Zeltia Blanco-Suárez
"Intensifiers in the history of English: Dead, to death, and die for in focus"

Intensifiers have figured prominently in the literature on semantic change as one of the most conspicuous cases of 'recycling' (Tagliamonte 2008), owing to their susceptibility to variation and rapid change (cf., among others, Macaulay 2006; Méndez-Naya 2008; Nevalainen 2008), hence Bolinger's famous reference to their 'picture of fevered invention and competition' (1972: 18).

This paper also approaches intensifiers, and aims at tracing the diachronic evolution of three death-related intensifiers in English, namely *dead*, *to death* (cf. Margerie 2011), and certain uses of the verb *die for*, as illustrated in (1)-(3) below:

> (1) *Our goal is to make it just **dead** easy for people to find what they want*, (COCA. 2011. CBS News_Morn).

> (2) *It was tough to make pars and every time we did we were tickled **to death***. (BYU-BNC. 1990. *How we won the open*: *the caddies' stories*).

> (3) *If you are*, *let me in on it*. *I'm **dying for** excitement*. (COHA. 1907. George Barr McCutcheon. *The daughter of Anderson Crow*).

In particular, it is shown that these intensifiers fit into the grammaticalisation cline described by Adamson (2000), according to which intensifiers originally indicate descriptive or literal meanings ((4)-(5)), gradually develop subjective readings (6)-(7), that is, non-literal meanings, but which can still conjure up death to a certain extent, and at a final stage they grammaticalise as intensifiers (cf. (1)-(3) above). In spite of this, the three intensifiers under analysis here differ in regard to their degree of grammaticalisation (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003), *dead* showing the most advanced stage in the process.

> (4) *Thine eyes*, *those christall phialls*, *which impars The perfect balme*, *to my **dead**-wounded brest*, (EEBO. 1593. Barnabe Barnes. *Parthenophil and Parthenophe Sonnettes*, *madrigals*, *elegies and odes*. Sonnet LXXXVII).

> (5) *VVhen Helena was to be stoned **to death***, (EEBO. 1599. Robert Albott. *VVits theater of the little world*).

> (6) *and therefore it is better to leave this tender one in her own Country*, *then to make her **dye for** Sorrow in this our hard Country*, *and severe Climate*. EEBO. 1683. Johannes Commelin. *The Belgick*, *or*, *Netherlandish hesperides*).

> (7) *and also that he must that very day of necessity return to the City*, *though the truth of it was*, *he had no mind longer to continue in the company of a man that he hated **to death***. (EEBO. 1674. Charles Cotton. *The fair one of Tunis*).

Data for this diachronic semantic study are drawn from a variety of sources, including the *OED* quotation database, the online database *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA), the *Brigham Young University-British National Corpus* (BYU-BNC), and the *Contemporary Corpus of American English* (COCA).

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Laurel Brinton
"'That's luck, if you ask me': Changing patterns of politeness in epistemic parentheticals"

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED-3, s.v. *ask*, def. II 4d) defines *if you ask me* as a "colloq. phrase" meaning 'in my opinion'. In this sense, it functions as an subjective "epistemic parenthetical" similar to *I think* or *I guess* (see Thompson and Mulac 1991). Quirk et al. (1985: 615-16) classify *if you ask me* as well as *if I {may, might} say so* as "style conjuncts" which denote "under what conditions [the speaker is] the 'authority' for the utterance" and the respect in which the comment is being "hedged". They also classify them as "indirect conditions", which are "dependent on the implicit speech act of the utterance" (1985: 1089, 1095-96). In online and learner dictionaries, the phrases are seen as prefacing opinions that have not necessarily been solicited. For example, *if you ask me* (or IYAM) is "used to introduce one's opinion, without being asked for it" (http://en.wiktionary.org); *if I may say so* "offers a nice way of expressing you opinion, even if no one is asking for it" (http://www.idiomsandexpressions.com). They thus serve to mitigate the attack on negative (and positive) face brought about by the volunteering of opinions. Yet semantically they are quite different. *If you ask me* suggests that the interlocutor might have asked for the proffered opinion, while *if I may say so* seems to ask for the interlocutor's permission to offer the stated opinion.

The two phrases appear at very different times in the history of the language. The earliest citation of *if you ask me* cited in OED-3 dates from 1902. A search of English historical corpora produces an example dating from as early as 1810 (example 1). In contrast, the earliest citation for *if I may say so* in the OED-3 quotation database is 1661 (s.v. *puppify*), with corpus searches producing an example from 1536 (example 2).

