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Introduction

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Over the last two decades the scholarly attention paid to Late Modern English (henceforth LModE) has greatly increased: several volumes, articles and book chapters have appeared on codification of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century usage, such as Görlach (1998), Mitchell (2001), Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008) and Beal – Nocera – Sturiale (2008); phonology has been discussed in the works of Mugglestone (2003), Beal (2004), and Jones (2005); and more encompassing texts have been published by Bailey (1996), Görlach (1999 and 2001), Fitzmaurice (2000), Dossena – Jones (2003), Kytö – Rydén – Smitterberg (2006), Pérez-Guerra et al. (2007), Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009), and Tieken-Boon van Ostade – van der Wurff (2009). Finally, the chapters in Bergs – Brinton (2012: section VI) provide a recent, comprehensive overview of the main features of LModE syntax, morphology, phonology, lexicon and pragmatic features, also devoting attention to sociolinguistic and geographical variation, and to standardization issues. The studies presented by Dossena – Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008), Pahta et al. (2010), Hickey (2010), and Dossena – Del Lungo Camiciotti (2012) bear witness to the sociolinguistic interest of different text types. At the same time, a new approach to language history 'from below' (Vandenbussche – Elspaß 2007 and Elspaß 2012a and 2012b) has enabled scholarly interest to move beyond the usage of educated informants, recorded in literary and other printed documents, to consider the usage of partly-schooled writers – a large and previously ignored set of data: see for instance Fairman (2003) and Dossena (2007 and 2008).

Intriguingly, the increase in breadth and depth of LModE studies has coincided with the launch and growing pervasiveness of the World Wide Web as a tool of investigation and research. This has meant that resources have become more readily available to much broader audiences than in the past,

which has had an inevitable impact on teaching and research. Scholars are made aware of new scientific literature thanks to online library catalogues, specialized electronic *fora*, and can download ebooks and articles from publishers' websites. In addition, more widespread open-access repositories enable faster circulation of new findings among the academic community and beyond, thus increasing the visibility and impact of state-of-the-art research.

Nor does this novelty only concern secondary sources. In recent years many libraries and archives have launched digitization processes thanks to which a growing number of manuscripts has become available to students and scholars alike. In addition to educational websites, such as the one set up and maintained by Raymond Hickey at the University of Duisburg-Essen, and websites of more general interest, such as George P. Landow's *Victorian Web*, electronic resources consist of a very wide range of materials. Among these, attention to geographical variation is given in two online corpora: the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (1700-1945), compiled at the University of Glasgow, and the *Corpus of Historical American English* (1810-2009), compiled by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. These are supplemented by other collections – mostly, but not necessarily online yet, and – in a few cases, still in progress: we may for instance cite the *Corpus of Irish English*, also compiled by Raymond Hickey (14th–20th century), and the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence*, which Kevin McCafferty and Carolina P. Amador-Moreno are currently compiling at the Universities of Bergen and Extremadura. At the University of Bergamo a Corpus of Nineteenth-century Scottish Correspondence (19CSC) is in preparation, for which the transcription of both business and familiar letters (including emigrant correspondence) has been undertaken, while geo-historical variation can also be studied in the *Corpus of Early Ontario English* and its pre-Confederation section, both compiled by Stefan Dollinger at the University of British Columbia, to which the *Bank of Canadian English* may be added, also hosted by the same institution. Similarly, numerous specialized corpora have appeared: alongside the *Zürich English Newspaper Corpus* (ZEN, 1661-1791) and the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*, we now have the *Old Bailey Corpus* (OBC), which provides useful material for the investigation of legal language and of actual usage in depositions; finally, the *Salamanca Corpus* collects dialect literature and literary dialects of Northern and Southern England.

These corpora supplement those with a more general interest and those with a specific focus on literary materials, such as the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, version 3.0 (CLMET3.0), compiled at the Catholic

University of Leuven, the *Corpus of English Dialogues* (CED, 1560-1760), compiled at the University of Uppsala, the *Corpus of Late Modern English Prose*, compiled at the University of Manchester, and of course the well-known, multi-genre *Representative Corpus of Historical Registers* (ARCHER), first constructed by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in the 1990s. Indeed, electronic collections of mostly literary texts have been in the catalogues of important publishers for many years now, but specific research groups and institutions, such as the *Charles Darwin Correspondence project*, and the collections of digitized documents in the websites of the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Library of Congress, and of numerous historical societies throughout the USA and Canada provide open-access materials. Even crowd-sourcing initiatives have been launched, in order to involve the general public and increase interest[1].

Manuscript digitization, however, is not a straightforward process: it implies accurate and consistent choices, in an attempt to preserve the integrity of the text and to provide as much metatextual information as possible. In addition, transcription also requires great accuracy and consistency, for instance in the representation of self-corrections, superscript, blank lines, word and line breaks. For this reason methodological issues are investigated in projects like the international one launched at the University of Coventry on *Digitising experiences of migration: the development of interconnected letter collections*, which aims to bring together historians, linguists, archivists and digital humanities experts from a range of institutions across Europe and the US, in order to discuss issues in digitisation, annotation and cross-disciplinary research. Indeed, blogs have been set up to accompany the creation of new critical editions and to increase awareness of the complexity of digitization processes – examples of these are in the blog relating to the new Edinburgh edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's complete works and in the blog concerning digital preservation practices at the Folger Shakespeare Library, titled 'The Collation'.

Within this framework dictionaries have also grown to play a significant role as electronic resources: the *Oxford English Dictionary* has been a landmark for many years now, but older dictionaries have recently been made available as electronic resources too: nowadays it is possible to find digitized versions of the dictionaries compiled by Samuel Johnson (1755) and Noah Webster (1828). In addition, specific research projects

[1] See http://manuscripttranscription.blogspot.it/2011/02/2010-year-of-crowdsourcing.html (accessed March 2014) for an overview of recent initiatives.

have enabled the digitization of John Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808) and of Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) – see Rennie (2012a) and Markus (2007) respectively. To these, we may add the important rediscovery of James Boswell's manuscript of a Scots dictionary – a project he had contemplated for many years, but was never completed, and which sheds significant light on eighteenth-century attitudes to Scots (see Dossena 2005: 74 and Rennie 2011 and 2012b).

Relying on such important new resources, the papers in this collection present valuable traits of novelty in relation to the problems under discussion: ranging from phonology to morphology and syntax, not least in specialized discourse, they all take a consistently solid methodological approach, convincingly combining quantitative and qualitative analyses. In addition, cohesiveness in the issue is enhanced by the fact that most contributions were first discussed at a conference at the University of Bergamo in August 2013, the fifth in a series of international events specifically devoted to LModE which has been running since 2001[2]. In what follows an outline of contents is offered.

The contributions in this volume

The volume opens with a paper on phonology by **Joan C. Beal** and **Marco Condorelli**: their main focus is the so-called cloth set (Wells 1982), and particularly the lengthening of ME short *o* to /ɔ:/ which begins in the late seventeenth century and in pre-fricative environment, yet then reverts to the short vowel in RP, but not in American English. The study discusses the entries for all the words in Wells's cloth set that appear in a range of pronouncing dictionaries, along with metalinguistic comments on the pronunciation of these words from the same dictionaries. The materials under investigation span the second half of the eighteenth century, and include dictionaries written by authors from various parts of the British Isles and from America.

The second paper, by **Massimo Sturiale**, discusses the role played by eighteenth-century orthoepists in the construction of standard spoken English when they are taken into consideration as a 'discourse community'.

The next papers deal with specialized discourse from different points of view. First of all, **Marina Dossena**'s contribution centres on instances of

[2] Previous events were held in Edinburgh, 2001; Vigo, 2004; Leiden, 2007; and Sheffield, 2010.

knowledge dissemination in the nineteenth century and considers documents addressed to lay audiences, relying in particular on a specially-compiled corpus of articles published in periodicals both in the UK and in the US; special attention is given to titles, illustrations (where available), and intertextual references, i.e. to the textual features that may be deemed to play a significant role in the maintenance of the readers' interest.

Polina Shvanyukova presents two case-studies of nineteenth-century business letter-writing manuals and discusses the role played by specialised business epistolary guides in establishing, maintaining and strengthening transnational commercial networks by imparting rigid socio-cultural norms of proper business conduct.

The next two papers focus on the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*. The first, authored by **Isabel Moskowich** and **Begoña Crespo**, discusses the expression of stance on the part of British and American authors and also across disciplines and genres, taking the orality or written nature of texts as a key feature in the analysis of adverbs. Data is drawn from the works of ca. 120 authors, both male and female, all writing in the nineteenth century, and come from three sections of the *Coruña Corpus*: the *Corpus of English Texts on Astronomy*, the *Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts*, and the *Corpus of Historical English Texts*. These latter two sections also form the basis of **Sofía Zea**'s contribution. The author focuses on eighteenth-century texts in order to discuss the frequency and use of attributive adjectives, and to identify differences in their use in relation to three variables: discipline (Life Science vs. History), sex of the author and genre or text-type (treatises, textbooks, letters, essays, etc.). The analysis also considers comparative and superlative adjectives, as well as compound adjectives and demonyms.

The following papers deal with syntax and morphology. In the first of these **Kevin McCafferty** takes a diachronic approach to the retention of the *be*-perfect with intransitive mutative and motion verbs, which is claimed to characterize Irish English (IrE). Relying on the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence*, the author looks at uses of this construction across 240 years, finding that the *be*-perfect declined, and became lexically restricted to use with certain verbs, over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, IrE retained auxiliary *be* with a wider range of verbs than other varieties, and the verb types found most frequently with *be* are also seen to vary over time. Such variation may have been due to substrate influence from Irish, where the equivalent of the *be*-perfect is found with transitive verbs, and this places the article at the centre of extensive and interesting debate on the legacy of Celtic languages: see for instance Filppula – Klemola – Paulasto (2008).

In the next contribution **Nataša Stojaković** discusses the decline of the English subjunctive, which seems to have been temporarily reversed in LModE. Her study, based on texts ranging from the first half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century, appears to confirm this; however, a closer investigation of plays and non-fiction texts shows considerable individual variation in different texts as far as morphologically distinct instances of the subjunctive are concerned. In particular, occurrences may be indicative of specific authors' stylistic preferences in relation to the use of archaic forms and constructions.

Daisuke Suzuki analyzes the historical development of modal adverbs *doubtless*, *indeed*, *maybe*, *no doubt*, *of course*, and *perhaps* from a functional perspective, showing that LModE can be viewed as a critical stage in their development from the point of view of modalization and pragmaticalization.

Finally, archaic usage is the object of investigation in **Ayumi Nonomiya**'s paper. The author analyzes uses of *you* and *thou* in eighteenth-century drama, concluding that *thou* still occurred in plays, despite its decreasing frequency, on account of its being a stylistic marker: indeed, eighteenth-century tragedies appear to employ *thou* even more frequently than Shakespearean drama in an attempt to imitate an older, higher style, though in many cases this simply reflected the authors' perception of such style.

The range of features investigated in these contributions is expected to elicit further interest in these same features and other linguistic traits; this issue is therefore offered to the academic community as a starting point for further debate.

* * *

As often happens, preliminary versions of individual contributions were first discussed at a conference, in this case the 5th International Conference on Late Modern English in Bergamo. I would like to express my gratitude to the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Communication Studies, and particularly to its administrative and technical staff. Heartfelt thanks also go to members of the Organizing Committee and of the Scientific Committee, and to all the participants, for their important contribution to the event.

Special thanks are due to the editorial staff and anonymous reviewers of *Token: A Journal of English Linguistics*, and particularly to the Editors-in-Chief for their support in the preparation of this issue, the first monographic one in the series: I hope other special issues may follow and further contribute to the journal's success.

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Cut from the same CLOTH? Variation and change in the CLOTH lexical set

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ABSTRACT

With reference to what Wells (1982) subsequently termed the cloth set in English, Barbara Strang stated "[I]t is difficult to know how far the recent history of words of the type *cloth, lost, cross, off* represents sound-change, and how far conflict of analogies and varieties" (1970: 85). Strang is here referring to the fact that, like the change from ME short *a* to present-day RP /ɑː/ in Wells's BATH set, the lengthening of ME short *o* to /ɔː/ in CLOTH words begins in the late seventeenth century and in pre-fricative environment, yet CLOTH words have subsequently reverted to the short vowel in RP whilst BATH words have not. Furthermore, CLOTH words have /ɔː/ in US English, whilst BATH words have /a/.

In this study, we discuss the results of an examination of entries for all the words in Wells's CLOTH set that appear in a range of eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries, along with metalinguistic comments on the pronunciation of these words from the same dictionaries. The dictionaries chosen cover approximately a fifty-year period, the second half of the eighteenth century, and include dictionaries written by authors from various parts of the British Isles and from America. This reveals the extent and nature of the "conflict of analogies and varieties" alluded to by Strang.

1. Introduction

The history and present-day distribution of variants in what Wells (1982) calls the CLOTH lexical set are, to say the least, somewhat complicated. The majority of words in this set would have had a short *o* in Middle English, which could be transcribed as /ɒ/. Subsequently, they were subjected to changes in quality, from /ɒ/ to /ɔ/ and of quantity, from /ɔ/ to /ɔː/ but, at least in mainstream RP, the quantitative change appears to have been reversed in the course of the

twentieth century. Different editions of Daniel Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* track this change: in the 1937 edition the variant /ɔ:/ is given as the more usual pronunciation in RP for the vowel in words such as *off*, with /ɔ/ as an alternative, but in the 1967 edition edited by Gimson, /ɔ/ is presented as the more usual RP variant, with /ɔ:/ described as "old-fashioned" (1967: 349). The lengthened variant is increasingly indexed as not only old-fashioned but associated with older aristocrats or even royalty. As early as 1982, Wells was able to state that "the use of /ɔ:/ in CLOTH is perceived as a laughable archaism of "affected" or aristocratic U-RP" (1982: 234) and Hughes et al. describe pronunciations of words such as "*off*, *cross*, *across*, *soft*, *cloth*" as "now very rare among RP speakers as a whole and […] generally considered affected" (2012: 50). Popular representations of these variants likewise mark them out as different from the norm. The political cartoonist Steve Bell regularly uses representations of this variant as a stereotype of "royal" English. An example of this can be found in the cartoon published in the *Guardian* on 18th June 2012. In this cartoon, the Prime Minister, David Cameron, asks the Queen for an earldom, to which she replies "I warn you, it could **corst**" and "Can you deliver **bedgers orff** one's land by Christmas?"[1]. The semi-phonetic spelling of the words in bold, along with the use of the impersonal "one" with first-person reference, represent the most salient stereotypes of "royal" speech, the ultimate example of Wells's "aristocratic U-RP". The use of <e> in "bedgers" represents a raised variant of /a/, whilst the <or> spelling in "orff" and "corst" indicates /ɔ:/. The very fact that these variants are represented in semi-phonetic spelling singles them out as different from "normal" RP and contributes to their enregisterment as stereotypical of royal speech.

What appears to have happened in the CLOTH set in RP is a reversal in the twentieth century of an earlier lengthening. Barber explains this as follows:

> The fact is, this change of ɔ: to ɒ is not a phonemic change going on at the present time: a change took place almost two centuries ago in certain styles of speech, and two kinds of form, one with a long vowel and one with a short, have existed side by side in the language ever since; what is happening now is that one style is becoming fashionable at the expense of the other […]. This is the kind of thing that happens when social groups go up or down in the world, and it is possible that

[1] See www.belltoons.co.uk/bellworks/index.php/if/2012/6903-180612_EARLDOM, accessed 30th January 2015.

> the spread of the ɒ-forms in the present century is the result of social changes, especially the rise of democracy. (1964: 43)

Strang presents this reversal as an example of the complexity of phonological variation and change in Late Modern English, stating that "[I]t is difficult to know how far the recent history of words of the type *cloth, lost, cross, off* represents sound-change, and how far conflict of analogies and varieties" (1970: 85). By "sound change", Strang means regular sound change of the "neogrammarian" type, and, indeed, Lass describes the history of the CLOTH set as "a very complex and unsatisfactory history (at least if one is trying to operate in Neogrammarian mode)" (2000: 228). In this paper, we examine detailed evidence from eight eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries and discover that long and short variants of words in the CLOTH set have existed side by side for over 300 years. The changes observed represent, not the reversal of a merger but shifts in the prestige of these variants. In Section 2, we discuss the membership of the CLOTH set and the sound changes involved. Section 3 outlines existing scholarship on the CLOTH set in the Late Modern period, whilst Section 4 sets out the findings from our detailed and systematic comparison of eight eighteenth-century sources. Finally, Section 5 looks at the evidence for pronunciation of words in the CLOTH set in nineteenth and early twentieth-century RP and presents our conclusions.

2. The CLOTH set

Wells divides his CLOTH set into two major subsets as set out in Figure 1: subset *a*, consisting of words in which both conservative RP and General American English have the same vowel as in the THOUGHT lexical set, and subset *b*, for which General American English has the vowel of THOUGHT, but, according to Wells, RP "never had" this pronunciation.

A	*B*
• Off, cough, trough, broth, froth, cross, across, loss, floss, toss, fosse, doss • Soft, croft, lost, oft, cost, frost, lost, • Often, soften, lofty • Australia, Austria, Austen, Austin, gone	• Moth, boss, gloss, joss, moss, Ross, • Long, strong, wrong, gong, song, thong, tongs, throng, • Accost, coffee, coffer, coffin, offer, office, officer, glossy, foster, Boston, Gloucester, sausage • wash

Figure 1. The CLOTH set (after Wells 1982: 136-137)

Wells's CLOTH set also includes a group *c*, which involves words with post-vocalic /r/.The history of this subset is less complicated so we will not be considering these words. Indeed, as the examples from Steve Bell in Section 1 demonstrate, the spelling <or> is used to indicate the THOUGHT vowel, which suggests that, at least for a British readership, the pronunciation with /ɔː/ is taken for granted in group *c* words. The examples provided by Wells are not intended to give a complete inventory of words in a lexical set, but to provide examples of the types of phonological environments in which the vowel concerned occurs and the different historical origins of the words. Most of the words in the CLOTH set would have had the short *o* in Middle English, but *wash* had short *a;* some words, such as *coffee*, *Australia*, did not exist in Middle English; and others had ME *au* (*sausage*) or short *a* (*wash*). In the latter two cases, monophthongization of ME *au* and rounding of ME *a* after /w/ resulted in these words having the same vowel as *off*, *soft* etc. and so becoming subject to the same sound changes.

All the words in subset *a* except *gone*, and the majority of words in subset *b* have a voiceless fricative following the vowel and involve a process which Wells (1982: 136) calls "pre-fricative lengthening". This sound change affects ME *ŏ* (along with monophthongized reflexes of ME *au*) and ME *ă* in parallel and in both cases the first evidence for lengthening appears in the late seventeenth century, as reported by Dobson:

> The only evidence comes from Cooper, who shows lengthening in *lost, frost*, and in other words before *st,* and in *off*, but not before final *s* in *loss*; his evidence on the lengthening of ME *ŏ* and ME *ă* before voiceless spirants is thus exactly parallel […]. Cooper further shows clearly that the lengthened sound developed from ME *ŏ* was identical with the monophthong developed from ME *au.* (Dobson 1957: 527)

Dobson goes on to note that "lengthening occurs occasionally in StE before other front consonants" including [ʃ] and [n] and that "when a bilabial or labiodental (especially [w]) precedes ME *ă*, there is commonly rounding and retraction to [ɒː]" (1957: 529). Although Dobson finds no evidence for the lengthened vowel in *gone* in his sources, he notes this as a variant in the English of his own time. For *wash*, which has two environmental factors favouring lengthening, he finds evidence for [ɒː] in Daines (1640) and in the anonymous *Writing Scholar's Companion* (1695). This account covers all the words in subset *a* and all in subset *b* except for those in which the vowel is followed by /ŋ/. Dobson includes *tong* and *wrong* in a set of words for which

"the dialects show lengthening in cases for which there is no StE evidence" (1957: 533).

By the end of the seventeenth century there is thus evidence that the process of pre-fricative lengthening had begun, but only regularly before /st/ and /f/. To account for the inclusion of *broth*, *froth*, *cross*, *across*, *loss*, *floss*, *toss*, *fosse*, and *doss* in Wells's subset *a*, the lengthening must have been extended to other environments after 1700. In the next section, we discuss the accounts of pre-fricative lengthening in Late Modern English presented by MacMahon (1998) and Lass (2000) before going on to present our own findings in Section 4.

3. The CLOTH set in Late Modern English

Although his account deals only with seventeenth-century evidence for pre-fricative lengthening, Dobson writes that "the unlengthened pronunciation continued in use beside the new lengthened one, for which there is a considerable body of eighteenth-century evidence" (1957: 528). He is somewhat dismissive of Walker's (1791) "evidence of a reaction against the lengthened pronunciation", noting that "the lengthened pronunciation […] remained common throughout the nineteenth century" (1957: 528). A more thorough discussion of pre-fricative lengthening in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is provided by MacMahon (1998: 433-438), who reports the conclusions drawn by Ward (1952: 95-97), based on "a close examination of words containing "short a" and "short o" (and potentially "long a" and long "o") in the works of ten orthöepists from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth centuries" (MacMahon 1998: 432-433)[2]. MacMahon summarises Ward's points as follows:

> The lengthened vowels became more and more common in 'good' speech, until by 1784 and the publication of Nares' *Elements of Orthoepy*, they were regarded as the norm. However, Sheridan's usages (1780) differ markedly from those of Nares.
>
> By the end of the century, there was a limited tendency to revert to the short sounds – possibly to achieve, or avoid, a sense of affectation.

[2] The orthöepists selected by Ward were: Ash, Batchelor, Buchanan, Elphinston, Johnston, Kenrick, Nares, Sheridan, Tiffin and Walker.

> There was a difference in the contexts in which the lengthened vowels occurred. Lengthening was frequent before word-final /f/, /θ/, and /fC#/, sC#/. Less common was lengthening before inter-vocalic /f/, /θ/, and /s/. (Ward 1952: 95-7, cited in MacMahon 1998: 433)

MacMahon then draws on a wider range of Late Modern English sources to account for the distribution of long and short variants. Noting that there is a "lack of any clear preference" for long or short variants of CLOTH words, MacMahon nevertheless considers it "possible to discern a certain number of patterns" with the proviso that "in the absence of a fully comprehensive survey of all available sources" these "should be treated as provisional" (1998: 433). We have summarised MacMahon's account of environments favouring long and short variants respectively in Figures 2 and 3 below.

Figure 2 shows evidence for lengthening in environments not attested by Dobson's seventeenth-century sources, which would indicate an extension of the sound change, but Figure 3 suggests a reversal of the change before /f/ and /st/, precisely the environments in which Cooper (1687) showed lengthening. In his account of pre-fricative lengthening, Lass refers to "a curious see-saw development" by which "from the 1680s to the 1780s the use of the lengthened vowels expands; in the 1780s -90s a reaction sets in" (2000: 225). This "reaction" noted by Ward in the extract cited above as "a limited tendency to revert to the short sounds" is articulated by Walker as follows:

> What was observed of the *a*, when followed by a liquid and a mute, may be observed of the *o* with equal justness. This letter, like *a*, has a tendency to lengthen, when followed by a liquid and another consonant, or by *s, ss* or *s* and a mute. But this length of *o* in this position, seems every day growing more and more vulgar: and as it would be gross to a degree to sound the *a* in *castle, mask* and *plant*, like that in *palm, psalm*, &c. so it would be equally exceptionable to pronounce the o in *moss, dross* and *frost,* as if written *mawse, drawse* and *frawst*. (Walker 1791: 22)

Walker here specifies that the lengthened vowel is "every day growing more and more vulgar" in two of the environments included in Figure 3: before final /s/ and before /st/. His choice of words implies that the lengthened pronunciation was not always considered vulgar and that the reaction against this lengthening was, in 1791, a change in progress. The additional evidence provided by MacMahon (see above) shows that Dobson was

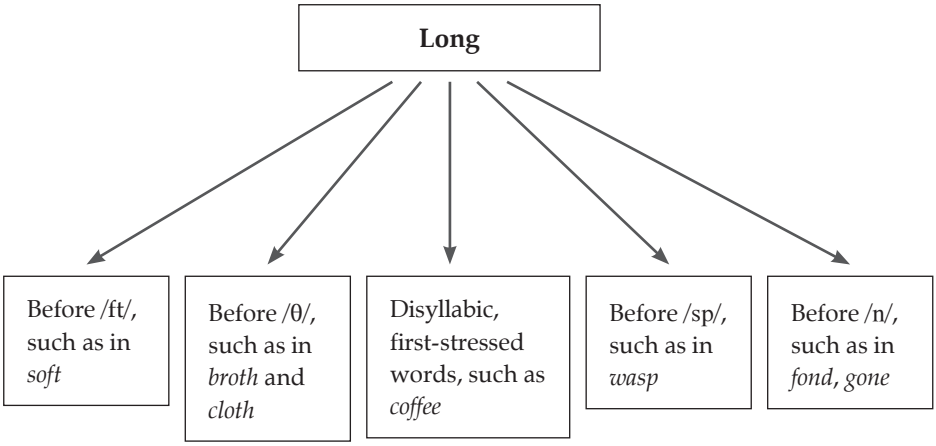


Figure 2. Environments in which long variants are favoured in Late Modern English (after MacMahon 1998: 433-438)

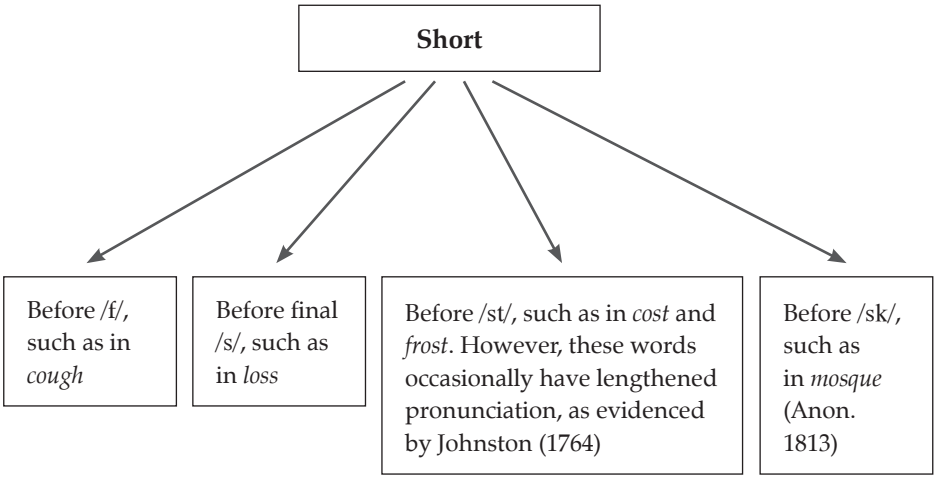


Figure 3. Environments in which short variants are favoured in Late Modern English (after MacMahon 1998: 433-438)

wrong to dismiss Walker's comment since other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources also favoured the short variant in these environments. *Vulgar* is a keyword for Walker: this and its derivatives such as *vulgarly, vulgarity* occur no less than 94 times in the remarks which accompany the entries in his *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*, always referring to the speech of the lower classes. What Walker is saying in the above citation is that the

lengthened pronunciation, though formerly acceptable, was increasingly being associated with lower-class speech. Given that these variants are now indexed as "royal", Lass's description of the "see-saw development" of pre-fricative lengthening seems particularly apt. In the next section, we revisit the eighteenth-century evidence by means of a systematic comparison of entries for words in the CLOTH set in eight eighteenth-century sources.

4. Systematic comparison of eight eighteenth-century sources.

The data sources used for our study are listed in Table 1. These sources were selected to provide a chronological spread through the second half of the eighteenth century. All the sources are pronouncing dictionaries, because, as noted in Beal (1999: 96), these provide evidence for variation across the entire lexicon, whereas grammars and other orthoepical works provide isolated examples.

Table 1. Sources used for comparison of pronunciations of words in the CLOTH set

Author	Title	Date of publication	Author's birthplace
Johnson	*Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary*	1764	unknown
Kenrick	*New Dictionary of the English Language*	1773	Hemel Hempstead
Perry	*Royal Standard English Dictionary*	1775	Scotland
Spence	*Grand Repository of the English Language*	1775	Newcastle
Sheridan	*General Dictionary of the English Language*	1780	Dublin/ Quilca
Walker	*Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*	1791	London
Jones	*Sheridan Improved*	1797	London
Scott	*A New Spelling, Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary*	1799	Scotland

Table 1 shows the author and title of each dictionary used for our study, along with the date of publication and, where known, the author's birthplace. It is worth noting that only Walker and Jones were born in London and, whilst Kenrick's birthplace is close to London, all the other authors except Johnston, whose birthplace is not known, would have been considered "provincial", hailing as they did from Scotland, Ireland, and the far north of England. Although all these authors provided what they considered to

be "correct" pronunciations, our analysis may well demonstrate diatopic as well as diachronic variation (see Beal 1999: 105-111 for a comparable account of pre-fricative lengthening in BATH words).

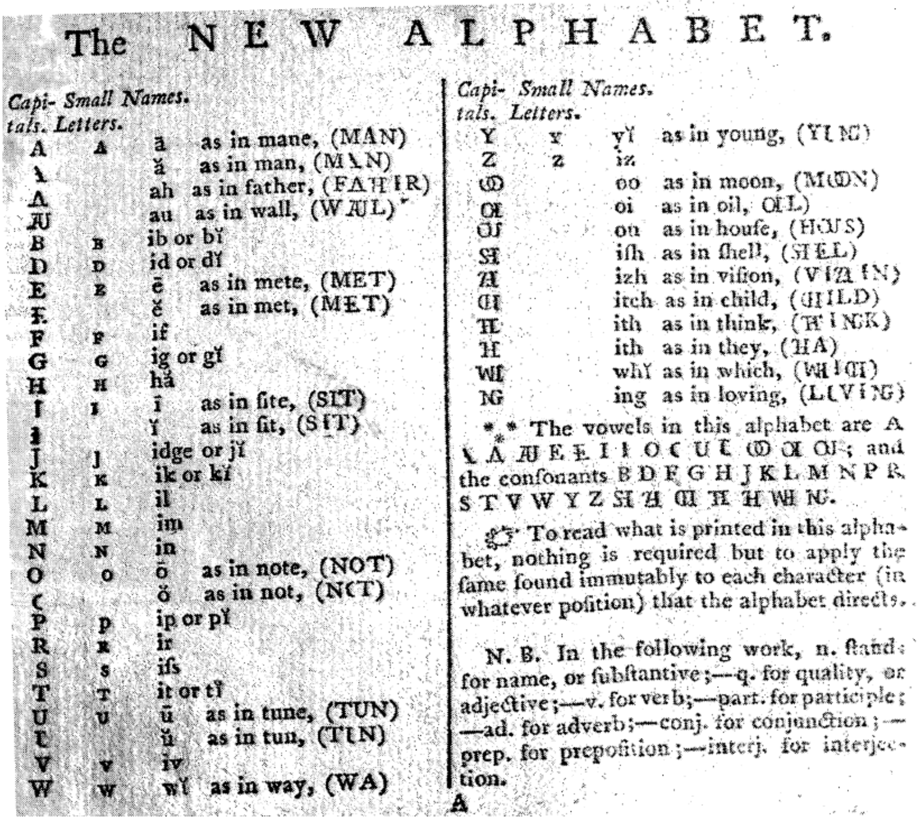
Since these dictionaries vary in size, rather than selecting all words which could potentially belong to the CLOTH set, we decided to confine our comparison to those words provided by Wells (1982: 136-137) as examples of subsets *a* and *b* of the CLOTH set, or at least as many of these as appear in eighteenth-century dictionaries. This study is also intended as a pilot for the *Eighteenth-century English Phonology* database project (Beal – Sen 2014), which will provide a full account of eighteenth-century English phonology in the form of IPA Unicode transcriptions of all entries corresponding to Wells's examples for all his keywords[3]. Of course, eighteenth-century authors did not have access to IPA: in order to convey their recommended pronunciations, they used various methods, ranging from various types of diacritics, the most popular of which were the superscripted numbers used by Kenrick (1773), Sheridan (1780) and Walker (1791), to respelling in idiosyncratic phonetic alphabets such as that devised by Spence (1775). Walker's system is illustrated in Figure 4 and Spence's in Figure 5 below.

A Table of the Simple and Diphthongal Vowels referred to by the Figures over the Letters in this Dictionary.

ENGLISH SOUNDS.	FRENCH SOUNDS.
1. å. The long ſlender Engliſh *a*, as in fåte, på-per, &c. (73)	*ê* in *fête, êpée.*
2. å. The long Italian *a*, as in fâr, fâ-ther, pa-pâ, mam-mâ, (77)	*a* in *fable, rable.*
3. å. The broad German *a*, as in fåll, wåll, wå-ter, (83)	*â* in *âge, Châlons.*
4. å. The ſhort ſound of this Italian *a*, as in fât, mât, mâr-ry, (81)	*a* in *fat, matin.*
1. ê. The long *e*, as in mê, hêre, mê-tre, mê-dium, (93)	*i* in *mitre, epitre.*
2. ĕ. The ſhort *e*, as in mĕt, lĕt, gĕt, (95)	*e* in *mette, nette.*
1. î. The long diphthongal *i*, as in pîne, tî-tle, (105)	*aï* in *laïque, naïf.*
2. ĭ. The ſhort ſimple *i*, as in pĭn, tĭt-tle, (107)	*i* in *inne, titre.*
1. ô. The long open *o*, as in nô, nôte, nô-tice, (162)	*o* in *globe, lobe.*
2. ŏ. The long cloſe *o*, as in mŏve, prŏve, (164)	*ou* in *mouvoir, pouvoir.*
3. ô. The long broad *o*, as in nôr, fôr, ôr ; like the broad å, (167)	*o* in *or, for, encor.*
4. ŏ. The ſhort broad *o*, as in nŏt, hŏt, gŏt, (163)	*o* in *botte, cotte.*
1. û. The long diphthongal *u*, as in tûbe, cû-pid, (171)	*ieu* in *Cieutat, chieurme.*
2. ŭ. The ſhort ſimple *u*, as in tŭb, cŭp, sŭp, (172)	*eu* in *neuf, veuf.*
3. ů. The middle or obtuſe *u*, as in bůll, fůll, půll, (173)	*ou* in *boule, foule, poule.*
ôĭ. The long broad ô, and the ſhort ĭ, as in ôĭl, (299)	*oï* in *cycloïde, heroïque.*
ôů. The long broad ô, and the middle obtuſe ů, as in thôů, pôůnd, (313)	*auû* in *Auûte.*

Figure 4. Walker's "Table of the Simple and Diphthongal Vowels"

[3] This project concerns some 1,700 words in all, taken from all available eighteenth--century pronouncing dictionaries; it will include bio-bibliographical information on the authors and the dictionaries, in addition to metalinguistic data in the form of comments such as that cited from Walker above.



The NEW ALPHABET.

Capitals.	Small Letters.	Names.
A	A	ā as in mane, (MAN)
ʌ		ă as in man, (MʌN)
Λ		ah as in father, (FΛTHIR)
Æ		au as in wall, (WÆL)
B	B	ib or bĭ
D	D	id or dĭ
E	E	ē as in mete, (MET)
Ɛ		ĕ as in met, (MƐT)
F	F	if
G	G	ig or gĭ
H	H	hā
I	I	ī as in site, (SIT)
Ɩ		ĭ as in sit, (SƖT)
J	J	idge or jĭ
K	K	ik or kĭ
L	L	il
M	M	im
N	N	in
O	O	ō as in note, (NOT)
C		ŏ as in not, (NCT)
P	P	ip or pĭ
R	R	ir
S	S	iss
T	T	it or tĭ
U	U	ū as in tune, (TUN)
Ʊ		ŭ as in tun, (TƱN)
V	V	iv
W	W	wĭ as in way, (WA)

Capitals.	Small Letters.	Names.
Y	Y	yĭ as in young, (YƱNG)
Z	Z	iz
Ꝏ		oo as in moon, (MꝎN)
OI		oi as in oil, (OIL)
OU		ou as in house, (HOUS)
SH		ish as in shell, (SHƐL)
ZH		izh as in vision, (VIZHƖN)
CH		itch as in child, (CHILD)
TH		ith as in think, (THƖNGK)
DH		ith as in they, (DHA)
WH		whĭ as in which, (WHƖCH)
NG		ing as in loving, (LƱVƖNG)

** The vowels in this alphabet are A ʌ Λ Æ E Ɛ I Ɩ O C U Ʊ Ꝏ OI OU; and the consonants B D F G H J K L M N P R S T V W Y Z SH ZH CH TH DH WH NG.

☞ To read what is printed in this alphabet, nothing is required but to apply the same sound immutably to each character (in whatever position) that the alphabet directs.

N. B. In the following work, n. stands for name, or substantive;—q. for quality, or adjective;—v. for verb;—part. for participle;—ad. for adverb;—conj. for conjunction;—prep. for preposition;—interj. for interjection.

A

Figure 5. Spence's "New Alphabet"

A comparison of Figures 4 and 5 reveals that Spence's system of respelling is much more phonemic than Walker's. As Spence himself claims "nothing is required but to apply the same sound immutably to each character" in his system: thus words in the CLOTH set are transcribed with Æ if a long pronunciation is intended or C if a short one is, regardless of the spelling in traditional orthography. Walker, on the other hand, whilst noting that "the long broad *o*" transcribed in his system with a superscript 3 is "like the broad *a*", respells words pronounced /ɔː/ <a^3> or <o^3> according to whether they have <a> or <o> in conventional orthography. Since the authors listed in Table 1 have so many different ways of representing the long and short variants of CLOTH words, we have simply noted in each case whether the word has a recommended pronunciation that is long or short. The full list of words from Wells's CLOTH subsets *a* and *b* as pronounced according to the dictionaries listed in Figure 4 can be found in the Appendix at the end of this paper.

Our findings are summarised in Table 2, and Figure 6 below. Table 2 shows the environments in which long or short variants occur in each source, whilst Figure 6 shows the number of short and long tokens in each source.

Table 2. Distribution of long and short variants by phonetic environment

Source	Long before the following sounds:	Short before the following sounds:
Johnston (1764)	/θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/, /ʃ/. *sausage*	/f/, /n/, /ŋ/.
Kenrick (1773)	/f/, /θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/.	/f/, /s/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ʃ/.
Perry (1775)	/ʃ/.	/f/, /θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/, /n/, /ŋ/.
Spence (1775)	/ʃ/. *sausage*	/f/, /θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/, /ŋ/.
Sheridan (1780)	/θ/, /ft/.	/f/, /θ/, /s/, /st/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ʃ/.
Walker (1791)	/f/.	/θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ʃ/.
Jones (1797)	/f/, /θ/, /ft/.	/f/, /θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ʃ/.
Scott (1799)	/ʃ/.	/f/, /θ/, /s/, /ft/, /st/, /ŋ/.

Table 2 shows a reduction after 1775 in the number of environments in which long variants occur. Johnston and Kenrick have long variants in almost all pre-fricative environments, though for Johnston only short variants occur before /f/ and for Kenrick both short and long variants occur before /f/ and /s/, whilst *wash* has a short vowel. Perry and Spence in 1775 and Scott in 1799 effectively have the long vowel only in *wash* (and, for Spence, in *sausage*), whilst Sheridan, Walker and Jones all have a restricted range of environments in which long variants occur. The diachronic trend is clearly towards an increasing restriction of long environments, but Perry and Spence, both published in 1775, appear advanced compared to Sheridan and Jones. Diatopic variation may well be a factor here, as Perry, Spence and Scott are all "northern" authors: Perry and Scott having been born in Scotland and Spence in Newcastle. It could well be the case, as with the parallel pre-fricative lengthening in the BATH set, that the lengthening in CLOTH words from Wells's subsets *a* and *b* never happened in the north of England or in Scotland.

When we consider the overall numbers of long and short variants in the sources examined, as shown in Figure 6, the trend towards a decline in long variants is even clearer. Only Johnston, the earliest of our sources, has noticeably more long than short tokens. Kenrick's figures show a decline in the number of long tokens, but these are still slightly in the majority. There is then a sharp plunge, with Perry having only one long token and Spence only two, but, as we have noted above, this may be due to their northern origin.

However, the decline in long tokens continues from Sheridan (1780) onwards, with no other source reaching double figures for short tokens. This confirms Lass's statement that "in the 1780s -90s a reaction sets in" (2000: 225), but suggests that the expansion of lengthened variants had ceased before 1780.

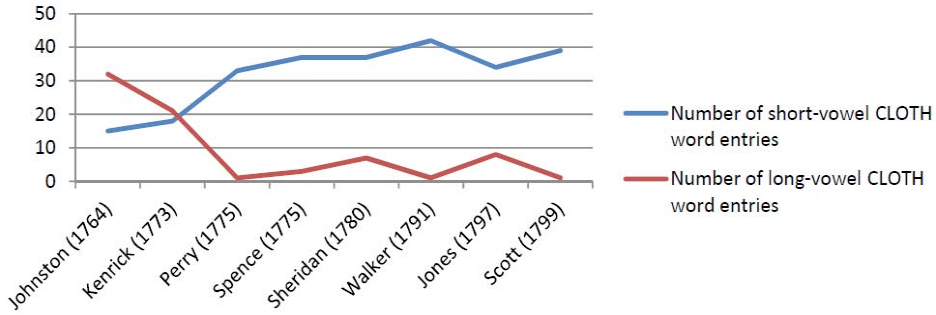


Figure 6. Numbers of long and short variants in each source

Figure 7 shows the overall percentages of short tokens in all of the sources examined for each phonetic environment. What is immediately apparent here is that in every environment, at least half of the tokens are short, or in other words, evidence from the second half of the eighteenth century suggests that, as far as words in Wells's CLOTH subsets *a* and *b* are concerned, no environment favours lengthening.

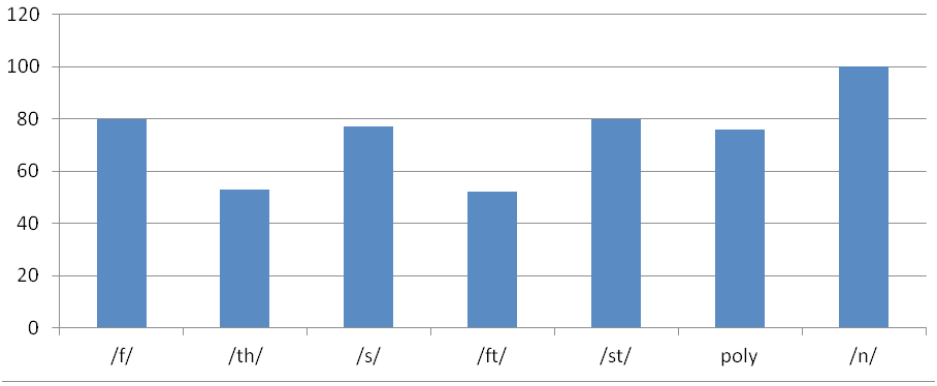


Figure 7. Overall percentages of short tokens of CLOTH words in eight eighteenth-century sources ("poly" = polysyllabic words)

In Figures 8 and 9 we have superimposed the percentages from Figure 7 onto the representations of MacMahon's summary of environments favouring long or short variants as shown in Figures 2 and 3 above.

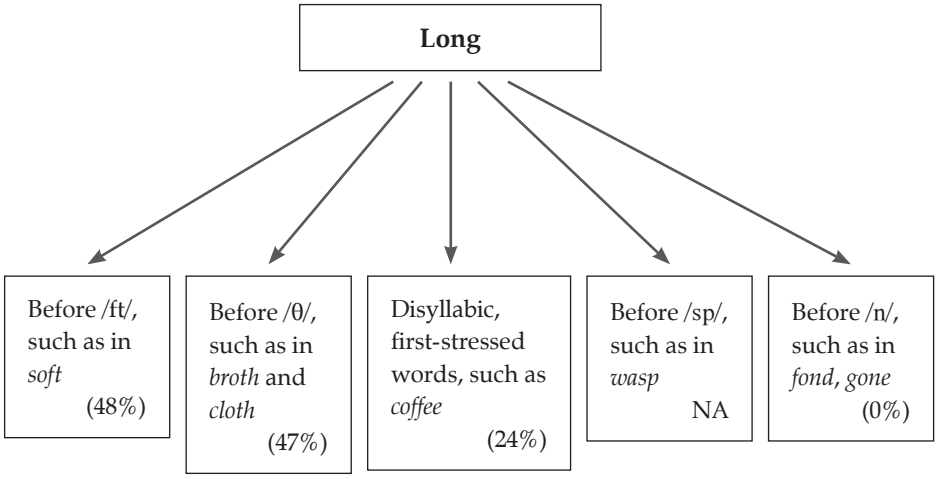


Figure 8. Percentages of long tokens of CLOTH words in eight eighteenth-century sources for environment favouring long tokens according to MacMahon (1998)

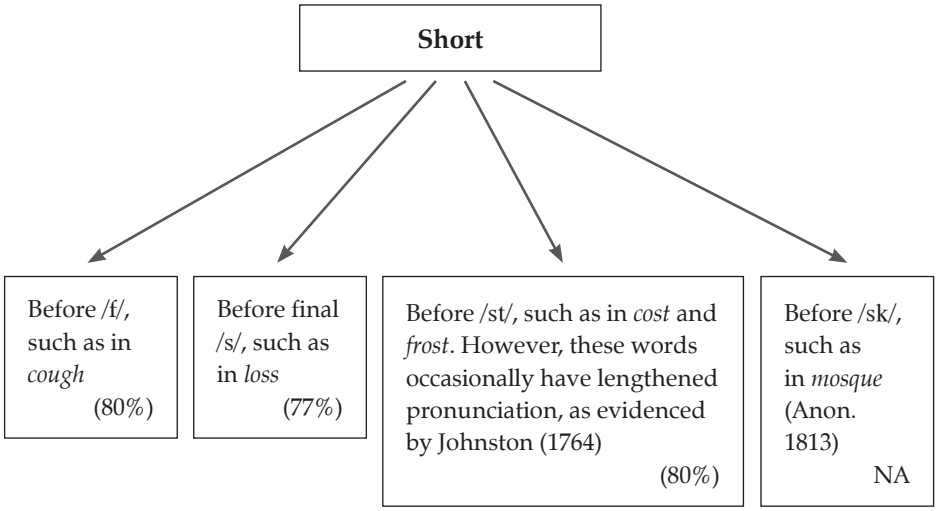


Figure 9. Percentages of short tokens of CLOTH words in eight eighteenth-century sources for environment favouring short tokens according to MacMahon (1998)

Whilst Figure 9 reveals that MacMahon's identification of environments favouring short variants is robust, with figures of 77% and 80% short tokens in these environments in the sources studied here, Figure 8 suggests that MacMahon's summary over-emphasises the predominance of long tokens in the environments specified there, as the highest proportion of these are in the environments /-ft/ and /θ/ with 48% and 47% long tokens respectively.

