am desired by Mr. Secretary Huskisson to desire that you will issue to Mr. Cassie the sum of forty pounds it will be your duty to provide Clothing for the Corps to this suggestion you will have to give effect It will be incumbent upon you, therefore, to make arrangements in conformity with their Lordship's decision You will immediately communicate this Dispatch to the Council of Government you will discharge the remainder of his claim	refusal We have the honor to request you will represent to (…) our inability to incur the responsibility of authorising the execution of repairs to the Quarters I cannot however see my way as to the appointments (…) I fear the Establishment and necessary Expenditure of the Colony cannot be supported I have read your letter of yesterday's date, and regret that I cannot admit the distinction drawn by the Council I have deferred acting on the permission to employ Caffres (…) until I shall be informed of your Lordship's decision on the enactment now submitted for approval	directives/declarations/ expressives
b. I am directed by Viscount Goderich to return to you the said Drafts which his Lordship is of opinion should be amended I feel it my duty to call your most serious attention to the necessity of enforcing the most effectual precautions against the commission of irregularities	suggestion I shall hope to hear that the Secretary of State approves of keeping up the Library at the charge I have specified, and that he will allow the annual demand for the botanical garden. I am induced to offer a few observations I shall venture to suspend the execution of your Lordship's instruction until I shall be honored with your further commands. I am indeed of opinion that it will be expedient to withdraw Mr. Reveley from all employment in the Colony. I would therefore recommend that the Fiscal should get the pension proposed for him by the Commissioners of Inquiry. yet my Lords are of opinion that the debt must be acknowledged by His Majesty's Government, and provision must be made for its payment (…) but it would, in their opinion, be expedient to request the East India Company to permit the debt to remain for some time longer unpaid I would therefore submit that to prevent misunderstandings and complaints of the sort to which I allude, it will be advisable to keep up the appointment of Commandant of Simon's Town it is not recommended that Government should interfere in fixing the wages I have the strongest grounds for believing that Sila and her children are in truth entitled to freedom	directive/expressive

				approval	commissive/ expressive
				I have the honor to acquaint you (…) that the Master General and Board concur in the measure, and that instructions will be given to the Respective Officers of the Ordnance at the Cape (…) as requested. I think the appointment indeed a most judicious one I imagine I shall be able to fill up very creditably the appointments I can only add my assurance that every practicable diligence will be used in their regular transmission in future I shall not fail to submit to you the terms upon which he can be procured I am happy to find Lord Goderich is disposed to favor its restoration	
2.	declaration	appointment	→	thanks	expressive
	I have to acquaint you that Mr. Revely is the person whom I have selected to fill the Joint Office of Civil Architect and Surveyor General of Lands But I take this opportunity of acquainting you at all events that the appointment of Military Commandant of Simon's Town is abolished altogether. that from the 1st July next no expense whatever by any Grant to the Ordnance can be incurred to any military building it was decided by his Lordship that Baron Lorentz was to receive the full salary of his office			I have to request you will express my heartfelt gratitude I beg to express my thanks to His Lordship for the exception he was good enough to make in my favour during the period I might have remained here.	
3.	commissive/ expressive/ declarations	refusal	←	request	directive
	His Majesty is pleased to disallow the Ordinance No. 9 His Majesty's Government cannot sanction a rule I regret to have to acquaint you in reply that I am not of opinion that the circumstances of this Lady's case are of a nature to warrant me in complying with her request but I regret that I cannot authorize you to increase his salary to the extent of your recommendation I feel myself bound to acquaint you that I should not consider myself authorized in charging the Colony with the expense of providing the Governor with a country residence Consequently you are not authorized to charge the expense of any appointment of that description on the Revenues of the Colony I have only to add (…) that the application of Baron Lorentz is, in other respects, totally inadmissible.			a. I have to request Your Lordship's permission I again humbly solicit His Honor's interference I have to request that you will solicit for me the permission I trust Your Lordship will be pleased to relieve me from the surcharges I cannot doubt that it will meet with his Lordship's approbation I am to request that you will (…) acquaint him that it would be very agreeable Requesting you will (…) submit this letter. requesting only that we may be relieved from any responsibility I beg he may be authorized to continue paying me I am desired (…) to beg from your Lordship that (…) no new impost or tax should be raised b. Will you be kind enough to consider how this difficulty may be obviated I would feel obliged by your submitting to his consideration I venture to urge the necessity of an encreased salary	

Index

The past few decades have witnessed an unprecedented surge of interest in the language of the Late Modern English period. *Late Modern English: Novel Encounters* covers a broad range of topics addressed by international experts in fields such as phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, spelling and pragmatics; this makes the collection attractive to any scholar or student interested in the history of English. Each of the four thematic sections in the book represents a core area of Late Modern English studies. This division makes it easy for specialists to access the chapters that are of immediate relevance to their own work. An introductory chapter establishes connections between chapters within as well as between the four sections. The volume highlights recent advances in research methodology such as spelling normalization and other areas of corpus linguistics; several contributions also shed light on the interplay of internal and external factors in language change.

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