Of course, the differences between our findings and MacMahon's could well be explained by our choice of different sources and/or the fact that we have concentrated on a different set of tokens. Our findings support the comments made by Ward (1952), MacMahon (1998) and Lass (2000) concerning the decline of lengthened variants in the late eighteenth century, but go further in revealing that in no source after 1773 are long variants in the majority, and in no single environment are they in the majority in our data overall. Since Cooper's (1687) evidence shows only a few examples of lengthening in a restricted number of environments, we conclude that the CLOTH set has always been variable in RP and its predecessors, at least with regard to Wells's subsets *a* and *b*. In the next section, we briefly discuss the later history of the CLOTH set before concluding with the implications of our findings.

5. The CLOTH set in nineteenth- and twentieth-century RP

We saw in the previous section that lengthening of the vowel in CLOTH words, except for those in which the vowel precedes <r>, was variable and probably recessive throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century accounts of these words in RP likewise suggest that the pronunciation with the vowel of THOUGHT was already considered "old-fashioned". Lass notes that "for Sweet's [1877] corner of RP-shire, lengthening of /o/ appears […] somewhat recessive" (Lass 2000: 227), and cites Wyld (1921) as giving [ɔ:] in *cloth* "but not among all speakers" and Ward (1929) as stating that "educated speakers who use [ɔ:] at the present day are mainly middle-aged or conservative" (all cited in Lass 2000: 227-8). It would appear that the lengthened pronunciations of CLOTH words in Well's subsets *a* and *b* have been considered "marked" at least since the late eighteenth-century, but the type of marking shifts. For Walker, the lengthened variants are enregistered as "vulgar", whereas for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commentators they are considered old-fashioned and conservative, and by the late twentieth to early twenty-first-century they are associated with the "conservative U-RP" of older members of the British royalty. The trajectory of lengthened pronunciations of CLOTH words in RP is that of Labov's category of "stereotype". Labov defines stereotypes as "socially marked forms, prominently labelled by society" (1972: 314) and suggests that "under extreme stigmatization, a form may become the overt topic of social comment, and may eventually disappear. It is thus a *stereotype*, which may become increasingly divorced from the forms

which are actually used in speech" (1972: 180). Although the indexicality of long vowel pronunciations of CLOTH words shifts from "vulgar" (and therefore fitting in with Labov's notion of "extreme stigmatization" in the late eighteenth century to "posh but old-fashioned" in the late nineteenth-to early twentieth centuries, and "royal" in the twenty-first, these variants are, at least since the late eighteenth century, certainly marked out as different from the norm. There are indications that even Steve Bell's depiction of the Queen's pronunciation no longer corresponds to reality. Harrington et al. (2000) noted from a diachronic study of the Queen's Christmas speeches that "the Queen's vowels have shifted in the direction of a more mainstream form of Received Pronunciation" (2000: 63).

This study has been limited in scope, concentrating as it does on evidence from eight late eighteenth-century sources and a restricted set of words, so MacMahon's call for a "fully comprehensive survey of all available sources" (1998: 433) is still relevant. Nevertheless, the evidence presented above strongly suggests that both long and short versions of *off, cloth* etc. have co-existed since the late seventeenth century and supports Lass's assertion that "restoration of /ɒ/, […] is not a reversed merger, but a shift of prestige in a set of coexisting variants" (Lass 2000: 224).

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APPENDIX

This section contains two tables, which collect some of the CLOTH words in Well's word set (1982: 136). The first table contains words from Well's (a) subset and the second table contains words from Well's (b) subset. The abbreviation N.A. means that the entry is not found, not readable or not specified. The words from (a) and (b) subsets which have not been found in any of the dictionaries selected have not been included: these are *floss*, *Austria*, *Austen*, *Austin*, *joss*, *Boston* and *Gloucester*.

(a)

Word	Dictionary	Pronunciation
Off	Johnston(1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Long
	Jones (1797)	N.A.
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

(b)[4]

Word	Dictionary	Pronunciation
Moth	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

[4] Although Wells describes subset *b* as consisting of words which have the vowel of thought in General American, but never had this in RP or its predecessors, our

Cough	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	N.A.
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Trough	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	/u:/
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Broth	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Froth	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Boss	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Gloss	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Moss	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Ross	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	N.A.
	Jones (1797)	N.A.
	Scott (1799)	N.A.
	Spence (1775)	N.A.

findings here suggest that some of the words in this set did have a long variant in some eighteenth-century accounts, most notably sausage and wash, which are the only words with a long vowel for the northern and Scottish sources. It is worth noting that *sausage* and *wash* both have orthographic <a>. For *sausage*, the 'vulgar' pronunciation to avoid in the eighteenth-century was /sasidʒ/ and for Spence at least, /a/ after /w/ would be the local pronunciation, so maybe in the north of England and in Scotland *wash* with the THOUGHT vowel was hypercorrect. Also, as we can see in Figure 6, for Spence, THOUGHT is primarily a reflex of ME a.

Cross	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Across	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Loss	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Toss	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Fosse	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Long	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Strong	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Wrong	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Gong	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	N.A.
	Jones (1797)	N.A.
	Scott (1799)	N.A.
	Spence (1775)	N.A.
Song	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Doss	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	N.A.
	Walker (1791)	N.A.
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	N.A.
	Spence (1775)	N.A.
Soft	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Croft	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Lost	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Oft	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Thong	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Tongs	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Throng	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Accost	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Long?
Coffee	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Cost	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Frost	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Lost	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Often	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Soften	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Coffer	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Coffin	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Offer	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Office	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Officer	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short

Lofty	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Long
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Long
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	N.A.
Gone	Johnston (1764)	Short
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	N.A.
	Spence (1775)	N.A.

Glossy	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	N.A.
Foster	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Long
	Perry (1775)	Short
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Short
	Spence (1775)	Short
Sausage	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	N.A.
	Perry (1775)	N.A.
	Sheridan (1780)	/a/
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	N.A.
	Scott (1799)	N.A.
	Spence (1775)	Long
Wash	Johnston (1764)	Long
	Kenrick (1773)	Short
	Perry (1775)	Long
	Sheridan (1780)	Short
	Walker (1791)	Short
	Jones (1797)	Short
	Scott (1799)	Long
	Spence	Long

The social construction of Standard (Spoken) English: Eighteenth-century orthoepists as a "discourse community"[1]

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ABSTRACT

In the pursuit of a standard form of spoken English, the second half of the eighteenth century was characterised by a proliferation of pronouncing dictionaries and manuals and – most importantly – by the publication of the 'authoritative' works by Thomas Sheridan (1780) and John Walker (1791). Pronouncing dictionaries offer important evidence of language change and of the fact that at this time provincial and vulgar pronunciations started to be marginalized and stigmatized (Beal 2004b and 2010).

By analysing the prefatory material of eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries, I aim to demonstrate how lexicographers and orthoepists, as "a discourse community" (Watts 1999), made an outstanding contribution to the social construction of the Standard ideology and its further reinforcement. Furthermore, reviews and advertisements of the aforementioned publications appeared in the daily press and periodicals; these, together with other news articles, will also be analysed to shed further light on the 'debate' which characterized the rise, in Mugglestone's words (2003), of "accent as social symbol".

1. Eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries

In her pioneering study on "pronouncing systems in eighteenth-century dictionaries", dated 1946, Esther K. Sheldon pointed out that

[1] For the title of this paper I am very much indebted to Richard Watt's study on eighteenth-century grammarians as a "discourse community" (Watts 1999).

> The eighteenth century marks the beginning of a widespread interest in English pronunciation especially in 'correct' pronunciation, and also the appearance of the first pronouncing dictionaries, designed to satisfy this interest. (Sheldon 1946: 27)

However, it was especially the second half of the eighteenth century that was characterised by a proliferation of pronouncing dictionaries (cf. Mugglestone 2003. See also Beal 1999, 2009 and Jones 2006). For example, one could mention, among others, Buchanan (1757), Kenrick (1773), Spence (1775), Perry (1775), Sheridan (1780) and Walker (1791), with Walker actually dominating the scene and destined to be considered the 'pronunciation bible', and the 'undisputed norm' in matters of pronunciation, throughout the nineteenth century[2].

The high number of pronouncing dictionaries and, consequently, the progress and steady improvement of the same were a reflection of the public demands for "guidance in pronunciation" (Sheldon 1946: 39; cf. Görlach 2001: 89). As pointed out also by Beal,

> such works were highly marketable because they provided the definitions and conventional spellings expected in a dictionary, with clear and detailed guidelines concerning the 'correct' pronunciation of every word. (Beal 2004a: 127)

What is more, in Prefaces and Introductions to the dictionaries and grammars another important feature is observed, i.e. the fact that it seemed quite a "common fashion" to criticise other people's works, as Ann Fisher suggested in her grammar:

> For I shall not run into that *ungenerous*, tho' *common* Fashion, of raising the Reputation of my *own* Book, at the *Expense* of my Brethren of the Subject, or start Objections to others for my own Advantage. (Fisher 1750: i; italics in the original)

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[2] Walker's influence ended with the publication of Daniel Jones's *An English Pronouncing Dictionary*, which was first published in 1917, was regularly revised in the course of the twentieth century, and appeared in its 18th edition in 2011. The expressions "pronunciation bible" and "undisputed norm", here applied to Walker's dictionary, were used, respectively, by Windsor Lewis (1999: 225) and Monroy (2004: 275) to comment on Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* as a twentieth-century pronunciation authority (cf. Sturiale 2011: 208).

In addition, Kenrick (1784) may be used as an example of a generally negative attitude towards dialects and regional varieties, as these were seen to be in contrast with an idea of (and the desire for) a standard of 'proper' English. Here is Kenrick's judgement, one of the first promoters of the 'English is English' propaganda, in which, in matters of correct pronunciation, no saying was left to 'provincial' speakers, i.e. Irish and Scottish English native speakers:

> There seems indeed a most ridiculous absurdity in the pretensions of a native of Aberdeen or Tipperary, to teach the natives of London to speak and to read.
>
> Various have been nevertheless the modest attempts of the Scots and Irish, to establish a standard of English pronunciation. That they should not have succeeded is no wonder. Men cannot teach others what they do not themselves know: nay had these enterprizing geniuses been qualified in point of knowledge, they seem to have been generally deficient in that of ingenuity; the methods most of them have hit upon, being but ill calculated to answer the end proposed. (Kenrick 1784: i-ii)

A few years earlier, in 1766, James Buchanan had expressed his perplexities about other studies previously conducted, but his tone and attitude were completely different from Kenrick's. Buchanan wrote:

> Whoever has been conversant with gentlemen of polite learning, must have heard them expressing their surprize, that, for the honour of our country, no attempt had been made towards a Standard for the proper and uniform Pronunciation of the English Language, now so elegant and learned, as justly to attract the attention of all Europe.
>
> Some years since, I have published an English Dictionary, with a view to obviate a vicious provincial dialect, and to remove the complaints of foreign gentlemen, desirous of learning English; several of whom, of a liberal education, then under my tuition, expostulated, that notwithstanding the difficulty in the acquisition of a proper English Pronunciation, yet there was no method exhibited directing to one just and regular. (Buchanan 1766: v)

In 1791 John Walker – often defined as the most influential of the late eighteenth-century normative lexicographers (see Lass 2000: 225 and Beal 2003) – briefly summarised the situation in his Preface to *A Critical*

Pronouncing Dictionary, where he also 'praised' those authors whose works and "endeavours" (Walker 1791: iii) had contributed to the improvement, reformation and amendment of the English language. He wrote:

> The work I have to offer on the subject has, I hope, added something to the publick stock. It not only exhibits the principles of pronunciation, as others have done, divides the words into syllables, and marks the sounds of the vowels like Dr. Kenrick, spells the words as they are pronounced like Mr. Sheridan, and directs the inspector to the rule by the word like Mr. Nares; but where words are subject to different pronunciations, it shows the reasons from analogy for each; produces authorities for one side and the other, and points out the pronunciation which is preferable. In short, I have endeavoured to unite the science of Mr. Elphinstone, the method of Mr. Nares, and the general utility of Mr. Sheridan; and to add to these advantages, have given critical observations on such words as are subject to a diversity of pronunciation. How I have succeeded must be left to the decision of the publick. (Walker 1791: iv)

With the exception of Thomas Spence, who was the only lexicographer of the century to devise a phonetic alphabet to record pronunciation (see Beal 1999), orthoepists preferred to leave spelling unchanged and resorted to graves and acutes to mark accentuation, to italics to denote mute vowels (as in the case of William Perry, for example), and to diacritics and superscripted numerals to mark the various vowel sounds, which was the system used by Thomas Sheridan and John Walker (see *MERCHANT* in Table 1 below)[3]. Görlach has claimed that:

> The eighteenth-century principle or orthoepy, unlike modern linguistics, backed the view that the written form took priority […]. Orthoepy, the art of proper pronunciation, was related to, and dependent on, orthography. The mixing of the two levels necessarily led to unclear and contradictory terminology. (Görlach 2001: 88)

Undeniably, however, there was a perceived need to create a uniform, and non-localised, variety of pronunciation – a need which Thomas Sheridan

[3] As for MERCHANT Perry (1775: s.v.) had: "Mér´chant, s., who trafficks to remote countries". According to his "key" of the "different sounds of the vowels" (Perry 1775: liii) "é" corresponds to the /ɜ:/ sound, so his pronunciation is closer to Walker's (1791) rather than to the one codified by Sheridan (1780), which contained the /ɑ:/ sound.

tried to meet by publishing his 1780 dictionary, meant to be used "throughout the entire country" (Mugglestone 2003: 17). However, in pursuing this end, orthoepists added an extra flavour to the debate, that is what Holmberg (1964: 20) has defined as "the snob value of a good pronunciation", a concept developed also by Mugglestone (1988: 176) when she writes that:

> What is striking about comment on the spoken language, and reactions to it, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is *the rigorous approach* adopted towards notions of correctness, manifested in a social as well as a phonemic sense, as orthoepists attempted to codify the spoken language, according to *an increasingly class-based system of absolutes*. (My italics)

The stigmatisation of regional features was thus accompanied by an evaluation of the social status associated with them. See for instance the entry for *MERCHANT* as recorded by the two most influential orthoepists of the time, i.e. the Irish-born but London-based Thomas Sheridan (1780) and the English-born John Walker (1790) in Table 1 below:

Table 1. The entry for *MERCHANT* in Sheridan (1780) and Walker (1791)

Sheridan (1780)	Walker (1791)
MERCHANT, $m_aɪ$´r-$tsh_aɪnt$. One who trafficks to remote countries.	MERCHANT, $m_e{}^{2}$r´$tsh_a{}^{4}$nt. One who trafficks to remote countries. ☞ Mr. Sheridan pronounces the *e* in the first syllable of this word, like the *a* in *march*; and it is certain that, about thirty years ago, this was the general pronunciation; but since that time the sound *a* has been gradually wearing away; and the sound of *e* is so fully established, that the former is now become *gross and vulgar*, and is only to be heard among the lower orders of the people. (My italics)

Walker encourages his readers to favour one variant over the other, in order to avoid the risk of sounding "gross and vulgar" and being associated to "the lower orders of the people". As rightly pointed out by Beal (2003: 92):

> Here, Walker not only tells us how the word *merchant* should be pronounced, but gives us a window into the sociolinguistic salience of

> the alternative pronunciation and insight into the process of linguistic change that was in progress. (Italics in the original)

The relationship between accent and class had already been made explicit by Sheridan as well, back in the 1760s:

> As the court pronunciation is no where methodically taught, and can be acquired only by conversing with people in polite life, it is as a sort of proof that a person has kept good company, and on that account is sought after by all, who wish to be considered as fashionable people, or members of the beau monde. (Sheridan 1762: 30)[4]

The Standard accent policy was characterised by the use of keywords like GOOD, PROPER, and CORRECT on one side of the argument, and their opposite BAD and WRONG on the other. Even more importantly, uses of PROVINCIAL or VULGAR were responsible for that shade of "class-based system of absolutes" which – as suggested by Mugglestone – characterised the debate; for example, Beal (2010: 24) informs us that VULGAR "appears ninety-six times in John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791), almost always with reference to the pronunciation of the lower classes". Similarly, Sheridan, commenting on regional varieties (or "dialects", as he called them), had stated that they "have some degree of disgrace annexed to them" (1762: 30).

In conclusion, though the ability of eighteenth-century orthoepists as 'phoneticians' is arguable, what is certain, as rightly demonstrated by Beal (2004b), is that eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries offer important evidence of language change and of the fact that provincial and vulgar pronunciations started at this time to be marginalized and classified as 'marks of disgrace'. Among stigmatized features there are, for example, the absence of the FOOT-STRUT split, the presence of the 'Northumbrian Burr' or the notorious /h/ dropping (cf. Beal 2004b and 2010). Moreover, in the debate which characterised the proposal of a model for a 'proper' and 'correct' English pronunciation, the modern question of "which English" (Crystal 1994) also arose, and provincial orthoepists, i.e. Irish and Scottish ones,

[4] The correspondence of "court pronunciation" and "polite pronunciation" is so explained by Sheridan (1762: 30): "In the very metropolis [i.e. London] two different modes of pronunciation prevail, by which the inhabitants of one part of the town, are distinguished from those of the other. One is current in the city, and is called cockney; the other at the court-end, and is called the polite pronunciation".

ceased to be considered reliable models. Kenrick (1784), as we have already mentioned, may be seen as 'a living proof' of the general attitude towards dialects and varieties, which were perceived to be the very antithesis of an idea of and desire for a standard of 'proper' English.

2. Eighteenth-century orthoepists as a "discourse community"

As we have seen, by the end of the eighteenth century the Standard ideology was well established. However, its terminology (i.e. the keywords used in the debate to define pronunciation, and which, in Watt's words, had characterised the "discourse community") acquired new connotations. According to Watts (1999), a discourse community is:

> a set of individuals who can be interpreted as constituting a community on the basis of the ways in which their oral or written discourse practices reveal common interests, goals and beliefs, i.e. on the degree of institutionalization that their discourse displays. The members of the community may or may not be conscious of sharing their discourse practices. Thus, a discourse community may show strong or weak member affiliation to the values of the community, and the community itself may only become 'visible' through the course of time. (Watts 1999: 43)

Swales (1990) defines a "discourse community" as follows:

1. it has "a broadly agreed set of common public goals";
2. it has "mechanisms of intercommunication between its members";
3. it "uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback";
4. it uses and "hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims";
5. it "has acquired some specific lexicon";
6. it has "a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise". (Swales 1990: 41)

A close analysis of pronouncing dictionaries and their prefatory material may help us find out how all these elements relate to each other. The fifth point above is of particular interest in this study, as it concerns the use of specific

lexicon on the part of the community. Following Watts (1999), Fitzmaurice has demonstrated how

> Early eighteenth-century London was distinguished by a discourse community of essay writers and journalists whose conversations took place, not in the coffee houses and clubs frequented by the coalition and its supporters, but in the pages of the periodicals and pamphlets sold by printers and corners shops. (Fitzmaurice 2010: 107)

Similarly, I claim here that eighteenth-century Britain was "distinguished by a discourse community" of orthoepists and lexicographers that started their debate in the pages of their dictionaries and treatises. This was later transferred onto the pages of newspapers, thus reaching a wider readership and involving more people in the 'standard accent' debate. Finally, readers started to make personal contributions to the debate, shedding new light on the Standard ideology[5].

In order to investigate this hypothesis, qualitative and quantitative analyses were carried out on the Introductions and Prefaces to the major eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries: though most of them are available on *ECCO*, other editions were consulted at the British Library. In addition, analyses were conducted on databases of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspapers where the publication of pronouncing dictionaries was advertised and where the works were reviewed[6].

The main aim was to analyse all those expressions and noun phrases which were related to the standard language debate, such as:

- Standard Pronunciation;
- Vulgar Pronunciation;
- Provincial Pronunciation;
- Vicious Pronunciation;
- Elegant Pronunciation;
- True Pronunciation;
- Broad Pronunciation;
- Proper Pronunciation.

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5 The role of newspapers as sources for sociolinguistic investigation has recently been discussed by Percy (2012: 191-210).

6 These include the *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Collection*, *British Newspapers 1600-1900* and the *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. Keywords were also searched for in the *OED* (online edition), in order to compare usage in quotations taken from literary texts.

Table 2. Summarises findings; owing to space constraints, only the most interesting data will be discussed below.

Table 2. Adjectives associated with pronunciation in the OED and in newspaper collections

Adjective associated with 'pronunciation'	17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*	British Newspapers 1600-1900	19th Century British Library Newspaper	OED
Standard	13	46	33	16
Vulgar	7	55	48	4
Provincial	5	45	40	1
Vicious	628**	651	23	4
Elegant	4	43	39	1
True	266***	414	148	//
Broad	5	24	16	//
Proper	63****	383	320	//

* A search for 'pronunciation' has returned 3943 items.

** The first item recorded is dated 1707 and refers to the advertisement for Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue*, which, on the title page, has: "a particular care is had to shew the Accent for preventing of vicious pronunciation". Most instances refer to Dyche's and a certain Pardon's publications. The first item which does not refer to the aforementioned advertisements is item no 602, where one reads: "a pleasing Voice, and good Delivery, (though the English accuse him of a vicious pronunciation)" […]. In item no. 616, taken from *World* (London), December 15, 1789, in the review of a theatrical performance we read: "Alckin maims much impression by vicious broad pronunciation of the letter A".

*** The high number of occurrences of "true pronunciation" is due to the fact that the phrase appears in several dictionaries, spelling-books and manuals. The first recorded advertisement is dated 1722 and refers to Thomas Dyche's *A Dictionary of all the Words Commonly used in the English Tongue*. The first recorded "news" item is dated 6 June 1724.

**** The first recorded item is dated 1727 and refers to the advertisement for Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, first published in 1721. The title page of the dictionary did not contain the phrase "proper pronunciation", which was added in the advertisement. Instead, the phrase "proper pronunciation" occurs in William Perry's 1775 dictionary, the publication of which was widely publicised in the press. "Proper pronunciation" also appears in three items classified as "news", dated 1788, 1790 and 1795.

What is important to note here is that "vicious", as used by Dyche and other early eighteenth-century scholars, referred to 'unclear' articulation

of sounds or 'incorrect' pronunciation of classical languages, i.e. Latin and Greek. Towards the end of the century it started to be associated with regional accents or substandard varieties, as shown in the following examples:

> *Sheva* seems needlessly deformed by *dialect*. But *Shylock* was formerly spoken in the manner of Duke's place. But the truth is, that the observance of a vicious pronunciation checks the effusion of feeling – an actor may laudably forget it when he feels, for sentiment affects the heart, and dialect is only a clumsy supplement for wit and humour. (*Oracle and Public Advertiser*, London 22 September 1796)

> The parts wherein he was least excellent were the soliloquies; he rather too much seemed to be addressing himself to an audience; and he sometimes had a vicious pronunciation, particularly of the words, die, (daye); by, (baye); friends, (fraiends); and memory, (mamory): but these slight errors, we trust, his good sense will soon enable him to correct. (*Courier and Evening Gazette*, London 27 October 1795)

The reference here is to a typical Cockney feature, i.e. the presence of the /eɪ/ diphthong instead of /aɪ/, already criticized by Sheridan in his *Dictionary* (1780). The *OED* gives us also another interesting example where a Cockney feature is stigmatised as 'vicious'. This is the case of yod-coalescence:

> One of the things on which I was always harping, was Kemble's vicious pronunciation … 'Odious' became 'ojus'. (OED online, s.v.)

Together with book or theatrical reviews and advertisements, another newspaper section to consider is the one presenting 'letters to the printer'[7]. Item 614 of 'vicious pronunciation' offers us the following example:

> Sir, I have always had a particular aversion on any deviations from a rectitude in every respect. You will, perhaps, esteem me scrupulously nice, affectedly delicate, when I tell you that I cannot bear excess nor extravagance in behaviour, in dress or in food; nor yet misapplication in words, vicious pronunciation, or ungrammatical language in conversation. (*Public Advertiser*, London 8 October 1784)

[7] Especially in the nineteenth century, this section quite often hosted contributions to the debate on standard pronunciation – see for instance Alexander Ellis's letter to the *Daily News* dated 27 December 1875.

Another important key term in the debate is 'provincial'. That some features of regional accents started to be stigmatised in the eighteenth century has already been highlighted; what I wish to point out here is that the issue of 'provincialism' led to the idea that 'English is English', as we have seen in Kenrick (1784), whose words find an echo in the following newspaper article of 1786:

> […] in an age like this, when attempts of a much more arduous nature are every day presented to our notice: when pigs are brought to exercise all the functions of rationality; and Hibernians profess to teach the true pronunciation of the English tongue. (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London 14 December 1786)[8]

The 'English is English' propaganda, carried out by orthoepists in their pronouncing dictionaries, was further reinforced in the nineteenth century, and echoes of Kenrick's 'complaint' were still audible also in newspapers, as shown in the example below:

> English Pronouncing Dictionary. It is a curious fact that there is no English Pronouncing Dictionary compiled by an English-man. Stephen Jones was a Welshman, Sheridan was an Irishman, and Walker was a Scotchman [sic.]. (*The Age*, London 22 August 1841)

However, the marks of disgrace of a provincial accent could be adjusted by following the models offered, according to Perry and other orthoepists, by the educated speakers of London. As a result, following elocutionists and orthoepists, tutors and teachers started to advertise their method and schools offering a similar remedy:

> Mrs B. [Beard] having received her Education at One of the first Boarding-Schools in the Metropolis, of which she is a Native, consequently divested of Provincial Pronunciation, presumes it will be no small Recommendation to Public Favour. (*The Leeds Mercury*, Leeds 29 March 1817)

[8] The introductory note to the article reads: "The following is extracted from a periodical publication called the MICROCOSM, which we understand to be written by a young gentleman of Eton School; the sentiments, the reasoning and the diction, prove him to be a youth of great judgement and abilities".

Indeed, the Scottish lexicographer William Perry, being himself a 'provincial' (see Sturiale 2006), made of the binomial class-education and accent a key point in his Preface when he claimed:

> Mere men of the world, notwithstanding all their politeness, often retain so much of the provincial dialect, or commit such gross errours in speaking and writing, as to exclude them from the honour of being the standard of accurate pronunciation. Those who unite these two characters, and, with the correctness and precision of true learning, combine the ease and elegance of genteel life, may justly be styled the only true standard for propriety of speech. (Perry 1775: vi)

Interestingly enough, a century later it was still possible to read 'a want ad' addressed to any educated reader, i.e. "university man", willing to help a "gentleman" divest him of his provincial pronunciation[9]:

> TUTOR (University Man) desired in Worcester or suburbs, one hour alternate evenings, to read with Gentleman, for improvement, and to correct a provincial pronunciation. Terms must be moderate. Reading at Tutor's home preferred. (*Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 15 October 1881)

Crowley's comment on provincialism and vulgarism is also worth mentioning here. He writes: "The provincialism is regional, the vulgarism class-bound, and it is always possible for a provincialism to become a vulgarism" (Crowley 2003: 151). This is precisely what happened in the period under investigation. The accent of the best speakers in the Capital, codified by orthoepists and promulgated by elocutionists, became not just a goal to pursue, but also a mark of class distinction. A final example can be found in an article published in 1837 by the *Cornwall Royal Gazette* about provincial features of "some of the inhabitants of London", already in the process of being marginalised and stigmatised as vulgar:

> One of the peculiarities of vulgar English pronunciation is to put the letter *r* at the end of words ending with a vowel […]. Equally glaring is the taking away of *h* from places where it is required, and giving it

[9] See also the obituary for the Devon-born actor Samuel Phelps, where, together with praises for his excellent qualities on the stage, his accent is mentioned: "His provincial pronunciation sometimes raised a smile, but that he was an actor of uncommon gifts no one ventured to dispute" (*The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, Bristol 8 November 1878).

where its absence is desirable. The termination of words ending in *ing* with a *k*, as *somethink*, is not less incorrect or less disagreeable.

3. Conclusion

This investigation has shown that, during the eighteenth century, the keywords related to the standard language debate did not only acquire new connotative meanings, but they also contributed to reinforce a 'social divide' which mirrored the desire of the middle class who – it should not be forgotten – represented the primary clientele and readership of pronouncing dictionaries and manuals. What had started as a 'war of dictionaries' between orthoepists and elocutionists, by the end of the eighteenth century had gone outside the scholarly confines and started to mark 'a social discourse' which justified and asked for prescriptive rules. It seems that newspapers offered the discourse community of orthoepists the opportunity, in Watt's words (1999: 43), "to become 'visible' through the course of time" and, as a consequence, the community of readers could become "conscious of sharing their discourse practices".

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"Dispensers of knowledge". An initiatory investigation into nineteenth-century popular(ized) science

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In England they've found a plan,
They call Electric lighting,
Gas companies are going mad,
All through this bit of scandall,
The country's to be lighted up,
With a half penny Russian candle.

(Anon. 1901. *A New Song on the Electric Light*, http://digital.nls.uk/74892421)

ABSTRACT

This article discusses instances of knowledge dissemination in the nineteenth century, a time when vocabulary appears to have expanded more than at any other point in the history of English, mainly on account of the discoveries, inventions and innovations that characterized those decades. My investigation will start from an overview of the most frequently quoted sources of new vocabulary in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It will then focus on documents addressed to lay audiences, relying in particular on a specially-compiled corpus of articles published in dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and periodicals both in the UK and in the US, and combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. Titles, illustrations (where available), and intertextual references, i.e. the textual features that may be deemed to play a significant role in the maintenance of the readers' interest, will be discussed.

1. Introduction

Knowledge dissemination is hardly a new phenomenon. People have communicated their discoveries to each other since prehistoric times, though of course the modes of expert-to-expert and expert-to-non-expert communication have varied considerably as thought-styles have changed

and new scientific approaches have developed over the centuries (see Alonso-Almeida – Marrero-Morales 2011 and Taavitsainen 2011). Within this framework, this article aims to concentrate on the nineteenth century, a time in which – according to the statistics in the website of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth OED) – more lexical items (or new meanings) were recorded for the first time than at any other point in the history of the English language (Dossena 2012: 888-889). Of course, many of these new dictionary entries referred to the discoveries, inventions and innovations that make Late Modern times so interestingly close to, and yet still so intriguingly distant from, our own times.

Here I intend to outline some research paths for the investigation of the ways in which such novelties were presented to the general public, in order to identify the most significant strategies employed in the texts to elicit the interest of non-experts. The investigation will rely on a specially-compiled corpus of articles published in dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and periodicals both in the UK and in the US, and will combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. After an overview of the most frequent (and significant) sources of new vocabulary in the OED, my analysis will concentrate on documents addressed to lay audiences. Special attention will be given to titles, on account of the multiple functions they may have, and which are summarized by Swales (2003) and Sala (2013); the role of illustrations, where available, will also be considered; finally, intertextual references will be discussed, because of their value as sources of further information and – consequently – as potential links meant to maintain the readers' interest in the topics under discussion, and often employed to reinforce the authors' own views.

1.1 Sources of new vocabulary and meanings in the OED

At the time of writing (August 2014), the OED website provides some striking statistics concerning Late Modern times: even more remarkably than in Elizabethan times, the largest number of new lexical acquisitions or new semantic values is recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century, with as many as 42,733 new entries, while the second highest figure (32,509) is recorded in the first half of the same century. This may of course be a function of editorial policies, but it is nonetheless impossible to ignore the importance of the role played by the discoveries, explorations, and innovations that occurred throughout the century. Novelties in life sciences, physical sciences, maths, and medicine recorded an extraordinary 17,617 new entries between 1850 and 1900, almost 7,000 more than in the previous

five decades. Indeed, out of a total of 75,242 new items first recorded in the nineteenth century, as many as 28,658 are in the field of 'sciences', accounting for 38% of the total: a figure that is almost eight times as high as the one concerning the 'arts', a field in which the second highest figure was recorded, with a total number of 3,659 new items.

Admittedly, both 'arts' and 'sciences' are such broad terms that further qualification is in order. In this respect, findings may be shown in terms of more specific categories, such as 'literature', 'film', 'visual', 'performing' and 'decorative' arts, which (in turn) may be qualified in even greater detail: in 'music', for instance, we find the first occurrence of *accordion*, which is quoted in a *Morning Post* article dated 24th May 1830. As for 'sciences', distinctions (and more refined investigations) could be carried out in the fields of 'chemistry', 'physics', 'astronomy', 'palaeontology', etc. This, however, is beyond the scope of this paper; what is perhaps more relevant here is that only 484 nineteenth-century entries are labelled "now disused" and ca. 8,000 items or meanings appear to have become obsolete, which stresses the significant contribution given by those decades to current vocabulary[1].

As for the items that continued to be used in later decades, a few examples are given below, with their first quotations[2]:

(1) **hypothermia**, n. […] The condition of having a body temperature substantially below the normal, either as a result of natural causes or artificially induced (e.g. for cardiac surgery).

1886 in *New Sydenham Soc. Lexicon*

(2) **metabolism**, n. […] b. *Biol.* and *Biochem.* The chemical processes that occur within a living organism in order to maintain life; the interconnected sequences of mostly enzyme-catalysed chemical reactions by which a cell, tissue, organ, etc., sustains energy production, and synthesizes and breaks down complex molecules; anabolism and catabolism considered together; the overall rate at which these processes occur. Also: the chemical changes undergone in an organism by any particular substance. […]

1878 M. Foster *Text Bk. Physiol.* (ed. 2) Introd. 2 The protoplasm is continually undergoing chemical change (metabolism).

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1 Among obsolete entries we find *abdominoscopy*, *paramnesia* in the sense of "loss of memory for the meaning of words", and *rheometer*, "an instrument for detecting and measuring electric currents", replaced with *galvanometer* at the beginning of the twentieth century.

2 It may be worth noting, however, that future research might antedate entries.

(3) **voltage**, n.[2] […] a. Electromotive force reckoned or expressed in volts. Also *fig.*

> 1890 *Pall Mall Gaz.* 8 Aug. 4/3 The voltage varied between 700 and 1,300 volts.

Manufacturing and industry also recorded nearly 1,800 new entries between 1800 and 1900; similarly, philosophy recorded 700, again a much higher figure than at other times in the history of English. Entries in these fields include the following:

(4) **Davy**, n.[1] The miner's safety-lamp invented by Sir Humphry Davy, in which the flame is surrounded with wire-gauze, so as to prevent its communication to explosive gases outside the lamp.

> 1817 Faraday in B. Jones *Life* I. 214 The great desideratum of a lamp to afford light with safety: … merely to refer to that which alone has been found efficacious, the Davy.

(5) **gold-digger**, n. 1. One who digs for gold. Also *fig.*

> 1830 *Cherokee Phoenix (New Echota, Georgia)* 24 Mar. 3/3 There are tippling shops on every hill where these gold diggers are collected.

(6) **agnostic**, n. and adj. 1. A person who believes that nothing is known or can be known of immaterial things, especially of the existence or nature of God. Distinguished from atheist n.

> 1869 *Spectator* 29 May 642/1 All these considerations, and the great controversies which suggest them, are in the highest degree cultivating, and will be admitted to be so even by those Agnostics who think them profitless of any practical result.

(7) **epistemological**, adj. Of or relating to knowledge, understanding, or epistemology.

> 1854 J.F. Ferrier *Inst. Metaphysic* 202 The epistemological generalisation is altogether different.

(8) **modalize**, v. *trans.* To make modal.

> 1857 A.B. Wilson in *Oxf. Ess.* 115 All dogmatic statements must be held to be modalized by greater or less probability.

As for sources, the OED lists the following as the ten most frequently occurring authors or publications in which items are first cited – see Tables 1a and 1b and 2a and 2b for the first and the second half of the century respectively.

Table 1a. Sources of first citation in periodicals, encyclopaedias and dictionaries (1800-1849)

Source	No. of entries	OED ranking
Blackwood's Magazine	569	The 21st most frequently quoted source: 7808 quotations, ca. 0.25% of all OED quotations.
The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge	445	The 71st most frequently quoted source: 4098 quotations, ca. 0.13% of all OED quotations.
Todd's Cyclopaedia of Anatomy and Physiology	444	The 162nd most frequently quoted source: 2248 quotations, ca. 0.07% of all OED quotations.
Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country	295	The 105th most frequently quoted source: 3124 quotations, ca. 0.1% of all OED quotations.
Total no. of entries	1753	

Table 1b. Sources of first citation in the works of specific authors (1800-1849)

Source	No. of entries	OED ranking
Samuel Taylor Coleridge	542	The 56th most frequently quoted source: 4578 quotations, ca. 0.14% of all OED quotations.
Walter Scott	455	The 3rd most frequently quoted source: 17059 quotations, ca. 0.55% of all OED quotations.
John Lindley	449	The 93rd most frequently quoted source: 3368 quotations, ca. 0.1% of all OED quotations.
William Kirby	445	The 207th most frequently quoted source: 1919 quotations, ca. 0.06% of all OED quotations.
Thomas Carlyle	411	The 25th most frequently quoted source: 6822 quotations, ca. 0.22% of all OED quotations.
Robert Southey	333	The 54th most frequently quoted source: 4776 quotations, ca. 0.15% of all OED quotations.
Total no. of entries	2635	

Table 2a. Sources of first citation in periodicals, encyclopaedias and dictionaries (1850-1899)

Source	No. of entries	OED ranking
Century Dictionary	996	The 49th most frequently quoted source: 4894 quotations, ca. 0.15% of all OED quotations.
The New Sydenham Society's Lexicon of Medicine and the Allied Sciences	572	The 146th most frequently quoted source: 2381 quotations, ca. 0.07% of all OED quotations.
Journal of the Chemical Society	516	The 209th most frequently quoted source: 1907 quotations, ca. 0.06% of all OED quotations.
The Times	505	The most frequently quoted source: 39506 quotations, ca. 1.27% of all OED quotations.
The Daily News	417	The 12th most frequently quoted source: 10027 quotations, ca. 0.32% of all OED quotations.
Encyclopaedia Britannica	359	The 5th most frequently quoted source: 14189 quotations, ca. 0.45% of all OED quotations.
Webster's American Dictionary of the English Language	357	The 292nd most frequently quoted source: 1451 quotations, ca. 0.04% of all OED quotations.
Total no. of entries	3722	

Table 2b. Sources of first citation in the works of specific authors (1850-1899)

Source	No. of entries	OED ranking
Robert Mayne	763	The 194th most frequently quoted source: 2027 quotations, ca. 0.06% of all OED quotations.
James Dwight Dana	499	The 166th most frequently quoted source: 2217 quotations, ca. 0.07% of all OED quotations.
Henry Watts	491	The 149th most frequently quoted source: 2359 quotations, ca. 0.07% of all OED quotations.
Total no. of entries	1753	

These data indicate that in the second half of the nineteenth century there appears to have been an increase in first quotations derived from periodicals, dictionaries and magazines: indeed, proportions are more than reversed: while in the first half of the century 60% of new entries are first recorded in the works of individual authors, in the second half this percentage nearly halves and falls to only 32%; on the other hand, periodicals, dictionaries and encyclopaedias, which had contributed far less than half the number of new entries between 1800 and 1849, are seen to contribute 68% of new entries in the second half of the century.

Nor can this be attributed to the fact that the inclusion of some authors or periodicals may skew data: as shown in the tables, in both halves of the century we have extremely prominent sources. In the first half we find Sir Walter Scott, the third most frequently quoted source in the OED[3]; in this case quotations mostly come from Scott's 1818 novel *The Heart of Midlothian*, and refer to lexical items ranging from geographically-marked items, such as *doodle* and *Glaswegian*, to literary labels that are still in current use, such as *fabliau*:

(9) **doodle**, v.[2] *trans.* To play (the bagpipes).

1816 Scott *Old Mortality* iv, in *Tales of my Landlord* 1st Ser. II. 72, I am wearied wi' doudling the bag o' wind a' day.

(10) **Glaswegian**, n. and adj. A native or inhabitant of Glasgow.

1817 Scott *Rob Roy* II. ix. 195 The Glaswegian took him by the hand.

(11) **fabliau**, n. A metrical tale, belonging to the early period of French poetry.

1804 Scott *Introd. Sir Tristrem* 48 The interesting *fabliaux* of the Anglo-Norman *trouveurs*.

In the second half of the century, instead, *The Times* is the fourth most frequently quoted source of new vocabulary, and – in time – this will become the most frequently quoted source in the OED. Instances of first quotations from this newspaper are given below:

[3] Interestingly, Scott follows William Shakespeare, the second most frequently quoted source in the OED, to whom a total of 33,130 quotations (about 1.06% of all OED quotations) are due.

(12) **fancy bread**, n. Bread not of the ordinary texture, size, and weight of the standard 'household' and 'cottage' loaves.

> 1801 *Times* 9 Mar., Germans, who make what they call French or fancy bread, particularly to please the appetites of foreigners.

(13) **Marxist**, n.[1] […] A proponent of Karl Marx's theories concerning the historical development of economic systems and their influence on politics; *esp.* a supporter of a political movement with international affiliations, based on an ideology derived from these theories.

> 1873 *Times* 5 Sept. 6 At the Congress of Bologna a cotery of Marxists had tried to impede all progress, but in vain.

(14) **Pax Britannica**, n. […] A state or period of relative peace in the countries of the former British Empire, seen as resulting from the British presence and administration.

> 1880 *Times* 10 Nov. 9/4 The multiplication of the means of sustaining life will act, like the Pax Britannica itself, only as a cause of the further multiplication of life.

As for journals and dictionaries, many significant innovations that were introduced in medicine appear to have been first recorded in the *New Sydenham Society's Lexicon of Medicine and the Allied Sciences*, based on Mayne's *An Expository Lexicon of the Terms, Ancient and Modern, in Medical and General Science* (1853). In addition to *hypothermia*, which we saw above, we also find the following instances (among others):

(15) **hyperthermia**, n. […] The condition of having a body temperature substantially above the normal either as a result of natural causes or artificially induced (e.g. for therapeutic purposes).

> 1886 *New Sydenham Soc. Lexicon*, Hyperthermy.

(16) **laryngectomy**, n. […] The excision of the larynx.

> 1888 in *New Sydenham Soc. Lexicon*

(17) **myelopathy**, n. […] 1. Disease, degeneration, or dysfunction of the spinal cord; an instance of this.

> 1891 *New Sydenham Soc. Lexicon*, Myelopathy.

Important sources are also found in the field of chemistry, with the *Journal of the Chemical Society* and the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*; while entries from the latter are more numerous in the twentieth century than

in the nineteenth century, we are indebted to the former for early uses of *aspirin* and *cholesterol*:

(18) **aspirin**, n. […] A white crystalline compound, acetylsalicylic acid, used esp. as an analgesic and antipyretic; with *an* and *pl.*, a dose of this in tablet form. Also *attrib.*

> 1899 *Jrnl. Chem. Soc.* 76 ii. 605 Physiological Action of Aspirin (Acetylsalicylic Acid).

(19) **cholesterol**, n. […] 1. Chem. A steroid alcohol that is a major constituent of the lipid bilayer of cell membranes in humans and other vertebrates, and which serves other important cellular and metabolic functions, esp. as a precursor of other steroid compounds. […]

> 1894 *Jrnl. Chem. Soc.* 66 i. 486 A great number of analytical results obtained by the authors with cholesterol and its derivatives, seem to show that the composition of cholesterol is expressed by the formula $C_{27}H_{44}O$.

Only two scientists feature among the ten most frequently occurring sources in the first half of the nineteenth century: a botanist, John Lindley, and an entomologist, William Kirby; however, this also changes in the second half of the century, when the presence of scientists among the most frequently quoted sources is more prominent: in addition to Robert Mayne, already cited above, we find Henry Watts, a chemist, and James Dwight Dana, a geologist, zoologist, and teacher (see Dossena, forthcoming).

What is perhaps even more interesting is the fact that most of these quotations appear in dictionaries, manuals, and introductory texts, i.e. in genres meant to disseminate knowledge among both learners and interested readers. As is well-known, Late Modern times were characterized by the so-called ideology of (self-)improvement, and indeed the acquisition of 'useful knowledge' was encouraged in many circles and publications (see Secord 2014).

2. Tools of knowledge dissemination

As discussed elsewhere (Dossena, in preparation), I agree with Myers (2003) in finding that 'popularization' may be an inappropriate label for the circulation of scientific knowledge among non-experts. This term implies vertical, downwards communication from experts to lay audiences, typically involving simplification, if not actual oversimplification, of concepts and

notions. However, this is not necessarily the case in all circumstances: in many cases, experience, presented in personal narratives, takes on a very significant value even when the source is not assumed to be intrinsically authoritative on account of education. In addition, important information may circulate by means of texts which are not compiled by fully qualified experts, but which are written by informed mediators, such as teachers, who are not researchers themselves, but who know how to convey contents, so that they can be accessible to broad audiences. For this reason, 'knowledge dissemination' is a much better term, as it assumes no intrinsic hierarchy, but may expect to find authoritativeness in a wide range of sources.

Significant among such sources are popular dictionaries, such as Lindley and Moore's 1866 *The Treasury of Botany. A Popular Dictionary of the Vegetable Kingdom,* in which an item like *sequoia* is found to occur for the first time. Popular dictionaries were very important for readers wishing to educate themselves, and such publications 'for popular use' were issued in relation to a broad range of topics – see for instance the following titles:

- *A Dictionary of Medicine Designed for Popular Use*, by Alexander Macaulay, Edinburgh, 1845 (8th edn).
- *Popular Dictionary of Architecture and the Allied Arts*, by William Audsley, London, 1879 (2nd edn).
- *Haydn's Dictionary of Popular Medicine and Hygiene; Comprising All Possible Self-aids in Accidents and Disease* […] edited by Edwin Lankester, etc. London, 1880.
- *A Popular Technical Dictionary of Commercial and General Information*, by Edward T. Blakely, London, 1885 (2nd edn).
- *The Standard Electrical Dictionary. A Popular Dictionary of Words and Terms Used in* […] *Electrical-engineering*, by Thomas O'Conor Sloane, London, 1893.

Nor were such dictionaries mere sources of specialized vocabulary; many of them were encyclopaedic, such as we may glean from the following titles:

- *The London Encyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature and Practical Mechanics: Comprising a Popular View of the Present State of Knowledge*. Illustrated by […] engravings, a general atlas, and […] diagrams, by the original editor of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* [Thomas Curtis], assisted by eminent professional and other gentlemen. London, 1829.

- *The Popular Encyclopedia; or, "Conversations Lexicon;" Being a General Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, Biography, and History*. London, 1874.

Self-education could also rely on the role played by periodicals, many of which associated 'instruction' and 'amusement' in their mastheads – see for instance *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, which began publication in 1822, and *The Family Herald: A Domestic Magazine of Useful Information & Amusement* (1843–1940).

Thanks to the growing importance of the periodical press[4], journals also proved significant sources of new vocabulary: the OED lists the following, together with *magazines* and *reviews*, among its Late Modern English sources – see Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c respectively, which summarize how many entries include quotations from these sources, and in how many cases they provide the first evidence of a word or a new sense.

Table 3a. OED sources including the word *magazine* in their title

Name	Dates	Total number of quotations	First evidence for word	First evidence for sense
Blackwood's Magazine	1817–1980	7716	936	2366
Harper's Magazine	1850–	6315	294	1332
Gentleman's Magazine	1731–1922	3577	279	950
Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country	1830–1882	3077	517	1206
Century Magazine	1881–	2726	97	451
Sporting Magazine	1793–1870	2094	182	793
New Monthly Magazine	1821–1859	1631	264	698
Tait's Magazine	1832–1861	1455	157	484
Cornhill Magazine	1860–1975	1360	106	367
Macmillan's Magazine	1859–1907	1304	86	305
Monthly Magazine	1796–1825	1276	208	451
New York Times Magazine	1896–	1264	42	151
London Magazine	1732–	1040	99	351

[4] The nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous increase in periodical publications, with over 100,000 titles calculated to have been circulating (see www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2/TourOverview.asp, accessed September 2014).

Scribner's Magazine	1887–1939	858	40	210
Vanity Fair Magazine	1913–	828	6	40
Burlington Magazine	1903–	757	20	98
Longman's Magazine	1883–1906	724	33	147
Scots Magazine	1739–	711	28	129
Farmer's Magazine	1800–1825	528	27	124
Mechanics' Magazine	1823–1871	517	68	286

Table 3b. OED sources including the word *review* in their title

Name	Dates	Total number of quotations	First evidence for word	First evidence for sense
Edinburgh Review	1802–1929	2495	271	739
Quarterly Review	1809–1967	2158	183	602
Contemporary Review	1866–	2051	156	469
North American Review	1815–	1693	134	491
Monthly Review	1749–1845	1128	208	416
English Historical Review	1886–	963	51	146
Westminster Review	1824–1914	913	85	265
Fortnightly Review	1865–1954	853	72	210
American Historical Review	1895–	842	22	59
Architectural Review	1896–	688	20	108
Philosophical Review	1892–	678	62	158
Physical Review	1893–	600	79	294
Annual Review	1803–1809	529	96	185

Table 3c. OED sources including the word *journal* in their title

Name	Dates	Total number of quotations	First evidence for word	First evidence for sense
Chambers's Journal	1854–	2489	167	631
British Medical Journal	1857–	2061	197	507
Journal of the Chemical Society	1862–1965	1893	798	1259

Medical and Physical Journal	1799–1820*	1666	107	301
Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society	1840–	1287	67	311
Geographical Journal	1893–	1115	80	239
Journal of the Am. Chemical Society	1879–	1020	220	477
Wall Street Journal	1889–	1013	38	151
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute	1871–	1010	102	259
Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal	1837–1868	929	66	384
American Journal of Science	1818–	915	373	569
American Journal of Sociology	1895–	756	60	217
American Journal of Botany	1914–	744	31	95
Journal of the Royal Statistical Society	1838–	737	62	241
Journal of the Am. Medical Association	1883–	657	147	274
Trade Marks Journal	1876–	596	265	313
Appletons' Journal	1869–1881	562	47	151
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society	1845–1971	548	134	282
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society	1831–1880	531	67	165
Journal of Ecology	1913–	516	33	88
American Journal of Psychology	1887–	505	76	219
Journal of Philosophy	1904–	504	39	112
Spirit of the Public Journals	1797–1825	497	72	184

To these we may add periodicals, the mastheads of which indicate their scientific interest, such as *Scientific American*, or the profile of the envisaged reader, who may be a naturalist, a mineralogist, or an anthropologist, thus showing that the phenomena under discussion did not concern only the so-called hard sciences (see Table 4).

Table 4. Periodicals indicating scientific profile of readership

Name	Dates	Total number of quotations	First evidence for word	First evidence for sense
Scientific American	1845–	5604	202	993
American Naturalist	1867–	2821	462	1078
American Anthropologist	1888–	677	72	183
American Midland Naturalist	1909–	629	21	45
American Mineralogist	1916–	556	123	149

Indeed, several periodicals identified their envisaged readership in their mastheads – see for instance the following cases:

- *The Tradesman; or, Commercial magazine* (1808–1812)
- *The Gardeners' Chronicle* (1841–)
- *The Builder* (1843–)
- *The Economist* (1843–)
- *Spirit of Freedom, and Working Man's Vindicator* (1849–1850)
- *Photographic Journal. The Journal of the Photographic Society / Journal of the Photographic Society* (1853–)
- *British Journal of Photography / British Journal of Photography* (1854–)
- *Photographic News / Photographic News* (1858–)
- *The Engineer* (1856–)
- *The Bookseller* (1858–)
- *The Grocer* (1862–)
- *The English Mechanic and World of Science* (1865–1926)

Nor were women excluded: many periodicals catered specifically for a female audience, in the latter decades also dealing with work and union issues:

- *Lady's Monthly Museum; Or, Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction* (1814–1830)
- *British Lady's Magazine* (1815–1818)
- *British Mothers' Magazine* (1845–64)
- *Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times* (1847–1863)
- *English Women's Journal* (1858–1864)
- *Women and Work* (1874–1876)
- *Women's Union Journal* (1876–1890; continued 1891 as *Quarterly Report and Review*; 1891–1919 as *Women's Trade Union Review*)

It may therefore be of some interest to investigate how such materials addressed their audiences and facilitated content access. For the purposes of this investigation, a sample of 100 articles has been randomly selected from nineteenth-century editions of the above-mentioned dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and periodicals. A quantitative investigation of such a corpus would be of interest in itself; this paper, however, aims instead to indicate potentially useful approaches to general research questions. Among these, the role of titles, illustrations, and intertextual references as attention-seeking and validity-boosting strategies may feature in a preliminary approach to these documents.

2.1 Titles

In the articles collected for this study, titles are typically short and function as 'anticipatory devices' (Swales 2003: 179) in the sense that they provide basic information about the contents of the articles themselves, almost to the point of consisting only of keywords. A few examples are given below:

Appleton's Popular Science Monthly 55 (May-Oct. 1899)

- Public charity and private vigilance
- Recent legislation against the drink evil
- Teachers' school of science
- Do animals reason?
- Some practical phases of mental fatigue
- Best methods of taxation

The North American Review 1.1 (May 1815)

- Honorary titles
- Modern manners
- Western antiquities
- Steam engines

The New York Scientific American, The Advocate of Industry and Journal of Scientific, Mechanical and Other Improvements 2.1 (Sept. 26, 1846)

- Nature's image of Washington
- The viol Seraphine
- An eclipse in Arabia
- Giving credit
- The Bowie knife and its inventor

- Forests and streams
- Prussian music
- Philosophy
- Polite preaching
- Pure air

Only in one case are readers involved by means of a direct question – as in "Do animals reason?", seen above – and with the use of second-person pronouns; see the following example:

The Manufacturer and Builder 1.1 (Jan. 1869)
- Have you ever looked through a Microscope?

In most cases titles come across as factual, merely representative of subject matter. A few instances of evaluation are recorded in titles stressing the novelty of the contents: in such cases, in addition to *new*, we find instances of vocabulary relating to improvement – see the examples below:

The New York Scientific American, The Advocate of Industry and Journal of Scientific, Mechanical and Other Improvements 2.1 (Sept. 26, 1846)
- Improvement in boats
- New shingle machine
- Improvement in blacksmiths forges
- Improved fire engine
- The new and wonderful pavement
- To render shingles durable
- Best plan of a barn

2.2 Illustrations

In periodicals the relative quantity of illustrations was of course dependent on the impact that their inclusion could have on printing costs: it is true that, as technology improved, it afforded greater means for image reproduction, but the general marketing and business conditions of the periodicals themselves could also guide decisions in relation to how many illustrations could be included. As far as the current collection of texts is concerned, some images are seen to be present in more technically oriented titles, such as the following:

The New York Scientific American, The Advocate of Industry and Journal of Scientific, Mechanical and Other Improvements 2.1 (Sept. 26, 1846)

- A simple cheese-press
- The conical windlass

In this same issue of the *New York Scientific American* other "new inventions" are described, but not illustrated; for instance, in the case of the sewing machine, patented by Elias Howe on 10th September 1846, the novelty was such that the journal admitted they could not describe the machine in detail, but provided information on what was patented:

> We have heretofore noticed the extraordinary invention by Mr. Elias Howe, Jr., of Cambridge, Mass. – a machine that sews beautiful and strong seams in cloth as rapid as nine tailors. We are not yet prepared to furnish a full description of this machine, but the following claims, in the words of the patentee, may give some idea of the various parts in combination. This machine was patented September 10th.
>
> "I claim the lifting of the thread that passes through the needle eye by the lifting rod, for the purpose of forming a loop of loose thread that is to be subsequently drawn in by the passage of the shuttle; said lifting rod being furnished with a lifting pin, and governed in its motions by the guide pieces and other devices.
>
> "I claim the holding of the thread that is given out by the shuttle, so as to prevent its unwinding from the shuttle bobbin, after the shuttle has passed through the loop, said thread being held by means of the lever, or clipping piece.
>
> "I claim the manner of arranging and combining the small lever, with the sliding box in combination with the spring piece, for the purpose of tightening the stitch as the needle is retracted.
>
> "I claim the holding of the cloth to be sewn, by the use of a baster plate, furnished with points for that purpose, and with holes enabling it to operate as a rack, thereby carrying the cloth forward, and dispensing altogether with the necessity of basting the parts together".

As illustrations were meant to facilitate comprehension, they occurred in encyclopaedias and specialized dictionaries. However, illustrations may also occur in informative books, such as travelogues; Campbell (1876), for instance, supplemented his text with drawings and sketches of the native

people he met while travelling west from Missouri to Oregon (Dossena 2013), thus aiming to facilitate his readers' understanding of otherwise totally unfamiliar information.

2.3 Intertextual references

Like in present-day texts, intertextual references could play a very important role as validating devices. Sources were quoted to emphasize points and support views; indeed, the author's own evaluations of the sources themselves could guide the readers' appreciation. A few examples of this strategy are provided below from the *Penny Cyclopaedia* (emphasis added):

(20) CROMLECH, a large stone placed in the manner of a table, but in an inclined position, upon other stones set up on end. […] Borlase, in his 'Natural History of Cornwall', suggests that they were sepulchral. But Rowlands, in his 'Mona Antiqua', King, Toland, and numerous other of **our best antiquaries**, consider them the remains of altars used for idolatrous sacrifices.

(21) CROMWELL, […] 'Cromwell's general policy', says Sir Walter Scott (*Tales of a Grandfather,* vol. iii.), 'was to balance parties against each other, and to make each desirous of the subsistence of his authority rather than run the risk of seeing it changed for some other than their own.' […] 'It is just to say', observes Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.*, vol. ii.), 'that the maritime glory of England may first be traced from the era of the Commonwealth in a track of continuous light.' […] Of the numerous characters of Oliver Cromwell that have been drawn by various historians, **none appears to us as a whole to be more faithful than that of Dr. Smollet**. (*Hist. of England*) It should nevertheless be recollected that the bias of the writer was strongly in favour of the high prerogative of the crown.

(22) CULLODEN, […] This, the last charge of the Highlanders under their patriarchal discipline, and with their peculiar arms, is **vividly** described in Chambers's 'History of the Rebellion', a small work **replete with interest**.

In these examples the entries provide both information on the topic and suggestions for further reading, thus encouraging readers to look up other texts and find out more, while providing more or less explicit opinions on the supplementary sources themselves.

3. Concluding remarks

An overview of OED sources in the nineteenth century has shown the growing importance of scientific publications, especially as far as sources addressing less specialized audiences are concerned. A preliminary study of these has enabled the outline of potentially fruitful research paths in relation to attention-seeking and -maintaining devices. Among these, titles have been observed to be mostly factual, only including evaluative elements when stressing novelty and improvement. Illustrations are provided when their value as comprehension facilitators makes them cost-effective. Finally, intertextual references are seen to function as valuable tools for the reinforcement of concepts. These kinds of Late Modern English materials may thus prove useful in studying the roots of present-day knowledge dissemination strategies, unveiling another facet of the history of English.

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"A cargo of coffee, sugar, and indigo": Transatlantic business correspondence in nineteenth-century business letter-writing manuals

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses two case-studies of specialised nineteenth-century business letter-writing manuals (Anderson 1836 and Williams – Lafont 1860). The investigation initially focuses on the dynamics of transnational export of British epistolary guides both to continental Europe and across the Atlantic. The analysis of the three American editions of the first manual (Anderson 1836) offers an insight into the strategies of adaptation performed by different publishing houses. The second step of the investigation is represented by the analysis of specific linguistic strategies of politeness employed in the model letters. The examples clearly show the preference accorded to the strategies of negative politeness, a finding which supports the hypothesis on the ongoing nineteenth-century codification of new negative politeness culture in the British context (Jucker 2012). In summary, this paper discusses the role of specialised business epistolary guides in establishing, maintaining and strengthening transnational commercial networks by imparting rigid sociocultural norms of proper business conduct.

1. Introduction

The study of "letter writing as cultural practice" (Dossena – Del Lungo Camiciotti 2012: 6) has only begun to receive due attention in recent years. The publication of a number of volumes (see Dossena – Fitzmaurice 2006; Dossena – Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008; and Dossena – Del Lungo Camiciotti 2012) has contributed greatly to the increasing prominence of the field by laying out innovative theoretical and methodological frameworks applicable to the study of familiar as well as commercial correspondence.

Other scholars (see Culpeper 2011b) have shown how new quantitative and qualitative approaches can be used in the investigation of language use in historical epistolary material. The increase in importance of writing in nineteenth-century English society, demonstrated, for instance, in the spread of literacy, has been explained by factors such as progressive bureaucratisation and the expansion of commercial interests both at home and abroad (Bailey 1996: 23-68). The tenfold increase in the volume of letters sent in the thirty years after 1840, the year in which the Penny Post system was introduced in Britain, bears testimony to what Beal describes as "the real revolution in written communication" (2004: 9).

The nineteenth-century revolution in letter writing was accompanied by an unprecedented boom in various kinds of self-help books, which included a high proportion of pronunciation and grammar guides alongside manuals belonging to an already well-established genre of epistolary instruction manuals. Unlike authentic historical correspondence, the study of letter-writing manuals can still be considered to be a rather neglected area of research (Bannet 2005). Only a handful of studies (Austin 2007; Bannet 2005; Del Lungo Camiciotti 2002, 2005; Fens-de Zeeuw 2008 and Poster – Mitchell 2007) have so far dealt with specific aspects of this highly interesting historical genre. Moreover, it is important to remember that the generic name "letter-writing manuals" functions as a broad umbrella term which covers guides addressed to the general public as well as to very specific groups of readers. In the latter category, one of the most prominent groups of target readers was that of upwardly mobile young men wishing to find employment as correspondence clerks in one of the many British commercial houses of that period. Hence during the eighteenth century it gradually became customary to include a dedicated section with sample business letters in general letter-writing guides (Cooke 1770) and the nineteenth century saw the proliferation of specialised manuals for business correspondence.

The vast area of research on linguistic politeness/impoliteness currently offers a multitude of theoretical models and methodological tools for the anlaysis of the linguistic phenomena of (im)politeness and, more importantly, their relationship with the underlying social and cultural practices[1]. A number of recent studies (for example, Jucker 2012 and Culpeper – Demmen 2012) focus on the paradigmatic changes in politeness culture in the British context

[1] See Culpeper (2011a) for an exhaustive overview of literature on politeness/impoliteness research.

which started to take place in the last decades of the eighteenth century and continued to occur in the course of the nineteenth century. Letter-writing manuals, which enjoyed growing popularity in the same period, provide ample evidence of prescriptive efforts. In addition to instructing the reader on how to apply appropriate epistolary conventions, the manuals aimed at imparting codes of proper social behaviour through the use of specific linguistic strategies of politeness. Hence the analysis of politeness strategies in nineteenth-century letter-writing guides could prove particularly fruitful in an attempt to gain a better understanding of contemporary linguistic practices. More specifically, in view of the claims that the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries witnessed a paradigmatic shift towards a new negative politeness culture (Jucker 2012: 423-424), a study of model letters could provide new supporting evidence of that shift taking place at that time.

In this light, the aim of the present paper will be twofold. In the following section I will begin by introducing the first of the two nineteenth-century specialised business letter-writing manuals analysed in the paper, namely the 1860 American edition of *Practical Mercantile Letter-Writer*: *A Collection of Modern Letters of Business*, a highly popular British guide originally entitled *Practical Mercantile Correspondence: A Collection of Modern Letters of Business*, by William Anderson. The popularity of this particular guide helps to shed light on the dynamics of the transnational importation of specialised British correspondence manuals, which, as I will show, were in great demand both in continental Europe and across the Atlantic. I will then analyse the pragmatic strategies of politeness employed by and imposed on the reader/learner of this type of manual. I will use sample letters extracted from Anderson's manual together with examples from a second nineteenth-century business letter-writing guide, *French and English Commercial Correspondence*, a bilingual manual co-authored by Thomas Sidney Williams and Jules Lafont (1860). The comparison of the linguistic strategies of politeness suggested in the two guides will offer an insight into the potential usefulness of historical letter-writing guides in shedding light on the connections between linguistic and underlying social practices. My investigation aims to show how strict standards of correct linguistic behaviour can be taken to reflect rigid codes of self-representation and self-conduct in the global business environment of the nineteenth century. The concluding section will be devoted to the discussion of the importance of the manuals in establishing, maintaining and strengthening transnational commercial networks.

2. Transnational trade in British correspondence manuals

By the second half of the eighteenth century the authors of letter-writing manuals were already going to great lengths to convince their readers of the utility and importance of excellent epistolary skills for commerce:

> The greatest commerce is carried on amongst the absent. This cannot be done verbally; letters are made use of. These must speak for us in the most distant places, buy and sell, and in general testify our intention, our thoughts and meaning, instead of ourselves. (Smith 1768: 2)

In a specialised business letter-writing manual published approximately one hundred years later, the authors emphasise new factors that, in their eyes, have contributed to raising the profile of commercial correspondence even further:

> The seats of Commerce are so numerous now at home and abroad, inland as well as on the seaboard, that the business correspondence carried on is immense, arising not only from the greater facilities afforded by more frequent and cheaper postal communication, but also from the rapid progress of Trade, and the vast extension of Shipping, home and foreign. […] Independent of the large correspondence resulting from our home trade and manufacturers that connected with the Continental Trade, with the trade with Africa, North and South America, Australia, India, China and the Far East is enormous. (Williams – Simmonds 1864: 3-5)

These factors include the improvement of systems of communication and transportation, the expansion of British commerce and the consolidation of global commercial networks, whose smooth functioning depended to a great extent upon the successful exchange of correspondence between business partners.

In her study of eighteenth-century English-language epistolary manuals, Bannet (2005) takes into consideration several popular and therefore important guides published during the same period on both sides of the Atlantic. Bannet connects the beginning of the popularity of this genre of self-help literature at the turn of the seventeenth century specifically with "the inception of English efforts to unite the three kingdoms and the American mainland and island colonies within a growing, and increasingly

far-flung, commercial empire, when letters were the only available technology for distance communication" (2005: ix-x). The case-studies of individual eighteenth-century manuals presented by Bannet shed light on the ways in which transatlantic book exchange functioned in that period:

> [L]etter manuals were among the earliest types of book that were not only printed in Britain and regularly imported into the American provinces, but also reprinted and consciously "fitted" by local American printers to the values and needs of their local customers. The importation, reprinting and adaptation of British letter manuals continued well into the early Republic. (2005: xviii)

Bannet's suggestion that there was continuity within the transatlantic import of letter manuals from the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries is undoubtedly confirmed in the first of the two nineteenth-century specialised business letter-writing guides which are the focus of this paper. The volume in question is the 1860 New York edition of William Anderson's *Practical Mercantile Letter-Writer: A collection of modern letters of business, with notes critical and explanatory, and analytical index, and an appendix*, first published in London in 1836. Anderson's guide represents one of the most commercially successful British examples of the specialised business letter-writing manuals which enjoyed an increasing popularity in the course of the nineteenth century. The original English-language version of the manual was reprinted numerous times in Britain, with the last publication dating to the beginning of the twentieth century (Anderson 1903). In addition to reprints produced in Britain, the manual was published in a number of European (Anderson 1846, 1855, 1858), as well as American publishing houses (Anderson 1851, 1860). The volume was translated into German (Anderson – Lucas 1840) and several model letters from the original English edition were subsequently included into a manual published by Krull (1844), which provided German and French translations of the English model letters. In the course of the century Anderson's guide was also revised and adapted for several bilingual versions: English-German (Anderson 1886), English-Portuguese (Anderson – Tugman 1867), English-Italian (Anderson – Millhouse 1873), and English-Dutch (Anderson – Playter 1866), to name the most popular ones, all of which contained explanatory notes to the model letters in the second language.

In the process of being exported and reprinted abroad, Anderson's manual underwent revisions which were most likely deemed necessary by the European and American publishers alike in order to make the guide more

suited to the specific demands of the local reading audience (Bannet 2005). The variation in the new titles, which amended or substituted the original *Practical Mercantile Correspondence*, can be considered the first indication of changes made by the new publishers. In fact, in the case of the American reprints of Anderson's guide, it is only with the second D. Appleton & Company New York edition that we have the modification of the title from *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* to *Practical Mercantile Letter-Writer*, a new choice for the publisher who maintained the original title in the first American edition of 1851. In other cases of bilingual or translated versions of the manual, the publishers often chose to highlight what they considered to be the most important selling point of the guide. An instance of this is the bilingual English-Dutch edition dating from 1866 (Anderson – Playter 1866). The English title of this edition was changed to *William Anderson's Mercantile Correspondence*: *A Collection of Real Letters of Business,* in which "real letters" replace "modern letters" found in most of the other editions. The Dutch title, *Keur van Echte Engelsche Koopmansbrieven. Door William Anderson*, i.e. *A Selection of Authentic English Businessmen's Letters* (my transl.), reproduces the change in the English sub-title. This revision aimed to stress the authenticity of the model letters, a feature which was most likely considered to be very important for the new target audience.

The two American editions, both by D. Appleton & Company of New York (Anderson 1851, 1860), are unremarkable if we take into consideration the overall popularity and successful circulation of *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* outside Britain. Compared to several European reprints, the American volumes appeared relatively late. In fact, both of them are based on the revised and expanded 1843 edition, rather than the original 1836 book, and, except for a few minor revisions, such as the amendment of the title in 1860, the American guides can be said to be faithful copies of the original British version. As such, D. Appleton & Company's imported reprints have little to tell us about the particularities of the "fitting" practices (Bannet 2005: xviii) in the transatlantic circulation of self-help literature in the nineteenth century. However, the analysis of the 1837 American business letter-writing guide entitled *The Clerk's Guide, or, Commercial Correspondence; comprising letters of business, forms of bills, invoices, account-sales, and an appendix* by Benjamin Franklin Foster may provide some insight into the mechanisms of revision that British manuals underwent once they became destined for the American reading public.

While the titles of the two guides in question clearly differ, the same cannot be said of the beginning of the two prefaces. In *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* the second paragraph reads:

(1) It appears a remarkable anomaly that, in a country so eminently commercial as Great Britain, the initiatory studies of young men destined for mercantile life should be so notoriously neglected. Our literature, copies enough in almost every other branch, afford abundant facility for an appropriate course of tuition and study for the liberal professions and the arts; but, to the young merchant, it proffers little assistance of the kind required. (Anderson 1836: v)

In the *Clerk's Guide* we find the following lines:

(2) It is certainly a remarkable anomaly that in a country so eminently commercial as this, the initiatory studies of young men who are destined for the active pursuits of trade and commerce should hitherto have been so much neglected. Our schools and academies afford abundant opportunities for an appropriate course of instruction in the liberal arts and sciences; but, to the incipient merchant they proffer but little assistance of the kind required. (Foster 1837: iii)

Foster's paragraph is undoubtedly a rewriting of the original text in Anderson's guide: specific building blocks from the original sentences are re-employed, albeit with the substitution, modification, or removal of single words, syntactic structures and even punctuation marks. Moreover, the author pays close attention to culturally-specific reference points, which are duly transformed: for example, "Great Britain" is changed into "this country". The operation of "fitting" continues in the subsequent pages, where the revised opening taken from Anderson is followed by what seems to be a compilation of passages taken from other letter-writing guides. Two pages further (Foster 1837: v), the author again inserts several paragraphs from *Practical Mercantile Correspondence*, applying the same procedure of "fitting" performed in the introductory part of the preface. For reasons of space, it is impossible to go into further analysis of the specific linguistic strategies of fitting employed by Foster, but the example given above is representative of the ingenuity and great care taken by the author to offer the local public points of reference to the cultural context that they would find familiar[2].

[2] For example, whereas in his "Preface" Anderson refers to the target readership of the volume as "young gentlemen" (1836: v), in rewriting the same paragraph Foster replaces the term with a much more general "students": "The utility of such a collection has long been acknowledged by merchants and men of business, and its want felt, as well by the students themselves, as by those instructors […]" (1837: v). This simple

In the concluding part of the preface Foster explicitly acknowledges his debt to "a variety of sources", and names Anderson's guide together with another volume which so far it has not been possible to locate (Foster 1837: vii)[3]. Unlike Anderson's manual, the preface in Foster's volume is followed by an introductory chapter dedicated to general instructions on the specificities of business letter-writing. As regards the sections that contain model letters, a comparison with the contents of *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* reveals that almost all of Foster's samples are in fact taken from the British original. Also, in the case of model letters themselves, the American author employs similar strategies of "fitting" to those discussed above in the case of the preface. All references to a British context have been removed or amended, where possible, so that, for instance, Anderson's original model letter of introduction entitled "To Bristol in favor of a nephew of an old connection" (1836: 23) has become simply "In favor of a nephew of an old connection" (Foster 1837: 37). The body of the model letters likewise shows traces of intervention: British locations (London, Bristol and Manchester in this case) are replaced by New York, Boston, and Pittsburgh. In addition, one comma is missing in the American version and the closing formula has been abbreviated. Another example of similar revisions can be found in the series of model letters concerning a transaction related to the purchase of cotton (Anderson 1836: 30-38; Foster 1837: 67-76 respectively), in which Foster has also changed the type of product discussed in the transaction, from the Upland variety to the Pernambuco one.

In summary, Foster's *Clerk's Guide* represents a highly interesting example of an imported and adapted British manual. Published in America a mere one year after the original publication in Britain, not only did it anticipate the subsequent 1851 and 1860 reprints, but it sought to present itself to the local reader as a self-help book produced and aimed specifically at an American

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operation allows the author/editor to significantly expand his target readership, with the aim of potentially including any upwardly mobile American reader/learner. Moreover, in paragraphs written (presumably) by Foster himself and not copied from *Practical Mercantile Correspondence*, the references to the local cultural context are even more explicit, as in the following example, in which (perhaps predictably) dollars are mentioned, instead of pounds: "Something more is expected in a merchant's correspondence than in that of any other class of men; as upon the faith of a single letter, he may negotiate many thousand dollars […]" (1837: vii).

[3] Foster simply refers to "Anderson's Mercantile Correspondence" and "Percival's Complete Man of Business" (1837: vii). It is likely that Foster abbreviated the title of the latter guide, and in this case the book in question may possibly be Raymond Percival's 1834 *A Voice from the Counting House*, etc. However, I have not yet been able to consult a copy of this guide to establish whether it served as Foster's second source.

audience. Unlike the publishing house D. Appleton & Company, which faithfully reprinted the manual in its second edition version, Foster employed several different strategies of "fitting" the original guide with the intention of rendering the book more accessible to the American reader. A further analysis of these strategies would certainly offer insight into the dynamics of transatlantic book importation in the first half of the nineteenth century.

3. Codification of negative politeness culture

As some of the examples presented in the previous section have already suggested, the authors of these guides were well aware of the specific sociohistorical context in which they were living and producing their works. The consolidation of existing global commercial networks on the one hand, combined with further expansion of British and transnational trading interests on the other, contributed to creating a very profitable niche for specialised collections of model business letters within the booming market in self-help literature. The investigation of the sociocultural function of such guides cannot be limited to their prescriptive efforts to impose correct linguistic forms on the reader/learner. While the authors of the manuals repeatedly emphasised how the acquisition of excellent epistolary skills would benefit the advancement of a career in commerce, another key function of specialised business letter-writing manuals consisted in providing young men aspiring to start a career in commerce with rigid sociocultural models of proper business conduct (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008). The norms of business conduct were suggested and promoted in the manuals to those hoping for a successful business career, regardless of their nationality or geographical location. In other words, the export of letter-writing manuals aimed at implanting British standards of proper gentlemanly behaviour abroad, within the context of the expanding global commercial connections of the nineteenth century.

There were several ways in which manuals attempted and to some extent were able to convey sociocultural norms. Firstly, some authors chose to include introductory letters with general guidelines which in an explicit and detailed manner dictated rules of proper business conduct for the benefit of young learners. Examples of two such letters can be found in the expanded second edition of *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* (Anderson 1843: 1-5). The second, more subtle way of introducing norms of business conduct can be traced to the employment of specific linguistic strategies of politeness in the model letters offered by the manuals. Del Lungo Camiciotti

(2008), for instance, has looked at pragmatic strategies of politeness in her analysis of requests and commitments presented as examples by a number of nineteenth-century British business letter-writing manuals, including an Italian edition of *Practical Mercantile Correspondence* dating from 1873. Del Lungo Camiciotti's study confirms a high incidence of linguistic strategies of negative and positive politeness in Brown and Levinson's sense (1987). Consequently, these specific pragmatic strategies imposed on the reader/learner cannot be treated as simply reflecting current linguistic norms, given their role in the promotion of the specific standards of self-representation and self-conduct in the business environment. In the next paragraphs, examples from *Practical Mercantile Letter-Writer* and a second nineteenth-century specialised letter-writing manual should prove revealing of the mechanisms that transmitted norms of business conduct through the use of negative and positive politeness strategies.

The second manual under examination, namely *French and English Commercial Correspondence: A collection of modern mercantile letters in French and English, with their translation on opposite pages* (Williams – Lafont 1860), could not boast the same popularity as Anderson's *Practical Mercantile Correspondence/Letter-Writer,* and only two additional reprints (1862, 1871) seem to have been made. However, when it comes to their structure and organisation, and the content of the model letters, the two manuals can be said to be very similar. One feature in particular immediately distinguishes these two specialised guides from letter-writing manuals of the same period destined for a more general public of readers (cf. Sadler 1828, Cann 1878, Penholder 1890), namely the presence of interconnected letters, conveniently grouped into distinct series. Such series, which represent the bulk of the model letters in the two guides, follow the development of lengthy and complex business transactions often involving business partners operating from different countries across the Atlantic.

Interestingly, the transactions presented in such series of letter exchanges often revolve around commercial failures. In *Practical Mercantile Letter-Writer*, there is a series entitled "Cargo seized by customs at Charleston" (Anderson 1860: 152-156)[4]. Several American business partners from Charleston,

[4] Anderson explicitly states that his volume contains "genuine commercial letters" (1860: v). Moreover, he claims that the letters have undergone only minor revisions, made either with the view of protecting the identity of the commercial houses which offered their correspondence or with the aim of "correct[ing] the diction, when necessary, in order to render them fair examples of the commercial style" (1860: vii). In addition, at least two editions of the guide (Anderson 1846 and 1865) contain endorsements which, in their turn, draw attention to the (presumed) authenticity of the model letters, as in

Philadelphia and New York attempt to sell a party of goods on behalf of their British partner based in London. Their combined efforts unfortunately do not yield the expected results and, as a consequence, the Americans find themselves in the position of having to repeatedly provide a satisfactory explanation for their inability to conclude the transaction profitably:

(3) We are sorry to say that, from the prices Mr. S. handed to us, the goods are not likely to sell for their invoice value, as British manufactures are extremely low; however, you may rest assured that our best endeavours will be used to promote your interest. (Anderson 1860: 153)

(4) We are extremely sorry to have to render so unsatisfactory an account of sales. (Anderson 1860: 154)

(5) We are sorry to say business continues in the same dull state as when we last addressed you. (Anderson 1860: 154)

(6) We regret that it is not in our power to hand you a bill for your claim, but trust that what we have done will be satisfactory. (Anderson 1860: 155)

The authors provide apologies which are routinely accompanied by references to external factors, most commonly unfavourable market conditions. This addition serves to mitigate the face-threat by shifting responsibility for the failure of the transaction to an event that the partner cannot be expected to control.

A similar situation occurs in the case of the transaction entitled "Correspondence between Bremen and Havanna respecting a consignment of linen with returns in cigars" in *French and English Commercial Correspondence* (Williams – Lafont 1860: 284-318). Here, a Bremen-based company ships out a consignment of linen to be sold on the overseas market and their partners in Havana have been asked to oversee the operation. Similar patterns of business conduct rendered linguistically by the employment of specific strategies of negative politeness can be found in this exchange:

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the following examples: " 'A large collection of real letters of business, to which our vast commerce extends; […].' – *New Monthly Magazine*" (Anderson 1846: vi); " 'These letters are real transcripts – with only such changes as are necessary to conceal the transaction, and the parties between whom they passed […].' – *Globe*" (Anderson 1865: vi). Further investigation would be required, in order to establish whether these model letters can be traced back to their original source. However, at this stage, the analysis of the letters themselves strongly points to the reliability of Anderson's claim.

(7) In the interim, the Louisa, from Hamburg, has still further increased the stock of Linens in the Market which immediately caused our retail dealers to be more reserved in their purchases. (Williams – Lafont 1860: 294)

(8) Acknowledging receipt of yours of October 20th and November 6th, we regret to say that, to this day, we have not succeeded in getting rid of your Linens, in spite of every exertion; but business in this article has been so flat. (Williams – Lafont 1860: 300)

(9) We […] are grieved, that we cannot yet advise the sale of your Creas […]. You can scarcely conceive the stagnation in the linen trade. (Williams – Lafont 1860: 302)

These examples show how well-established the mechanism of shifting responsibility was in the nineteenth-century business community, at least according to specialised epistolary guides, in order to attempt to preserve the business relationship. The specific rhetorical choices and linguistic conventions to be used in a number of potentially conflictual, face-threatening communicative situations point to the predominance of negative politeness moves prescribed by the authors of the manuals. In fact, in similar situations of (potential) conflict negotiation which several other series describe[5], the frequency of negative politeness strategies increases significantly. Such an increase can be explained by the contextual factor, with the emphasis on the correlation between the usage of specific pragmatic strategies and a type of the communicative situation.

My conclusions concerning the preference accorded to negative politeness strategies employed in an attempt to shift responsibility for a failed transaction are in line with the findings of a study which focused on authentic business correspondence (Dossena 2008). Dossena highlights how "[I]n a business context, the attribution of responsibility may be a very

[5] For example, the series dedicated to "Trade between Fayal and London in fruit, wine, etc." (Anderson 1860: 59-94) contains a total of 50 letters. This complex transaction involves two English businessmen, together with their partners in the Azores, Germany and Russia. The transaction results in a complete commercial failure which, moreover, puts a considerable strain on the professional, as well as the personal, relationships between the various partners. The model letters included in this series contain frequent examples of negative politeness moves employed by the participants in order to mitigate the consequences of such a "troublesome though trifling affair" (Anderson 1860: 90).

serious step to take […]. In any case, the act is inevitably face-threatening" (2008: 236). High frequency of negative politeness moves prescribed by the authors of nineteenth-century letter-writing manuals also supports the conclusions made in the studies by Culpeper – Demmen (2012) and Jucker (2012). Culpeper and Demmen discuss the key sociocultural shifts which started to evolve in the British context in the second half of the eighteenth century. Among these, secularisation, industrialision, geographical and social mobility, and the rise of individualism as a positive ideology are listed as factors which had significant impact on changes in linguistic practices (Culpeper – Demmen 2012: 52-60). They claim that these "sociocultural shifts […] are consonant with changes in politeness practices and could be linked to the development and usage of a more individualistic style of politeness, including negative politeness" (Culpeper – Demmen 2012: 51). This hypothesis is validated by an analysis of linguistic data which clearly shows a rise in the usage of conventional indirect requests, exemplary of negative politeness strategies (Culpeper – Demmen 2012: 61-75)[6]. Jucker (2012) offers a description of the different periods in the history of English from the perspective of "particular types of politeness that predominate in the sources surviving from that period" (2012: 423). In line with Culpeper – Demmen (2012), Jucker focuses on the eighteenth century as the key period in which the conceptions of appropriate behaviour started to be associated with specific social positions, contributing to the increasing importance of the role of linguistic politeness (2012: 429). The historical and sociocultural shifts which continued to evolve in the course of the nineteenth century led to the prominence of non-imposition politeness. This development resulted in the increasingly frequent use of negative politeness strategies, such as, for example, off-record strategies or nonconventional indirectness (Jucker 2012: 430).

It can thus be said that manuals such as Anderson (1860 [1836]) and Williams – Lafont (1860) bear testimony to the ongoing codification of a new politeness culture, in Jucker's terms (2012: 423-424). In this process, according to Bannet, epistolary guides played an important role of "contribut[ing] to the construction of Britons as what Paul Langford has described as 'a polite and commercial people', as well as to what Americanists have called the 'anglicisation of America'" (2005: 23-24).

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6 The corpora used by Culpeper – Demmen (2012) included ACLEP (*A Corpus of Late 18th Century Prose*), ACLMEP (*A Corpus of Late Modern English Prose*) and CONCE (*A Corpus of Nineteenth-century English*).

4. Concluding remarks

The analysis of two case-studies presented in this paper demonstrated the ways in which specialised nineteenth-century commercial letter-writing manuals aimed at familiarising their target group of readers with the contemporary global business context. This context, as depicted in the model letters dedicated to transnational business transactions, was permeated by solid global commercial networks, which functioned according to rigid norms of appropriate business conduct. The study of a popular specialised correspondence manual (Anderson 1860) has allowed me to show how easily and quickly British guides were exported and circulated in the global nineteenth-century business environment.

Commercial success of a business transaction in the nineteenth century depended to a large extent on the ability of the commercial partners to communicate effectively. However, model letters, offered to young men desirous of starting a career in commerce, not only sought to provide their readers with correct linguistic examples of proper commercial epistolary style. More importantly, the letters attempted to impart British norms and standards of gentlemanly behaviour in the business context, an operation deemed to be a fundamental part of the proper introduction of young learners to the ethics and the values that governed nineteenth-century business communication. A closer study of the rhetorical choices and linguistic conventions prescribed by the manuals shows the importance of strategies of negative politeness in commercial epistolary discourse. The use of specialised business letter-writing manuals would help young clerks, aspiring to become part of a global commercial network, to learn both the norms and the correct linguistic conventions associated with impeccable gentlemanly conduct, considered to be the main asset of the nineteenth-century businessman.

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Stance is present in scientific writing, *indeed*. Evidence from the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*[1]

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ABSTRACT

Stance as a pragmatic feature has been discussed widely in recent years, although the analysis of its presence in the scientific register has been more limited. Stance is most clearly seen in the use of adverbs (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston – Pullum 2002), providing a comment on the propositional content of an utterance. Thus, in any speech act the information they transmit involves both participants, which in the case of academic prose are the writer and reader. Biber et al. (1999) have claimed that oral registers exhibit the highest number of stance adverbs and that these are "relatively common" in academic prose (Tseronis 2009). In this paper we try to ascertain the extent to which stance adverbs were used in Late Modern scientific discourse, and whether differences in use can be observed between British and American authors and also across disciplines and genres, taking the orality or written nature of texts as a key feature in the analysis. Data have been drawn from around one hundred and twenty authors, from three sub-corpora of the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing* (see also Zea, this volume). Each of these sub-corpora contains extracts of texts from different scientific disciplines written between 1700 and 1900. However, for the present study, only nineteenth-century authors have been selected. The material also allowed us to consider whether the sex of a writer had a bearing on the use of these forms. Ultimately, we have found that the most frequently used stance adverbs are those indicating inclusiveness and expressing either emphasis or tentativeness. Curiously enough, they are more abundant in texts written by North American authors and when we come to sex, male uses exceed by far female ones.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to describe the use of stance adverbs by nineteenth-century writers of science, and in this way to characterise the nature of authorial presence and commitment in this special kind of language. Our working hypothesis is that these texts will not contain many instances of stance adverbs, given that nineteenth-century scientific discourse can be expected to conform to the object-centred pattern of Empiricist science based on objective descriptions in seeking reliability, thus avoiding the use of linguistic tags denoting personal engagement. Such instances that are found might be explained on the grounds of certain extralinguistic variables, such as an author's place of education (British or American), their sex[2], or the genres in question. In the case of genre, writing may approach the standards of oral communication to some extent, depending on their degree of technicality, and the oral-to-be-written or written nature of texts will be taken into consideration during the analysis.

In accordance with this working hypothesis, the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 will deal with stance adverbs, looking at their nature and use. Data from the different sub-corpora of the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing* (henceforth *CC* – see also Zea this volume) will be presented in Section 3, together with a description of the method to be used in the subsequent analysis. Findings will be presented in Section 4, and will focus on three variables where some differences may be expected: whether authors received a British or an American education, the genre in which they were writing, and sex of authors. In the final section concluding remarks will be offered.

2. Stance adverbs

By stance we mean the overt expression of an author's or speaker's attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the message. The expression of stance may also convey the speaker's evaluation of the content of the specific clause (Downing – Locke 2002: 36). As such, it is a pragmatic feature and has been widely studied in recent years, although

[2] Sex is here used to refer to a biological quality rather than to a cultural construct. For an explanation on the use of the term 'sex' see Moskowich (2013: 467).

not always under this name: evaluation (Hunston 1994), evidentiality (Chafe 1986), affect (Ochs 1989) or hedge (Hyland 1998) were tags also used by authors to refer to the same concept as Alonso-Almeida – Vázquez (2010: 1173) have put it. In the case of the scientific register its analysis has been restricted to certain fields and disciplines (Salager-Meyer 1994; Hyland 1998, 1999, 2005; Al-Saaidi 2010; Alonso-Almeida 2012a, 2012b). The analysis of stance has not only yielded present-day accounts of its function and representation but also some diachronic works have attempted to trace historical changes across registers (Biber 2004; Busse 2010; Gray – Biber – Hiltunen 2011). Stance is one of the elements that forms a model of interaction between participants in academic discourse (Hyland 2005). As Hyland (2005: 173) notes, "writers seek to offer a credible representation of themselves and their work by claiming solidarity with readers, evaluating their material and acknowledging alternative views". This is central to the construction of persuasive argumentation and thus to the success of scientific communication. Stance can be manifested by means of lexical categories or constructions (Downing – Locke 2002: 74), including adverbs. Indeed, adverbs have been widely acknowledged among the primary lexical markers of stance in English (Biber – Finegan 1988: 1; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston – Pullum 2002), and they will serve as the focus for the current paper.

Since adverbs used in this way provide a comment on the propositional content of an utterance, the information they transmit in any speech act involves both participants, speaker and hearer, or writer and reader in the case of academic prose. Writers need to position themselves and to express their value judgments, endorsing their argumentation with attitudinal comments that express reliability and help reinforce their relationship with readers. In this sense, the expression of stance can also be understood as an audience-engagement mechanism, in that the use of linguistic structures transmitting point of view aims at promoting the addressee's approval of the claims made. This manifestation of the interpersonal level of meaning has led authors to describe the phenomenon in different ways. Thus, stance adverbs have also been called "comment pragmatic markers" (Fraser 1999) and "attitudinal and style disjuncts" (Quirk et al.1985). In the literature, such adverbs are said to mark either degree of confidence (*usually*, *possibly*, *probably*) or involvement and solidarity (*highly, mainly*). Hence, the supposed objectivity of scientific writing is counterbalanced by the subjectivity implicit in the use of these adverbs (Hyland 2005).

Bacon's and Boyle's canon for style in scientific writing, which emerged as a reaction to the medieval scholastic tradition, demands the use of clear and plain language devoid of ornamentation (Allen – Qin – Lancaster 1994). This transparent, object-centred style (Atkinson 1999), acting as a direct vehicle for the transmission for scientific observation and experimentation, seems to have tolerated the veiled presence of the author. The reasons here may lie in the necessity for authors to connect with the increasing numbers of the literate public, while complying with the ideas of the dissemination of knowledge, so central to the new science, and with the principle of reliability, another core aim of Empiricism. The linguistic mechanisms best suited to express this intimate relation between author and audience include stance adverbials, modality, second person pronouns, suasive and private verbs (Biber 1988), and directives (Hyland 2005), among others. The use of stance adverbs in particular may have been conditioned by several factors, and the social and external factors we will consider here may have influenced their degree of use in scientific writing. First, we will consider where authors acquired their competence in scientific writing: that is, whether the writing tradition in which they were educated had any effect on the extent of their reliance on such adverbs. Second, assuming that certain genres are closer to orality than others (Biber – Finegan 1992, Culpeper – Kytö 2000) and that, *a priori*, the expression of one's attitude towards the message conveyed is more easily detected in oral than in written scientific texts, we will ask whether the degree of technicality of genres may influence language choice. In a previous study of contemporary English, Biber et al. (1999: 767) claimed that oral registers exhibit the highest number of stance adverbs, the occurrence of which is "relatively common" in "academic prose, while they show the lowest frequency in news" (Tseronis 2009). This may imply that news is somehow more objective than scientific or academic prose, which in principle might seem to be a wholly objective field with a high degree of abstraction (Monaco forthcoming). Finally, we will ask whether male and female authors may also have used these stance markers differently, in that it has been argued that women are generally more involved than men in their writing style (Argamon et al. 2003). Previous studies on sex differences in a variety of aspects of scientific writing (Crespo 2011; Crespo – Moskowich forthcoming; Moskowich – Monaco 2014) point to the relevance of distinct writing practices by men and women, each manifested in the preponderant use of specific linguistic strategies.

Although we are conscious of the fact that many other linguistic structures could be taken as expressions of stance, we have decided to focus

here on only one lexical category, that of adverbs. This means that our results cannot be extrapolated to the general use of stance in the scientific works under survey, but are obviously limited to the use of stance adverbs.

3. Material and methodology

Data are drawn from three sub-corpora of the *CC*. These are *CETA* (*Corpus of English Texts on Astronomy*, 2012), *CELiST* (*Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts*, forthcoming) and *CHET* (*Corpus of Historical English Texts*, forthcoming). Each sub-corpus contains extracts of texts from different disciplines, Astronomy, Life Sciences and History, respectively, written between 1700 and 1900. However, for the present study, only nineteenth-century authors have been chosen as not all the sub-corpora contain samples by eighteenth-century American authors.

Our data represent 120 different authors and a total of 607,251 words. Since all samples contain more or less the same number or words (ca. 10,000) there is quite a regular distribution across the three disciplines, with Astronomy containing 201,830 words, Life Sciences 203,422 words and History 201,999 words.

For the purpose of this study we have resorted to a closed list of items taken from Quirk et al. (1985) (see Appendix 1), a seminal descriptive grammar work on which more recent grammars have been based. The stance adverbs under consideration were retrieved from the corpora using the *Coruña Corpus Tool* provided with the *CC*.

Figures will be normalised to 10,000 when necessary, as a means of ensuring a more rigorous study and more reliable results.

4. Description of findings

All the 114 adverbs listed by Quirk et al. (1985) under different categories have been searched for using the *Coruña Corpus Tool* in the three present sub-corpora. After the retrieval, their function as stance adverbs was manually checked. From this search 1,420 tokens were found, which represents just 23.38 cases of stance adverbs per 10,000 words (see Appendix 1). However, we will proceed with the description of those types and tokens found in order to outline the use of these forms in nineteenth-century scientific writing. Some of Quirk et al.'s adverbs (41) are not represented at all in our data. These are listed in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Stance adverbs not present in the material under survey

admittedly	hopefully	refreshingly
amusingly	incredibly	regrettably
arguably	indisputably	reportedly
astonishingly	indubitably	reputedly
bluntly	ironically	supposedly
conceivably	luckily	suspiciously
crudely	maybe	tragically
cunningly	mercifully	unarguably
delightfully	metaphorically	understandably
disappointingly	patently	unluckily
disturbingly	predictably	unreasonably
flatly	preferably	unwisely
frankly	prudently	wrongly
funnily	purportedly	

The absence of these forms might be explained by the fact that particular adverbs were not in use in the nineteenth century. This is certainly the case, for example, with *arguably*, first recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1890:

(1) 1890 Sat. Rev. 22 Feb. 216/2 His policy, if sometimes arguably mistaken, was almost always a generous policy.

Table 2 below shows the number of tokens for each of the 73 types found in the sub-corpora.

In order to clarify the frequency of occurrence of these forms, Figure 1 represents only those types for which more than 20 tokens were recorded. In fact, we note that hapax legomena abound in the data, with 16 stance adverbs appearing just once across all 3 sub-corpora, which may indicate a high degree of lexical richness in the expression of the authors' attitude or feelings towards what they are writing. This is exactly what we have found in our data and, as a consequence, our claim must be understood as being restricted to the number of words in our corpus here. However, we are aware of the possibility that larger corpora might yield fewer hapax legomena (Baayen 2001).

Table 2. Numbers of stance adverbs found (raw figures)

Form	CETA	CELiST	CHET
amazingly	1	0	0
apparently	30	28	15
appropriately	0	0	1
approximately	6	5	0
artfully	0	0	1
assuredly	1	3	0
avowedly	0	0	5
briefly	4	7	4
broadly	0	7	0
candidly	0	0	1
certainly	29	32	23
clearly	10	23	4
cleverly	0	0	2
confidentially	0	0	1
conveniently	1	5	1
correctly	6	3	1
curiously	1	5	0
decidedly	0	4	0
definitely	3	8	1
doubtless	14	6	2
evidently	19	15	9
figuratively	0	0	1
foolishly	0	0	1
fortunately	3	4	7
generally	43	102	36
happily	1	4	7
honestly	0	0	2
incontestably	1	1	0
incontrovertibly	0	0	1
incorrectly	0	0	1
indeed	68	54	63
inevitably	2	1	2
justly	7	6	12
likely	9	15	17
literally	2	5	2
manifestly	2	3	1

Form	CETA	CELiST	CHET
naturally	16	15	15
obviously	6	7	4
oddly	0	0	1
perhaps	34	79	41
personally	0	2	4
plainly	5	9	2
pleasingly	1	0	1
possibly	18	14	9
presumably,	2	1	2
privately	0	0	7
really	26	17	21
reasonably	3	1	5
remarkably	2	8	0
rightly	0	3	2
roughly	3	4	0
sadly	0	0	1
seemingly	3	2	2
sensibly	22	3	0
seriously	1	2	6
shrewdly	1	0	0
significantly	0	1	0
simply	20	10	10
strangely	1	3	2
strictly	14	7	8
surely	1	2	4
thankfully	0	0	2
truly	6	11	5
truthfully	0	0	1
unexpectedly	0	1	1
unfortunately	5	6	6
unhappily	0	0	1
unjustly	0	0	1
undoubtedly	9	6	0
unquestionably	2	0	1
wisely	0	3	4

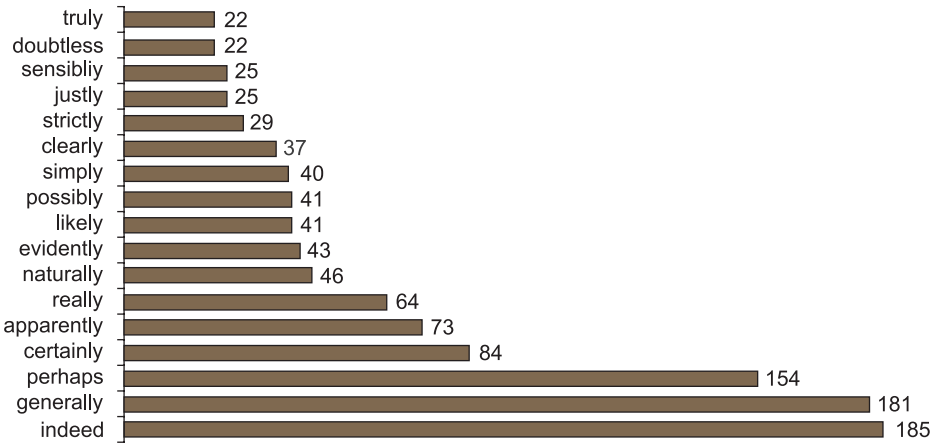

Figure 1. Types of stance adverbs with more than 20 tokens

Although a thorough analysis of the semantics of the stance adverbs found here would be most interesting and could certainly be the object of further research, we have decided to pay more detailed attention to those forms at the top of a frequency scale. The three adverbs which are most frequently used are *indeed*, (185) *generally* (181) and *perhaps* (154). Such forms are easily recognised as being close to orality (Busse 2012) yet seem to fulfil different roles. Given their frequent use, it is tempting to conclude that authors may have perceived them as being somewhat devoid of meaning, and hence felt free to use them more widely. Nevertheless, a careful analysis shows that, in contrast with other adverbs, the abundance of these three forms can in fact be explained on the grounds that they all exhibit some kind of pragmatic peculiarity: emphasis, inclusiveness or tentativeness. Thus, *indeed* reinforces the meaning of the adjacent utterance; in using *generally* authors seem to be including in their discourse all the epistemic community they are addressing (Pérez-Blanco 2012). The use of *perhaps* is somewhat different, in that it conveys the author's tentativeness regarding what he or she is expressing. Generally speaking, the three adverbs are mainly used in the oral register that readers would recognise as familiar to them. Thus the sensation might be created in which readers feel as if they are being approached by authors, who are seeking to engage their readership. Examples (2) to (4) illustrate these uses:

(2) or described by any of the above authors catesby has <indeed> represented a bird which he calls turdus minimus [note] catesby (Wilson 1808: 33)

(3) of the weather regularly shut about noon hence it is <generally> known by the name of go-to-bed-at-noon the princesses' leaf or (Lincoln 1832: 288)

(4) compared with the earth which lies dark and mean and <perhaps> small in extent far beneath them and on which man (Whewell 1858: 17)

At the other end of the scale, adverbs were found which commit the author to the truth of his or her proposition to a higher degree, in that they are not apparently so neutral as the more common forms. This is the case with *truly* (22), *doubtless* (22) and *sensibly* (25), as exemplified in (5) to (7):

(5) [quotation] letter xxv comets [quotation] nothing in astronomy is more <truly> admirable than the knowledge which astronomers have acquired of the (Olmstead 1841: 333)

(6) necessity of order and obedience saying that the enemy had <doubtless> wished to introduce disorder into the camp by depriving them (Sewell 1857: 259).

(7) large increase in the rate of marine denudation to affect <sensibly> the general result suppose the rate of marine denudation to (Croll 1889: 45).

These findings are presented in a break-down of stance adverbs per discipline, and hence subject-matter, in Figure 2.

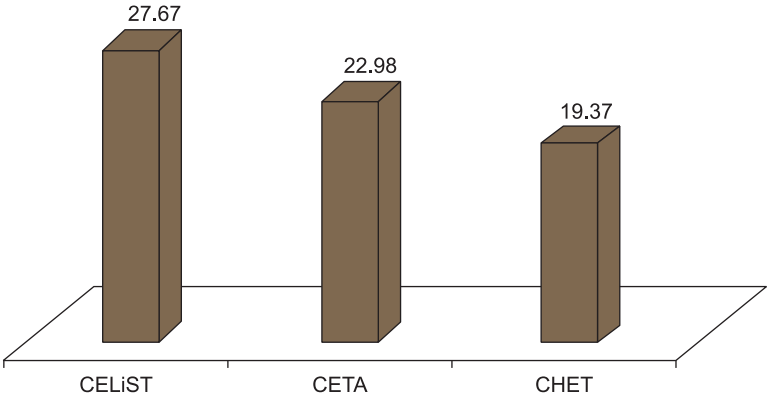

Figure 2. Stance adverbs per discipline

Figure 2 shows the corresponding distribution of stance adverbs in our material. After the normalisation of the word counts, and contrary to what

might have been expected, the samples taken from the Life Sciences corpus show the highest proportion of tokens (27.67). Astronomy texts occupy the second position (22.98) followed by History texts (19.37). This runs contrary to our expectations, in that both Life Sciences and Astronomy are more observational and experimental than History, which is typically more narrative in nature and subject to opinion. As Hyland (2005: 184) argues, "this kind of engagement is far more common in the soft fields because they deal with greater contextual vagaries, less predictable variables, and more diverse research outcomes, readers must be drawn in and be involved as participants in a dialogue to a greater extent than in the sciences". History, then, admits some sort of speculation and flexibility that is not always possible in Life Sciences or Astronomy, where a writer's freedom and intervention in the text might be interpreted as a lack of accuracy or specificity.

In what follows, stance adverbs will be examined from the perspective of the author's geographical provenance and sex, as well as from the perspective of the genre to which the sample belongs.

4.1 Comparing authors from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean

Geographical provenance is the first variable to be considered. According to the compilation principles of the *CC*, this refers to the place or places where authors acquired their scientific writing habits, that is, the places where they were educated and trained as scientists. Hence, an author born in Scotland but who attended University in the USA would be considered as an American author in terms of his linguistic habits (Moskowich 2012). The normalised frequency (nf) of stance adverbs in the material from authors educated in Europe (i.e., England, Scotland, and Ireland, according to the labels used in the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*) is 25.38 (409,229 words) and from those educated in North America (USA, Canada) is 19.73 (188,505 words)[3].

The normalised frequencies in Figure 3 reveal that, although the gap between the two groups is not especially large, the European authors in our corpus use a notably higher number of stance adverbs. In an attempt to

[3] In the metadata files geographical variation is indicated with the abbreviations NA for North America and EU for Europe. This binary classification is the first, basic level of distinction. If researchers want to refine their search, two other places of education can be indicated (e.g., Cambridge, England, EU).

explain this, we might usefully consider both the cultural movements of the time and the contemporary trends of thought. Among the movements that permeated academic and cultural life were both Romanticism and Positivism. The latter was, in general terms, an extension of Empiricism, with the need for experimentation, observation and data as central elements. Romanticism, on the other hand, focused on the importance of the individual and his or her capacity to express opinions and ideas of their own. One of the ways of manifesting such personal opinions is the incorporation of stance adverbs into one's discourse. Authors educated in America, we might add, found themselves far from the centre of this movement, with Romantic trends influencing Europe to a greater extent (Nichols 2005). Examples (8) to (10) illustrate the use of stance adverbs by a European writer:

(8) it's nouriſhment by veſſels <apparently> inſerted into it's ſupporters: this muſt injure the plants on which it lives materially. […] In moſt ſituations the injury is ſmall, which the ſupporters of the climbing plants ſuſtain from the aſſiſtance they afford to their more feeble brethren, as, <generally>, climbers have roots which ſtrike into the earth, and thence draw nouriſhment. (Jacson 1835: 38)

(9) Theſe Claſſes are therefore diſtinguiſhed from each other <ſimply> by the number of ſtamens in each flower, and may be known upon the firſt view by their numbers, as expreſſed by the words prefixed to the Claſſes: (Jacson 1835: 54)

(10) This is <certainly> a material defect in the ſyſtem, which cannot be accounted for in a ſatisfactory manner. (Jacson 1835: 57)

Stance adverbs appear less frequently in the works by American authors; the following is an example:

(11) The honeycomb is <truly> a kind of house the bee constructs for itself, to live in and to lay its eggs in, and to fly out of and into at will. (Agassiz 1859: 26)

The number of words of North American and European authors per discipline is set out in Table 3. In it we can observe a preference for Astronomy on the part of North American authors.

These general numbers, however, provide different findings when viewed from the perspective of the use of stance adverbs.

Table 3. Words per discipline and geographical distribution

	CELiST	CETA	CHET
NA authors	43031	115333	30141
EU authors	160391	86497	162341

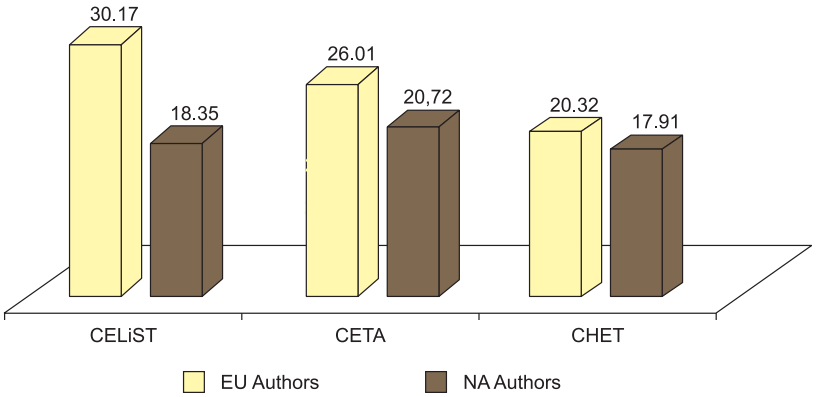

Figure 3. Stance per discipline and geographical distribution

Figure 3 displays the use of the stance adverbs (in normalised frequencies) in each discipline by authors on each side of the Atlantic. We can see that European authors, especially those writing on Life Sciences, show a notable preference for these forms (30.17). By contrast, North American authors express their attitudes towards the message conveyed through stance adverbs most often in Astronomy texts (20.72). Interestingly, authors of both traditions seem to behave in comparable ways when writing on History, with the *CHET* sub-corpus exhibiting the most balanced distribution in the use of these forms (EU 20.32 and NA 17.91): History, a discipline of the Humanities, might, in principle, be seen as more amenable to the expression of authorial views, as mentioned above. Our aim is to complement these findings with information on other variables, starting from genre.

4.2 Genre

The second focus of investigation is the extent to which different genres may have had an effect on the selection of stance adverbs. To this end, we should first revisit the notion of genre. According to Crespo (forthcoming):

> Genres can […] be defined as socio-cognitive slots in the communicative process, which every author fills according to situational or contextual parameters. They can be adapted to the type of addressee and consequently to different levels of technicality (degree of specialisation), and can present a particular rhetorical organisation (format used to display the information).

The samples in our material fall into the following *Coruña Corpus* genres (Crespo, forthcoming): Treatise, Textbook, Article, Lecture, Letter, Essay and Others (this comprising different categories depending on the sub-corpus, since discipline seems to exert some influence on genre choice). In genres, levels of orality vary depending on their target audience. Genres such as Lecture and Letter, for example, are highly oral on this scale. Lectures are intended to be read aloud in direct contact with the audience, and letters are produced in a familiar, personal context[4]. As a consequence, the abundance of adverbs denoting the author's position is not surprising. On the other hand, when authors select genres such as Treatise, Essay or Article, they are not expected to reveal themselves, and for this reason it might be supposed that they will tend to avoid the expression of stance. Thus, the authors in the present corpora may have employed stance adverbs in different ways, so as to suit genre constraints.

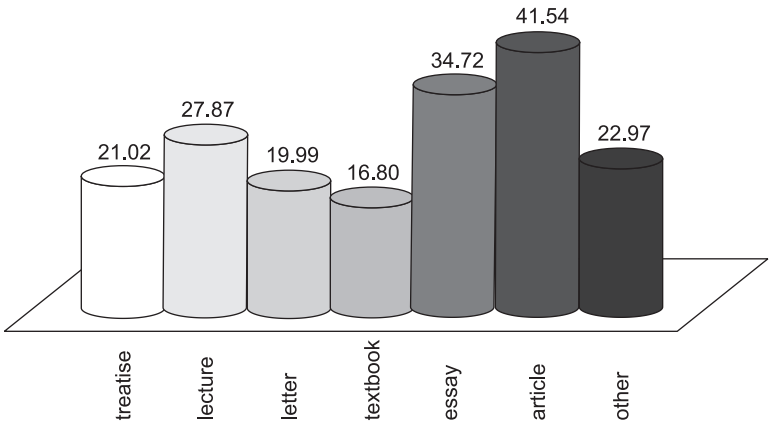

Figure 4. Stance adverbs per genre (nf)

[4] Although lectures and letters were then improved for publication, they still were conceived of as pieces of work to be delivered orally. In the eighteenth century even letters of a scientific nature were intended to be read aloud in the meetings of societies, at least occasionally.

Figure 4 shows that most stance adverbs can be found in articles (41.54) followed by essays (34.72), then lectures (28.87). This overall distribution is certainly surprising, since most examples appear in genres not characteristically "oral-like". Articles are intended to convey new discoveries and information and thus to spread knowledge throughout the epistemic community in an efficient way. The dialogic nature of articles responding to previous texts by other authors allows for a quick, self-built stream of thought. This knowledge is later consolidated in the writing of treatises and textbooks, each for a different audience.

The lowest level of use is in textbooks (16.8), which conforms to our expectations. Textbooks merely present concepts which have already gained acceptance in the expert community through work published in other formats as part of the exchange of ideas that contributes to "the advancement of learning".

The use of stance adverbs per discipline, however, shows an imbalance in distribution. The two disciplines belonging to the field of Natural and Exact Sciences (Life Sciences and Astronomy) show their highest frequencies in the genre Article, whereas the sole discipline from the Humanities (History) does this in the genre of Lecture (47.86). Figure 5 below provides normalised frequencies for stance adverbs in each discipline and genre[5].

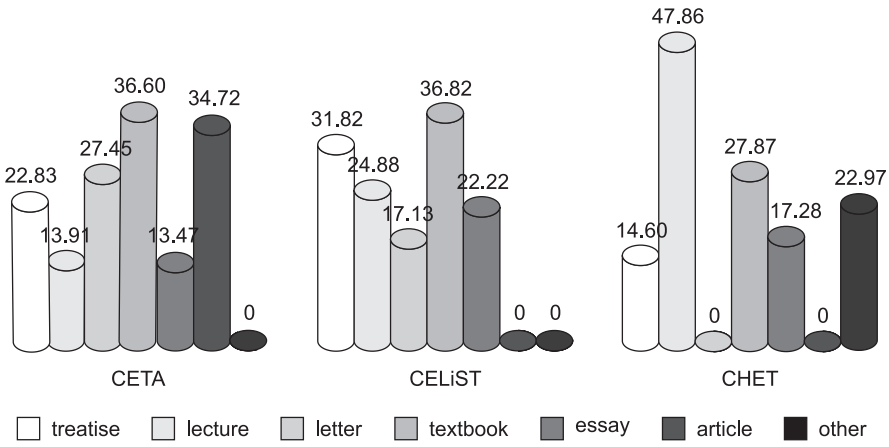

Figure 5. Stance adverbs per genre and discipline

[5] All the genres represented in each sub-corpus show a greater or lesser number of cases. In those cases in which a particular genre is not represented in the corpus the value for the genre is 0.

The reason for this distribution may be explained by two factors. First, in this particular survey articles were used first as a genre in the fields of the Natural and Exact Sciences. Second, as mentioned earlier, they represent "knowledge in progress" which can be debated and challenged, and in this sense they admit the expression of authorial comment more readily than other genres. The authors contained in *CHET* were involved in a non-observational, non-experimental kind of science which allows for a wider range of linguistic elements denoting personal interpretation. We have already noted that lectures rank high on the orality scale, and that the immediacy of orality goes hand in hand with stance.

The lowest occurrence of stance adverbs in *CETA* is in textbooks (13.47), closely followed by lectures (13.91). Again, there seem to be two factors playing a part here: the implications of the genre itself, which may disfavour expressions of stance, and the implications of subject-matter, which imposes some constraints on language.

Turning to *CELiST*, the genre with the lowest occurrence of stance forms here is the genre Letter (17.13). Our samples have been taken from *A First Lesson in Natural History*, by Agassiz (1859) and *An Introduction to the Natural History and Classification of Insects, in a Series of Familiar Letters* by Priscilla Wakefield (1816). Curiously, both texts address the same kind of readership, young ladies, with the purpose of teaching them entomology and marine zoology. Although their format is, in principle, similar to that of a conventional letter, their orientation resembles that of textbooks. It is for this reason that the language used in them is more assertive and somehow lacks authorial stance. Finally, Treatise is the genre with the lowest occurrence of stance adverbs in the *CHET* sub-corpus. This is to be expected, since we are dealing here with well-established knowledge, directed to members of the epistemic community whose competence is expected to be comparable to that of the authors.

4.3 Female vs male stance strategies

The third variable we have chosen as a possible influence on the use of stance adverbs in scientific writing is the sex of the author. We see that men use more stance adverbs than women, although differences are not enormous: 24.65 vs. 18.77 in normalised frequencies.

In general terms, we would have expected more use of stance adverbs in female writing, in that women have sometimes been characterised as

more outgoing than men and during the period in question needed to be more tentative in their claims due to their position in society (Guereña 2008; Lareo 2010). Nevertheless, according to the normalised frequencies in Figure 6, women seem to imitate the writing patterns imposed by the predominant androcentric view of science, including the more or less overt presence of the author (Crespo 2011; Crespo – Moskowich forthcoming). It seems worth noting, however, that on closer inspection the three most frequent stance adverbs in the corpus (namely, *generally, perhaps* and *indeed*) are used differently by men and women. Male authors use *generally*, *indeed* and *perhaps* in descending order, while women use them in nearly reverse order of frequency (*indeed*, *perhaps* and *generally*), although in general women authors seem less amenable to the use of stance adverbs. The corresponding number of tokens for each of these forms and normalised frequencies are set out in Table 4:

Table 4. Most frequent forms as used by both male and female authors

Stance adverb	Female	Female (nf)	Male	Male (nf)
Generally	29	5.4	152	2.72
Indeed	39	7.72	146	2.61
Perhaps	34	6.73	120	2.14

Clearly, women do resort to the commonest stance adverbs, but what is most notable is that while being more moderate in their use of stance adverbs in general, they incorporate these specific three forms into their discourse with astonishing regularity as compared to men. This can perhaps be explained on the grounds that women follow male patterns, but do so in an exaggerated way as a means of attaining a measure of self-assuredness. In the same vein, the genre preferred by women is Treatise (7 samples), which suggests that they feel more comfortable conveying generally accepted knowledge, to the point that they may then introduce personal remarks: indeed, the highest number of stance adverbs occurs in treatises. There might be another plausible explanation for this differentiated pattern in the data: the subtle subversion that could derive from the unconscious development of a sort of female scientific discourse distinct from the predominant (male) one, partly generated from their particular use of stance adverbs.

Figure 6 illustrates how the use of stance adverbs by each sex may at the same time be determined by subject-matter. Indeed, the highest of the six values here corresponds to the only woman writing on Astronomy in our data (Agnes Mary Clerke). The reason why stance adverbs occur more often in this text may lie in the need to express some sort of self-affirmation, in face of the social limitations of women's roles at the time[6]. The two most frequent forms in Clerkes's sample are in fact the emphasisers *indeed* (8 tokens) and *certainly* (5 tokens).

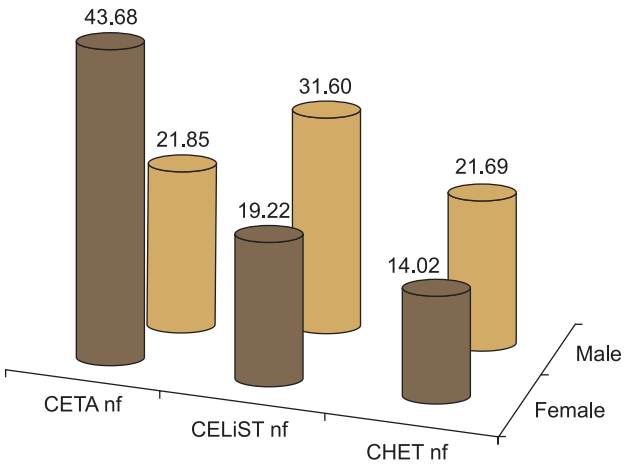

Figure 6. Stance adverbs by discipline and sex of authors

Men, on the contrary, use more stance adverbs when writing about Life Sciences, their use of these in *CELiST* being 31.6. The overall raw count for *generally* is 102 tokens (this adverb is the one women tend to use least), which may imply a desire to include or convince the audience on the part of male authors (see above). It is a consensus-seeking form, and with the use of this inclusive *generally* the author lets the audience participate in his argument and share his views. In *CHET* the most frequent stance adverb is *indeed* with 63 tokens (41 forms by male writers and 22 by female writers). The fact that this is the most abundant form is no doubt related to the use women make of it: on normalising these frequencies, we see that although women produced less than half the words in the corpus, they are responsible in large part for

[6] Until very recently women were forbidden to look at the stars at night (Herrero-López 2007).

the abundance of *indeed.* This may be due to their assertive character in this particular discipline.

5. Concluding remarks

Authorial presence in Late Modern scientific writing can be detected, among other linguistic devices, through the use of stance adverbs. We are aware of the restrictions of the current study, in which we have not searched for all the possible types of stance adverbs but have limited ourselves to an initial list proposed by Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber (1988). Nevertheless, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the findings. Not all the types from this list have been traced in the corpora examined, and many more occur just once. This gives the impression of a high degree of lexical richness to express stance through this word class. Yet, the three most frequent items, *indeed*, *generally* and *perhaps*, all transmit a particular author position: emphasis, inclusiveness and tentativeness, respectively. These are the main traces that authors leave in their texts to render themselves visible. It is also remarkable that we have found a dissimilarity of frequencies across disciplines, with Life Sciences showing the highest rates of occurrence and History the lowest. This runs contrary to our expectations, and no coherent explanation appears feasible until we turn to the variables of sex and genre.

In terms of the analysis of these two variables, the data have revealed that European authors use more stance adverbs than their North American counterparts, which may be explained both by the distance from the geographical centre of scientific writing (and its implicit regulatory culture) and by the influence of contemporary cultural movements, such as Romanticism, which had a great impact on all spheres of life. In addition, it is worth noting that the subjectivity and personal opinion of individual authors emerges in those genres that appeared to be more dynamic (articles, essays and lectures). Such formats allow for discussion and prompt interaction. This sort of scientific exchange is the site for debate, where scientific truths can be tested and challenged, then to be recorded in more traditional, written formats. Finally, we have found that female writers use fewer stance adverbs than male authors in general, but in terms of the specific forms *generally*, *indeed* and *perhaps* their use is remarkably higher. We have to consider that women's position in society was certainly inferior to that of men at the time, and that their struggles to be considered "equals" could be linguistically manifested in the emulation of male scientists' patterns when writing about science.

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APPENDIX

List of stance adverbs proposed by Quirk et al (1985)

admittedly	candidly	disturbingly	incorrectly
amazingly	certainly	doubtless	incredibly
amusingly	clearly	evidently	indeed
annoyingly	cleverly	figuratively	indisputably
apparently	conceivably	flatly	indubitably
appropriately	confidentially	foolishly	inevitably
approximately	conveniently	fortunately	ironically
arguably	correctly	frankly	justly
artfully	crudely	funnily	likely
assuredly	cunningly	generally	literally
astonishingly	curiously	happily	luckily
avowedly	decidedly	honestly	manifestly
bluntly	definitely	hopefully	maybe
briefly	delightfully	incontestably	mercifully
broadly	disappointingly	incontrovertibly	metaphorically

naturally
obviously
oddly
patently
perhaps
personally
plainly
pleasingly
possibly
predictably
preferably
presumably
privately
prudently
purportedly
really
reasonably
refreshingly
regrettably
remarkably
reportedly
reputedly
rightly
roughly
sadly
seemingly
sensibly
seriously
shrewdly
significantly
simply
strangely
strictly
supposedly
surely
suspiciously
thankfully
tragically
truly
truthfully
unarguably
undeniably
understandably
unexpectedly
unfortunately
unhappily
unjustly
unluckily
undoubtedly
unquestionably
unreasonably
unwisely
wisely
wrongly

Attributive adjectives in eighteenth-century scientific texts from the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*[1]

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ABSTRACT

This work will focus on the study of attributive adjectives through a comparison of two eighteenth-century sets of texts taken from *The Coruña Corpus: A Collection of Samples for the Historical Study of English Scientific Writing*. The first set draws on texts from Life Sciences, pertaining to the field of Natural Sciences, and the second set contains History texts, from the field of Humanities, following UNESCO's classification (1978). This comparison will enable us to discuss the frequency and use of attributive adjectives in eighteenth-century scientific texts, and to identify differences in the use of attributive adjectives in relation to three variables: discipline (Life Science vs. History), sex of the author and text-type (treatises, textbooks, letters, essays, etc). The analysis will include an examination of comparative and superlative adjectives, as well as compound adjectives and demonyms.

1. Introduction

Adjectives are commonly defined as words used to characterise other words, denoting properties or qualities of such words (see, for example, Bhat 1994 and Crystal 2006), and Huddleston – Pullum (2002: 527) describe the adjective as a syntactically distinct class of word whose most characteristic function is to modify nouns. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 403) and Alexiadou et al.

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Isabel Moskowich and Dr. Begoña Crespo for their invaluable help. I would also like to acknowledge the Department of Information Engineering of the University of Parma (Italy) that assisted me with the statistical analyses.

(2007: 289), among others, adjectives have three uses. First, they can function as a complement of a copula (predicative position), as in (1); second, they can serve as a prenominal modifier of a noun (attributive position), as in (2); and third, they can function as a postnominal modifier of a noun (postpositive position), as in (3).

(1) The boy is tall.
(2) the tall boy
(3) people careless in their attitude to money

Among the properties of adjectives are that they cannot be modified by (other) adjectives and that, with some exceptions, they do not take NP complements (Huddleston – Pullum 2002). However, Payne et al. (2010: 528) believe that it is possible for adjectives to function as modifiers of other adjectives, as seen in (4).

(4) blind drunk; pretty fine; bloody stupid

In terms of syntax, attributive adjectives are those which premodify the head of a noun phrase (Quirk et al. 1985: 417; Greenbaum 1996; Biber 1999), and – according to Biber (1999) – in most cases they modify common names and restrict the reference of the noun. From a semantic point of view, according to Bolinger (1967) and Bhat (1994: 19), attributive adjectives tend to denote fairly permanent properties. Borer – Roy (2010: 86) believe that the majority of the adjectival expressions in nominal contexts are attributive adjectives.

The current study aims to compare the frequency and use of attributive adjectives in two sets of eighteenth-century texts taken from the *Coruña Corpus* (henceforth *CC*). One of these sets contains texts from Life Sciences and the other History texts, these two sets pertaining to the fields of Natural Sciences and the Humanities, respectively, according to UNESCO's classification (1978). I would also like to determine whether the sex of the author (the *CC* does not deal with the issue of gender as a psychological characteristic of the individual, and records only the biological condition of authors as men or women – Moskowich (2013: 468)) and the text type have any influence on the use of attributive adjectives. Section 2 offers an outline of several classifications of attributive adjectives. Section 3 then deals with the description of the material and methodology used. In Section 4 I present the findings of the analysis in relation to each variable, and, finally, in Section 5 I provide some conclusions.

2. Semantic classifications of attributive adjectives

Many researchers have tried to classify adjectives that can be used in an attributive way. From a semantic point of view, Valois (2006: 71) argues that manner and thematic adjectives belong to this group. Fries (1986: 127-130) believes that those denoting identity, amount, and attitude of the speaker should also be included, and Bolinger (1967: 11) makes a case for the inclusion of adjectives referring to location in space and time in relation to the speaker. Additionally, Fleisher (2011: 345) notes that adjectives describing a mental state or attribute require that the nouns they modify denote sentient beings (most likely human).

Quirk et al. (1985: 435) propose a semantic division of attributive adjectives into inherent and noninherent; inherent adjectives characterise the referent of the noun directly, whereas noninherent adjectives do not. He also divides attributive only adjectives into intensifying and restrictive adjectives. There are three kinds of intensifying adjectives: emphasizers, amplifiers and downtoners, due to the fact that these three do not characterize the referent of the noun directly. They claim that "restrictive adjectives restrict the reference of the noun exclusively, particularly, or chiefly" (Quirk et al. 1985: 430).

Huddleston – Pullum (2002) have also classified attributive adjectives semantically, outlining a total of eight categories. The first of these is "degree and quantifying attributives" (D&Q), and refers to the degree to which the property expressed in the head nominal applies in a given case (5).

(5) a *complete* fool; a *definite* advantage; the *extreme* end

The second category, "temporal and locational attributives" (T&L), has to do with the relative time at which the description expressed in the head applies, or with its location in space (6).

(6) his *current* girlfriend; the *right* eye; the *southern* states

Third is the category of "associative attributes" (A), where the property expressed by the adjective applies to some entity associated with the head nominal (7).

(7) *clerical* duties; *criminal* law; *foreign* affairs

"Process-oriented attributives" (PO), the fourth category, reflects a context in which the property expressed by the adjective applies not to the denotation

of the nominal but to an associated process, and describes the degree or manner of this process (8).

(8) a *big* eater; a *fast* worker; a *firm* believer

The fifth category, "modal attributives" (M), express a modal qualification to the applicability of the nominal (9).

(9) the *actual* cause; an *apparent* discrepancy; a *certain* winner

"Particularising attributives" (PA), the sixth category, identifies a specific member or group of members of the set denoted by the head (10).

(10) a *certain* house; a *particular* area

Seventh is that of "expressive attributives" (E), which convey some kind of evaluative attitude or emotion (11).

(11) my *dear* mother; her *poor* father; the *wreathed* car

Finally, "transferred attributives" (T), the eighth category, is where the adjective does not apply literally to the head nominal (12) (Huddleston – Pullum 2002: 555-558).

(12) a *drunken* brawl; a *quiet* cup of tea

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 434), adjectives are characteristically stative, but many can be dynamic. Semantically speaking, dynamic adjectives seem to denote qualities that are thought to be subject to control by the possessor and hence can be restricted temporally.

Another semantic feature of adjectives is gradability, that is, they can be premodified by the intensifier *very* or *too*; they can also take comparative and superlative forms. The system of comparison in Modern English, according to González-Díaz (2007: 237), features three different strategies: simple inflectional comparatives, simple periphrastic comparatives, and double comparatives. The latter, she argues, are subdivided into double periphrastic comparatives (13) and double suppletive comparatives (14), although she adds that in late Modern English the double periphrastic forms are considered 'bad English', 'vulgarisms', or 'improper' comparative forms.

(13) more lovelier
(14) worser; lesser

Two other types of adjectives will be analysed in this study: demonyms and compound adjectives. A demonym is the name for the resident of a locality, usually derived from the name of a locality itself (Scheetz 1988); the form would be popularized in this sense by Dickson in his book *Labels for Locals* (Safire 1997). On the other hand, compound adjectives are adjectives made up of two or more words, usually joined by means of a hyphen, and, according to Oostdijk (2008), can be combined freely without being bound by any restrictions. In the present study only compound adjectives joined by a hyphen will be analysed.

3. Material and method

3.1 Corpus material

This study is based on an analysis of texts taken from *CC* (see also Moskowich – Crespo, this volume). The texts themselves are drawn from two of the subcorpora, reflecting two different disciplines: *CELiST* (*Corpus of English Life Sciences*) and *CHET* (*Corpus of English History Texts*). The total sample for analysis amounts to 39 samples of scientific texts, all written during the eighteenth century, with a total of 392,685 words. Of these, 16,906 words are adjectives, with the following syntactic distribution: 15,730 are attributive and 1,176 postnominal. Since my interest here is in attributive adjectives, I have limited my study to those reflected in Table 1.

Table 1. Texts data

	TEXTS	WORDS	ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES	TOTAL ADJECTIVES
LIFE SCIENCES	20	200,453	9,662	10,711
HISTORY	19	192,142	6,058	6,185
TOTAL	39	392,685	15,720	19,896

The Coruña Corpus: A Collection of Samples for the Historical Study of English Scientific Writing is a project whose aim is to create a corpus for the diachronic study of scientific discourse from most linguistic levels, and thus to contribute to the study of the historical development of English for specific purposes. The compilation criteria of the *CC* were based on a number of external parameters as a means of ensuring fruitful linguistic analyses (Crespo 2012;

Moskowich 2012). All texts were originally published between 1700 and 1900, with first editions preferred. Only one text per author was selected, to avoid the over-representation of linguistic idiosyncrasies. Two texts per decade and per discipline were included, each sample containing around 10,000 words, excluding tables, figures, formulae, graphs, and any quotations not representative of the author's own speech. Finally, only English-speaking authors writing in English were included (Crespo – Moskowich 2009).

3.2 Tools

In order to study the distribution and use of attributive adjectives one main tool has been used: The *Coruña Corpus Tool* (henceforth *CCT*), as the main concordance program. The *CCT* software was developed by the Information Retrieval Lab in collaboration with the MuStE Group at the University of A Coruña ("MuStE Research Group" 2008). It should be noted that, since the *CCT* does not disambiguate adjectives, distinguishing attributive and postnominal forms had to be done manually.

To ascertain the statistical significance of findings, a number of statistical tests were carried out. In order to verify the assumptions of normality, that is, whether the data is well-modelled according to a normal distribution, and also to verify the assumptions of homoscedasticity, that is, if the samples have the same finite variance, the Kolmogorov-Smirnoff and Bartlett tests were performed (Sheskin 2007). In cases where the input data satisfied such assumptions, parametric tests were used. Otherwise, non-parametric tests were applied.

4. Data analysis

In this article I will discuss how the attributive adjectives vary according to three distinct variables: discipline, sex of the author and text type. All these variables will be considered in the analysis of dynamic adjectives, comparative and superlative adjectives, compound adjectives, and demonyms.

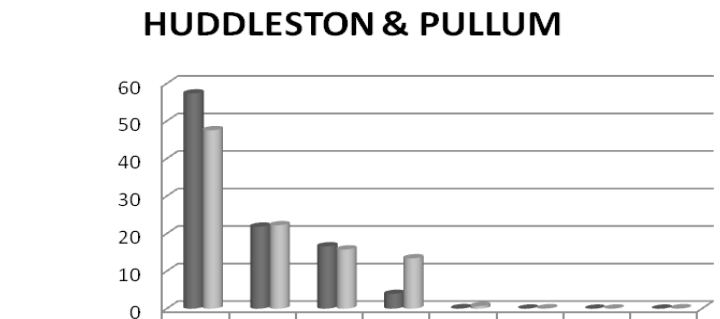
4.1 Discipline

A preliminary analysis shows that authors writing about Life Sciences use more attributive adjectives than writers of History (4.81% vs. 3.15%). Statistical tests showed significant differences here in *CELiST* and *CHET*.

This is, perhaps, not surprising; whereas writing in the Life Sciences tends to aim at an exhaustive description and classification of natural phenomena, History texts are less descriptive and more narrative, typically trying to explain the actions of the past in some area (Cook 1988).

So, one reason for the greater use of attributive adjectives in Life Sciences might be the descriptive nature of writing here. As Lu (2010) claims, writers of natural history often incorporate into their texts personal observations and philosophical reflections upon nature. On the contrary, History writing more commonly relates facts, and in doing so has relatively less need of attributive adjectives. Indeed, Macaulay (1828) stipulated that the good historian must be at pains to avoid being 'creative', and must not, for example, attribute expressions to the characters in his text.

If we focus on the classification made by Huddleston – Pullum (2002), described in Section 2 above, both disciplines, Life Sciences and History, exhibit a high number of Modal attributives (57.35% and 47.52% as seen in Fig. 1). It is worth mentioning that most attributive adjectives found in this study are Modal attributives, with Expressive, Associative, Transferred and Process-oriented attributives all represented at very low levels (less than 0.5% of the total number of attributive adjectives in each case), and for this reason they will not be analysed here.



	M	D&Q	T&L	PA	E	A	PO	T
LIFE SCIENCES	57.37	21.87	16.62	3.94	0.14	0.03	0	0
HISTORY	47.57	22.25	15.78	13.43	0.69	0.11	0.03	0.11

Figure 1. Discipline – Huddleston & Pullum

If we focus on individual disciplines, we see that Life Sciences contains more Modal and Temporal and Locational attributives, whereas in the use of Temporal and Locational attributives the two disciplines are not so distant (16.62% vs. 17.78%). The fact that Life Sciences describes and classifies nature

would seem to explain these findings. When classifying nature, writers are effectively located in space and time, and are thus likely to make relatively greater use of Modal attributives, which express the mode, manner or form of the nominal head to which they apply. By contrast, History writing contains a higher proportion of Degree and Quantifying (22.25% in *CHET* vs. 21.87% in *CELiST*) and Particularising attributives (13.43% vs. 3.94%). Again it is important to mention that the difference in the use of Degree and Quantifying attributives between Life Sciences and History is not very great; hence no definitive conclusions can be drawn. It is the aim of History to relate the history of nations, and since Particularising highlights a group, adjectives denoting the name for a resident of a locality form part of this group.

Hatzivassiloglou – Wiebe (2000: 187) believe that subjectivity "refers to aspects of language used to express opinions and evaluations". According to Bruce – Wiebe (1999), dynamic adjectives are correlated with subjectivity, and thus are used to communicate the speaker's evaluation, opinions, emotions and speculations (Facchinetti 2009). Of the two subcorpora analysed here, the samples from *CHET* exhibit the higher proportion of dynamic adjectives (11.10% vs. 4.78% in *CELiST*). History is a narrative science and often involves the expression of the writer's opinions. Such subjectivity may entail greater use of dynamic adjectives in History than in Life Sciences, which is more experimental and descriptive. In (15) and (16) examples of dynamic adjectives in the two subcorpora (*CHET* and *CELiST*, respectively) are seen.

(15) the *cruel* revenge (Hooke 1745: 47)
(16) by the *impetuous* charge of our squadrons (Pennant 1766: 2)

The findings show that Life Sciences used more comparatives and superlatives than History (see Fig. 2). If we look at the disciplines separately, Life Sciences used more comparatives (4.28% vs. 3.71% in History) and History more superlatives (5.66% vs. 3.71%). As was previously pointed out, given that the aim of Life Sciences is the description and classification of Nature, writers often resort to comparisons as a means of achieving this. History used more superlatives, perhaps because it studies mankind in its progress, fluctuations and interests; it would thus include depictions of the most relevant characters in history explaining their actions and behaviour. Statistical analysis of the findings indicated significant differences in the use of comparatives and superlatives in History – (17) and (18) show examples of comparatives in *CELiST* and superlatives in *CHET*, respectively.

(17) with *thicker* and *whiter* leaves (Sloane 1707: 62)
(18) amongst the *most eminent* patriots of the age (Crawfurd 1710: 84)

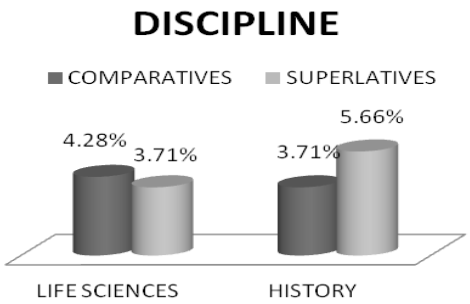


Figure 2. Discipline: Comparative vs. Superlative

In History texts a higher proportion of demonyms was found (8.35% in *CHET* and only 1.68% in *CELiST*), this difference between the two subcorpora being statistically significant according to our tests. Given that demonyms refer to names of nationalities, and that History relates the progress of mankind and nations, this finding is unsurprising. In (19) an example of demonyms in *CHET* can be seen.

(19) make room for the *Irish* ambassadors (Oldmixon 1716: 77)

Life Sciences, on the contrary, is the discipline using more compound adjectives (0.73% vs. 0.08%), and statistical tests show that the differences in this use between the two disciplines is significant. One possible explanation for this is that texts in Life Sciences simply contain more scientific terms than texts in History, and that the creation of new words by compounding lexical units is thus more probable; the opposite can be said of History texts. An example of compound adjectives in Life Sciences texts can be seen in (20).

(20) it arises *tendineo-membranous* from (Douglas 1707: 94)

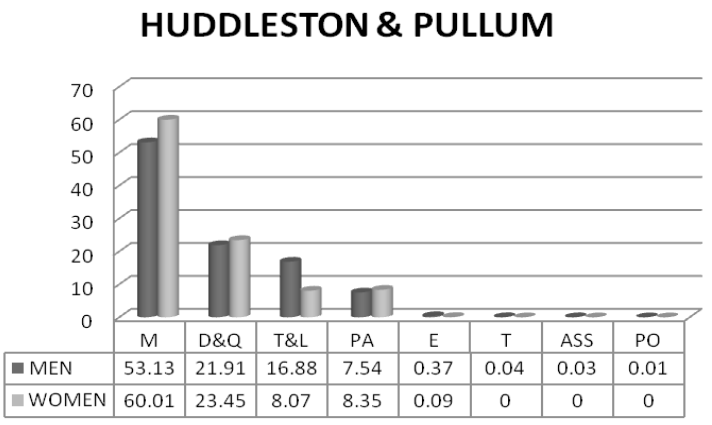
4.2 Sex of author

In order to understand the findings related to this variable, a brief summary of the broad gender differences in language use will be provided. Women's language tends to be more formal (Brown 1980), standard (Brown 1980; Cheshire 2003), elastic (Woolf 1990), conservative (Eckert 1997) and indirect (Tanenn 2003) than the language of men. Trudgill (1972) and Fasold (1990) (both in Cheshire 2003: 427) explain the higher proportion of standard variants of women's language production by saying that this would allow them to have a voice. According to Lakoff (1973), women's language often exhibits evidence of a lack of confidence, involving the use of empty adjectives.

Lakoff also observes that there are sets of adjectives that seem to be largely confined to women's speech in their figurative use (Lakoff 1973: 51); such is the case of adjectives used to name colours, with women reported to make far more precise discriminations in naming colours (Lakoff 1973: 49).

Of the total of 39 texts analysed, from both subcorpora, 36 were written by male and only 3 by female authors. The discrepancy reflects the fact that far fewer women than men were involved in scientific pursuits at the time the texts were written. In the data, men use more attributive adjectives than women (4.04% vs. 3.46%). This may be explained in part by the fact that women had little access to education at the time, and they tended to be more conservative in their writing (Eckert 1997).

Utilizing the classification by Huddleston – Pullum (2002), Modal attributives are the most frequent kind of adjectives. The distribution by sex is as follows: 53.13% of cases occur in samples written by male authors, and 60.01% by women. Other classes of adjectives have different distributions: men use more Temporal and Locational attributives (16.88% vs. 8.07%), whereas women use more Degree and Quantifying (23.45% vs. 21.91%) and Modal and Particularising attributives (8.35% vs. 7.54%). As can be seen in Fig. 3, the difference in the use of Degree and Quantifying and Particularising attributives is not very great, and, given the reduced size of the sample by women writers, no definitive conclusions can be drawn.



	M	D&Q	T&L	PA	E	T	ASS	PO
MEN	53.13	21.91	16.88	7.54	0.37	0.04	0.03	0.01
WOMEN	60.01	23.45	8.07	8.35	0.09	0	0	0

Figure 3. Sex – Huddleston & Pullum

Female writers used more dynamic adjectives (11.2%) than male writers did (6.93%). One explanation for this is the fact that, according to Lakoff (1973: 51), there is a group of adjectives, those "indicating the speaker's approbation

or admiration for something", that are used more frequently by women; the majority of these adjectives in my data are indeed dynamic – (21) and (22) show examples of dynamic adjectives used by a female and a male writer, respectively.

(21) in a very *merciless* manner (Scott 1762: 143)
(22) of the *tyrannical* government (Oldmixon 1716: 50)

Although the findings show that both sexes use more superlatives than comparatives, male authors use more comparatives (0.16% vs. 0.08%) and superlatives (0.18% vs. 0.14%) than female authors: see (23a-b); indeed, as regards comparatives, the frequency for males is approximately double that of females. However, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions here since the sample of texts written by females is, as mentioned above, significantly smaller than that of texts written by males.

(23a) but *less agreeable* taste (Bancroft 1769: 230)
(23b) deserved the *severest* penalties the law could inflict (Tyrrell 1704: 966)

The use of demonyms is also more frequent in texts written by men (0.17% of attributive adjectives vs. 0.13%), although once again the small data set for women makes it impossible to draw definitive conclusions. An example of a demonym in a text written by a man can be seen in (24).

(24) makes a considerable part of the *Russian* dominions (Bancks 1740: 31)

Similarly, compounds are more frequent in the texts written by male authors (0.02% vs. 0.003%). One possible explanation for this is that, according to Jespersen (1998), women received less encouragement than men to create new words. Women use a higher proportion of standard variants (Fasold 1990, in Cheshire 2003) and, as has already been mentioned, they are generally more conservative than men (Eckert 1997), perhaps a consequence of a fear of criticism (Lakoff 1973: 48) – (25) displays an example of compound adjectives in texts written by men.

(25) these *worm-eaten* stones have (Borlase 1758: 282)

4.3 Text type

Although there is no general agreement on the distinction between the terms *genre* and *text type*; Biber (1988: 70) believes these two terms are clearly differentiated, genre regarding "categorizations assigned on the basis of

external criteria" and text type regarding categorizations "assigned on the basis of use rather than on the basis of form". Here I will follow those linguists who believe there is a difference between genre and text type.

The 39 texts analysed in this study represent five different text types: "Letter" (one text), "Treatise" (thirty texts), "Textbook" (five texts), "Essay" (one text) and what *CC* calls "Other", which encompasses biography and travelogue (one biography and one travelogue). Following the convention that the sample size should be equal or larger than ten, no statistical tests were performed here.

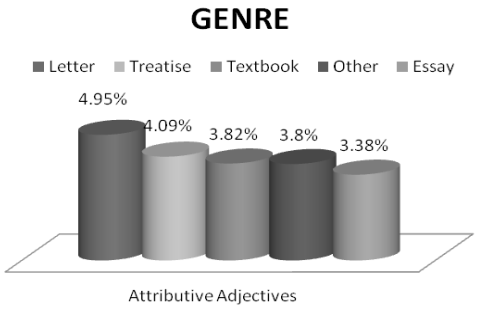
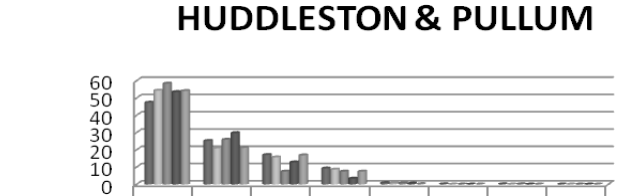


Figure 4. Genre

As can be seen in Fig. 4, the text type using most attributive adjectives is "Letter" (with 4.95% of attributive adjectives), followed by "Treatise" (4.09%), "Textbook" (3.82%), "Other" (3.8%) and "Essay" (3.38%). "Letter" is a descriptive text type. The letter used in this study belongs to the *CELiST* subcorpus, and since, as mentioned above, Life Sciences are comparatively more descriptive they tend to demand a higher number of attributive adjectives.

Following Huddleston – Pullum's classification (2002), all text types utilized more Modal attributives (see Fig. 5). If we focus on the different genres separately, "Textbook" is the genre using most Degree and Quantifying attributives (29.76% of the Degree and Quantifying attributive adjectives), although the rest of text types are not so far behind. Since the text type "Textbook" is represented by only one text, no definitive conclusions can be made concerning it. "Other" is the text type using most Modal attributives (58.37%); as noted above, both the sciences within "Other" in our data are descriptive, and hence are likely to use more Modal attributives. In relation to Particularising attributives, the frequency of use is relatively close in "Essay", "Letter", "Other" and "Treatise". However, "Textbook" is the text type using Particularising attributives the least (only 3.39%, compared

to 9.26% in "Essay"); the *OED* (2012) defines textbooks as manuals for instruction, and thus the text type does not in general need to highlight any specific member or group, the typical function of Particularising attributives. Something similar happens with Temporal and Locational attributives, with all text types, except for "Other", exhibiting very similar frequencies of use of this kind of attributives. Both pieces of writing included in "Other" are narrative, and hence few Temporal and Locational attributives are needed.



	M	D&Q	T&L	PA	E	A	T	PO
ESSAY	47.37	25.22	17.05	9.26	0.82	0.17	0.17	0.05
LETTER	54.32	20.92	15.69	8.65	0.6	0	0	0
OTHER	58.37	25.91	7.46	7.46	0.65	0	0.13	0
TEXTBOOK	53.52	29.76	12.79	3.39	0.52	0	0	0
TREATISE	54.13	21.22	16.87	7.47	0.25	0.05	0.02	0.008

Figure 5. Genre – Huddleston & Pullum

"Other" is the text type using the greatest proportion of dynamic adjectives (14.79%). This category, as already pointed out, embraces biography and travelogue, both narrative forms of writing. This might explain why "Other" uses a higher number of dynamic adjectives, in that these are correlated with subjectivity. Examples of dynamic adjectives in "Other" and "Treatise" can be seen in (26) and (27).

(26) and *amiable* manners (Cornish 1780: 5)
(27) was also by *gentle* words (Tyrrell 1704: 961)

Although all text types used more superlatives than comparatives, "Essay" exhibits the greatest use of comparatives (4.66%), and "Letter" the greatest use of superlatives (8.85%). In Fig. 6 it can be seen that differences in the use of comparatives and superlatives vary depending on text type. For example, the use of superlatives in "Letter", "Textbook" and "Other" more than doubles that of comparatives; on the contrary, the frequency of use in "Treatise" is almost the same. As seen in Section 3.1, Life Sciences texts use a higher proportion of comparative adjectives; History texts, on the other

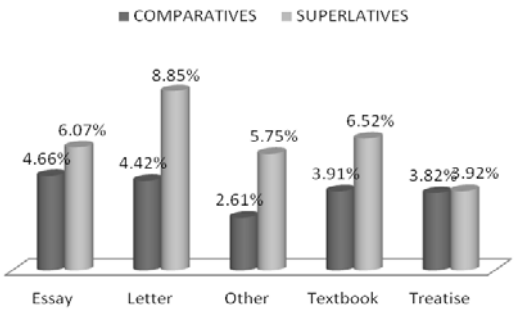


Figure 6. Genre: Comparative vs. Superlative

hand, use more superlative adjectives. The two "Other" texts and most of the "Essays" belong to *CHET*, which generally uses more superlatives. The similar number of "Treatises" per subcorpora might help to explain why no substantial differences are found in the use of comparatives and superlatives here. (28) shows an example of comparatives in "Essay", whereas (29) does it of superlatives in "Letter".

(28) has a much *more plausible* appearance (Chapman 1750: 67)
(29) was in the *most imminent* danger (Pennant 1766: 3)

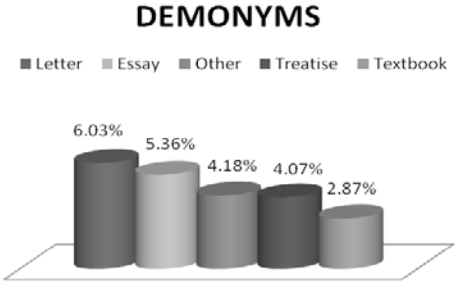


Figure 7. Genre: Demonyms

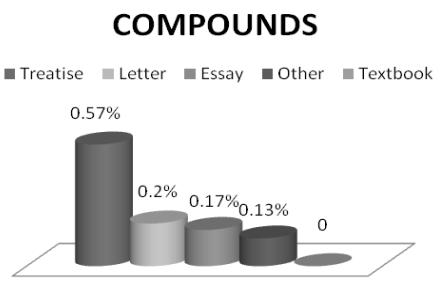


Figure 8. Genre: Compounds

Again the text type using most demonyms is "Letter", with 6.03% (see Fig. 7). Since texts of the "Letter" type typically describe a particular situation or place (cf. *OED* 2012), the use of demonyms in this text type may be higher than in the other text types; (30) displays an example.

(30) on the northern part of the *European* continent (Pennant 1766: 8)

As Fig. 8 shows, "Treatise" is the text type using the greatest proportion of compound adjectives (0.57%). The findings here might be explained in

terms of this text type being methodological and formal in nature, plus the fact that most "Treatises" are from *CELiST*. An example of compounds in "Treatise" can be seen in (31).

(31) of *fresh-water* fish (Hughes 1750: 80)

5. Conclusions

The main goal of this study has been to examine the use of attributive adjectives in scientific English in order to identify their differences in use in relation to three variables: discipline, sex of the author and text type. Findings suggest that attributive adjectives are characteristic of the descriptive sciences. Life Sciences, evidently more descriptive than History, is the discipline in which more attributive adjectives have been found. In terms of text type and frequency of attributive adjectives, the top three types are "Letter", "Treatise", and "Textbook". These text types, like the Life Sciences discipline, are generally descriptive in nature, and that seems to justify the abundant occurrences of attributive adjectives in them. As for the variable of sex, the study sheds a ray of light on male to female differences in scientific writing of the period under investigation. Attributive adjectives seem to have been used by women distinctly less frequently than they were used by men. This may have been linked to the fact that women had less access to education than men did at the time.

The attributive adjectives which show the greater presence in this study are what Huddleston – Pullum (2002) call Modal attributives, Degree and Quantifying attributives, Temporal and Locational attributives and Particularising attributives. Modal attributives, Degree and Quantifying attributives and Temporal and Locational attributives are, like all attributive adjectives, characteristic of descriptive sciences and are used more in descriptive scientific disciplines. Additionally, Modal attributives are seen to be used somewhat more frequently in texts written by women than those written by men. On the other hand, Particularising attributives seem to be utilized more in narrative sciences, since these adjectives are more present in the History texts, which are typically more narrative than Life Sciences texts are. "Other" and "Essay", both narrative text types, feature more Modal attributives and Temporal and Locational attributives, respectively, and "Essay" itself tends to use more Particularising attributives. "Textbook" makes greater use of Degree and Quantifying attributives.

As could be expected, stative adjectives are seen more frequently than dynamic ones are. As Hatzivassiloglou – Wiebe (2000) have noted, dynamic

adjectives reflect subjectivity. My findings on dynamic adjectives in the History discipline and the "Other" text type, both narrative in nature, appear to confirm their statement. Demonyms and superlative adjectives are also evidently characteristic of narratives, being most present in the History and "Letter" texts. In contrast, compound adjectives and comparative adjectives, both more frequent in Life Sciences and "Treatise" texts, seem to be associated more with descriptive, scientific works.

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I was away in another field […] *got*
A diachronic study of the *be*-perfect in Irish English[1]

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ABSTRACT

Retention of the *be*-perfect with intransitive mutative and motion verbs is said to distinguish Irish English (IrE) from most other varieties. The *be*-perfect has been investigated in present-day IrE, but there has been little diachronic study. This study uses the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* to investigate this construction, showing that IrE broadly followed the general development in English: the *be*-perfect declined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and became lexically restricted. Compared to BrE and AmE, the decline in IrE occurred at a delay of some 50 years. However, IrE retains auxiliary *be* with a wider range of verbs than other varieties, and the types found most frequently with *be* change over time. *Be* with motion verbs declined sharply, with the exception of *go* (as in other varieties), while the change proceeded more slowly with mutative verbs. Also, use of *be* increased with certain transitive verbs. This change may have been facilitated by the fact that many intransitive verbs take an object-like complement, but substrate influence from Irish, where the equivalent of the *be*-perfect is found with transitive verbs, may also have affected this development.

1. Retention, substrate influence, or convergence?

Irish English (IrE) differs from other Englishes in possessing a range of aspectual distinctions that are either transfers from Irish or cases of convergence between Irish and English contributing to retention of forms now rare or obsolete in most other Englishes. Among the IrE perfective

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constructions, the *be*-perfect (*I'm done my work*) ranks among the least widespread morphosyntactic features of English worldwide (Kortmann – Lunkenheimer 2011)[2]. This study uses CORIECOR (McCafferty – Amador-Moreno in preparation), which contains approximately 2.5 million words of personal letters dating from the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth, to examine the *be*-perfect illustrated in the title quotation[3].

CORIECOR permits study of IrE throughout the period of shift from Irish to English (roughly 1750-1900). Modern IrE thus largely evolved during the LModE period when auxiliary *be* with intransitive mutative and motion verbs gave way to *have* in mainstream Englishes (Rydén – Brorström 1987; Kytö 1994, 1997). Thus, the *be*-perfect was recessive in English generally by the beginning of language shift in Ireland. It might, therefore, be tempting to regard the IrE *be*-perfect as a retention or colonial lag, with the colonial variety taking longer to adopt the change than metropolitan British English (BrE) and other mainstream varieties.

If a retention, we might expect the IrE *be*-perfect to be subject to the constraints affecting its use in EModE and LModE in general. However, most dialects of the Irish language use a parallel construction that might have contributed to survival of the *be*-perfect due to convergence between the source and target languages involved in the shift. The languages' *be*-perfects are not totally analogous, however: a major difference is that the Irish *be*-perfect, unlike its English counterpart, is also used with transitive verbs. It is therefore possible that the extension of the *be*-perfect to more transitive contexts in IrE during the nineteenth century might have been influenced by this Irish pattern. Irish substrate influence might also have slowed generalisation of the *have*-construction relative to other Englishes and altered the constraints on the construction, allowing auxiliary *be* with transitive verbs.

This study focuses on 18 verbs, selected either because of their high frequency rates in previous corpus-based studies of the *be*-perfect (Rydén – Brorström 1987; Kytö 1994, 1997), or because they are the verbs most often cited with auxiliary *be* in accounts of IrE (see Harris 1984: 308; Filppula 1999: 118; Ronan 2005: 254, 256; Hickey 2007: 178, 196; Kallen 2013: 102-103). The

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2 The full range of IrE perfectives is treated in general surveys (Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007; Amador-Moreno 2010; Corrigan 2010; Kallen 2013). But there has been little diachronic work on these perfects; exceptions are McCafferty (2004), Hickey (2003) and Pietsch (2007) on *be after Ving*, and Pietsch (2009) on the resultative.

3 Full context: *He was suddenly called home to Wagga While I **was** away in another field in paddock as they say here **got***, meaning "… had reached…" (1880s). This *be*-perfect occurs with the medial object word order of the resultative.

findings show IrE broadly following the general development in English since the late eighteenth century: the *be*-perfect declined in IrE too, though more slowly than in mainstream Englishes. It was maintained most strongly with the verbs most often cited as being used with auxiliary *be* in other varieties, *go* in particular. But IrE also retained auxiliary *be* with a range of other verbs, and across the nineteenth century extended the use of *be* to the transitive verbs *finish* and *do* "finish". It therefore looks as if the IrE *be*-perfect is not a straightforward retention from older English, but another example of convergence between Irish and emergent IrE.

2. *Be*-perfect yesterday

2.1 Mainstream Englishes

Though it dates back to Old English (Visser 1973: 2054-2084; Denison 1993: 359), the *be*-perfect with intransitive verbs of motion and mutation was essentially obsolete in mainstream Englishes by 1900 (Rydén – Brorström 1987; Rydén 1991; Denison 1993: 344; Kytö 1994, 1997; Görlach 2001: 120-121). Today, it is highly circumscribed in such varieties, where it seems to be lexicalised in "archaic constructions with specialized, largely adjectival meaning such as *He is gone*, *She is finished* […]" (Brinton – Traugott 2005: 78). The *be*-perfect was stigmatised in prescriptive grammars, and it has been suggested that the influence of normative grammarians – who condemned use of *be* without criticising the innovation with *have* – tipped the balance in the late eighteenth century (McFadden 2007; cited in Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 97). While there was some dissent, most grammarians recommended *have* (see Sundby – Bjørge – Haugland 1991: 180-181; Anderwald 2014). However, Kytö (1997) has shown that the *be*-perfect was robust from the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. Since this was the period of major British settlement in Ireland (Fitzgerald – Lambkin 2008; Bardon 2011), we can be confident that this English/Scots form went into the feature pool from which IrE emerged.

With intransitive verbs, *be* and *have* were already in competition in OE (Traugott 1992: 191; Hogg 2002: 79), and this persisted into LModE. The OE *be*-perfect "was mainly restricted to intransitive verbs of the type involving change of place or state, cf. *faran* 'go', *cuman* 'come', *weaxan* 'grow', *oðfeallan* 'fall into decay'" (Traugott 1992: 192). Auxiliary *have* gained ground with these mutative and motion verbs from the early fourteenth century,

though *be* still dominated into LModE (Kytö 1994; Rydén – Brorström 1987). The most detailed study to date (Kytö 1997), based on the *Helsinki Corpus* and ARCHER, shows *have* became the majority form in the late eighteenth century and was categorical (minimum 86% use) a century later (Fig. 1)[4].

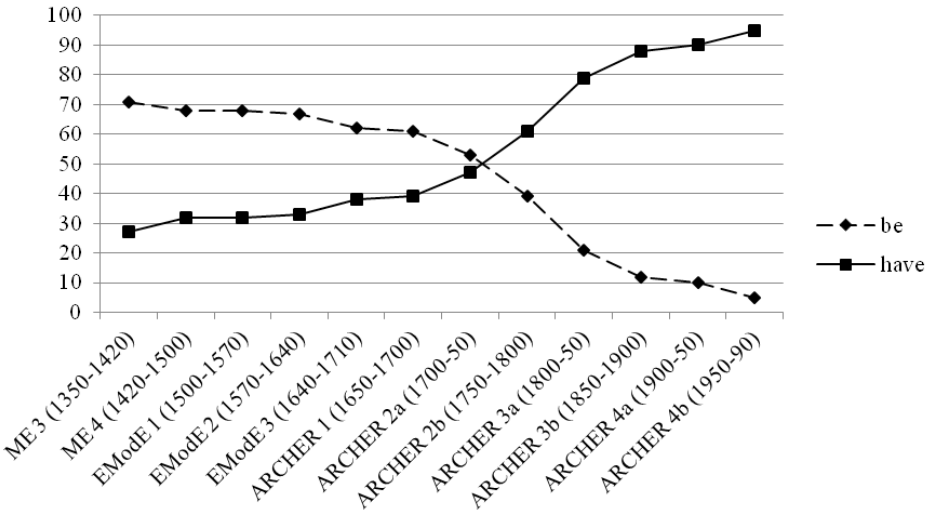

Figure 1. *Be/have* variation with intransitives for subperiods, 1350-1990 (after Kytö 1997: 33, Table 3; n=2868). ARCHER includes BrE and AmE from subperiod 2a (1700-50) onwards. Results from the *Century of Prose Corpus* (67% *have* from 1680 to 1780), are excluded since they obscure the diachronic pattern; also, COPC overlaps with the HC's EModE 3 and ARCHER subperiods 1, 2a and 2b

The *be*-perfect would have been the dominant form with intransitives in English (and perhaps also Scots) varieties imported during the Plantation era when British settlers streamed into Ireland (*c.* 1550-1700). By 1900, *have* was categorical with such verbs. The rapid decline coincided with the rise of prescriptivism as the dominant linguistic ideology (cf. Anderwald 2014). Crucially, this was also the period when Irish-speakers increasingly shifted to English, accepting the fact of Ireland's political and economic domination by English-speakers and that speaking English made it easier to escape the dominance of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy via emigration to North America, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain; command of English was regarded as essential by intending emigrants.

[4] Rydén – Brorström (1987: 200) showed *have* became the majority form in the early nineteenth century and was near-categorical in the latter half of the century (cf. also Rydén 1991).

Kytö also highlights an "innovative tendency" in late eighteenth-century American English (AmE) (1997: 39), which led BrE in replacing *be* with *have*. However, the trend towards *have* was already established by then; AmE did not initiate the change, but had merely gone further than BrE in adopting it (Hundt 2009: 17-18, 32). In any case, BrE caught up in the nineteenth century, and both mainstream varieties show categorical *have*-use with intransitives after 1850.

For 150 years, then, mainstream Englishes either side of the Atlantic have had only a residual *be*-perfect. Auxiliary *be* is often observed to be restricted in Present-Day English (PDE) to certain verbs, especially *go*, whereas a range of other verbs are also still widely reported with auxiliary *be* in IrE. Retention of the *be*-perfect after 1750 shows IrE remained conservative relative to BrE and AmE on this as on many other points of grammar.

2.2 History of the *be*-perfect in Irish English

There has hitherto been little diachronic study of the *be*-perfect in IrE, but its existence is documented at various times, and there is incidental historical evidence for IrE usage in studies concerned with general English or other aspects of perfectives. This section surveys these references.

The earliest IrE evidence comes from analyses of the anthology compiled by Bliss (1979), which provides examples of the *be*-perfect with motion verbs: *run*, *come* and *turn*[5]. Bliss's texts span the period from the onset of British settlement to the mid-eighteenth century, when the flood of British settlers had dried to a trickle. The *be*-perfect continued in use throughout in Ireland, but was used in BrE too in this period. Hickey's (2005) survey of Dublin English extends the trail, citing examples from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century letters with *come*, *go*, *arrive* and *begin* (2005: 161-166).

Texts by Irish writers in the database for Rydén – Brorström's (1987) diachronic survey of the *be*-perfect show usage broadly reflecting the general development in English, though at some delay (Fig. 2). Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) almost categorically preferred *be* with intransitives, using it in 85% of tokens in his letters (Rydén – Brorström 1987: 201, 232, Table I), well beyond rates reported by Kytö (1997) for this period. Later eighteenth-century Irish playwrights continued to use more *be*-perfects than British and American contemporaries, but less than Swift: Sheridan, Goldsmith and Kelly likewise

[5] Bliss also, wrongly in the view of the present author, cites "*he's dead and buried* these ten years" (xxvii 115 [Thomas Sheridan, 1740]) as a *be*-perfect; in my view, *dead* is an adjective here.

exceeded eighteenth-century rates reported by Kytö (1997), scoring 60-65% *be* (Rydén – Brorström 1987: 21-22, 232, Table I). Still, like Swift, they remain more conservative than mainstream BrE and AmE writers. A century later, Boucicault, Wilde and Shaw all conformed to mainstream use of categorical *have* (89-92%) (Rydén – Brorström 1987: 233, Table II)[6]. However, note that these three also spent their careers largely in the United States and England, which might have influenced their usage.

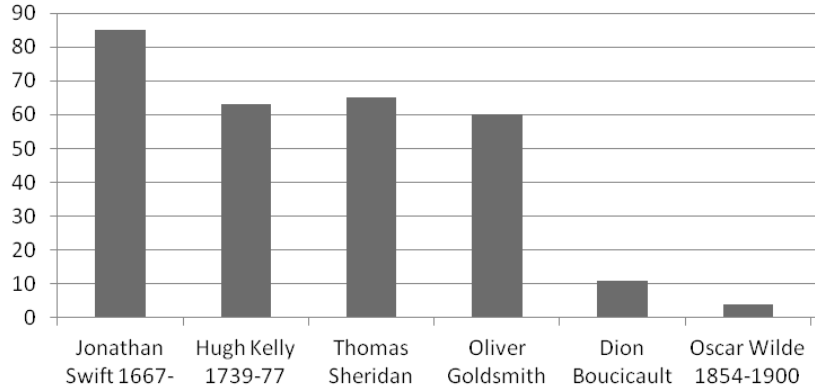

Figure 2. *Be*-perfect in writings of Irish authors, seventeenth to twentieth century (after Rydén – Brorström 1987: 232-233, Tables I, II)

Evidence of *be/have* variation in twentieth-century Irish authors, films and television sitcoms also suggests decline and lexical restriction. In works by Patrick MacGill (1889-1963), Amador-Moreno found just three *be*-perfects: one each with *go*, *come* and *change* (2006: 106-108). Amador-Moreno notes that the existence of this perfect in Ulster, where the Irish substrate lacks the potential Irish source construction, might suggest retention from English rather than substrate influence. Walshe (2009: 54-55) found *be*-perfects in only 7 of 50 films investigated, citing just 7 tokens: 5 with *go*, one each with *change* and *finish* (Walshe 2009: Appendix 3, Table 6). The same author's study of the sitcom *Father Ted*, found just 2 *be*-perfects; the only example cited uses *finish* (Walshe 2011: 132, 136). Apart from the use of *finish* with auxiliary *be*, this too suggests lexical restriction and decline.

[6] Hickey (2005: 167-177) does not attest auxiliary *be* in plays by Boucicault and Seán O'Casey (also Hickey 2007: 197). A sampling difference may explain the different result obtained by Rydén – Brorström (1987): Hickey's *Corpus of Irish English* contains only Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn*, whereas Rydén and Brorström also included *London Assurance*.

IrE apparently participated in the general decline of the *be*-perfect since the eighteenth century. The historical curve suggested here broadly follows a path similar to that found by Rydén – Brorström (1987) and Kytö (1994, 1997), though IrE seems to have adopted *have* more slowly than mainstream varieties. The use of the *be*-perfect after 1900 also appears, on the evidence collated, to have become circumscribed to a small number of fairly frequent intransitive mutative and motion verbs: *arrive, begin, change, come, go, run,* and *turn*. But the transitive verb *finish* also appears with auxiliary *be* in these accounts.

3. *Be*-perfect today

3.1 Regional Englishes

Auxiliary *be* is usually said to be retained in PDE only with certain verbs, *go* in particular, though Rydén – Brorström (1987: 211) list others used at least variably with *have* or *be*: *change, recover, turn* (e.g., *turn fifty*), *set* (of the Sun), *fly*, *do*, and *finish*. Regional differences are noted by Kortmann (2008: 491, Table 1), whose survey of English in Britain and Ireland reports a "pervasive" *be*-perfect in IrE and Orkney/Shetland English; it is also "attested, but not frequently used" in southwest England, the north of England and Scotland. Shetland and Orkney have generalised auxiliary *be* to *all* verbs, transitives included (Melchers 2008: 291); this may be due to Norn (Scandinavian) substrate influence (Pavlenko 1997)[7]. Surveys consistently report the *be*-perfect in IrE, north and south (e.g., Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007; Amador-Moreno 2010; Kallen 2013). And a comparison of twentieth-century IrE with dialects from southwest England, Yorkshire and the West Midlands reported the *be*-perfect as present, but infrequent, in conservative BrE dialects, where it was exclusively restricted to *go* (Filppula 1999: 49-50, 118). Regional Englishes in England appear to show as much lexicalisation as mainstream standard varieties (Brinton – Traugott 2005: 78). Leaving aside the extreme case of the Northern Isles, the *be*-perfect appears more robust in IrE than other varieties, and we would expect it to have been at least as robust in previous centuries.

[7] On the *be*-perfect in Shetland, see Melchers (1992, 2008). A recent quantitative sociolinguistic study shows the *be*-perfect declining among younger Shetlanders (Smith – Durham 2012: 62-63).

3.2 Present-day Irish English

The *be*-perfect is one of six constructions used to express perfective aspect in Irish English (cf. Harris 1984, 1993; Kallen 1989, 2013; Hickey 2007; Amador-Moreno 2010; Corrigan 2010). The *be*-perfect (1) is said to typically convey resultative meanings with mutative and motion verbs.

(1) all our ships **are arrivd**, the newham was the last who came in 5 days ago. (18th c.)

Research suggests that some of the IrE perfectives either emerged or underwent significant change in the nineteenth century. *Be after V-ing* became focused on its prototypical modern IrE hot-news functions (McCafferty 2004), and specifically IrE uses of the progressive, including its use as a perfective, seem to have emerged at this time (McCafferty – Amador-Moreno 2012). However, only the hot-news perfect has been studied diachronically (e.g., McCafferty 2004, 2006), while the progressive has been the subject of a CORIECOR pilot study (McCafferty – Amador-Moreno 2012); other aspectual features have been examined only in narrower datasets.

The latest version of the global survey of nonstandard morphosyntactic features in Englishes (Kortmann – Lunkenheimer 2011) found *be* as a perfect auxiliary in just 5/10 traditional L1 varieties, 10/21 high-contact L1s and 3/17 indigenised L2 varieties, making 18/48 varieties in these three categories. However, it is "rare" in 9 of the 18 varieties where it is attested, making it one of the least widespread features in the survey. It may have been more common in earlier nonstandard varieties, though: Hundt (2015: 88-89) reports its use in nineteenth-century New Zealand correspondence. Unfortunately, there are no detailed studies of the *be*-perfect in regional as opposed to mainstream Englishes

Examples of auxiliary *be* with intransitives are included in surveys of both Northern and Southern IrE (e.g., Harris 1984, 1993; Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007; Amador-Moreno 2010; Kallen 2013). There has, however, been little empirical study of this construction in IrE and no diachronic survey until recently (McCafferty 2014). Yet the literature raises issues that might usefully be addressed diachronically using CORIECOR[8].

[8] CORIECOR is under development. The version used here has approximately 4800 letters (2.5m words) written to and by Irish emigrants from the 1670s onwards. Coverage is good from the 1760s to the 1940s (minimum 55,000 words per twenty-year subperiod). Most texts come from the *Irish Emigration Database*, hosted by Queen's

Filppula (2008: 331) remarks that, of all IrE perfectives, the *be*-perfect in particular is recessive. Yet empirical studies of the perfectives (Harris 1984; Filppula 1999; Ronan 2005) show it remains one of a set of roughly equally robust alternatives to the *have*-perfect, which is a minority construction overall in Ireland. When did the *be*-perfect begin to recede in IrE, and to what extent did this parallel and keep pace with developments in other varieties? Second, as in other Englishes, the *be*-perfect is reportedly restricted in IrE to a limited number of verbs (Kallen 2013: 103), *go* in particular (Filppula 1999: 117; Ronan 2005: 254). Might an impression of survival in IrE be due mainly to retention with certain frequent verbs? Third, there is the issue of Irish substrate influence. Filppula suggests the *be*-perfect survived in IrE as a result of convergence during prolonged contact and shift (1999: 122). While acknowledging that the substrate may have supported retention, Hickey attributes use of auxiliary *be* to English input only (2007: 177, 196, 282, Table 4.39). However, the fact that there is no verb *have* in Irish, which uses a construction formed with the substantive verb *tá* "be" + a form of *ag* "at" (see 4.2, below) to express possession and in its closest equivalent of the *be*-perfect, may have contributed to retention. The fact that intransitives in English can occur with an object-like complement may have contributed further to convergence and retention of the *be*-perfect, facilitating extension to transitive uses of verbs like *finish*, with which the Irish construction is also used.

Diachronic study of regional differentiation in CORIECOR may help clarify this issue further: we might expect auxiliary *be* to be more robust where IrE spread through language shift and remained in contact with Irish longer, as opposed to the northeastern and southeastern regions centred on Belfast and Dublin that became English-speaking early, largely through settlement from Britain. In the meantime, given the presence of transitive verbs with auxiliary *be* cited in the IrE literature, we might suggest that this is due to a transfer effect in emergent IrE.

3.3 Surveys of the IrE *be*-perfect

Surveys of IrE usually list the *be*-perfect as a resultative perfective found with intransitive verbs, noting that it is more frequent in IrE than other

University Belfast's Mellon Centre for Migration Studies, in Omagh, Co. Tyrone. The northern and eastern provinces of Ulster and Leinster are over-represented in this database, especially in the earlier subperiods, though this bias partly reflects the fact that these were the regions of heaviest emigration in the eighteenth century and also where English was widely spoken before 1800.

varieties (e.g., Harris 1984: 322-323, 1993: 160; Kallen 1989: 19, 2013: 102-103; Filppula 1999: 116-122, 2003: 166-167). To date, three empirical studies have investigated the full range of IrE perfective constructions (Harris 1984; Filppula 1999; Ronan 2005). All show the *be*-perfect as a robust alternative to the *have*-perfect in present-day IrE, but they also report it as largely restricted to *go*, as in other Englishes, standard varieties included.

Harris for Northern IrE (1984: 317, Table 2) and Filppula for Southern IrE (1999: 95-126) found the *have*-perfect in a minority overall, while the *be*-perfect accounted for 11% of all perfectives in the north and 9% in the south. Ronan's (2005) Dublin data showed a majority of *have*-perfects, but here too, the *be*-perfect occurs at 9%. These studies suggest the *be*-perfect is used at similar levels in Northern and Southern IrE, offering little support to the hypothesis that the presence or absence of a parallel in different substrate dialects of Irish might have affected regional distribution in IrE, although there may be urban-rural differences[9]. The lack of regional differentiation is also indicated by the *Survey of Irish English Usage*: acceptance rates for the test sentence *They're finished the work now* exceeded 85% in counties stretching from Derry in the far north, through Monaghan in south Ulster and Offaly in the Midlands, to Kerry in the southwest (Hickey 2007: 178). Elsewhere, Hickey reports 80% of Dublin respondents found this test sentence unproblematical (2005: 130).

The *be*-perfect appears fairly robust in IrE, where a minority of all perfectives are of the standard English *have*-perfect type, while the remainder are divided among five other constructions (cf. Harris 1984; Kallen 1989; Filppula 1999, 2008; Ronan 2005). Its use contributes to substantial IrE deviation from other Englishes in this area of grammar. A recent study using various components of the *International Corpus of English* (Seoane – Gómez-López 2013: 9, Table 1) reports that *be*-perfects account for a mean of only 1.6% of all perfects in Hong Kong, Singapore, Indian and Philippines English and 1.4% in BrE. In contrast, the IrE studies summarised above consistently show considerably higher rates of around 10%. For speakers of IrE, the *be*-perfect remains a robust minority variant into the early twenty-first century. However, this is a qualified robustness, as it appears to be lexically restricted in IrE, too.

[9] Harris's (1984) results suggest urban-rural differentiation: standard *have*-perfects were nearly twice as frequent among urban speakers (65% vs. 35%), while the *be*-perfect was 3.5 times more common in rural areas (14% vs. 4%). The question of regional differences is worth investigating.

3.4 Verbs used with *be*-perfect in IrE

Note that Hickey's test sentence contained the transitive verb *finish* and an object *the work*; as we will see, in our period, this verb actually reversed the general trend towards *have*. Hickey also cites further examples with *finish, go* and *change* from various datasets (2007: 178, 196). Harris lists the motion and mutative verbs *leave, change, die* and *go* as occurring with auxiliary *be*; his example is *I'm not too long left* (1984: 308). Ronan (2005: 254) notes *be*-perfects occur particularly with *go* and cites examples with this and *finish* (2005: 256). The most detailed IrE study of the *be*-perfect to date (Filppula 1999: 118) mentions the following: *go, leave, finish, change, come, vanish, wear, wither, fade, dry, break up, die, happen*, and *belong*. And Kallen (2013: 103) adds *pass, build, break down* and *promise*. This amounts to quite a number of fairly frequent everyday verbs, but we should also recall Filppula's remark that the majority of *be*-perfects in late twentieth-century IrE involved *go* (1999: 120).

3.5 Summary

The *be*-perfect is retained in IrE today and is widely regarded as acceptable, but it is largely restricted to a small number of intransitive mutative and motion verbs, especially *go*. It is also used with some transitive verbs, of which *finish* and *do* (="finish") might be the most frequent. As Kirk – Kallen (2006: 103) remark in their discussion of the perfect in standard IrE, while the distinctively Irish perfectives may each be relatively infrequent compared to the *have*-perfect, even small proportions of the alternative constructions distinguish IrE from other Englishes. That the alternatives to the *have*-perfect may combine to constitute a majority of perfectives underscores IrE's distinctiveness relative to other varieties.

4. The *be*-perfect in Scots and Irish

4.1 *Be*-perfect in Scots

The other two main inputs into the contact situation in Ireland were Scots and the Irish language. Since most British settlers in Ireland originated in Scotland (though some brought Scottish Gaelic rather than Scots/English), it is unfortunate that there is little work on the *be*-perfect in Scots/Scottish English. Kortmann – Lunkenheimer's (2011) survey notes its presence in Scotland generally, but apart from Shetland and Orkney, it receives only

brief mentions in surveys. Trudgill – Hannah list transitive *I'm finished it* as "specifically Scottish" (2008: 101), with no further discussion, and many surveys make no mention of the *be*-perfect[10]. When included, little detail is offered, as in Macafee's survey of Scots grammar, which notes generalised *be*-perfect in the Northern Isles and then adds: "*Be* is also the regular auxiliary in Scots generally with a small group of verbs including *start* and *come*", and cites examples with these verbs (Macafee 2011: np.). Commenting on the paucity of documentation and interest, Melchers observes that "[…] there is hardly any evidence of the construction being a general feature of Scots" (Melchers 1992: 603). Apart from the Northern Isles[11], little is known about how widespread the *be*-perfect might currently be in Scotland.

Documentation in earlier Scots is equally poor. There are no empirical diachronic studies, though Moessner notes auxiliary *be* was used variably with verbs of motion in Older Scots (1997: 113), and Görlach (2002: 105) repeats this. Apart from the recent work on Shetland, then, the *be*-perfect appears not to have been studied empirically in Scots/Scottish English at any stage. While we would ideally like to know more about the situation in Scots, especially historically, for a study of IrE, at the minute we can only note that the *be*-perfect was used in Older Scots and is still found in Scots/Scottish English with some verbs at least[12].

4.2 *Be*-perfect in Irish

In treating tense and aspect in IrE, it is always necessary to consider possible Irish substrate influence. The potential input construction uses the Irish substantive verb *tá* "be" with what is variously termed the "verbal adjective" or "past participle" (Bliss 1979: 294; Stenson 1981: 148-50; Ó Siadhail 1989: 299-300; Ó Sé 1992: 39; Hickey 2012). Some view this as a passive (e.g., Hickey 2012), others as a passive perfective (e.g., Ó Siadhail 1989), but Irish examples are usually translated by the *have*-perfect or IrE alternatives. For Ó Siadhail (1989: 299), the Irish construction is closely related to the IrE resultative perfect. The Irish structure uses the substantive verb with the

[10] Note that Trudgill – Hannah's example uses transitive *finish*.

[11] Most Scots in Ireland originated in southwest and central Scotland. There is little evidence of migration from Shetland/Orkney to Ulster or any other part of Ireland (Fitzgerald – Lambkin 2008; Bardon 2011). Generalised *be* with all verbs has never been claimed to be present in IrE; Northern Isles influence can be discounted.

[12] Enquiries of experts on Scots drew a blank: there appear to be no further studies of the *be*-perfect in Scots (Jennifer Smith, Mercedes Durham, Robert McColl Millar, personal communication, August 2012; Jim Miller, personal communication, February 2014).

"verbal adjective" (equivalent to the English past participle) and a form of the preposition *ag* "at", but the immediate substrate influence on the IrE *be*-perfect is the "agent-free passive perfective" (2), lacking the prepositional element. Significantly, this has a wider scope than that usually attributed to the English *be*-perfect, being used with both intransitive (2) and transitive verbs (3) (Ó Siadhail 1989: 299-300); the latter provide an obvious overlap with the passive.

(2) Tá sé imithe
[Is he gone]
"He is gone off"

(3) Tá an leabhar léite
[Is the book read]
"The book is/has been read" (after Ó Siadhail 1989: 299-300)

A further option in Irish is to use certain transitive verbs, like "eat" and "cast (a vote)", without the object in the agent-free construction, as in (4)-(5), where the logical objects (e.g., *a chuid* "his share", *vót* "vote") are not realised.

(4) Tá sé ite
[Is he eaten]
"He has eaten"

(5) Tá sé caite
[Is he voted, lit. "spent, thrown, cast"]
"He has voted" (after Ó Siadhail 1989: 300)

This latter possibility appears not to have transferred into IrE and is seldom remarked in the literature (but see Filppula 1999: 121); there are no tokens in CORIECOR.

Hickey suggests a possible role for Irish in the retention of the *be*-perfect, noting that: "[…] the use of *tá* 'is' in Irish to form compound tenses may have also provided support (the Irish translation of [Hickey's survey test] sentence would be approximately: *Tá siad críochnaithe leis na deisithe anois* [is they finished with the repairs now])" (Hickey 2007: 177). The fact that IrE permits the *be*-perfect with transitive uses of verbs like *finish* may be attributable to Irish influence, as Irish has this option[13]. Finally, it might

[13] Mustanoja (1960: 500-501) points to the *be*-perfect with transitive verbs in ME. If this continued into EModE, it would weaken the case for Irish influence and strengthen

be important to take account of dialect differences in Irish. Ó Sé (1992: 41) reports that the Irish equivalent of the *be*-perfect is a feature of Connacht and Munster but not Ulster dialects. We might, therefore, expect the converging influence of Irish to be stronger in Southern than in Northern IrE, where the *be*-perfect might be less likely to be affected by Irish substrate influence (Amador-Moreno 2006: 110). It would be useful, therefore, to investigate the geographical distribution of the *be*-perfect in IrE, although this is beyond the scope of the present study.

5. *Be*-perfect in CORIECOR

5.1 Method

Data was extracted from CORIECOR for the entire period from 1701 to 1940, covering the era when Ireland changed from a predominantly Irish-speaking country to a virtually monolingual English-speaking territory. Following Kytö (1997), I searched lexically for past participles of verbs known from the literature to occur with the *be*-perfect. The search items are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Verbs included in CORIECOR searches for *be*-perfects

From Rydén – Brorström (1987)	
arrive	*go*
become	*grow*
change	*improve*
come	*pass*
fall	*recover*
get "motion"	*return*
get "change"	*turn* "change"

From literature on Irish English	
do "finish"	*happen*
finish	*leave*

These comprised: (a) 14 of the 15 verbs that together accounted for 87% of the data in Rydén – Brorström (1987: 31); and (b) 4 verbs that, while not frequent in that study, are often mentioned in the literature on IrE as occurring with auxiliary *be*[14]. Several of the verbs are used in both process

convergence explanations. Auxiliary *be* with transitive *finish* in Scots might also further a convergence explanation, if it could be documented historically.

[14] McCafferty (2014) started with 33 verbs, 15 of which are excluded here. Five – *belong, build, fade, promise,* and *wither* – did not occur in the subperiods sampled for

and motion senses. Of these, *go* occurs in CORIECOR only as a motion verb, while *turn* is used both as a mutative ("change") and as a motion verb; *get*, too, occurs with both mutative ("change") and motion ("reach, arrive") meanings. The set of verbs studied ensured that, if the *be*-perfect has indeed been used across a broad range of verbs and verb types, then the full range would be revealed, and IrE peculiarities might also be captured by inclusion of the verbs most often cited with the *be*-perfect in this variety. Searches were conducted using *Wordsmith 5* (Scott 2009) to retrieve past participles of individual verbs, including all variant participle forms, e.g., *got/gotten, fallen/fell, gone/went*. Only unambiguous instances of *be* or *have* are included as data; a number of inherently ambiguous tokens are excluded:

(6) with respect to what I wrote you I do not know **whats become** of Taylors Daughter (late 18th c.)

(7) I was fully determined to **agone** home this fall (late 18th c.)

(8) I expect he **Ø gone** to Alabama (1840s)

(9) The Minerva Capt Eccles should **have been arrived** when you wrote (late 18th c.)

Among those excluded were cases where it is impossible to determine whether an elided form (*'s* in present-day orthography) represents *is* or *has* (6). The form *agone* in (7) might be either *have gone* or *a-going*, i.e., a present rather than a past participle[15]. In (8), the auxiliary is deleted, and in (9), both auxiliaries appear in a "double perfect" construction.

The verbs studied here all occur variably with *be* or *have* in CORIECOR, as (10)-(19) illustrate, even varying sometimes in the same letter, e.g., (10)-(11) with the motion verb *go*. Examples (12)-(13) show other motion verbs also vary in this respect. The same kind of variation is seen in the mutative

McCafferty (2014); they were originally included because they are listed in literature on IrE as occurring with *be.* Another 5 of the verbs that produced the bulk of the data for Rydén – Brorström (1989) and Kytö (1997) – (*a*)*rise*, *run*, and *turn* "motion" (Rydén – Brorström 1989); *depart* and *enter* (Kytö 1997) – are also excluded because they gave fewer than 10 tokens across the subperiods studied in McCafferty (2014). For the same reason, five verbs often mentioned in the IrE literature were excluded: *break up/down, die, dry, wear* and *vanish*.

15 Alternatively, *agone* might represent *a-going* in a context where auxiliary *be* is deleted, a phenomenon that has recently proven to be variably present in the usage of CORIECOR letterwriters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

verbs, as in (14)-(15) with *change*, and with transitive *finish* in (16)-(17) and *do* "finish" in (18)-(19).

(10) Dr. Boyd **has gone** to Kirkcubbin to live. (1830s)

(11) Hugh Boyd has been put out of his house, he **is gone** to Ann St. to live. (1830s)

(12) Reginald his other brother was in the Custom House at Winnipeg for some years and **is now moved** to Vancouver I think. (1880s)

(13) Johnny Stewart and family and Aunt **has moved** up to James Lavers old house, as monthly tenants. (1880s)

(14) Florence **has greatly changed** since you were here (1880s)

(15) Your old friend Mrs John Moore's family, **is of course very much changed**. (1880s)

(16) I **am just finished** Whitewashing and Chimney-cleaning. (1880s)

(17) and by the time it reaches you you will I hope **have finished** your harvest (1880s)

(18) the neigbours **are nearly all done** ploughing now But we have ploughed none yet neither has Uncle John (1880s)

(19) He **has done** with the cares of this life now (1880s)

As we will see, the verb types exemplified here behave in slightly different ways with regard to auxiliary *be* across our period, in particular the transitives, which increase use with *be*, and *go*, which maintains *be* to a greater extent than other motion or mutative verbs.

5.2 General results and comparison with ARCHER letters

The conservatism of IrE is apparent from comparison of Fig. 3[16], which traces the development of the *be*-perfect in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century IrE, with Fig. 1, which shows the development in BrE and AmE. From a slight

[16] The CORIECOR data underlying Figs. 3-6 is summarised in the Appendix, which includes statistics for individual verbs and verb types.

majority (56%) of *be*-forms in eighteenth-century IrE, *have* increases steadily to 1861-80, then levels off and hovers between 25-30% for the next 80 years. The change is a gradual one, not the rapid swing reported by Kytö (1994, 1997) and Rydén – Brorström (1987), which was also suggested by the usage of Irish writers extracted from the latter (see above). IrE shifts from 44% *have* to 75% across the period, while Kytö's data showed levels of *have*-use hitting 90% by the early twentieth century. IrE, then, appears to have followed the general development in English, but at a delay of about 50-100 years. As we will see, the treatment of certain transitive verbs in IrE, which actually increased with auxiliary *be* across the period, may explain some of the apparent delay in adopting *have*[17].

Figure 3. *Be/have* perfect with intransitive verbs in IrE (CORIECOR), 1701-1940s (n=3740)

Kytö's general results are, of course, based on multi-genre corpora. However, she also reports results from a small subset of correspondence data (Kytö 1997: 42-44), which is more directly comparable to my IrE data. Fig. 4 compares Kytö's findings for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with CORIECOR from the same period[18].

[17] Note that, e.g., *finish* was not studied by Kytö. This discrepancy between studies of IrE and the varieties treated by Kytö is unavoidable; *finish* is so often cited with the *be*-perfect in IrE that it must be included here, even though it is not an intransitive verb of motion or mutation.

[18] Note that Kytö's analysis by 50-year periods (1997: 44) actually shows a pendulum movement between *be* and *have*.

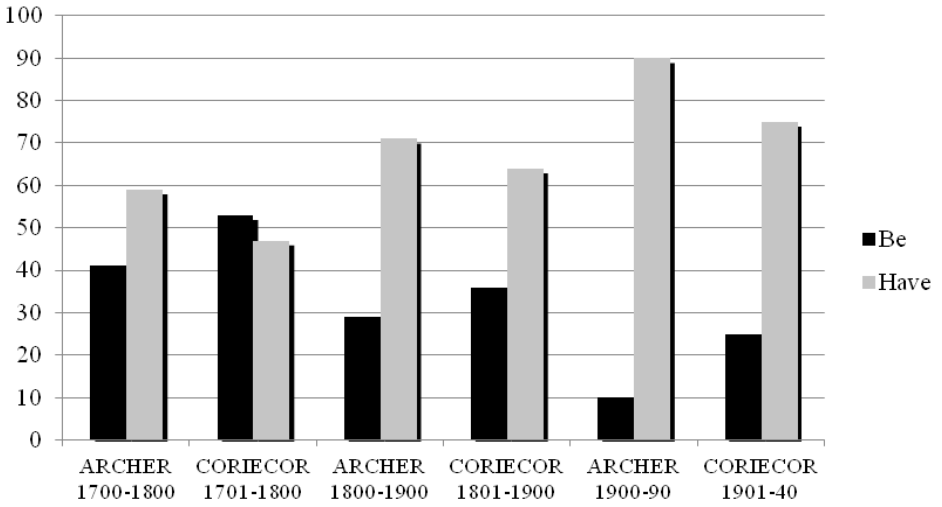

Figure 4. *Be/have* with intransitives in letters only, ARCHER and CORIECOR compared (ARCHER data after Kytö 1997: 42, Table 11; ARCHER n=112, CORIECOR n=3740)

IrE lagged behind in the late eighteenth century, still using *be* as the majority auxiliary with these verbs, but made up considerable ground in the nineteenth century and again in the early twentieth. The development seems broadly parallel, with IrE trending in the same direction as ARCHER, using increasing proportions of *have*, but at a slower pace, so that CORIECOR still shows 25% *be* after 1901 compared to 10% in ARCHER.

5.3 Results by verb type

The general downward trend in the use of the *be*-perfect in IrE revealed in Fig. 3 conceals differences in the treatment of different verb types. Fig. 5 summarises the findings for the 18 verbs categorised by type. For this exercise, *go* was treated separately, since virtually all accounts of the *be*-perfect remark on its survival with this verb. In line with claims regarding the verb types that retain the *be*-perfect, the two main categories are mutative and "other motion" verbs, and finally, the two transitive verbs included because they are frequently mentioned in the literature on IrE form a separate category.

Here we see that mutative verbs, *go* and other motion verbs all showed majority auxiliary *be*-use in the eighteenth century, but *be* was in decline across these three categories by the early twentieth century. However, the

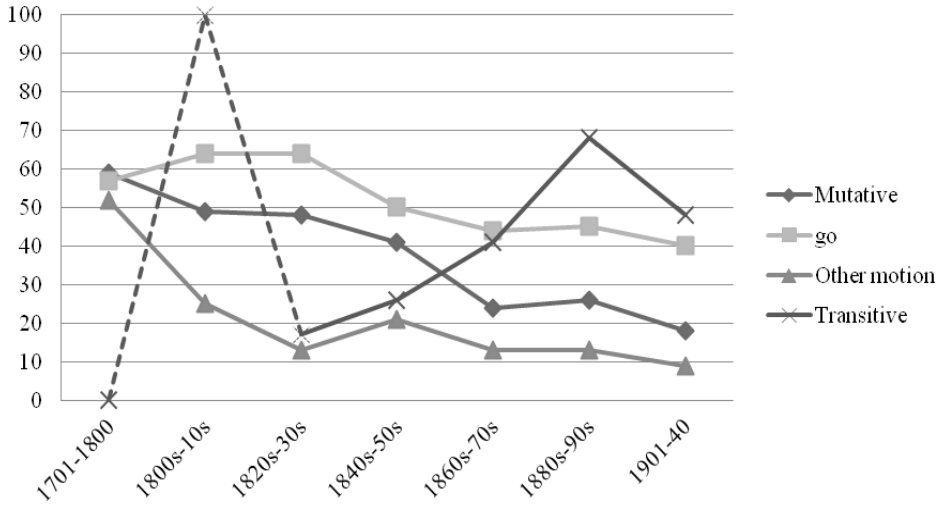

Figure 5. *Be/have* perfect in IrE (CORIECOR) by verb type, 1701-1940s (n=3740)

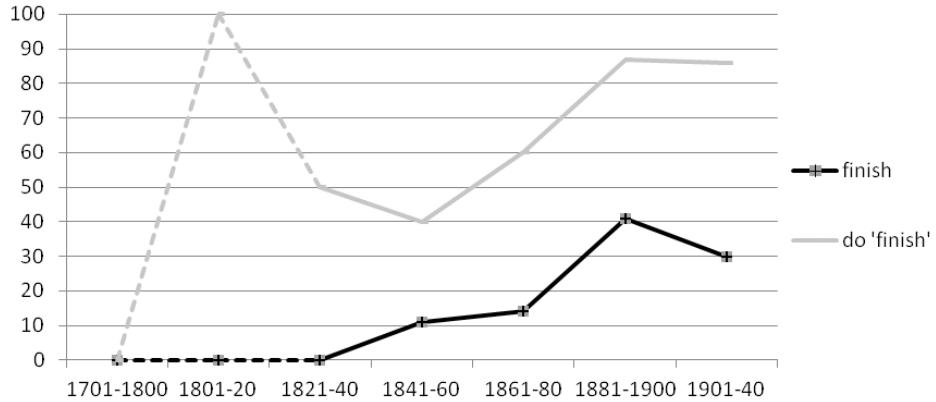

Figure 6. Percentage use of *be*-perfect in IrE, 1701-1940: use of be increases to categorical/variable *be* (n=177)

drop in *be*-use with *go* was quite gradual throughout the period; it retained *be* in over 40% of tokens even at the end of the period, while mutative and other motion verbs show a sharper downward cline, being found with only 18% and 9% *be* in the twentieth century. Throughout the period, mutative verbs are consistently more frequent with *be* than other motion verbs. With the exception of *go*, then, the *be*-perfect is preserved more with mutative verbs than verbs of motion in IrE.

It seems clear from this analysis that the retention of the *be*-perfect in IrE is largely attributable to three verbs: *go*, *finish* and *do* "finish", which

are found with rates of *be*-use from 30-86% into the early twentieth century. However, continued use of *be* with other mutative verbs – *grow, improve, recover* and *change* – at rates ranging from 29-42%, and with other motion verbs – *return*, *pass* and *leave* – at rates between 11-19% also contribute to the retention of the *be*-perfect until the end of our period. Thus, while lexical restriction has occurred, the *be*-perfect is not as restricted as in other Englishes.

6. Discussion and conclusions

This survey of the use of the *be*-perfect in IrE with a set of 18 verbs shows users of this variety participated in the general shift in English away from auxiliary *be* with intransitive verbs of motion and mutative verbs. In IrE these verb types still occurred with a slight preponderance of auxiliary *be* in the late eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, *have* was already preferred with these verbs overall, and its position strengthened further as the century progressed. However, auxiliary *be* stabilised at around 25% usage in the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century. In this development, IrE appears to have been largely following the general trend mapped by Kytö (1997) for BrE and AmE, but more gradually, and the development apparently stalled at a higher retention rate for the *be*-perfect than in mainstream standard Englishes.

IrE also appears to have increasingly restricted the use of auxiliary *be* to a smallish number of verbs, though previous research shows it still retains the *be*-perfect today with a wider range of verbs than mainstream Englishes and regional Englishes in England, where only *go* is reportedly still used with auxiliary *be*. Restriction is reflected also in the CORIECOR data across the period studied. The verb *go* is indeed the most frequent of the 18 verbs studied, and it is 2-4 times more likely to occur with auxiliary *be* than mutative verbs and other motion verbs. But a number of other, especially mutative, verbs are also found variably with *be* into the twentieth century. This contrasts with mainstream Englishes and regional English English, where auxiliary *be* is found exclusively with *go* (Filppula 1999). The IrE delay in adopting *have* with all the verbs included here is due in part to retention of *be* into the twentieth century with a broader set of verbs than in other varieties.

The fact that transitive uses of verbs like *finish* and *do* "finish" with auxiliary *be* seem to emerge in IrE across the period also contributes to

retention. Rates of *be*-use with these verbs are highest in the late nineteenth century and continue high into the twentieth. We might speculate that this latter development, though not entirely unknown in earlier stages of the language and other present-day Englishes, was distinctive of IrE by the late nineteenth century, but firm conclusions on this issue must await empirical diachronic comparisons with other, especially regional, varieties. Similarly, the possibility that the use of *be* with transitive verbs might either have arisen or been strengthened as a result of Irish substrate influence must remain (informed) speculation until we are in a position to examine the regional distribution of *be*-perfect use in Ireland during the period of language shift. This study represents but a first step in these directions.

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APPENDIX

Verb	1701-1800		1800s-10s		1820s-30s		1840s-50s	
	be/Total (n)	*be* %	*be*/Total (n)	*be* %	*be*/Total (n)	*be* %	*be*/Total (n)	*be* %
								MUTATIVE
happen	0/9	*0*	1/9	11	0/8	0	1/12	8
become	8/15	**53**	4/10	40	5/19	26	5/43	12
turn "**change**"	3/10	*30*	–	–	(2/4)	–	7/23	30
get "**change**"	3/5	**60**	7/15	47	13/32	41	26/76	34
grow	7/7	**100**	6/7	86	14/19	74	9/25	36
improve	6/7	**86**	(3/3)	–	9/13	69	28/42	**67**
recover	19/24	**79**	9/14	**64**	15/21	71	31/58	**53**
change	(2/4)	–	3/10	30	4/14	29	24/37	**65**
TOTAL	48/81	**59**	33/68	49	62/130	48	131/316	41
								MOTION
fall	1/11	9	–	–	0/8	0	3/21	14
arrive	30/36	**83**	3/10	30	3/21	14	12/49	24
return	6/8	**75**	5/9	**56**	5/12	42	10/40	25
come	20/41	49	5/27	19	6/42	14	22/109	20
pass	(1/3)	–	–	–	1/24	4	6/18	33
get "motion"	6/17	35	1/6	17	1/20	5	4/32	13
go	34/60	**57**	41/64	**64**	54/85	**64**	93/186	**50**
leave	5/16	31	5/20	25	3/18	17	13/62	21
TOTAL	103/192	**54**	60/136	44	73/230	32	163/519	31
TOTAL *excl.* go	69/132	**52**	19/75	25	19/145	13	70/333	21
								TRANSITIVE
finish	(0/3)	–	–	–	0/8	0	1/9	11
do "finish"	(0/1)	–	(1/1)	–	(2/4)	–	4/10	40
TOTAL	(0/4)	–	(1/1)	–	2/12	17	5/19	26
TOTAL	**151/277**	**54**	**94/205**	**46**	**137/372**	**37**	**299/852**	**35**

Verb	1860s-70s		1880s-90s		1901-40		TOTAL	
	be/Total (n)	*be* %	*be*/Total (n)	*be* %	*be*/Total (n)	*be* %	*be*/Total (n)	*be* %
MUTATIVE								
happen	1/10	10	2/16	13	1/12	8	6/76	8
become	2/27	7	0/25	0	0/7	0	24/146	16
turn "**change**"	2/17	12	0/13	0	0/10	0	14/77	18
get "**change**"	14/54	26	19/89	21	0/35	0	82/306	27
grow	5/18	28	2/14	14	5/14	36	48/104	46
improve	6/14	43	16/30	**53**	5/13	34	73/122	**60**
recover	5/20	25	7/24	29	(0/2)	(0)	86/163	**53**
change	8/21	38	23/61	38	10/24	42	74/171	43
TOTAL	43/181	24	69/272	25	21/117	18	407/1165	35
MOTION								
fall	1/14	7	0/11	0	–	–	5/65	8
arrive	4/28	14	0/19	0	0/10	0	52/173	30
return	2/28	7	4/24	17	1/9	11	33/130	25
come	5/76	7	19/122	16	6/74	8	83/491	17
pass	5/30	17	3/58	5	2/19	11	18/152	12
get "motion"	7/26	27	6/60	10	3/43	7	28/204	14
go	63/144	44	111/245	45	71/177	40	467/961	49
leave	4/24	17	15/66	23	3/16	19	48/222	22
TOTAL	91/370	25	157/605	26	86/348	25	733/2400	31
TOTAL *excl.* go	28/223	13	46/360	13	15/171	9	266/1439	18
TRANSITIVE								
finish	1/7	14	14/34	41	9/30	30	25/91	27
do "finish"	6/10	**60**	40/46	**87**	12/14	**86**	65/86	**76**
TOTAL	7/17	**41**	54/80	**68**	21/44	**48**	90/177	**51**
TOTAL	**141/568**	**25**	**281/957**	**29**	**128/509**	**25**	**1231/3740**	**33**

Diachrony and idiosyncrasy: The subjunctive in the first half of the nineteenth century

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ABSTRACT

The decline of the English subjunctive seems to have been temporarily reversed in Late Modern English. Several sources either state this as an observation or present studies whose results can be similarly interpreted. This article presents a part of an investigation that covered the period from the first half of the 16th c. to the beginning of the 21st c. and also produced a similar result. The investigation was based on examples manually extracted from a corpus specifically compiled for that purpose. The corpus consists of two genres, plays as a primary corpus and a reference corpus of non-fiction texts. Each genre is represented by two authors in a century and the texts that are included were published in the first half of the century. This contribution discusses the trend displayed by morphologically distinct instances of the subjunctive. Apart from the reversal in the first half of the 19th c., the analysis showed considerable individual variation, which is particularly pronounced in that part of the corpus. For most uses only texts by George Soane and Thomas Carlyle contribute to the instances of morphologically distinct subjunctive forms that create the reversal, in contrast with the overall numbers for the other two authors, M.G. Lewis and Charles Lamb, which are as would be predicted from the numbers in the previous and subsequent centuries. The higher numbers of subjunctive instances in the texts by Soane and Carlyle may be related to the two authors' general tendency to use archaic forms and constructions.

1. Introduction

The use of the subjunctive has declined over time and today its forms survive only in a small number of contexts. The decline does not seem to have been just a continuous downward trend: several authors mention a reversal in Late Modern English.

Jespersen (1924: 318) states that "from the middle of the nineteenth century there has been a literary revival of some of its uses", and this seems to have been confirmed in a study by Harsh (1968), i.e. in its part that deals with the use of the subjunctive in British and American plays from the 15th to the 20th c. The statistics for the two plays representing the late 19th c. show "a slight upswing in frequency of subjunctive structures and more pronounced increase in the percentage of inflected subjunctives" (1968: 84). Strang (1970 [1994: 209]) also mentions a reversal. She describes it as sporadic and places its beginning a century earlier, as a consequence of "the tendency to hypercorrection in 18c and later teachers and writers". Turner (1980: 272), however, claims that the decline continued in the two centuries mentioned by these authors "in spite of the predictable efforts by some of the early English grammarians to arrest the decline".

These opposing claims motivated Auer (2009) to investigate the use of the subjunctive in a corpus study. The study was for the most part based on ARCHER (A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers) and an analysis of forms (subjunctive, indicative and modal periphrasis) that appear in the third person singular present in a selection of adverbial clauses from 1650 to 1990. Auer (2009: 70) indeed found a reversal when the data was examined in 50-year spans, but it covers the second half of the 18th c. and only the first half of the 19th c. The reversal appears as "a slight rise" in the percentage of the subjunctive. In the 1700–1749 part of the corpus, the subjunctive share is 24.1%, which increases to 24.9% in 1750–1799 and 25.8% in 1800–1849, and then falls to 15.9% in 1850–1899. *If* stands out in the selection of adverbial clauses that is examined as "the most frequently attested" one with the subjunctive, which in that type of clause "parallels the overall development" with 31.7% in 1700–1749, 35.9% in 1750–1799, 36.4% in 1800–1849, and 31.1% in 1850–1899. This leads to the interpretation that "[t]he fate of the inflectional subjunctive in adverbial clauses may therefore be dependent on the conjunction *if*". The other conjunctions are not found with the subjunctive in numbers that are representative enough, and in many cases the difference across the periods is in one instance only, if there is a difference or any instances of the subjunctive at all (2009: 72–4). Auer (2009: 86) considers that the reversal "could be ascribed to the influence of prescriptive grammars, and grammarians appear to have been temporarily successful in halting the decline in the use of the subjunctive".

This contribution presents an investigation into the use of the subjunctive in the period of Modern English that obtained results which can be related to the issues presented above. The investigation was based on the comparison of samples of texts of approximately equal size, i.e.

approximately equal amounts of text representing the 16th to the 21st centuries. This approach stemmed partly from an interest in the likelihood of finding different uses of the subjunctive in comparable samples throughout the period and establishing possible factors contributing to the retention or loss of this category.

There was no available corpus spanning the entire period of Modern English that could be used, so a corpus of a sort was assembled specifically for this purpose and examples were manually excerpted. Although the samples included were relatively small, they produced findings that can be interpreted as a reversal in the segment dealing with the first half of the 19th c., which is the only part of the investigation that is comparable to the statements and analyses presented above.

2. The corpus

The six centuries covered by the investigation are represented by texts published approximately in the first half of a century, i.e. the corpus consists of six subcorpora: 1500–1550, 1600–1650, 1700–1750, 1800–1850, 1900–1950 and the beginning of the 21st c. with texts published in the period 2000–2006.

The investigation was concerned with the subjunctive in standard British English, and particularly with usage in the literary tradition that formed the basis of the variety in Modern times.

There were several considerations in selecting texts for the subcorpora and they were all intertwined with the availability of certain types of text or specific texts. The main constraint in choosing text types was finding genres present throughout the Modern English period. Ultimately, it was decided that plays would form the primary corpus alongside a reference corpus of non-fiction texts.

Two authors were selected to represent each genre in the subcorpus. One reason for settling for only two authors was the assumption that it would be difficult to obtain texts of several different authors for the earliest period (1500–1550) and such editions of those texts that would be accompanied by notes and glossaries, which were considered rather necessary for understanding usages specific to that time. The composition of later subcorpora matched the choice of two genres and two authors[1].

[1] Many of the texts were found on the pages of the Internet Archive <http://archive.org>, Google Books <http://books.google.com>, and SCETI (Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image) <http://sceti.library.upenn.edu>.

Since the subjunctive has become increasingly rare over time, the size of the subcorpus was determined by a desire to build a sufficiently large and yet manageable corpus which would increase the probability of sufficient findings. The size finally decided upon was approximately 42,000 words per author, which in total amounts to approximately one million words for the entire corpus.

There was an additional consideration intended to ensure that texts represented a subperiod more faithfully: the authors chosen were born within the last three decades of the previous century[2].

At the outset of the investigation it was decided to excerpt all morphologically distinct instances of the subjunctive[3] and all finite forms (subjunctive, indicative, non-distinct, modal verbs) in a selection of dependent clauses, which included those typically examined in studies of the English subjunctive. This contribution presents the part of the investigation dealing with the subjunctive forms only, findings for the 1800–1850 subperiod and how it compares to the previous and subsequent subperiods.

The 1800–1850 authors are Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775–1818) with the plays *Adelmorn, The Outlaw: A Romantic Drama* (1801), *Alfonso, King of Castile: A Tragedy* (1801) and *The Castle Spectre: A Drama* (1798)[4], and George Soane (1790–1860) with the plays *The Bohemian: A Tragedy* (1817) and *Faustus: A Romantic Drama* (1825). The non-fiction authors are Charles Lamb (1775–1834) with a selection of essays from *The Essays of Elia* (1823) and Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) with a selection of essays from *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1839).

A few remarks are needed with regard to instances that were included in the analysis. The constructions of the type *all be it* and *how be it* were not counted because in the 1500–1550 subcorpus they seem to be fixed expressions, and the subsequent use of *albeit* posed the problem of diachronic comparison. Also not included in the count are the instances of *enter* in stage directions, which James (1986: 17) does include in his analysis of the subjunctive. The presence or absence of forms of this type was partly dependent on stage dynamics of particular plays, which would possibly have

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2 There were some exceptions from the criteria described above due to a lack of available texts: the 1500–1550 playwright Henry Medwall was born *c.* 1462, and his plays were supplemented by approx. 4,510 words from a play by John Rastell.

3 The vast majority of the morphologically distinct forms that were excerpted are third person forms.

4 This title representing the first half of the 19th c. was actually published in the preceding century, but it was the choice most similar to the titles by the same author that had already been selected. Only a part of it was used to supplement the needed number of words (approx. 3,920).

distorted the numbers. The use of *enter* and similar expressions generally seems to follow the fate of the subjunctive since they are not found in the plays in the last subperiod in the corpus.

The present tense form *be* with plural subjects was classified as subjunctive from the 1700–1750 subperiod onwards since its use as an indicative plural is evident in the first two subperiods.

3. An overview

When the total number of subjunctive instances in an author's text is charted, the corpus displays the trend shown in Fig. 1. Numerical information is given in tables in the Appendix. The numbers are compared directly, i.e. normalization is not required, as all the authors are represented with approximately 42,000 words each.

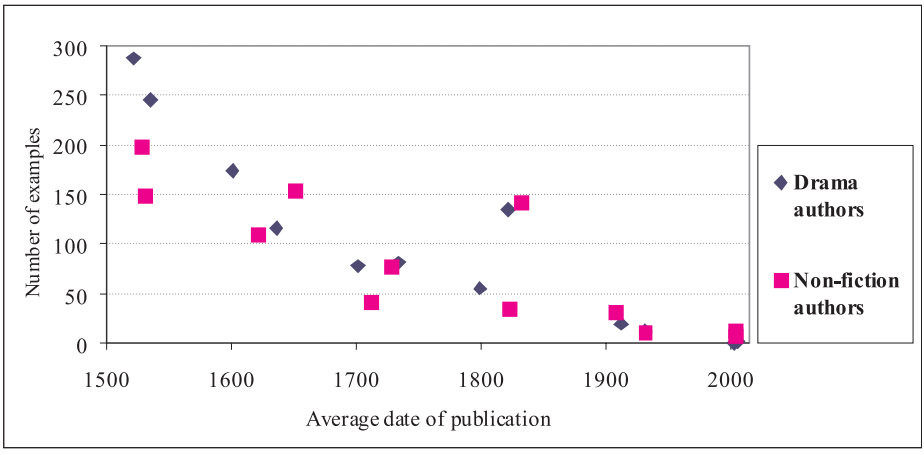

Figure 1. Total number of subjunctive instances in an author's text (approx. 42,000 words each)

With the exception of 1500–1550, the two genres mostly do not show as much difference as the authors within a genre. The difference between two playwrights in a subperiod is rather closely matched by the difference between the authors of the non-fiction texts, except in 1700–1750 when the two playwrights produce similar total numbers.

Different sources indeed describe the use of the subjunctive in Early Modern English as idiosyncratic. Görlach (1991: 113) states that "[b]efore 1650 the frequency of the subjunctive varied from one author to the next; no

regular distribution according to the type of text or style can be determined". Another author, Cannon (2010) examines the use of the subjunctive, modal preterite and modal auxiliaries as a "linguistic fingerprint" in establishing the authorship of an anonymous translation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* that appeared in 1533. Moessner (2002) obtains results that show varying numbers for different authors in different genres in the 17th c. in an investigation of forms (subjunctive, indicative, and modal auxiliaries) after third person singular subjects in a selection of present tense adverbial clauses, which is based on electronic corpora consisting of different types of texts[5].

The findings of the present investigation seem to show the same phenomenon, both in the total numbers and numbers of some specific uses (cf. below), and suggest that it continued in the subsequent centuries.

The difference between the authors within a genre probably indicates the range of individual variation in the period, or at least part of that range, since there are only two authors involved. The plays generally have more subjunctive forms throughout the corpus, but in 1900–1950 the two genres change place, i.e. the non-fiction texts in the last two periods have more instances than the plays.

The difference between the plays and non-fiction texts in the 1500–1550 subcorpus is due to higher numbers of the optative and hortative use, the present subjunctive in dependent clauses, especially *that*-clauses, and subjunctive *were* in main clauses. The optative and hortative use and subjunctive *were* in main clauses continue to be present in higher numbers in the plays of the subsequent three subperiods, but combined with the instances of other uses they do not differentiate the plays from the non-fiction texts.

The 1800–1850 subperiod shows the largest difference between the authors in the same category. George Soane in drama and Thomas Carlyle in non-fiction contribute results that are comparable not to those of the preceding subperiod, but to that of 1600–1650. Their contribution creates an average for the period higher than the one found in 1700–1750 and thus creates a reversal. The other two authors, M.G. Lewis and Charles Lamb,

[5] Two possible explanations are offered: "subjunctive frequency is either a function of the linguistic structure of the texts, i.e. of text types, or it is an idiosyncratic feature, a matter of personal style" (2002: 230). Moessner (2002: 234) concludes that "Görlach's statement […] can even be extended to the second half of the 17th century". She repeats the explanation that the use of the subjunctive is "largely a matter of personal style" as "(so far) the only plausible explanation" commenting on one author's particularly low number of instances in handbooks, the genre that contained the highest number of instances.

seem to conform to the trail of scattered numbers that represent the authors in the other periods, which show a clear trend of decline.

The narrowing range of numbers shows the reduction in both the number of instances and contexts in which these instances appear.

The following sections present the numbers when distinguished between the present and past tenses of the subjunctive, and its use in main and dependent clauses.

4. The optative and hortative subjunctive

This article discusses morphologically distinct instances of the subjunctive, which are usually perceived as such compared to the morphologically distinct forms of the indicative. However, the optative and hortative subjunctive is compared to the imperative because of some similarities in use (e.g. Traugott 1992: 184–5), and although the formal distinctions between these two moods are lost by the Modern English period, many descriptions retain the classification. Furthermore some third person instances that are historically subjunctives (see Mitchell 1985: 378) are discussed as "third person imperatives", with the mention of ambiguities that can be present (e.g. Blake 2002: 110–3).

Davies (1979: 84) states that "[a]ll imperatives have participant occupancy of the decider role" (the decider may be the speaker or the addressee), while the subjunctives are described as having "third-party occupancy of the role". The classification of third person instances was largely based on this interpretation, and the instances that could be interpreted as "third person imperatives" were not included in the subjunctive count, possibly based on a very subjective understanding of what is said.

Some examples that are very similar in structure were, thus, classified differently because of the semantic and pragmatic differences involved. To illustrate this point, here are some instances that were found in the 1800–1850 subcorpus. Example (1) was classified as "subjunctive", and so were the instances in (2), the first one of which could be treated as analogous with (1) due to the similarity in structure, with the difference that it is not good wishes that are conveyed:

(1) *Heave'n's peace be on thy head*. (Soane 1817: 54)

(2) *Th' eternal curse be on them! The archfiend*
Enfold them to his breast of flames! (Soane 1817: 46)

In (3) below that analogy is not observed because the situation is much more dependent on the speaker's volition or decision, since it is his curse that is cast:

(3) *My curse be on him!* (Lewis 1801b: 60)

Fig. 2 presents the numbers for this use in the corpus. The instances that were counted as "subjunctive" are presented as data series with solid shapes. For comparison, their numbers combined with "third person imperatives" are also given as series with empty shapes. Average values for subcorpora are indicated with a line for both: more specifically, the broken line indicates the combined numbers for "subjunctives" and "third person imperatives".

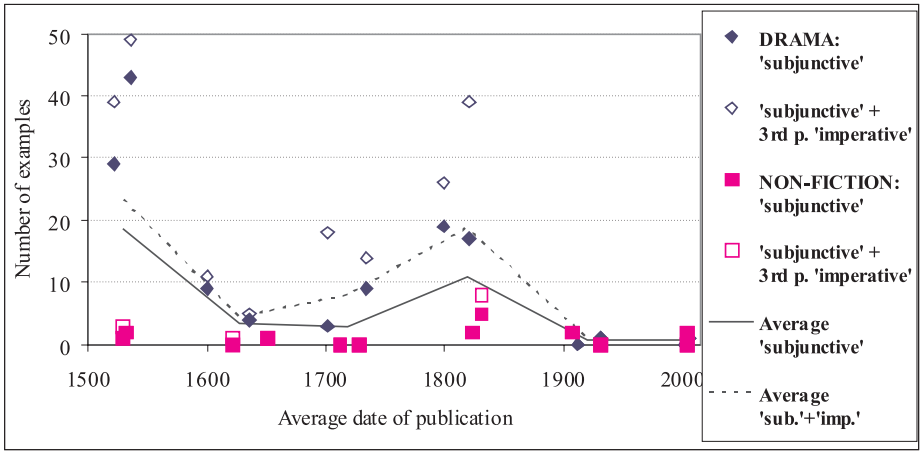

Figure 2. The optative and hortative subjunctive

The general trend is similar in both counts: the values for 1500–1550 and 1800–1850 are the highest. The 1800–1850 subperiod has noticeably higher numbers than the preceding two periods, especially in the case of the playwrights, and even higher numbers with the "third person imperatives" added, especially in the case of George Soane (cf. Table 2 in the Appendix). The addition of "third person imperatives" does not significantly affect the trend shown in Fig. 1.

It should be noted that 1500–1550 instances are typically of the type presented in (4)–(7):

(4) *Thanked be God* they had no stavys
Nor egetoles, for than it had ben wronge. (Heywood 1991: 107)

(5) *Gayus* Be they slayne? Nay, *God forbyde!*
A Yes, *so helpe me God*, I warande them dede. (Medwall 1980: 63)

(6) *Our Lorde spede you both where so ever ye goo.* (Medwall 1980: 85)

(7) *The devyll take the for thy longe taryeng!* (Heywood 1991: 86)

The examples found in 1800–1850 have a flair of their own and a more varied content, which is seen especially in some examples that contain successive instances, as in (8) and (9).

(8) Thy choice is made, and may
That choice prove all thy fondest dreams e'er pictured!
Blest be thy days as the first man's in Eden,
Before sin was! Be thy brave lord's affection
Firm as his valour, lovely as thy form! (Lewis 1801b: 53)

(9) *The grace of Heav'n be with you*; may its love
So teach your life that death may have no fear;
Thy years be many, and no moment pause
To wish their number ended; be thy joy
As plenteous as autumn, rich, like that,
In fruit to those who cultivate its grace. (Soane 1817: 59)

Thomas Carlyle's essays also contain a relatively high number of instances for the non-fiction part of the corpus, but 4 out of 5 examples found there are of the type *far be it from us*.

5. Subjunctive *were* in main clauses

The first and third person singular subjunctive form *were* appears in main clauses in the first four subperiods. Examples classified as main clauses include forms coordinated with *and*, *or* and *but*. All the other instances were classified as dependent clauses to avoid the determination of where to place mostly specific instances of clauses with *for*, which are found "[o]n the gradient between "pure" coordinators and "pure" subordinators" as discussed in Quirk et al. (1985: 920).

The use of subjunctive *were* in main clauses also shows a reversal in 1800–1850, as shown in Fig. 3:

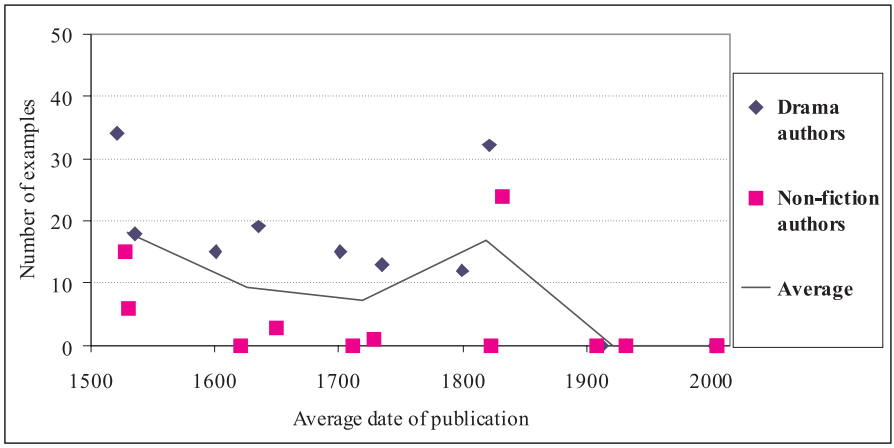

Figure 3. Subjunctive *were* in main clauses

The reversal is mostly the result of the numbers contributed by George Soane and Thomas Carlyle (32 and 24 instances out of 68, the total number for the period), who produce examples like the following two:

(10) I'll not betray you – *It were fruitless toil*
To lop the gangren'd limb from one that's dead. (Soane 1817: 91)

(11) Rudiments of an Epic, we say; and of the true Epic of our Time, – were the genius but arrived that could sing it! Not 'Arms and the Man'; 'Tools and the Man', *that were now our Epic*. (Carlyle 1904, 18: 162)

There are no instances of this use in the last two subperiods, in which *were* is replaced with *would be*.

6. The subjunctive in dependent clauses

The present subjunctive initially appears in dependent clauses in much higher numbers than the past subjunctive. In 1500–1550, the range in which present subjunctives appear is between 88 and 172 instances in an author's text, while in the case of *were* it is between 38 and 69. One reason for this initial difference may be that the present subjunctive has more morphologically distinct forms to be counted while the past subjunctive is represented only with *were*.

Another reason may be that the use of the present subjunctive is probably linked to the dominant use of the present tenses in the two genres investigated, if they can be compared with present-day genres for which there have been corpus investigations into tense distribution. Biber et al.

(1999: 456) present corpus findings on the distribution of tense in four types of register: conversation, fiction, newspaper and academic prose. The results show that "[c]onversation and academic prose are alike in showing a strong preference for present tense forms". Plays are characterized mostly by the present time orientation in the interaction of the characters as the plot develops on stage, and most non-fiction texts in the corpus may be compared to academic writing.

The numbers for the present subjunctive in dependent clauses are shown in Fig. 4. The high initial numbers make the decline steeper when compared to the numbers of the past subjunctive in dependent clauses in Fig. 5. To facilitate the comparison, both figures have the same scale on the axis with the number of instances.

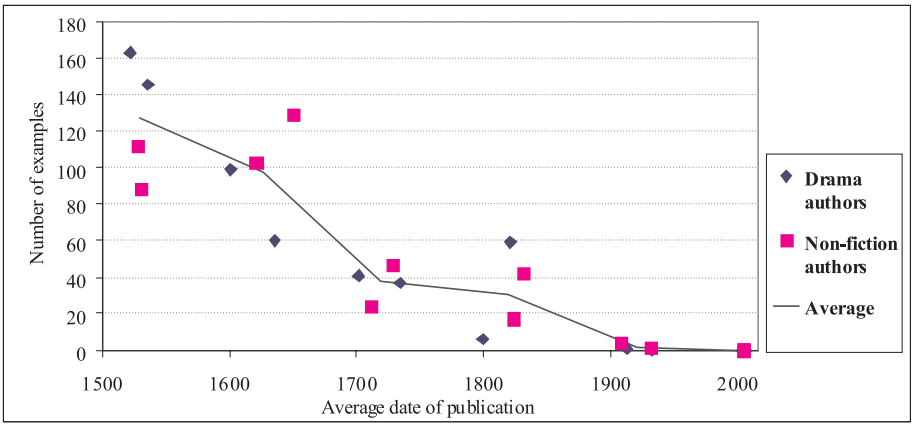

Figure 4. The present subjunctive in dependent clauses

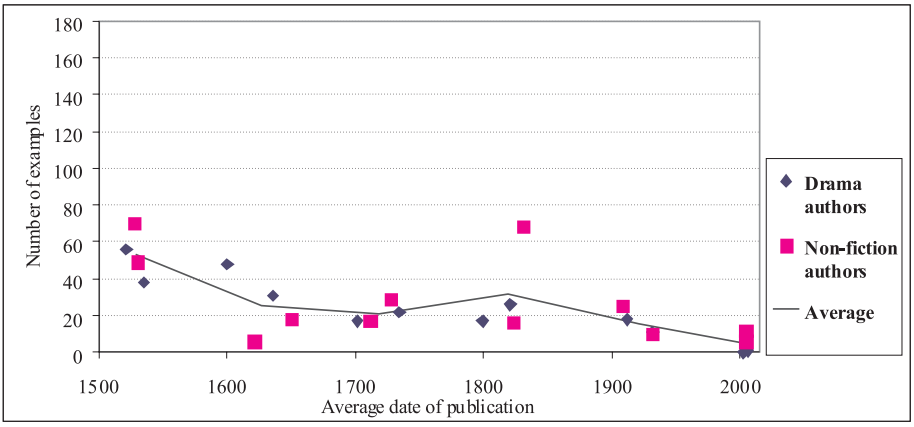

Figure 5. Subjunctive *were* in dependent clauses

The decline of the present subjunctive appears only to have slowed down in 1800–1850, while the past subjunctive in dependent clauses shows a reversal, albeit produced by Thomas Carlyle, who is the author of 69 out of 128 morphologically distinct instances in past dependent clauses in 1800–1850. He outnumbers the other authors of the period with similar or higher ratios in the past subjunctive conditional clauses with inversion, and clauses with *as* and *as if*. Conditional-concessive inversion is found only in his essays in the period. Some instances of those clauses are presented in (12)–(15):

(12) *Were there no epitomising of History*, one could not remember beyond a week. (Carlyle 1904, 18: 172)

(13) Thus in all Poetry, Worship, Art, Society, as one form passes into another, nothing is lost: it is but the superficial, *as it were the body only*, that grows obsolete and dies. (Carlyle 1904, 18: 39)

(14) In the same sense, too, have Poets sung 'Hymns to the Night'; *as if Night were nobler than Day; as if Day were but a small motley-coloured veil spread transiently over the infinite bosom of Night, and did but deform and hide from us its purely transparent eternal* deeps. So likewise have they spoken and sung *as if Silence were the grand epitome and complete sum-total of all Harmony*; and Death, what mortals call Death, properly the beginning of Life. (Carlyle 1904, 18: 16–7)

(15) [H]e who has battled, *were it only with Poverty and hard toil*, will be found stronger, more expert, than he who could stay at home from the battle. (Carlyle 1904, 18: 141)

Among dependent clauses, adverbial *if*-clauses deserve particular attention because of the numbers in which they appear: 42.4% of all the present subjunctive instances in the entire corpus are in adverbial *if*-clauses (500 out of 1178), and so are 22.1% of the past subjunctive instances (135 out of 611).

Adverbial *if*-clauses have already been reported as very frequent in some corpus-based studies that used selections of adverbial clauses to examine the subjunctive in different periods in the history of English. Auer (2009: 72–4) reports such a finding for a corpus-based investigation dealing with a selection of adverbial clauses in the period from 1650 to 1990 (cf. above). Grund – Walker (2009) investigated both the present and past subjunctive in a selection of adverbial clauses in the 19th c. They found *if* to

be "by far the most common conjunction introducing the subjunctive, and this is especially true of Drama, History, Science and Debates where *if* makes up over 75 per cent of the subjunctive examples" (2009: 99).

The numbers in which these clauses appear in the present investigation are shown in Figs. 6 and 7. The average for the present subjunctive in adverbial *if*-clauses shows a rather steady decline even for 1800–1850.

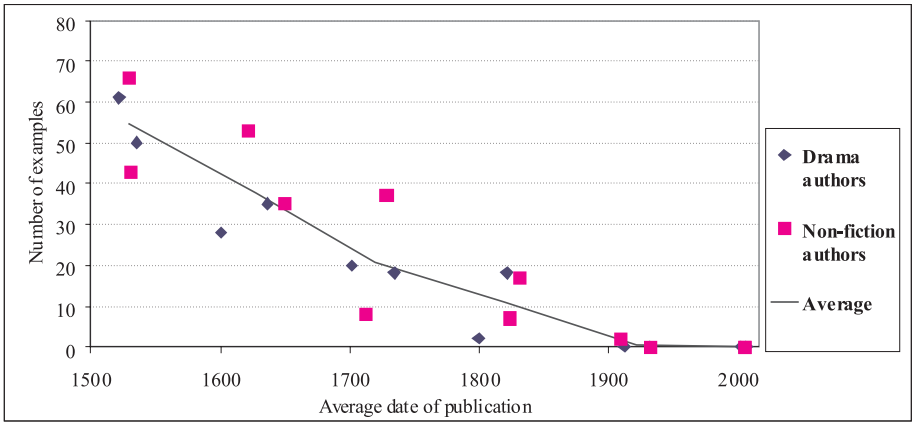

Figure 6. The present subjunctive in adverbial *if*-clauses

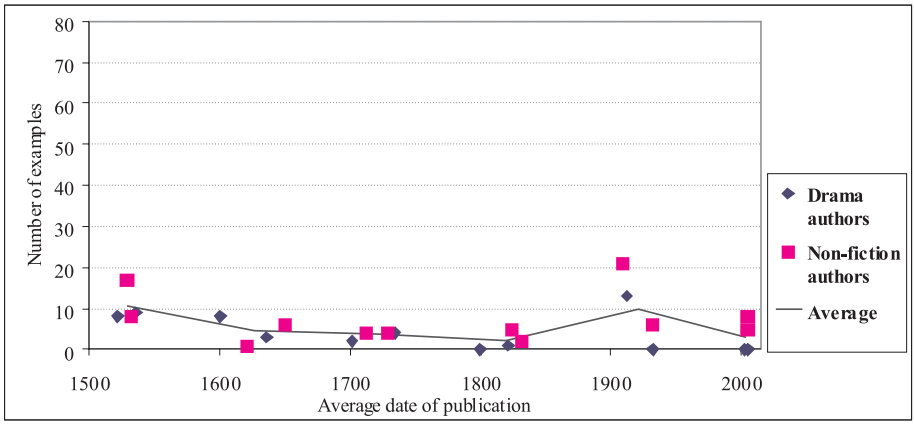

Figure 7. Subjunctive *were* in adverbial *if*-clauses

The past subjunctive appears in lower numbers with a less pronounced decline and a reversal in 1900–1950, which is followed by a decline. The same trend is actually present with non-distinct and indicative forms in adverbial *if*-clauses in this investigation, except that with the indicative forms there is no decline, but rather an increase, after 1900–1950. It is probable that specific

properties of the texts included play at least some part in these numbers; however, another finding suggests that the past subjunctive in adverbial *if*-clauses should be examined in comparison to the past subjunctive in other conditional structures. Instances of conditional inversion appear in significant numbers in the first four subperiods, and their share for the entire corpus is 14.4% (88 out of 611). Instances of conditional clauses introduced with *and* also appear in the first two periods with 4.4% (27 instances).

These two types of conditional clauses appear in almost complementary numbers in 1600–1650, 1700–1750 and 1800–1850, i.e. together with *if* they produce similar totals (47, 46 and 42 respectively, all the authors together in a period), but only in the case of morphologically marked past subjunctive forms. The past subjunctive in adverbial *if*-clauses thus shows no reversal for 1800–1850, only a continuation of a trend observed for the earlier subperiods in the corpus.

7. Additional observations

The higher numbers for the subjunctive in 1800–1850 seem to be part of a general tendency to use older and archaic forms, as well as structures that are relatively rare, judging by the authors in other subperiods in the corpus.

All the four authors in 1800–1850 have archaic features in their texts, especially the playwrights[6]. Two of these features are the use of second

[6] The setting of the plays seems to be the then-past. The time is actually specified only for *Alfonso, King of Castile*, as the year 1345. Archaic features can be linked to the setting of the plays; however, the subjunctive is not equally present in the use of the two authors.

The setting is discussed as relevant by Harsh (1968), since the results for the late 19th c. appear to be determined by one play in particular, Tennyson's *Harold*, which he sees as a confirmation of Jespersen's characterisation that it is "a literary revival" (cf. above). Harsh says that "there is the possibility, indeed the probability, that Tennyson used subjunctive (and other archaic) structures to suggest the linguistic patterns of the historical period (the eleventh century) in which the tragedy is set" (1968: 87). He also notes though that two other late 19th c. plays do have "fewer" and "very few" instances of the subjunctive, but the percentages of "total subjunctive modal structures per total finite verbs" are "high" and "rather high". The choice of past time settings may have some significance on its own.

The past features in the non-fiction texts in the corpus as well. Thomas Carlyle is a historian and among his essays included in the corpus are "On History" and "On History Again", but, in this case, the content cannot be used to explain the language in the same way.

person pronouns and negation without an auxiliary, as in (16) by Charles Lamb. Additional features that appear are a question with inversion without an auxiliary and the use of a modal alone where a verb of motion would also be used today, as in (17) and (18) by M.G. Lewis.

(16) *Dost thou love silence* deep as that "before the winds were made?" *go not* out into the wilderness, *descend not* into the profundities of the earth; *shut not* up thy casements; nor pour wax into the little cells of *thy* ears, with little-faith'd self-mistrusting Ulysses. – Retire with me into a Quakers' Meeting. (Lamb 1848: 28)

(17) HERMAN. *Owned he the murder?*
ORRILA. He did, but said 'twas committed in self-defence. (Lewis 1801a: 10)

(18) *I must to my husband's dungeon*. (Lewis 1801a: 64)

But George Soane and Thomas Carlyle seem to have more instances in some cases and exploit a wider range of structures. For example, George Soane's plays contain more instances of the zero relative pronoun in the subject position, as in (19). M.G. Lewis' plays also contain some instances, but in George Soane's plays they are more frequent[7].

(19) What suffocating fearful heat is this
Comes creeping o'er my brain. (Soane 1825: 11)

Only George Soane's plays seem to contain instances of combining two central determiners, as they are considered today, which is a feature typically mentioned in descriptions of Early Modern English:

(20) 'Mongst *these my vassals*, many, as I know,
Are servants to the bond. (Soane 1817: 46)

[7] There are four instances observed in M.G. Lewis' plays, while there are at least four times as many in the plays of George Soane (these examples were not regularly excerpted, so only an approximation can be given). However, personal style may be linked to different features, and a reverse situation is found with *nor* after an affirmative clause, of which there are some instances in Soane's plays, but many more in Lewis'.

This impression of the texts by George Soane and Thomas Carlyle is probably best supported by some instances for which it can be precisely stated how many of them were found in the corpus, because all of them were excerpted in the investigation (with a due reservation since examples were extracted manually and possibly something slipped through unnoticed). One of George Soane's plays contains the only instance of a present tense modal in a conditional clause with inversion. The modal is *can*:

(21) Ah! Thou art terrible, and I am nothing –
Yet no; *can I do this*, I can do more. (Soane 1825: 3)

Thomas Carlyle is the author of one of only three examples of inversion used in a conditional clause in the present tense, example (22). That instance is in the indicative; the other two are a subjunctive in 1500–1550 and a form with the second person inflection in 1700–1750.

(22) *Has any man, or any society of men, a truth to speak, a piece of spiritual work to do*; they can nowise proceed at once and with the mere natural organs, but must first call a public meeting, appoint committees, issue prospectuses, eat a public dinner; in a word, construct or borrow machinery, wherewith to speak it and do it. (Carlyle 1904, 17: 61)

In 1800–1850 we find the only two instances of what can be interpreted as the *be* past perfect subjunctive in the entire corpus. One is in an essay by Thomas Carlyle, example (11) repeated here as (23):

(23) Rudiments of an Epic, we say; and of the true Epic of our Time, – *were the genius but arrived* that could sing it! (Carlyle 1904, 18: 162)

The other is found in a play by M.G. Lewis:

(24) I've placed my light in the window. Would *Ludowick were come*! (Lewis 1801a: 43)

As has been presented in the introduction, some commentators interpret the reversal in the decline of the subjunctive as a result of prescriptive influence. Prescriptive grammar may be responsible, but there are other rare or archaic uses in the 1800–1850 texts as well, which leads to the conclusion that there may be something else that motivates the use of the subjunctive and those

other forms that seem to emphasize the connection to the past and the past tradition in those texts. Particularly, the plays of the 1800–1850 subperiod are much more comparable in content, style and language to the plays in the preceding subperiods than to those of the following 1900–1950 subperiod.

The 1800s are very important for historical linguistics, and the context of the time has been noted for its ideological import in matters of language. Milroy (1999: 28) discusses the influence of standardisation on descriptive linguistics and mentions the 19th c. and "an insistence on the lineage of English as a Germanic language with a continuous history as a single entity" relative to "the development of strong nationalism in certain northern European states and the identification of the national language as a symbol of national unity and national pride".

The use of the subjunctive and those rare and archaic forms may be an expression of the same or similar views about the continuity and history of English, which may have been present already in the previous century. The reversal of the decline could be interpreted as a result of an increased interest in bringing back the features that had disappeared or started to disappear and were symbolic of the language tradition. Such attitudes may be more strongly reflected in the language use of some authors and linked to personal style[8].

This interpretation may also account for some differences in the use of the subjunctive presented above for 1800–1850. The increase in the instances of the optative and hortative subjunctive and *were* in main clauses might show their symbolic value in emulating the usage of the past and they may be among the salient features of a text that mark it for certain style. After 1800–1850 *were* in main clauses does not appear, and the optative and hortative use is greatly reduced, which agrees with the explanation that the increased use is an effect of an influence external to the grammatical system.

The use of the subjunctive in dependent clauses may show a combined influence of several factors. The decline in use of the present subjunctive is only slowed down in the results of this investigation, and Auer (2009: 70) reports a slight increase, so that use may largely show a structural change.

The past subjunctive in dependent clauses may show a tendency to use structures that are marked by the subjunctive as a feature that is being revived. There is also a possibility that some writers rely more on strategies of writing that use hypothetical forms to present or demonstrate a point:

[8] However, it should be noted that in most plays the setting is non-Germanic and continental.

something with which the subjunctive conveniently tallies (cf. examples 12–15 by Thomas Carlyle).

8. Conclusion

The increased use of the subjunctive in 1800–1850 is found in the texts that seem to be more marked by the use of other older or rare features as well, and therefore it may be related to the author's style and general tendency to use such forms and constructions.

The use of the subjunctive in the earlier periods may have shown individual variation that continued into the later periods, and became even more linked to personal style as the category had been disappearing from use and grown less obligatory. In the earlier periods, the subjunctive may have been indirectly linked to personal style through grammatical contexts in which it was still dominantly found; the link probably becomes more direct later.

Late Modern English shows a reversal in the present investigation mostly because of the instances found in the text of one author in both genres in 1800–1850, which suggests that reversal is possibly not dependent on genre. Auer's (2009: 83) study is based on a corpus that comprises texts of nine genres and "eight out of nine genres showed a blip or an upward trend either in the second half of the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth century". If individual variation continued to characterize the use of the subjunctive into Late Modern English, some authors may have been more responsible than others for the increase in use.

The variation present in the corpus may be due to the specific authors included in the corpus, but it also presents the question of whether the possible reversal in the decline of the subjunctive can be found in a general increase in the number of instances of different uses of the subjunctive throughout the community, or in individual choices, of which some may have been more prominent and noticeable. In such a case, different observers may draw different conclusions about the development of the category. If it is observed as a property related more to personal style, and not a generally shared trend, it may be dismissed as not a genuine language change, or not the same type of change as the previous decline.

The increase possibly should not be viewed only as a reversal but also as a way in which what Görlach (1991: 1) calls "diachrony in synchrony" may be present and possibly used to reflect attitudes about language and literary tradition.

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APPENDIX

The authors in the corpus:

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	H. Medwall & J. Rastell	Ben Jonson	Nicholas Rowe	M.G. Lewis	W.S. Maugham	Shelagh Stephenson
	b	John Heywood	James Shirley	George Lillo	George Soane	Noël Coward	Laura Wade
Non-fiction	c	Thomas More	Robert Burton	Joseph Addison	Charles Lamb	G.K. Chesterton	Nick Hornby
	d	Thomas Elyot	Thomas Hobbes	Francis Hutcheson	Thomas Carlyle	Aldous Huxley	Charlie Brooker

Table 1. Total number of subjunctive instances in an author's text (approx. 42,000 words)

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	287	174	78	55	19	0
	b	245	116	81	135	12	2
Non-fiction	c	199	109	41	35	31	12
	d	148	153	77	140	11	8
Average		219.75	138.00	69.25	91.25	18.25	5.50

Table 2. The optative and hortative subjunctive[9]

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	29	9	3	19	0	0
	b	43	4	9	17	1	1
Non-fiction	c	1	0	0	2	2	0
	d	2	1	0	5	0	2
Average		18.75	3.50	3.00	10.75	0.75	0.75

[9] The numbers of "3rd person imperatives" that are added to the instances that were classified as "subjunctive" are the following: in 1500–1550 H. Medwall 10, J. Heywood 6 and T. More 2; in 1600–1650 B. Jonson 2, J. Shirley 1 and R. Burton 1; in 1700–1750 N. Rowe 15 and G. Lillo 5; in 1800–1850 M.G. Lewis 7, G. Soane 22 and T. Carlyle 3.

Table 3. Subjunctive *were* in main clauses

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	34	15	15	12	0	0
	b	18	19	13	32	0	0
Non-fiction	c	15	0	0	0	0	0
	d	6	3	1	24	0	0
Average		18.25	9.25	7.25	17.00	0	0

Table 4. The present subjunctive in dependent clauses[10]

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	163	99	41	6	1	0
	b	145	60	36	59	0	0
Non-fiction	c	112	103	24	17	4	0
	d	88	129	47	42	1	0
Average		127.00	97.75	37.00	31.00	1.50	0

Table 5. Subjunctive *were* in dependent clauses

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	56	48	17	17	18	0
	b	38	31	22	26	11	1
Non-fiction	c	70	6	17	16	25	12
	d	49	18	29	68	10	6
Average		53.25	25.75	21.25	31.75	16.00	4.75

Table 6. The present subjunctive in adverbial *if*-clauses[11]

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	61	28	20	2	0	0
	b	50	35	18	18	0	0

[10] There are only 21 morphologically distinct instances of the present perfect subjunctive in the entire corpus, and they appear in the first four subcorpora. They are not included in the numbers of dependent clauses presented. Morphologically distinct subjunctive instances of the past perfect are found only as two *be* perfects in 1800–1850, and they are also not included in the numbers of the past subjunctive in dependent clauses.

[11] The numbers of *if*-clauses in Tables 6 and 7 are contained in the numbers in Tables 4 and 5.

Non-fiction	c	66	53	8	7	2	0
	d	43	35	37	17	0	0
Average		55.00	37.75	20.75	11.00	0.50	0

Table 7. Subjunctive *were* in adverbial *if*-clauses

		1500–1550	1600–1650	1700–1750	1800–1850	1900–1950	2000–2005
Drama	a	8	8	2	0	13	0
	b	9	3	4	1	0	0
Non-fiction	c	17	1	4	5	21	8
	d	8	6	4	2	6	5
Average		10.50	4.50	3.50	2.00	10	3.25

A historical study of English modal adverbs: Evidence from a combination of diachronic corpora

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ABSTRACT

This study sheds light on the historical development of the modal adverbs *doubtless*, *indeed*, *maybe*, *no doubt*, *of course*, and *perhaps* from a functional perspective. By analyzing corpus data, I discuss, stage by stage, how these modal adverbs have changed in function over time. As a source of data for analysis, I selected the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English and the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, comparable corpora of Early Modern English and Late Modern English respectively, as well as the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts and the Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing. These corpora enable us to describe the long-term development of the modal adverbs over the course of the Modern English period. In order to explore the further development of the target expressions in Present-Day English, I also used the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English and the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English, which represent British English in 1961 and 1991, respectively. The results of the analysis demonstrate that the Late Modern English period can be viewed as a critical stage in the development of these expressions into modal adverbs and as a pre-stage to their further development in Present-Day English. Specifically, I show that these modal adverbs have continued to expand their pragmatic functions even in contemporary English. Finally, I provide an explanation of these changes in terms of modalization and pragmaticalization.

1. Introduction

This study examines various functional shifts of the modal adverbs *doubtless*, *indeed*, *maybe*, *no doubt*, *of course*, and *perhaps* in the history of English. As shown in (1a-c), in Present-Day English these expressions function as adverbs in sentences and express the speaker's judgment regarding a proposition[1]:

[1] In many studies items like *doubtless*, *indeed*, *no doubt*, and *of course* are discussed as modal adverbs, though others are excluded, as described below. On the semantic

(1) a. You have *doubtless* or *no doubt* heard the news. (Fowler 2004: 230)
b. *Maybe/Perhaps* it'll stop raining soon. (Swan 2005: 348)
c. It was *no doubt* clever of him to offer his resignation at that point in the proceedings. (Quirk et al. 1985: 622)

English modal adverbs are derived by means of a variety of word-formation processes. In addition to the regular adverbial form in *-ly*, modal adverbs also take compound form (e.g., *maybe*) and phrasal form (e.g., *no doubt*). The wide-spread use of the suffix *-ly* is the "most salient feature" in terms of the derivational nature of adverb formation and a "unifying characteristic" of the adverb category; thus, the formative *-ly* is "a marker of [adverb] category membership" (Payne et al. 2010: 73). In this view, modal adverbs can be classified into two types. The first type includes adverbs formed with the *-ly* suffix, called **central modal adverbs**, and the second type includes adverbs formed without the *-ly* suffix, called **peripheral modal adverbs**. In order to broaden our understanding of English modal adverbs, this study sheds light on the behavior of peripheral modal adverbs.

With respect to positioning, Table 1 shows that Biber et al. (1999: 872) identify a tendency for stance adverbials to occur clause-medially[2, 3].

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classification of "attitudinal disjuncts", Greenbaum (1969: 203) categorizes *indeed* as one of "those that express conviction" and *doubtless* as one of "those that express some degree of doubt". Hoye (1997: 184) adds *of course* to the category of "content disjuncts expressing conviction". In contrast, Biber et al. (1999: 854) classify *no doubt* and *of course* as members of a class of "doubt and certainty adverbials", one of the subclasses of "epistemic stance adverbials". Huddleston – Pullum (2002: 768) categorize modal adverbs into four levels of strength according to the speaker's commitment – (i) strong, (ii) quasi-strong, (iii) medium, and (iv) weak – and classify *doubtless* as quasi-strong. Taking into account this diversity of classificatory approaches, this study adopts a broad perspective and tries to explain why these modal adverbs are the ones undertaken for the present analysis.

2 With regard to the positions in which modal adverbs can appear, Quirk et al. (1985) and Hoye (1997) provide more detail – see the following examples from Hoye (1997: 148):

I	(*initial*)	*Possibly* they may have been sent to London.
iM	(*initial-medial*)	They *possibly* may have been sent to London.
M	(*medial*)	They may *possibly* have been sent to London.
mM	(*medial-medial*)	They may have *possibly* been sent to London.
eM	(*end-medial*)	They may have been *possibly* sent to London.
iE	(*initial-end*)	They may have been sent *possibly* to London.
E	(*end*)	They may have been sent to London *possibly*.

3 According to Biber et al. (1999: 854-857), stance adverbials can be classified into three categories: epistemic, attitude, and style adverbials. Epistemic adverbials include *no doubt*, *certainly, probably, definitely, I think, in fact, really, according to, mainly, generally, in my opinion, kind of,* and *so to speak*; attitude adverbials include *unfortunately*, *to my surprise*, and *hopefully*; and style adverbials include *frankly*, *honestly*, *truthfully*, and *in short*.

Table 1. Positioning of stance adverbials across registers (from Biber et al. 1999: 872)

	Initial position (%)	Medial position (%)	Final position (%)
CONVERSATION	•••	••••••••••	•••••••
FICTION	•••••	••••••••••••	••••
NEWSPAPER	•••••••	••••••••••••	••
ACADEMIC	••••••	••••••••••••••	•

each • represents 5%

However, these adverbs are considered to function differently when actually used. The examples from the British National Corpus (BNC) below illustrate some such functions: (2a) shows *no doubt* functioning as a discourse marker in the clause-final position, (2b) shows *perhaps* as a discourse marker in clause-initial position, and (2c) shows *maybe* carrying out a pragmatic conversational function in final position:

(2) a. You'll get your chance again *no doubt*. (BNC, JAC)
b. *Perhaps*, the most appealing factor of a duvet is its apparent lightness which also retains a great deal of warmth. (BNC, AAY)
c. You wouldn't recognise us with our clothes on, *maybe*? (BNC, HTS)

This diversity implies that the positioning of peripheral modal adverbs will vary within and across actual texts. A look at the earlier history of these modal adverbs can explain their behavior in Present-Day English.

The purpose of this study is to discuss how the functions of these modal adverbs have changed over time. The analysis of corpus data will demonstrate that the evolution of these adverbs up to the present day can be characterized in terms of two processes of linguistic change, namely, modalization and pragmaticalization.

2. Previous studies

Previous research on English modal adverbs has characterized them within more general discussions of epistemicity, grammaticalization, and subjectification. In terms of epistemicity, Hanson (1987: 137) indicates that modal adverbs emerged during the Middle English period, but that none of

them had their present-day epistemic meanings at that time[4]. Example (3), which is from Hanson (1987: 137), illustrates the use of *probably* as a manner adverb:

(3) You wrote so *probably* that hyt put me in a feare of daungerys to come. (1535 Starkey *Let. in England* (1871), *OED*)

In contrast, the epistemic use of these adverbs is not found until after this period, as shown in the example for *probably* by Hanson (1987: 137):

(4) A source, from whence those waters of bitterness … have … *probably* flowed. (1647 Clarendon, *Hist.Reb.* 1 par.6, *OED*)

Table 2 shows the first recorded epistemic use of several modal adverbs, based on Terasawa (1997):

Table 2. The development of the main modal adverbs (from Terasawa 1997)

Modal adverbs	First appearance in English	First epistemic usage
certainly	c.1300	c.1303
surely	?c.1300	?c.1300
maybe	a.1325	a.1325
possibly	1391	1600
probably	c.1535	1613

Other examples of adverbials that have clearly developed an epistemic meaning are *indeed*, *no doubt*, and *of course*. Traugott – Dasher (2002: 159) illustrate the development of *indeed* as follows: *indeed* (*in dede*) had its origin in a clause-internal adverbial "in action/practice". By the mid-fourteenth century, it was endowed with an epistemic meaning, and by the end of the sixteenth century it had further developed to function as a discourse marker, with a subjective and procedural meaning. Traugott – Dasher regard these two paths of development of meaning as cases of "subjectification" and "increased subjectification" respectively (2002: 174)[5].

[4] See Swan (1988), Powel (1992) and Shibasaki (2004) for related issues.

[5] On subjectification, whereby the speaker or writer constructs meanings "that encode or externalize their perspectives and attitudes as constrained by the communicative world of the speech event" (Traugott – Dasher 2002: 30), see Brinton (2008), Traugott (1989, 2010), and Traugott – Dasher (2002).

In contrast, Simon-Vandenbergen – Aijmer (2007: 127) show the possibility that *no doubt* developed as follows from the existential construction (e.g., *there is no doubt*) to the modal adverb:

(5)	Existential	>	*no doubt about it*	>	*no doubt*
	+ certain		+ certain		+ probable
	+ objective		± subjective		+ subjective

(Simon-Vandenbergen – Aijmer 2007: 127)

In essence, then, the modal adverb *no doubt* is considered to have developed through the processes of grammaticalization and subjectification, during which its epistemic meaning has weakened[6]. Moreover, Poutsma (1929: 1130) mentions that *no doubt* can be found inserted parenthetically into the body of sentences in Late Modern English, giving the following example as an illustration:

(6) The Ulstermen, *no doubt*, greatly, dislike the idea of being compelled to submit to a Dublin Parliament. (Westm. Gaz., No. 6506, 2a)

Lenker (2010) labels adverbials including *of course*, *indeed*, and *in fact* as "transitional" connectors (p. 227). Her findings show that *of course* is attested from LModE2 (1780–1850) onward, and that reduced forms (*'course* and *course*) are then found from the beginning of the twentieth century (p. 104, 282).

With regard to *maybe* and *perhaps*, Poutsma (1929: 35-36) maintains that low probability is expressed by modal adverbs including not only these two but also *belike*, *haply*, *mayhap*, *possibly*, *perchance*, *peradventure*, and that unlike the modal verb *may*, *perhaps* carries the speaker or writer's desire as well, as in the following:

(7) Had he afterwards applied to dramatic poetry, he would, *perhaps*, not have had many superiors. (Johnson, Savage, 318)

While noting the fact of the development of these expressions into modal adverbs, previous studies have offered no detailed description of this shift,

[6] With regard to this weakening of epistemic force, according to the *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*, *no doubt* in fact implies the existence of some small doubt, and is used to mean '(very) probably', despite its denotative form (p. 369). Quirk et al. (1985: 623), Fowler (2004: 230) and Swan (2005: 378) share similar analyses of *no doubt*.

nor any clear means of determining how these modal adverbs have (further) developed over time. This paper therefore tries to provide some new insights into the historical development of English peripheral modal adverbs.

3. Data and method

On grammatical change in nineteenth- and twentieth-century English, Denison (1998: 93) claims the following:

> Since relatively few categorical losses or innovations have occurred in the last two centuries, syntactic change has more often been statistical in nature, with a given construction occurring throughout the period and either becoming more or less common generally or in particular registers. The overall, rather elusive effect can seem more a matter of stylistic than of syntactic change, so it is useful to be able to track frequencies of occurrence from EModE through to the present day.

In view of this, systematic study of corpora is needed to describe the functional changes in peripheral modal adverbs during this period. The data adduced in this study are mainly from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME) and the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English (PPCMBE), because the large scale of these corpora and the wide range of genres represented in them provide many instances of peripheral modal adverbs, used for various purposes within diverse contexts. (Other corpora were later used to supplement these data, as will be described below.) The genre-division of these corpora is as follows:

> Bible; Biography (autobiography); Biography (other); Diary; Drama (comedy); Educational treatise; Fiction; Handbook; History; Law; Letters (non-private); Letters (private); Philosophy; Proceedings; Science (medicine); Science (other); Sermon; Travelogue

More importantly, PPCEME and PPCMBE are made up of a series of corpora of Early Modern English and Late Modern English texts, respectively, which allows us to get a clear picture of the long-term development of peripheral modal adverbs.

Data collection from these corpora was done as follows. I first extracted all occurrences of *doubtless*, *indeed*, *maybe*, and *perhaps* and of the nouns *course* and *doubt* from each of the two corpora. Table 3 shows variants in the spelling of these expressions found in PPCEME:

Table 3. Occurrences of the expressions in PPCEME

Expressions	Variants	Total
course	*course* (341), cowrse (13), corse (10)	364
doubt	*doubt* (248), *doubte* (49), *dought* (9), *doughte* (5), *dout* (20), *doute* (35), *dowt* (6), *dowte* (1)	373
doubtless	*doubtles* (3), *doubtless* (15), *doubtlesse* (28), *doutles* (2), *doutlesse* (1)	49
indeed	*in dede* (47), *in deed* (8), *in deede* (47), *in very dede* (5), *in very deede* (5), *in verie deede* (1), *yn ded* (1), *yn dede* (2), *indead* (1), *indeade* (3), *inded* (2), *indede* (5), *indeed* (360), *indeede* (85)	572
perhaps	*perhappes* (2), *perhaps* (156)	158

Next, I examined each occurrence to identify those in which the expression in question appears in a complete sentence[7]; these are presented in Table 4. All these processes were completed manually.

Table 4. Instances of the target expressions in PPCEME and PPCMBE

	PPCEME (EModE)	PPCMBE (LModE)
doubtless	46	16
indeed	518	347
maybe	**0**	**2**
no doubt	26	33
of course	**2**	110
perhaps	122	269

Because of the lack of data concerning *maybe* in both corpora, ancillary evidence was gleaned from different datasets, namely, the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET) and the Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing

[7] For this analysis, I excluded all examples of utterances that were one-word responses, such as "*Of course* (not)." and "*Perhaps*". Also excluded were examples that did not form a complete clause, such as "*Maybe*, Miss Clack." (CLMET3, Collins – *The Moonstone*). In addition, I excluded examples where the modal adverb occurred within the phrase structure (i) and where they modified not a clause but a phrase in which a comma (,) intensified the expressed meaning, as in (ii):

(i) You may well fancy, judging *no doubt* by yourself, that I am often, …. (PPCMBE, CARLYLE-1835)

(ii) She stayed in the doorway, *perhaps* because of the stench from the body, … (LOB, N).

(CMSW). CLMET is a historical corpus made up of a large number of texts ranging from personal letters to literary fiction to scientific writing. It contains about ten million words of running text, subdivided into the following three periods: CLMET1 (1710–1780), CLMET2 (1780–1850), and CLMET3 (1850–1920). CMSW, for its part, includes approximately 5.5 million words of written and printed text from the period 1700–1945, covering nine genres: administrative prose, expository prose, personal writing, instructional prose, religious prose, verse/drama, imaginative prose, journalism, and orthoepist. These two corpora provided sufficient supplementary data concerning the peripheral modal adverbs treated here. I collected occurrences of the six modal adverbs from both corpora, identified in the same way as for PPCEME and PPCMBE above, as follows[8]:

Table 5. Instances of the target expressions in CLMET

	CLMET1	CLMET2	CLMET3	Total
doubtless	44	116	175	335
indeed	1302	1566	1316	4184
maybe	**0**	50	69	119
no doubt	85	137	359	581
of course	28	392	1257	1677
perhaps	806	1295	1477	3578
Total	2265	3556	4653	10474

Table 6. Instances of the target expressions in CMSW

	CMSW
doubtless	132
indeed	1634
maybe	132
no doubt	318
of course	460
perhaps	1122

[8] The data in Table 6 include variants in spelling of *doubtless*, *indeed*, and *no doubt* in CMSW, as follows:

doubtless (60)	*doubtles* (1), *doutles* (53), *doubtless* (6)
indeed (3)	*in dede* (1), *indead* (1), *inded* (1)
no doubt (6)	*nae dout* (6)

The data for the further analysis (that is, in Present-Day English) of the development of peripheral modal adverbs were culled from the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB) and the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB). These are, respectively, one million word corpora of standard British English collected in 1961 and 1991. They comprise a wide range of genres, as follows:

> Press (reportage); Press (editorial); Press (reviews); Religion; Skills, trades and hobbies; Popular lore; Belles lettres, biography and essays; Miscellaneous (government documents, foundation reports, industry reports, college catalogue, industry house organ); Learned and scientific writings; General fiction; Mystery and detective fiction; Science fiction; Adventure and western fiction; Romance and love story; Humor

These two corpora provide evidence of divergence in the use of the target modal adverbs over a thirty-year period. More importantly, both corpora were compiled according to the same principles of corpus design and selection of texts, ensuring their comparability. Thus, they provide good data on the basis of which to track the development of the use of the target expressions in Present-Day English. I identified all examples of the target expressions from LOB and FLOB in the same way as above; they are presented in Table 7. Finally, I conducted a quantitative analysis of these tokens in terms of frequency.

Table 7. Instances of the target expressions in LOB and FLOB

	LOB (1961)	FLOB (1991)	Total
doubtless	13	10	23
indeed	195	184	379
maybe	54	70	124
no doubt	71	39	110
of course	319	262	581
perhaps	264	269	533

In this analysis of peripheral modal adverbs, I focused on information provided by the context in which the tokens occurred. My primary consideration in the effort to uncover the relationships between the modal adverbs and their discursive surroundings was their occurrence patterns, namely, whether they occurred in clause-initial, -medial, or -final position. In order to illuminate

the functions of these peripheral modal adverbs in greater detail, I then qualitatively examined their behaviors, paying particular attention to initial and final uses as well as their discourse and interpersonal functions.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Modalization in LModE

In order to explore the functional development of English peripheral modal adverbs, I focused on their position within a clause. Figure 1 gives a historical overview of *doubtless*, *no doubt*, and *perhaps* occurring in initial, medial or final position, based on the data from PPCEME and PPCMBE; the breakdown by position is illustrated in Examples (8)-(10)[9]:

(8) Initial
- a. And *doubtless* there is a kind of small Trout, which will never thrive to be big; (PPCEME, WALTON-E3-P1)
- b. *Doubtless* that Divine goodness finds illustration everywhere; (PPCMBE, TALBOT-1901)
- c. *No doubt* some are more horrible than other of the seuerall sortes of witches, …. (PPCEME, GIFFORD-E2-P2)
- d. *No doubt* it was all the work of his great foe, Miss Rachel. (PPCMBE, YONGE-1865)
- e. *Perhaps* it will be expected from me that I should give him some directions of physick to prevent diseases. (PPCEME, LOCKE-E3-H)
- f. *Perhaps* the most striking experiment is with a tuning-fork. (PPCMBE, STRUTT-1890)

(9) Medial
- a. They are *doubtless* worthy of Reverence. (PPCEME, BOETHPR-E3-H)
- b. And this is *doubtless* the case. (PPCMBE, VICTORIA-186X)
- c. For they *no doubt*, driue deuilles out of some. (PPCEME, GIFFORD-E2-P1)
- d. That is *no doubt* due to the effect of saponine or some analogous substance. (PPCMBE, STRUTT-1890)

[9] Data pertaining to Figures 1-5 are provided in the Appendix.

e. In my house he will *perhaps* be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world, … (PPCEME, LOCKE-E3-P2)
f. I might *perhaps* be able to use them with effect. (PPCMBE, COLLIER-1835)

(10) Final
a. It is Roister Doister *doubtlesse*. (PPCEME, UDALL-E1-P2)
b. Yes, Madam, it would be a Satisfaction, *no doubt*. (PPCEME, FARQUHAR-E3-P2)
c. Had you known it, you had done right, *perhaps*. (PPCMBE, COLMAN-1805)

As shown in Figure 1, Early Modern English reveals a clear predominance of initial position for *no doubt* and *perhaps*, while the Late Modern English period shows a significant increase in the medial positioning of these three modal adverbs. In a similar vein, Figure 2 provides a survey of the development of the positioning of *indeed* and *of course*, as illustrated in Examples (11)-(13).

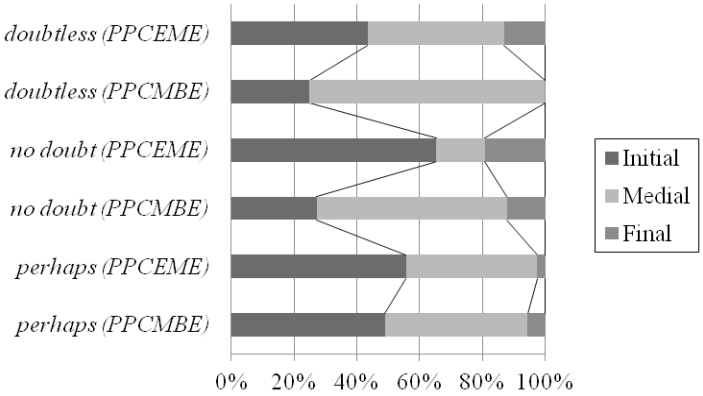

Figure 1. Positioning of *doubtless*, *no doubt*, and *perhaps* from EModE to LModE (PPCEME and PPCMBE)

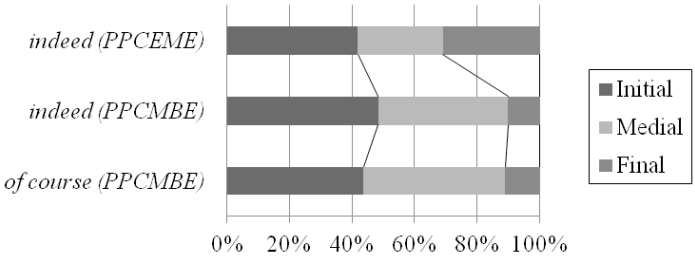

Figure 2. Positioning of *indeed* and *of course* from EModE to LModE (PPCEME and PPCMBE)

(11) Initial
  a. *Indeed* an innocent person may come in at such a time: (PPCEME, GIFFORD-E2-P2)
  b. *Indeed*, they are often very grateful for it. (PPCMBE, BENSON-1908)
  c. *Of course* it should be natural and not elaborate. (PPCMBE, BENSON-1908)

(12) Medial
  a. These things which thou urgest are *indeed* specious, being enriched with all the Charms of Rhetorick and Musick; (PPCEME, BOETHPR-E3-P1)
  b. The tree of language is *indeed* vast in our schools; (PPCMBE, BAIN-1878)
  c. Miss P. has *of course* given her a proper understanding of the Business; (PPCMBE, AUSTEN-180X)

(13) Final
  a. My Lord, I think we do over-do our Business *indeed*. (PPCEME, OATES-E3-P2)
  b. But on the other hand, it may be one far off *indeed*. (PPCMBE, WOLLASTON-1793)
  c. Ponies and undersized horses do not require so much grain, *of course*; (PPCMBE, FLEMING-1886)

Figure 2 shows that the use of *indeed* and *of course* in the initial position has maintained a high relative frequency, while medial positioning of *indeed* is a strong runner-up and a significant increase in the relative frequency of this position is evident from Early Modern English to Late Modern English. In addition, medial *of course* is slightly dominant over other positions in Late Modern English. With these points in mind, I am going to discuss the results of the investigation of CMSW. These are presented in Figure 3, which is preceded by illustrative examples from the corpus.

(14) a. The peat, *doubtless*, owes its colour to this oxide of iron. (CMSW, 0100-y5-g4-Peat and Its Products_An Illustrated Tr)
  b. The Indian fabric, *indeed*, was more closely resembled than ever. (CMSW, 0044-y5-g2-Local Industries of Glasgow and the West)
  c. He'll *maybe* find out that a man can buy gold too dear. (CMSW, 0132-y5-g7-Gillespie)

d. The pronunciation of the latter was *no doubt* less emphatic than that of the numeral. (CMSW, 0158-y4-g9-The Dialect of the Southern Counties of)
e. Jeffrey, *of course*, would not advocate your cause against Hunt. (CMSW, 0032-y4-g2-Annals of a Publishing House_William Bl)
f. These things are *perhaps* too often talked of. (CMSW, 0113-y3-g6-Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand-Loom)

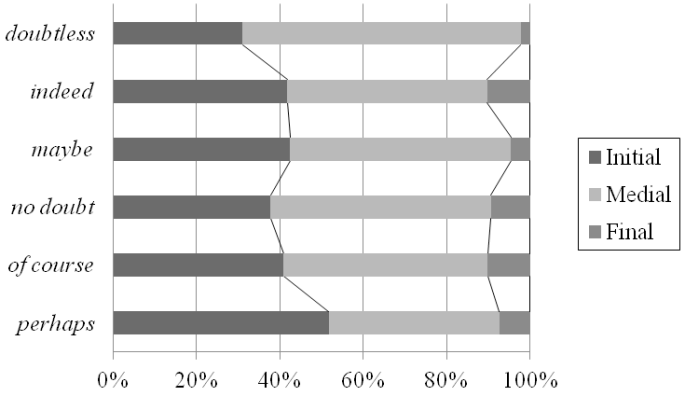

Figure 3. Positioning of the target modal adverbs from 1700 to 1945 (CMSW)

This finding, along with those concerning positioning in the Late Modern English period, indicates that the medial use of all the modal adverbs, except for *perhaps*, was more common than the initial use in this period.

The means by which modal adverbs come to appear in this position is called "interpolation" (Perkins 1983: 102-104; Hoye 1997: 196-199), and "modal environments tend to favour the interpolation of adverbs which express dubitative meanings" (Hoye 1997: 197)[10]. In fact, this position also preferentially supports the use of such modal adverbs as *probably* and *possibly* (Quirk et al. 1985: 627-628). Therefore, frequent medial positioning is circumstantial syntactic evidence that a given adverb is a modal adverb, and these peripheral modal adverbs underwent the process of modalization in the Late Modern English period – making it a critical stage in the development of these adverbs as expressions of modality.

[10] This characteristic seems to be closely associated with the adjacency of the position in which the (epistemic) modal verbs (e.g. *must*, *may*, *will*) occur.

4.2 More detailed analysis of the LModE data

The overall picture sketched in the previous section gives the preliminary impression that *doubtless*, *indeed*, *maybe*, *no doubt*, *of course*, and *perhaps* developed as expressions of modality in Late Modern English and that the major change was completed at that point. A more detailed investigation, however, indicates that the six modal adverbs considered here show a further shift during the Late Modern English period. To illustrate this shift, I would like to use the data from CLMET. As seen in Table 5, CLMET contains no examples of *maybe* in the CLMET1 period (1710–1780); additionally, the transition in frequency of *of course* from CLMET1 to CLMET3 stands out. These are interesting facts in and of themselves that are worth thinking about. Figure 4 shows a diachronic overview of the positioning of the six modal adverbs from 1710 to 1920. The examples preceding the figure illustrate their use in different positions.

(15) Initial
- a. *Doubtless* they had deliquesced ages ago. (CLMET3, Wells – *The Time Machine*)
- b. *Indeed*, she had little more to learn. (CLMET3, Forster – *A Room with a View*)
- c. *Maybe* I shall hand it over to him. (CLMET3, Jerome – *They and I*)
- d. Then *no doubt* I shall be gone when you come back. (CLMET3, Gissing – *New Grub Street*)
- e. *Of course* it had to occur on a Thursday afternoon. (CLMET3, Bennett – *The Old Wives' Tale*)
- f. *Perhaps* it was shedding its drizzle upon her. (CLMET3, Blackmore – *Lorna Doone*)

(16) Medial
- a. With all this my good reader will *doubtless* agree; (CLMET1, Fielding – *Tom Jones*)
- b. I was, *indeed*, ashamed to look any one in the face. (CLMET1, Fielding – *Amelia*)
- c. He'll *maybe* draw back, and think of a far truer bride. (CLMET2, Galt – *Annals of the Parish*)
- d. Money, *no doubt*, makes always a part of the national capital; (CLMET1, Smith – *Wealth of Nations*)
- e. The vanquished became *of course* the enemy of Rome. (CLMET1, Gibbon – *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire 1*)
- f. An endeavour to do this may *perhaps* be the subject of some future discourse. (CLMET1, Reynolds – *Seven Discourses on Art*)

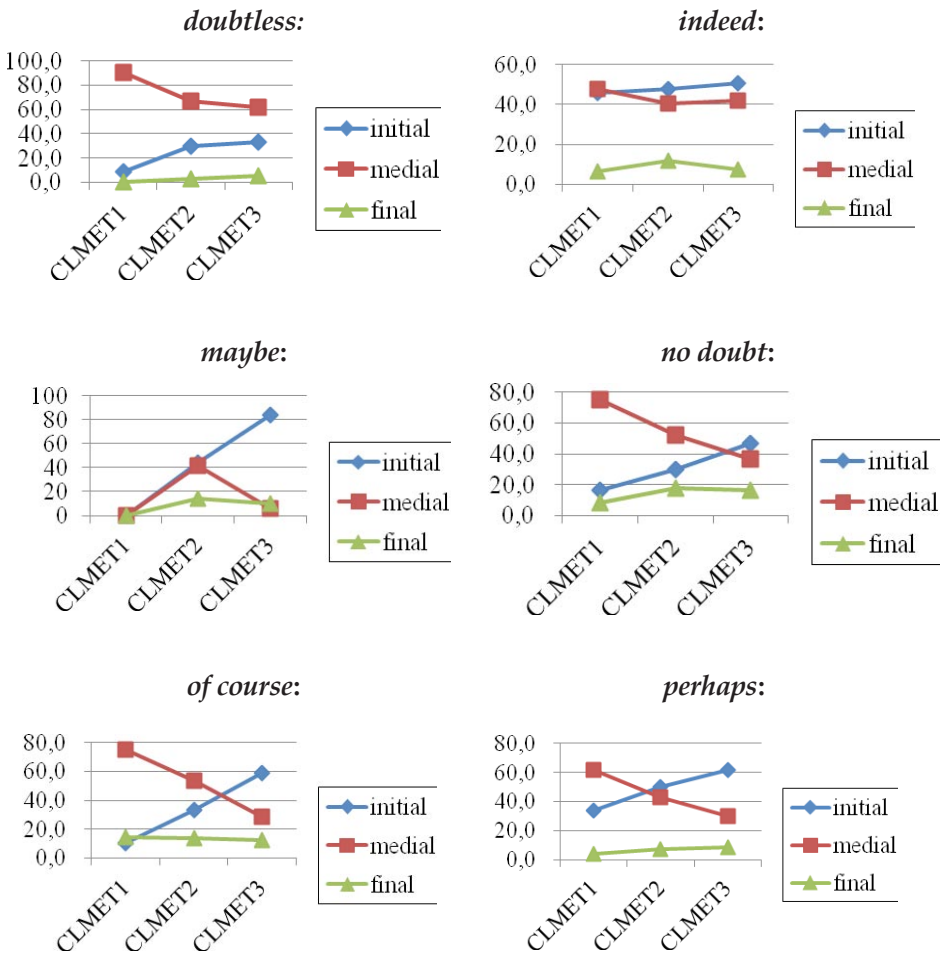

Figure 4. Positioning of the modal adverbs from 1710 to 1920 (CLMET)

The figure demonstrates that for *doubtless*, the medial was the dominant position throughout the Late Modern English period; in contrast, the use of the other five modal adverbs in the initial position was established either in CLMET2 (after 1780) or in CLMET3 (after 1850), and in particular, initial *maybe* accounts for 84% of all tokens of *maybe* in CLMET3. What is especially striking across all these results is that initial positioning of all the modal adverbs continues to spread at a steady rate from 1710 onward. As mentioned above, the use of all six modal adverbs in initial position seem fairly well established in Present-Day English. Thus, they can be considered in Late Modern English to be approaching the Present-Day English distribution, or, put another way, the development of the modal adverbs in the Late Modern English period

accounts for their behavior in contemporary English. In fact, the pragmatic use of the modal adverbs in initial and final position in conversation, just as in contemporary English, can be seen in Examples (2a-c). Examples (17a-e) illustrate this usage. The modal adverbs are syntactically more detached and flexible in terms of their position in a clause.

(17) a. *Maybe* you know that part? (CLMET3, Rutherford – *Clara Hopgood*)
b. "He prefers yours, *maybe*?" (CLMET3, Hope – *The Prisoner of Zenda*)
c. "We must change his name to Bruno, *of course*?" (CLMET3, Carroll – *Sylvie and Bruno*)
d. "Then your marriage must be put off, *of course*?" (CLMET3, Gissing – *New Grub Street*)
e. "Then you'll help me, *perhaps*?" (CLMET3, Hope – *Rupert of Hentzau*)

4.3 Pragmaticalization in PDE

In this section, I explore the possibility that the usage of peripheral modal adverbs has undergone further pragmatic development in Present-Day English. Figure 5 illustrates the proportion of total instances in initial, medial, and final positions, respectively, in 1961 and 1991. These positionings are illustrated in Examples (18)-(19).

(18) Initial
a. *Doubtless* all has been overruled by Divine love. (LOB, D)
b. *Indeed* the French Mandate itself was doomed. (LOB, E)
c. *Maybe* they were going to land soon. (FLOB, K)
d. *No doubt* there was going to be a return journey. (LOB, L)
e. And *of course* politics can be very expensive. (FLOB, F)
f. *Perhaps* they would think he was an artist. (LOB, K)

(19) Medial
a. This protest is *doubtless* closely associated with the realization of pain, … (LOB, J)
b. We are *indeed* privileged to have such wonderful buildings. (LOB, D)
c. I *maybe* lent it to someone and they haven't returned it. (LOB, L)

d. Most of them would *no doubt* prefer their parents to stay together. (FLOB, G)
e. Scotland was *of course* our first love. (LOB, G)
f. This was *perhaps* too naively imagined by some. (LOB, D)

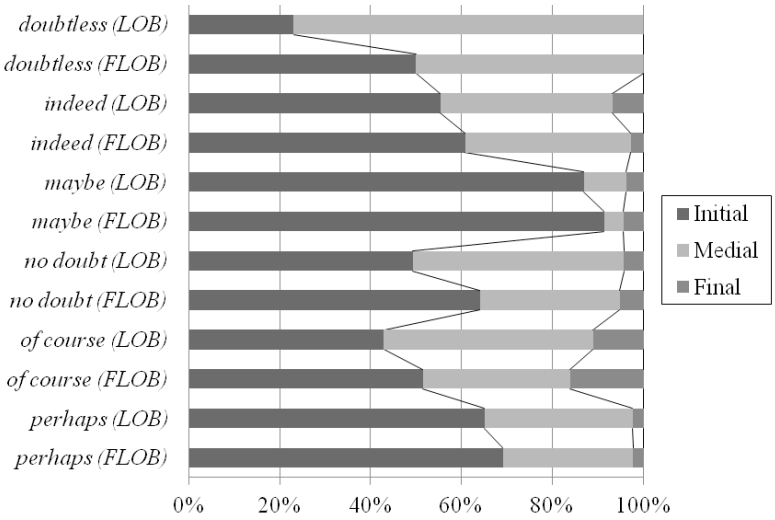

Figure 5. Positioning of the target modal adverbs in 1961 and 1991 (LOB and FLOB)

A closer look at Figure 5 reveals that, despite the wide variations in the positioning of peripheral modal adverbs, initial position is preferred by these peripheral modal adverbs. As Halliday (1970: 335), Perkins (1983: 102-104), Hoye (1997: 148-152), and Halliday – Matthiessen (2004: 79-85) agree, a modal adverb occurring initially expresses the topic or theme of modality. Consider the following examples, which are comparable in meaning (that is, the same in terms of possibility):

(20) a. *Possibly* it was Wren.
b. It *may* have been Wren. (Halliday 1970: 335)

In addition to expressing modality, *possibly* in Example (20a) also serves the discourse function of topic marking in initial position. Such a modal adverb can play a role as an indicator of the flow of discourse for the hearer or reader. There is a strong tendency for peripheral modal adverbs to function as topic markers in discourse in this way. The most striking finding of the present study is that there has been an increase in the proportion of all the peripheral modal adverbs found in initial position, and thus that their

use as discourse markers has increased over time. The rise in the case of *no doubt*, for instance, is from 49% of all occurrences in LOB to 64% in FLOB; similarly, initial *doubtless* accounts for 23% of the occurrences in LOB and 50% in FLOB.

This development in the use of these peripheral modal adverbs is best explained as the result of a process of pragmaticalization rather than one of grammaticalization. These two processes are not mutually exclusive or contradictory; however, since the English modal adverbs have become more syntactically independent over time, this change fails to comply with a traditional criterion of grammaticalization, namely an increase in dependency (cf. Bybee et al. 1994, Lehmann 1995, Haspelmath 2004, Fischer 2007). Viewing this change instead as a case of pragmaticalization can illuminate functional linguistic changes such as the development of discourse-pragmatic functions over time. Pragmaticalization is "a specific instance of grammaticalization" (Diewald 2011: 384), and a process by which spatial and temporal expressions come to serve "textual and discursive functions," or by which epistemic and manner adverbs become "subjective and intersubjective discourse markers" (Simon-Vandenbergen – Willems 2011: 358)[11]. Hence, pragmaticalization evidently accounts for the attested developments better than grammaticalization.

The clause-final use of modal adverbs also indicates that they are oriented toward an interpersonal function[12]. That is, (21a-d) show that these modal adverbs are used to mark shared familiarity of some information between the speaker and the hearer or to weaken the face-threatening force of the introduction of new information.

(21) Final

a. Saturday afternoon is visiting-time, *of course*. (FLOB, N)

b. His face was shiny and sweating; so was mine, *no doubt*. (LOB, N)

c. As keeper of the Realm, he has come to meet the King on his return from Ireland, *no doubt*. (FLOB, P)

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[11] Diewald further claims that a preference for the use of the term "pragmaticalization" derives from a different perspective on the grammar/pragmatics division, namely whether the notion of "grammatical function" also covers pragmatic and procedural functions (Diewald 2011: 384). On other cases of pragmaticalization in English, see, for example, Aijmer (1997), Arnovick (1999), and Erman (2001).

[12] On the final position of other English expressions, see Haselow (2011, 2012, 2013) for details on final particles such as *actually*, *anyway*, *but*, *even*, *so*, *then*, and *though* and their functions in spoken English.

d. You'd think he was a bank manager, *perhaps*; something responsible, but hardly someone important. (FLOB, L)

Moreover, the findings in LOB and FLOB show a noticeable use of these modal adverbs in interrogative forms. This is illustrated in the following examples, where *maybe* and *perhaps* are seen as meta-linguistic devices to confirm or emphasize information and understanding as part of the interactive process between speaker and hearer. In these cases, the adverbs fulfill an interpersonal function in the conversation.

(22) a. Or *maybe* you've stolen them, Eh? (LOB, L)
b. You'll *maybe* be sick, will you? (LOB, N)
c. May we have tea and a piece of your shortbread, *perhaps*? (FLOB, P)

In sum, the results indicate that these peripheral modal adverbs show functional changes over time and that this dynamic status is related to the greater likelihood of their use as pragmatic markers in initial or final position. The overall evolution of these peripheral modal adverbs from Early Modern English to Present-Day English can be summarized as in Table 8.

Table 8. Summary of the development of the target peripheral modal adverbs

EModE	LModE	PDE
	"**modal adverb**"	(**discourse marker**)
---------->		---------->
Modalization		**Pragmaticalization**

5. Conclusion

This study investigated the stages of development of *doubtless*, *indeed*, *maybe*, *no doubt*, *of course*, and *perhaps* and discussed how their functioning has changed over time. By analyzing instances of these peripheral modal adverbs in terms of position and function, I have demonstrated that the Late Modern English period was a crucial stage for functional change in modal adverbs. In addition, though this period seems transient, it can be also viewed as a pre-stage to pragmaticalization in Present-Day English. Thus, the Late Modern English period is a very dynamic and significant period for the modal adverbs considered in this study. Moreover, I have elucidated the

fact the processes of modalization and pragmaticalization are key factors in the analysis of the functional development of these expressions.

Finally, we have seen that the use of a well-balanced collection of corpora of Modern English (PPCEME, PPCMBE, CLMET, and CMSW) enables us to fruitfully describe the long-term development of English peripheral modal adverbs. In addition, it has been very helpful to combine historical corpora with present-day ones, such as LOB and FLOB, in a systematic way.

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APPENDIX

Data for Figure 1

Modal adverb	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
doubtless (*PPCEME*)	20	20	6	46
doubtless (*PPCMBE*)	4	12	0	16
no doubt (*PPCEME*)	17	4	5	26
no doubt (*PPCMBE*)	9	20	4	33
perhaps (*PPCEME*)	68	51	3	122
perhaps (*PPCMBE*)	132	122	15	269

Data for Figure 2

Modal adverb	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
indeed (*PPCEME*)	217	141	160	518
indeed (*PPCMBE*)	168	144	35	347
of course (*PPCMBE*)	48	50	12	110

Data for Figure 3

Modal adverb	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
doubtless (*CMSW*)	41	88	3	132
indeed (*CMSW*)	682	784	168	1634
maybe (*CMSW*)	56	70	6	132
no doubt (*CMSW*)	120	168	30	318
of course (*CMSW*)	188	225	47	460
perhaps (*CMSW*)	581	458	83	1122

Data for Figure 4

Modal adverb	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
doubtless (*CLMET1*)	4	40	0	44
doubtless (*CLMET2*)	35	78	3	116
doubtless (*CLMET3*)	58	108	9	175
indeed (*CLMET1*)	597	619	86	1302
indeed (*CLMET2*)	749	634	183	1566
indeed (*CLMET3*)	665	554	97	1316
maybe (*CLMET1*)	0	0	0	0
maybe (*CLMET2*)	22	21	7	50
maybe (*CLMET3*)	58	4	7	69
no doubt (*CLMET1*)	14	64	7	85
no doubt (*CLMET2*)	41	72	24	137
no doubt (*CLMET3*)	167	133	59	359
of course (*CLMET1*)	3	21	4	28
of course (*CLMET2*)	130	209	53	392
of course (*CLMET3*)	737	363	157	1257
perhaps (*CLMET1*)	275	497	34	806
perhaps (*CLMET2*)	647	554	94	1295
perhaps (*CLMET3*)	909	442	126	1477

Data for Figure 5

Modal adverb	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
doubtless (*LOB*)	3	10	0	13
doubtless (*FLOB*)	5	5	0	10
indeed (*LOB*)	108	74	13	195
indeed (*FLOB*)	112	67	5	184
maybe (*LOB*)	47	5	2	54
maybe (*FLOB*)	64	3	3	70
no doubt (*LOB*)	35	33	3	71
no doubt (*FLOB*)	25	12	2	39
of course (*LOB*)	137	147	35	319
of course (*FLOB*)	135	85	42	262
perhaps (*LOB*)	172	86	6	264
perhaps (*FLOB*)	186	77	6	269

THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century English plays

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University of Sheffield

ABSTRACT

This study is a quantitative and qualitative investigation of the use of THOU and YOU[1] in four tragedies and four comedies written in eighteenth-century Britain[2]. The quantitative study deals with three factors: genre, characters' class and gender. THOU tends to appear very frequently in tragedies, which were often written in verse. While class has a notable influence, gender does not play an important role in the pronoun choice.

The qualitative study of THOU in comedies reveals that THOU is used to mark heightened emotion. In tragedies, THOU can be used as an unmarked pronoun to represent social distance. As in comedies, emotive use of THOU is also seen in tragedies.

One unexpected finding is that the percentage of THOU in the eighteenth-century tragedies in this study is higher than that in Shakespearean plays. These eighteenth-century tragedians sometimes used THOU where Shakespeare did not. My hypothesis is that eighteenth-century dramatists tried to imitate an older style of second person pronoun usage when writing tragedies, but since THOU was no longer a part of their everyday language, they failed to imitate it perfectly and enregistered THOU as a part of theatrical language.

1. Introduction

Although THOU is often thought to have fallen out of use in standard eighteenth-century English (e.g. Baugh – Cable 1993: 236-237, Barber et al. 2009: 211), it was employed in specialised ways in drama – an aspect which

[1] Following Walker (2007), THOU refers to *thou*, *thee*, *thy*, *thine* and *thyself* and YOU refers to singular *you*, *your*, *yours* (including *your's*) and *yourself*.

[2] I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr Jane L Hodson for her comments and discussions. I am also indebted to Dr Christine Wallis for her helpful suggestions. All remaining errors and inadequacies are my own.

has not yet been investigated satisfactorily. There are only three major studies of second person pronouns in eighteenth-century plays: Bock (1938), Mitchell (1971), and Walker (1997). Here I give a short description of the latter two works, written in English. Mitchell (1971) undertook a large-scale quantitative study of sixty-two plays in five genres (tragedies, comedies, farce, heroic drama and pantomime) by twenty-nine British playwrights published in the period 1580-1780. With regard to eighteenth-century plays, there are twelve comedies, seven tragedies and four farces in her corpus (1971: 7-11). Her aims are to find out when THOU disappeared from British plays and to get a better overall perspective of the decline of THOU in them (1971: 11-12). She concludes that the decline of THOU became significant in the middle of the sixteenth century and that THOU became virtually extinct in the latter half of the eighteenth century (1971: 99). One of the issues with her method is that she includes *ye* in THOU forms under the name of "old forms" (1971: 11). This is problematic because the decline of *ye* is different from that of THOU (Trudgill 1990: 92-93). Another limitation of Mitchell's study is that she looks at the figures retrieved from her electronic corpus only, i.e. she did not look into each context.

Walker (1997) carried out quantitative and qualitative analyses on trial proceedings, witness depositions and drama comedies written or recorded in the period 1560-1760 using *The Corpus of English Dialogues* (*CED*). Although her main focus is "real" speech, i.e. trials and depositions, she gives a detailed analysis of "constructed" speeches in comedies for comparative purposes. Her data reveal that THOU declined over the course of time in all three genres. She uses the sex, age and social rank of the speaker and addressee as extra-linguistic parameters which affect the use of THOU and YOU. Her corpus, however, does not include tragedies, which have quite a different style from comedies (Section 3 and 4.3 of current study).

One important issue is whether the language of plays can be considered as a representation of "real" speech (e.g. Walker 2007). I agree that the language of plays is different from contemporary everyday language. In particular, tragedies demand "a sense of detachment heightened by the use of verse or rhetorical prose" (Hartnoll 1983: 836). Therefore, what is the point of studying such language? Shiina (2005), who studies vocatives in gentry comedies, argues for the validity of studying the language of plays:

> The linguistic competence of the playwright and audience is formed by the language in society, and the drama must be based upon such language use to the extent that the audience can understand it. […]

> I would rather maintain that the playwrights construct the characters in their dramatic world based upon the language use in the real world of the period. (Shiina 2005: 86-87)

As she argues, although the language of plays differs from everyday language, it is written to be performed and read by a contemporary audience. Accordingly, the language of the plays still reflects some aspects of the language competence of these contemporary audiences. It should not be considered as a substitute for spoken language in general, but as one individual register/style in eighteenth-century English.

2. Methodology and corpus

For this study texts were retrieved from Literature Online (LION). LION was chosen to enable electronic searches. As regards the reliability of LION texts, I compared the first act of each play on LION with the original texts found in ECCO and confirmed that there was no alteration regarding personal pronouns. Prologues, epilogues and songs are excluded from the data because my focus is on the main text. Plural *you* and its variants were excluded by manually checking all of the search results. Singular *ye* is not included either. Plural *you* and *ye* will be discussed in a future study.

My corpus consists of four comedies and four tragedies published in England. I chose four authors and selected two plays by each of them to see whether there was a difference between plays by the same author. The comedy corpus consists of Sir Richard Steele's *The Tender Husband* (1705, hereafter *Tender*) and *The Conscious Lovers* (1723, hereafter *Conscious*), George Colman Elder's *The Jealous Wife* (1761, hereafter *Jealous*) and Colman Elder and David Garrick's *The Clandestine Marriage* (1766, hereafter *Clandestine*). The tragedy corpus consists of George Lillo's *The London Merchant* (1731, hereafter *Merchant*) and *Fatal Curiosity* (1736, hereafter *Fatal*) and John Home's *Douglas* (1756) and *Agis* (1758). The plays were chosen for the following three reasons: year of publication, whether the author published more than one play in the same genre, and length (containing more than 10,000 words). As regards each author's origins, Steele was Irish, Home was Scottish and all of the other authors were English. All the plays were performed in London.

Freedman (2007) points out the differences in usage of THOU and YOU between male playwrights and Aphra Behn in the seventeenth century (further discussion of this issue is in 3.3). I only chose male playwrights for my corpus, so that gender differences would not affect the data. Male rather

than female playwrights were chosen simply because there is a greater number of them and there are more plays to choose from. This does not deny the necessity of studying female authors in the future.

I will compare my results with previous studies on Shakespearean works, when relevant. This is because eighteenth-century plays, especially tragedies, were strongly influenced by Shakespeare. Nicoll describes Shakespeare's popularity as follows: "[t]hat Shakespeare was fully appreciated in the period 1700-1750 requires little proof. The critics looked up to him; […] Not a season passed but some half a dozen of his plays appeared on the boards of the theatre. The age teems with reminiscences of his characters, his themes and his language" (1925: 67). It is plausible that eighteenth-century playwrights studied the Bard's text and tried to write like him. Another reason for this comparison is that qualitative studies on seventeenth-century and Restoration plays are scarce. It is undeniable that the eighteenth-century English stage was influenced by such plays (Nicoll 1925, 1927); however, it is hard to find a relevant study to compare with my data, while such studies using Shakespearean works are numerous.

This is a pilot study for my ongoing PhD thesis and focuses on qualitative analysis, although quantitative findings are also considered.

3. Quantitative analysis

3.1 Overall figures

The percentage of THOU varies drastically in each play, ranging from 0.5% in *Jealous* to 77% in *Agis*, as shown below:

Table 1. THOU and YOU in each play

Year	Title	THOU	YOU	THOU %
1705	*The Tender Husband*	40	704	5.4%
1723	*The Conscious Lovers*	36	883	3.9%
1761	*The Jealous Wife*	6	1262	0.5%
1766	*The Clandestine Marriage*	14	1026	1.3%
1731	*The London Merchant*	56	431	11%
1736	*Fatal Curiosity*	152	159	49%
1756	*Douglas*	292	116	72%
1758	*Agis*	288	87	77%

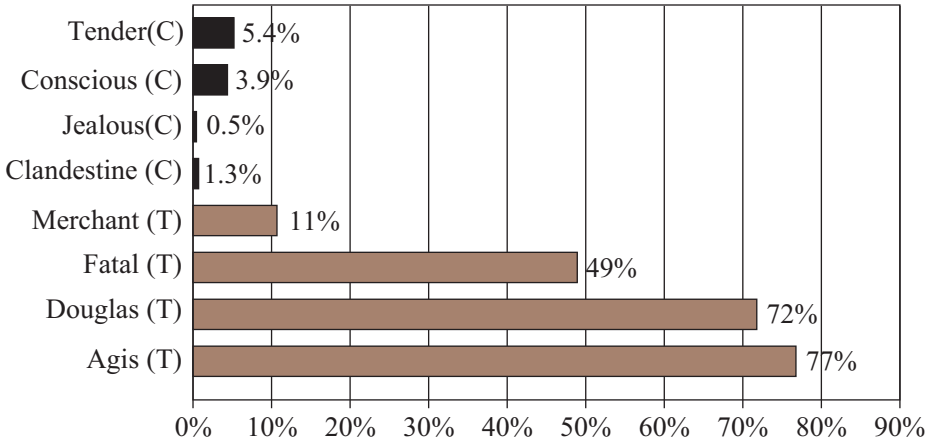

Figure 1. Percentage of THOU and YOU in each play. C represents "comedy" and T represents "tragedy"

One reason for this difference is genre; the first four at the top of the graph are comedies, and the four at the bottom are tragedies. These two genres were written in different styles in the eighteenth century; comedies tended to have a contemporary setting and were written in prose, while tragedies had "an elevated, poetic style with events which depict man as the victim of destiny yet superior to it, both in grandeur and in misery" (Hartnoll 1983: 835).

There is one tragedy with a noticeably low frequency (11%) of THOU, *Merchant*. The difference is even more striking when compared with *Fatal*, a tragedy written by the same author. These two tragedies share many aspects – they were written by the same author, in the same decade, dealing with the middle class in England – but their crucial difference is medium; *Merchant* is written in prose while *Fatal* is in verse. Busse's study of second person pronouns in Shakespearean works reveals that the majority of Shakespearean plays show a preponderance of THOU in verse and YOU in prose (2002: 66-67). This holds true for my corpus; 89% of all occurrences of THOU appear in verse.

The medium or style of the eighteenth-century plays also seems to be different from that of Shakespeare. While eighteenth-century plays are often written in verse or prose exclusively, Shakespeare employs both media in one play in his tragedies, comedies, and histories. Additionally, some characters in Shakespearean tragedies, such as servants and inn keepers, speak entirely in prose to represent their status (Busse 2002: 65). In contrast, in the three eighteenth-century verse tragedies, all characters, including the

lower-class ones, speak entirely in verse. This might indicate that the style of these tragedies is somewhat different from that of Shakespearean tragedies. I will discuss this point further in 4.3.3.

A comparison of the data with those for Shakespearean tragedies reveals that the tragedies in verse studied in this article contain more THOU than Shakespearean plays. Indeed, the highest percentage of THOU in Shakespearean tragedies is 60% (in *Romeo and Juliet*), far smaller than 77% in *Agis* (Freedman 2007: 18).

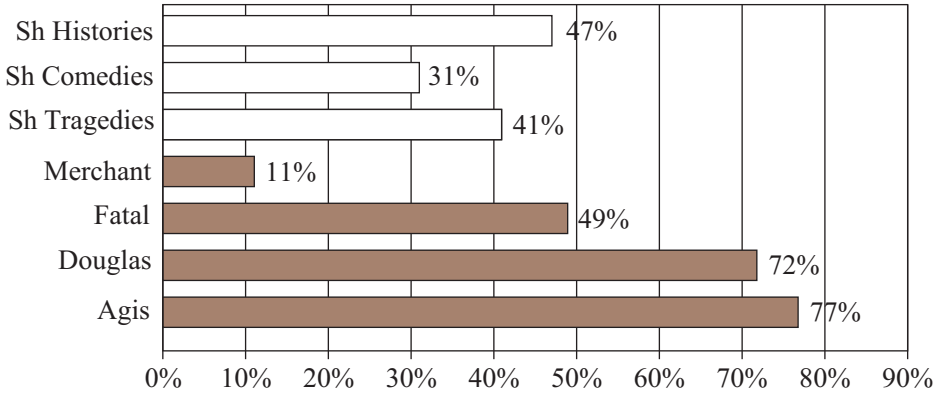

Figure 2. Average percentage of THOU in Shakespearean histories, comedies and tragedies (based on Freedman 2007: 18) and eighteenth-century tragedies in my corpus

This finding does not support the claim that the use of THOU declined in the course of time. In the next section, I investigate reasons for the increase of THOU in these eighteenth-century tragedies, compared with its rarity in contemporary comedies. I focus on two extralinguistic factors which are considered to affect the use of pronouns, i.e. class and gender.

3.2 Class

THOU and YOU are thought to reflect the social relationship between interlocutors. Brown – Gilman (1960) argue that "power" (a non-symmetrical relationship between superior and inferior) and "solidarity" (a symmetrical relationship between equals) determine whether a speaker chooses THOU or YOU. Walker shows that power based on social rank, especially between the top and bottom sections of the social hierarchy, influences the choice of pronoun in her corpus (2007: 186, 294).

3.2.1 Classification of status and class

My classification of class and status follows Shiina (2005) and Walker (2007), both of whom include eighteenth-century comedies in their corpora. However, I have simplified their categories into four: upper, upper-middle, middle and lower (Table 2). Some texts under discussion deal with ancient and/or foreign settings, but I have tried to assign the same role system to them to allow comparison of my results with those of other works (cf. Byrne 1937: 146-158). It can be hypothesised that playwrights may have assigned some contemporary style of talking according to the characters' status rather than creating completely new styles and classes for their ancient plays. To take an example from *Agis*, a story of ancient Sparta, the actual relationship between the king and his soldiers would be different from that in England, but here I try to put characters into a roughly equivalent category, such as Greek emperor as Upper and Greek citizens as Middle.

Table 2. Classes and categories in eighteenth-century plays

Category	Subcategory	Description of subcategory	Example
Upper	U1	nobility	royalty, duke, baron, feudal lord
	U2	knights and baronets (*Sir*)	knight, baronet
Upper-middle	UM	gentry	gentry
Middle	M1	wealthy merchants and those in profession	retailer, clergyman, medical doctor, citizen, military officer
	M2	craftsmen and farmers	weaver, tailor, blacksmith, innkeeper
Lower	L1	servants	servant, labourer, chambermaid
	L2	unemployed and criminals	whore, thief, unemployed

Although aristocrats (Upper) and gentry (Upper-Middle) are similar in the point that they earn income not by manual labour but by land ownership (Walker 2007: 25), there is a clear difference between gentry and the other groups, e.g. in the use of address terms such as "your lordship" and "your highness" to the former.

Because this analysis of class focuses particularly on interpersonal dynamics, non-human subjects such as *God* and addresses to the speaker him/herself are excluded from the data. These will be treated in a future study.

3.2.2 Analysis

3.2.2.1 Comedies

When we look at the relationships between the speaker and the hearer, the most notable relationship is that of superior to inferior (bars in white in Figure 3).

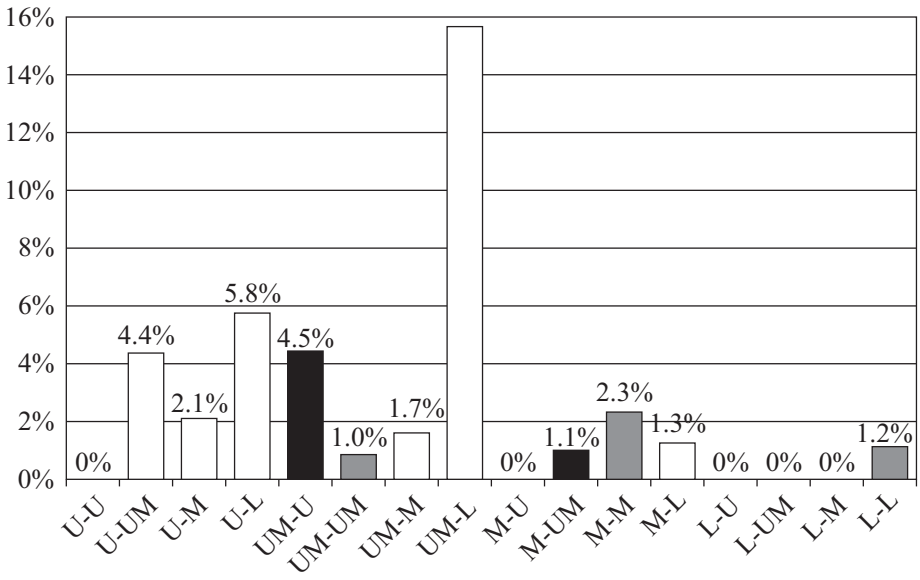

Figure 3. Average percentage of THOU to YOU in each class in comedies. The pattern of each bar represents the difference in power: superior to inferior (white); between equals (grey); inferior to superior (black). U stands for the upper class, UM stands for the upper-middle class, M stands for the middle class and L stands for the lower class. (see Appendix 1 for raw data)

All of the categories in which the speaker's class is higher than that of the hearer have at least one example. Among such relationships, the category "from an upper-middle class character to a lower-class character" (UM-L) is much more frequent than others (15.7%). This is because of *Tender*, in which

half of the second person pronouns in this category (UM-L) are THOU (8× out of 17×; 47%). None of the other comedies include THOU in this category. In *Tender*, all of the occurrences of THOU from an upper-class character to a lower-class character are from a master/mistress (Mr and Mrs Clerimont) to their servant (Jenny). Mr Clerimont addresses Jenny with THOU when revealing his love to her:

(1) Well, Jenny, you topp'd your part, indeed --- Come to my Arms thou ready willing fair one --- Thou hast no Vanities, no Niceties; but art thankful for every Instant of Love that I bestow on thee --- (*Tender* 5.1, emphasis added)

Mrs Clerimont uses THOU when she shows a patronising behaviour to her maid, complimenting her in spite of her "Englishness":

(2) Jenny: I am beholden to your Ladiship, for believing so well of the Maid Servants in England.
Mrs Cler.: Indeed, Jenny, I could wish thou wer't really French; for thou art plain English in spite of Example --- (*Tender* 3.1, emphasis added)

Walker points out that in comedies from the period 1720-1760, servants are sometimes addressed with THOU by their masters and mistresses, prompted by an element of positive emotion or negative feeling (2007: 229)[3]. This seems to be applicable to the use of THOU in *Tender*, and the usage seen here is patronising and affectionate.

As regards addresses between equals, THOU is used most frequently among upper-middle class and middle-class characters. The speakers' relationships are either those of family members, or lovers. It seems THOU is used to represent special relationships between characters rather than showing their class or equality. In contrast, Walker shows that the lower-class is most likely to exchange mutual THOU in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Walker 2007: 185). In my data, however, such mutual use of THOU is quite rare and only found in *Conscious* (6×).

[3] Walker could not gain enough data to draw conclusions about lower-class characters addressed with THOU in the period 1680-1719, when *Tender* was written (1705) (2007: 226). In her data the most common personal pronoun used in such a relationship is YOU.

There are a few occurrences of THOU addressed from inferior to superior. However, these occurrences should be treated with caution, for all of them occur in special relationships not based on class and their contexts require investigation. There is only one character who uses THOU to her superior: an upper-middle-class girl called Niece to her upper-class cousin Humphry (*Tender*). At first sight, this seems to represent the closeness of the two ranks (Walker 2007: 186). However, when examined closely, it is revealed that Niece is performing a role-play;

(3) Niece: If thou hast yet learn'd the use of Language, Speak Monster.
Humph.: How long have you been thus?
Niece: Thus? What wouldst thou say.
Humph.: What's the cause of it.
(*Tender* 3.2, emphasis added)

In the above quotations, Niece identifies herself as a heroine of a romance (*Valentine and Orson*) and Humphry as the savage man in the story. Judging from Humphry's responses, this is not her usual way of talking. Her use of THOU here represents not intimacy, but the archaic style of romance. As regards the use of THOU from a middle-class character to an upper-class character, the former mistakes the latter as somebody else of the same rank. These cases suggest that in-depth analysis is needed to identify the usage in irregular cases, rather than accepting the numbers of tokens only.

3.2.2.2 Tragedies

An unexpected result occurs in tragedies when the hearer's class is taken into consideration (Figure 4). Considering the difference of power, it is rather surprising that there are occurrences of THOU used by a lower-class character to an upper-class character (L-U, 25%). However, these 'unusual' occurrences need to be treated with caution, for some of them are not chosen based on class system, as in the data in comedies. Out of 21 occurrences of THOU (see Appendix 1 for the number of occurrences), about half (12×) of them occur in a relationship more complicated than the simple class system. In *Douglas* the speaker is an old shepherd named Norval and the hearer is a young lord named Douglas. Although their statuses are lord and subject, Norval has brought up Douglas as his son 'Young Norval' to keep him from assassination. His true identity is revealed in the middle of the play, and Norval begins to treat him as his master, not as his son. However, their bond as family is still strong, as the following scene shows:

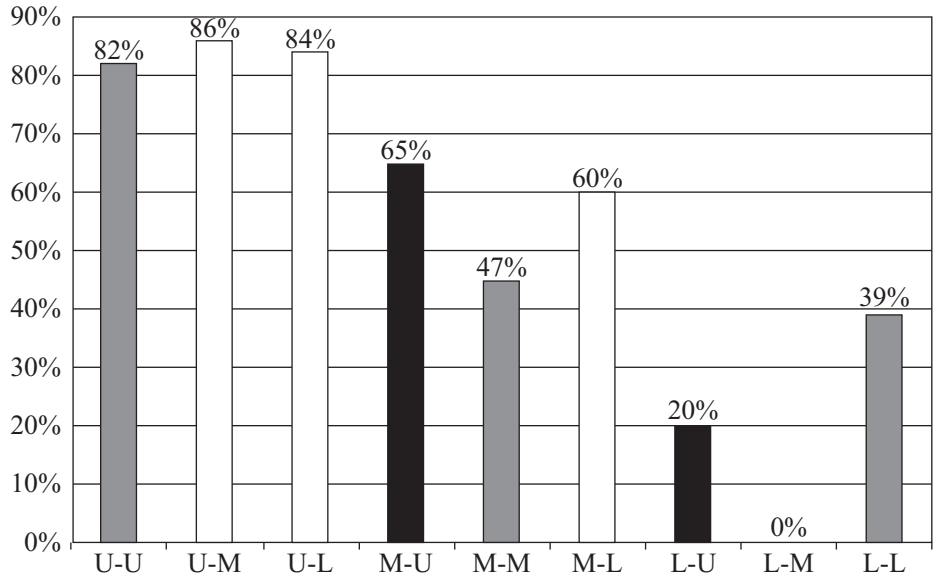

Figure 4. Average percentage of THOU in each class in tragedies. The pattern of each bar represents the difference of power: superior to inferior (white); between equals (grey); inferior to superior (black). U stands for the upper class, M stands for the middle class, and L stands for the lower class

(4) Norval: Forgive, forgive,
Canst <u>thou</u> forgive the man, the selfish man,
Who bred Sir Malcolm's heir a shepherd's son.
Douglas: Kneel not to me: thou art my father still:
Thy wish'd-for presence now compleats my joy. […]
Norval: And dost <u>thou</u> call me father? O my son!

(*Douglas* 5.1, emphasis added)

The first THOU by Norval is a representation of his fatherly affection as well as strong emotion. Even after learning the truth, Douglas still treats Norval as his father, although retaining the difference of status by using THOU. Then Norval addresses him with THOU as his son. Therefore Norval's use of THOU to Douglas should be considered not as an representation of class difference but as a special case of family relationship.

Other uses of THOU from lower-class characters to upper-class ones are: negative feeling towards an upper-class character (3×); a servant to her mistress (1×); positive feeling towards a noble character (5×); I will look into some of these more closely in Section 4.3.

3.3 Gender

I study gender as a second factor determining the use of THOU and YOU according to Walker (2007). Her hypothesis is that "[i]f THOU is used to inferiors, then women, who in Early Modern England were considered subordinate to men, might be more likely than men to be addressed with this pronoun" (2007: 72).

The median of the percentage of THOU is shown in Table 3. As in 3.2, addresses to non-human subjects and the speaker are excluded, so as to concentrate on interpersonal relationships.

Table 3. THOU and the gender of speakers / hearers in eighteenth-century plays

speaker	hearer	tragedies	comedies
female	female	27.7%	2.3%
female	male	57.7%	4.7%
male	female	42.6%	4.2%
male	male	52.0%	2.5%

In comedies, the percentage of THOU is very low in general and there is no outstanding difference between each category. THOU is mostly used to show positive emotion regardless of gender, except for one example showing irritation or anger between male characters in *Clandestine* (*Clandestine* 4.2).

In the tragedies, the category which has the lowest percentage of THOU is between female characters. This might be because women are associated with "more polite" ways of talking, i.e. YOU (cf. Walker 2007: 5). Another possible reason is that all the writers in my corpus are male (Section 2). They might have imagined that women spoke more politely than they did. Freedman points out the different usage of THOU in Aphra Behn's plays and in those of her contemporary male authors:

> Playwrights may not always accurately represent the usage of their time if they venture into social milieux outside their own experience: when Barber (1976) drew conclusions about the speech of smart London society in the mid-seventeenth century based on a survey of Restoration comedies, he found that though male friends could use T [=THOU] to one another, V [=YOU] was the pronoun of choice for women, even if they were close friends or sisters. In the plays of Aphra Behn, however, close female friends, sisters and cousins frequently

> slip into T when they are alone together […]. It seems that, […] male playwrights extrapolated from women's public behaviour and drew the wrong inference. (Freedman 2007: 4)

Since there are scenes in which only women are present, e.g. a servant-maid and her mistress in her dressing room, there is a possibility that representations of women's speeches in such scenes might not be accurate.

Walker's hypothesis that women, being subordinate to men, receive more (and give less) THOU than men, does not seem to hold good for my data; the category "from female to male characters" shows the second highest rate of THOU in tragedies. This result might be influenced by the class of female characters; upper-class female characters tend to use THOU to their subordinates regardless of their gender. Most occurrences of THOU are uttered by Lady Randolph in *Douglas*, who is the wife of a lord and has the second strongest power in the play. Unlike in Shakespearean plays, in which upper-class couples exchange YOU (Stein 2003: 277), she exchanges THOU with her husband.

From the above discussions, it can be concluded that the genre of a play and the class and gender of characters play a vital role in the use of second person pronouns in eighteenth-century plays. However, it should be noted that the patterns of occurrences vary greatly from play to play.

4. Qualitative analysis

4.1 Introduction

In this section I will look more closely at the characteristic uses of THOU and YOU in each play. The use of personal pronouns can be influenced not only by class and gender, as we have seen in 3.2 and 3.3, but also by a speaker's emotion. I will deal first with comedies, followed by tragedies.

Bruti (2000) claims that there are two axes determining personal pronouns. One is social distance, or power difference, as Brown – Gilman (1960) suggest (Figure 5). The second axis is emotional attitude (Figure 6). When the speaker's emotion is neutral, YOU tends to be used, with THOU reserved for heightened emotion, either in a negative way (e.g. scorn and anger) or in a positive way (e.g. affection). These two axes are not always compatible with each other, so sometimes one of them is stronger than the other.

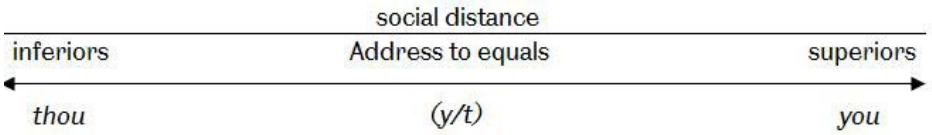

Figure 5. The axis of social distance (Bruti 2000: 35)

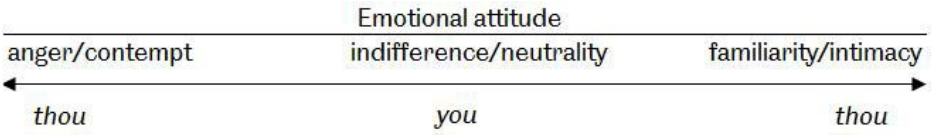

Figure 6. The axis of emotional attitude (Bruti 2000: 35)

4.2 Comedies

THOU is apparently a marked form in comedies, accounting for only 2.8% on average in my corpus. The main use of THOU in comedy is to signal a climax or heightened emotion. Its appearance is ephemeral; in other words, characters switch from THOU to YOU very rapidly. Hope presumes that such rapid shift of pronouns is due to micro-pragmatic factors: "[p]resumably conversations tend to begin with socially pragmatic usages, and move on into non-socially pragmatic usages once a context has been established" (1994: 147). Here is an example of quick change from THOU to YOU, taken from *Jealous*:

(5) [*Oakly is talking to his wife Mrs Oakly, who is in a violent fit after reading a letter and mistakenly believing he is having an extramarital relationship. He tries to soothe her and clarify her misunderstanding.*]

Oakly: Nay, never make Thyself so uneasy, my Dear --- Come, come, you know I love You. Nay, nay, You shall be convinced.

Mrs Oakly: I know You hate Me; and that your Unkindness and Barbarity will be the Death of Me.

Oakly: Do not vex Yourself at this Rate --- I love You most passionately --- Indeed I do --- This must be some Mistake.

Mrs. Oakly: O, I am an unhappy Woman!

Oakly: Dry up thy Tears, my Love, and be comforted! --- You will find that I am not to blame in this Matter --- Come, let Me see this Letter, --- Nay, you shall not deny Me. […]

'Tis a Clerk-like Hand, indeed! A good round Text! And was certainly never penned by a fair Lady.
Mrs Oakly: Ay, laugh at Me, do!
Oakly: Forgive Me, my Love, I did not mean to laugh at Thee ---

(*Jealous* 1.1, emphasis added)

At the opening of his speech, Oakly resorts to the emotional and affectionate pronoun THOU to comfort his wife, combining it with an address of endearment "my Dear". Soon after finishing the first sentence he switches to YOU, his unmarked pronoun to his wife. He resorts to THOU with endearment two more times when seeing his wife in a violent passion, represented by an exclamation mark. The use of THOU does not seem to be an everyday option in eighteenth-century comedies by this time.

4.3 Tragedies

4.3.1 Social distance

Generally speaking, there are three factors which prompt the use of THOU in tragedies: aside and soliloquy, social distance, and emotion (see also Nonomiya 2013). The latter two factors (i.e. social distance and emotion), can be explained through markedness theory. According to Stein's definition,

> The unmarked form corresponds to socially norm-governed use; in a given contact it is the usual, default signal of relationships. […] It represents the logical and semiotic precondition for its very semiotic exploitation in marked, emotionally charged uses. (Stein 2003: 252)

The following is an example of unmarked THOU based on social distance:

(6) [*Anna is Lady Randolph's chambermaid.*]
Anna: Have I distress'd you with officious love,
And ill-tim'd mention of your brother's fate?
Forgive me, Lady: […]
Lady R.: What power directed thy unconscious tongue
To speak as thou hast done?

(*Douglas* 1.1, emphasis added)

Obviously, Lady Randolph has more power than her chambermaid Anna. Lady Randolph uses THOU to Anna most of the time in the play, while Anna almost always addresses Lady Randolph with YOU, sometimes using address terms of deferential address such as "(my) lady".

Although THOU is generally used to those socially inferior to the speaker, this pronoun is also used to God and other supernatural beings (Beal 2004: 70). There is one deviation of THOU used by a lower-class character to an upper-class character, which invokes an image of a celestial being:

(7) [*A shepherd is caught by servants of the lord of the land. The wife of the lord comes to him, so he starts begging her to save him.*]
Heav'n bless that countenance, so sweet and mild!
A judge like thee makes innocence more bold.
O save me, Lady! from these cruel men,
Who have attack'd and seiz'd me; who accuse
Me of intended murder.
(*Douglas* 3.1, emphasis added)

The shepherd's use of THOU maximises, rather than diminish, the power difference by elevating the lady's position to a heavenly being, using the pronoun for God THOU. This is also an example of using another "style" or "register" to make speech more effective. I will discuss the issue of styles further in 4.3.3.

4.3.2 Emotion

Another use of THOU is emotive, as in comedies (4.2). This kind of THOU is often seen in the climax of plays. I present one example from the last act of *Merchant*:

(8) [*Barnwell is waiting for his execution in a cell. His best friend, Trueman, visits him to comfort him.*]
Trueman: What have I suffer'd since I saw you last? […] - - - But oh! to see thee thus!
Barnwell: I know it is dreadful! I feel the Anguish of thy generous Soul, - - - but I was born to murder all who love me.
Trueman: I came not to reproach you; - - - I thought to bring you Comfort, - - - but I'm deceiv'd, for I have none to give; - - - I came to share thy Sorrow, but cannot bear my own.
(*Merchant* 5.5, emphasis added)

Barnwell and Trueman, being fellow apprentices, usually exchange YOU. In this sorrowful scene, however, they often fall into THOU to express their strong anguish and sorrow. Their use of THOU might result from the fact that they know that Barnwell will die soon. Hope, in a study of seventeenth-century depositions, points out that deathbed scenes often seem to evoke emotive use of THOU (1993: 86). The appearance of THOU is ephemeral and the speakers switch to YOU very quickly, as with THOU in the comedies.

Another typical case of heightened emotion is contempt. When a lower-class character is angry with an upper-class character, THOU is used, overriding the difference in power. Freedman points out that Isabella in *Measure for Measure* and Emilia in *Othello* use THOU to their superiors, Angelo and Othello respectively, out of "moral outrage" (2007: 101, 147)[4]. Below is one such example of anger in my corpus:

(9) [*A shepherd is condemning the feudal lord who killed his son.*]
I fear thee not. I will not go.
Here I'll remain. I'm an accomplice, Lord,
With thee in murder.
(*Douglas* 5.1, emphasis added)

Judging from the use of the deferential address term "Lord", the speaker seems to be aware of the difference in social status. However, his anger and sorrow are so strong that he cannot help using the pronoun of contempt THOU. His attitude is strongly shown in the first line, "I fear thee not".

4.3.3 Eighteenth-century tragedians and Shakespeare

Although Shakespeare had a strong influence on eighteenth-century dramatists (Section 2), there seem to be differences between Shakespeare's use of THOU and that of the eighteenth-century tragedians in this study. The latter use THOU more frequently than Shakespeare, as we have seen in 3.1. A qualitative study on the contexts in which THOU occurs reveals that eighteenth-century playwrights, especially Home, use THOU where Shakespeare did not employ it, such as in a conversation between higher-rank couples (3.3; cf. Stein 2003). Another example is a maid-servant switching from YOU to THOU when talking to her mistress:

[4] This kind of overriding might be seen only in plays. Walker (2007) shows that in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century trials and depositions, lower class people did not use thou to their superiors, even when expressing anger. Nevertheless, this overriding of social difference does occur in contemporary comedies.

(10) *[Anna, a chambermaid of Lady Randolph, chides her mistress for indulging in her sorrow.]*

Anna: Forgive the rashness of your Anna's love:
[…] And warn you of the hours that you neglect,
And lose in sadness.

Lady R.: So to lose my hours
Is all the use I wish to make of time.

Anna: To blame thee, Lady, suits not with my state:
But sure I am, since death first prey'd on man,
Never did sister thus a brother mourn.
What had your sorrows been if you had lost,
In early youth, the husband of your heart?

(*Douglas* 1.1, emphasis added)

On the one hand, it is possible to consider this THOU as a representation of strong bond and heightened emotion. Culpeper – Archer, who study requests in trials and plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, point out that there can be a special, intimate relationship between a mistress and her female-servant, "in which the normal power asymmetries were suspended" (2008: 68).

On the other hand, Anna's use of THOU is rather irregular when compared with that in Shakespearean works, where several studies show that it is very rare for maid-servants to use THOU to their mistresses. Byrne points out that "[i]n Shakespeare, one among these ladies-in-waiting usually stands out in the position of intimate companion and confidante to her mistress, in which case she is addressed by her Lady with the affectionate, confidential *thou*, though she ever returns the respectful *you*" (1936: 151). To take a few examples from individual works, Nerissa in *The Merchant of Venice* addresses her mistress Portia with YOU only (Freedman 2007: 75) and Emilia in *Othello* never addresses her mistress Desdemona with THOU except when the latter is dead (Mazzon 2003: 234). I surveyed female servants' use of THOU to their mistress using Open Source Shakespeare (24 characters in 17 plays; see Appendix II for the full list of characters) and found only two characters using THOU; Charmian in *Antony and Cleopatra* addresses Cleopatra with THOU when the latter's life is in danger (5.2.3427, Open Source Shakespeare); the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* uses THOU to Juliet (1.3.451-452, Open Source Shakespeare), as "*thou* of intimate privilege for her young charge" (Byrne 1936: 153). As a whole, in Shakespearean plays maidservants use THOU to their (adult) mistress only on very special occasions. Considering that Anna's

THOU in the above quotation represents heightened emotion but not in an emergency, this use of THOU is, at least, different from Shakespeare's usage.

It is impossible to draw any general conclusions from small samples, but I would still attempt to offer a hypothesis. The use of THOU had changed since Shakespeare's time, and the use by the authors in my study had become more simplified. Although the eighteenth-century playwrights in this study retained some traits of the older use of THOU, such as a representation of heightened emotion, they might be less subtle about the contexts or relationships between interlocutors in which it could occur. Considering that, by then, THOU had almost fallen out of use in standard everyday English, they had to learn how to use it through written sources from previous times, such as Shakespearean works. They could learn some characteristics of THOU by doing so, but they failed to learn the whole system of THOU and YOU in plays and formed their own style of using THOU.

5. Conclusion

Although THOU was falling out of use in eighteenth-century standard everyday English, it still played an important role in the eighteenth-century plays in this study. THOU has a significant presence, especially in the tragedies, and at first sight there seems to be little change from Shakespeare's time. However, when each occurrence is considered/examined closely, there seem to be changes in the environments where THOU can occur. I suggest that this change is a part of "enregisterment" and "deregisterment". Enregisterment is "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognised register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231). In other words, some features of one variety (pronunciation, lexical items etc.) can be put into a certain register and considered to belong to it, i.e. 'enregistered' into one register. Enregistered features do not always stay enregistered forever, and they need to be replicable so that they can be disseminated and noticed (Agha 2004: 27). Sometimes enregistered features become 'deregistered', in other words, lose their connection to the previously linked register (Williams 2012). For example, certain phonetic features of 'Pittsburghese', according to Johnstone et al., used to be associated with the working class, but they were deregistered or 'semiotically de-linked from' class, and enregistered as a regional dialect, 'Pittsburghese' (2006: 95). I hypothesise that a similar process occurred to the use of THOU. THOU was originally used as a marker of social distance, intimacy and strong emotion, at least in Shakespeare's times. In the eighteenth-century plays in this study, THOU as a marker of

power and social distance was undergoing a process of "deregisterment". It lost its position as an optional personal pronoun. Instead, it was enregistered as a constituent of theatrical language. This is represented differently in comedies and in tragedies. In comedies, THOU is used as a representation of very strong emotions, but speakers change to YOU quickly, even in the same sentence. In tragedies, THOU appears quite frequently to create an archaic, grave style – even more often than in Shakespearean plays.

Although this study has dealt with only a few samples from eighteenth--century plays, it has shown variation both in plays as well as in genres. Needless to say, further study is needed, but careful qualitative analysis of the environments where THOU occurs is especially important.

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APPENDIX 1

The raw figures of THOU and YOU according to class or genders

Table 4. THOU and YOU in each class in comedies

	THOU	YOU
U-U	0	199
U-UM	10	279
U-M	12	326
U-L	12	90
UM-U	16	265
UM-UM	10	1044
UM-M	2	58
UM-L	8	59
M-U	0	241
M-M	10	554
M-L	1	70
L-U	0	140
L-UM	0	50
L-M	0	58
L-L	6	228

Table 5. THOU and YOU in each class in tragedies

	THOU	YOU
U-U	182	40
U-M	31	5
U-L	106	20
M-U	36	19
M-M	352	534
M-L	43	26
L-U	21	62
L-M	0	87
L-L	3	10

Table 6. THOU and YOU and the gender of speakers in comedies

	THOU	YOU
Female-Female	12	480
Female-Male	23	809
Male-Female	28	837
Male-Male	30	1485

Table 7. THOU and YOU and the gender of speakers in tragedies

	THOU	YOU
Female-Female	39	102
Female-Male	278	204
Male-Female	133	179
Male-Male	292	298

APPENDIX 2

Table 8. Female characters attending another woman in Shakespearean works

Works	Characters
Antony and Cleopatra	Charmian, Iras
The Comedy of Errors	Luce
Coriolanus	gentlewoman
Cymbeline	Lady
Henry V	Alice
Henry VIII	Anne Bullen, Patience
Love's Labour's Lost	Lady Rosaline, Lady Maria, Lady Katharine, Boyet
Macbeth	gentlewoman
The Merchant of Venice	Nerissa
Much Ado About Nothing	Margaret, Ursula
Othello	Emilia
Pericles	Lychorida
Richard II	Lady (attending on the Queen)
Romeo and Juliet	nurse
Twelfth Night	Maria
Two Gentlemen in Verona	Lucetta
Winter's Tale	Emilia, Paulina


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