1.   … **if you ask me** the rot set in when he lost Ida and I reckon remorse has got a lot to do with his habits (1810 *Spectator* vol. 245, p. 30; Google Books)
2.   And it is verye wel done forsorth, for where shul+de god els fynde a dwellyng pla+ce? or whether coulde he els flee for succour, yf the deuyll dyd cha+se hym (**yf I may say so** (1536 Luther; EEBO)

Using a wide variety of corpora, this paper will examine the diachronic development of these phrases. For *if you ask me*, one can trace the change from literal meaning (where the phrase prefaces a response to an actual question) to purely pragmatic meaning (where no question has been posed). Use of *if you ask me* continues to risk the rejoinder "But I didn't ask you". In contrast, even the earliest instances of *if I may say so* appear to be fully pragmaticalized (they almost never evoke the response of "no, you may not say so").

The paper will consider larger consequences in politeness strategies implied by the change from *if I may say so* to *if you ask me*: changes whereby politeness becomes more focused on the interlocutor, more interactive or intersubjective.

David Brown and Chris Palmer
"The growth of phrasal verbs in American fiction"

Data from the Corpus of Historical American English (CoHA) show that, as a whole, phrasal verbs (e.g. *pick up*, *check out*, etc.) have steadily increased in written usage during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Palmer & Brown 2012). This increase, while apparent in multiple registers such as magazines and newspapers, is most evident in fiction, where writers have gone from using almost 2000 phrasal verbs per million words in 1810 to around 5000 phrasal verbs per million in 1990. Other studies of contemporary English (Biber et al. 1999; Liu 2011) have similarly found that phrasal verbs are a salient feature of fiction, contrasted especially with registers such as academic writing and non-fiction, which use phrasal verbs far less frequently.

These observations raise an important question: why has the use of phrasal verbs in fiction increased so dramatically over the last two centuries, especially relative to other written registers? One possibility is that phrasal verbs have been increasingly employed in fictional narrative as a resource for representing characters' mental processes and physical actions. And as phrasal verbs are also common in spoken registers, another possibility is that they have been used more and more in fictional dialogue in order to represent "authentic" speech. But if fiction is merely reflecting patterns from speech, it is surprising to find evidence that phrasal verbs occur *even more frequently* in fiction than in speech (cf. Liu 2011). So, historically speaking, how and why did phrasal verbs become such a marker for this particular written register?

In this study, we investigate the use of phrasal verbs in American prose fiction, examining their diachronic development from 1800 to 2000. In order to carry out our analysis, we are building an eighteen-million word corpus of fiction texts. Because we use COHA for comparison, we have prepared our corpus similarly. It is balanced and divided by decade, and it is part-of-speech tagged using CLAWS. In addition, we use XML tagging to isolate dialogue from non-dialogue. In this way, we are able to locate phrasal verb use in specific parts of the texts.

Preliminary analysis of the data suggests that the growth of phrasal verbs is a generalized phenomenon in the fiction genre that does not depend on the amount of dialogue-marked speech present in a text. In a statistical comparison of the far ends of our corpus (very early texts and very recent ones), adverbial particles significantly differentiate recent texts from early ones both inside and outside of dialogue. Thus, while phrasal verbs as a lexical class characterize texts diachronically, they do not seem to be representative of speech imitation exclusively. We speculate that, perhaps recognizing phrasal verbs as a quality of speech, fiction writers have increasingly used them in both dialogue and non-dialogue portions of their writing. Such increased use has not only resulted in marked differences between fiction and other written registers; it may have also differentiated fiction from speech, giving fiction an increasingly hyper-spoken feel.

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Marina Dossena
"Something to write home about: Social network maintenance in the correspondence of 19th-century Scottish Emigrants"

Even after the advent of the telegraph and later of the telephone, letters continued to be vital for the exchange of information, whether this was a detailed account of a difficult transaction, a short business note, or a report on the encoder's health and overall conditions. In addition, as geographical distance increased, news became all the more valuable, especially if messages were relatively infrequent, on account of their small affordability, whether in monetary terms or because encoders had little leisure to write. In the case of emigrants, the preservation of correspondence was not always a priority, at least not until they had settled down fairly permanently; as a result, it was more likely for the families of origin to preserve emigrants' letters, than it was for the latter to preserve the ones they received, and this may complicate the study of such documents: not only are they probably stored in different, very distant archives and libraries – they may also be unbalanced in quantitative and qualitative terms.

However, emigrants' letters are a fascinating object of study, as they contribute to both history and language history 'from below', allowing scholars to study spontaneous usage and direct observations and comments. In this study I intend to focus on the main ways in which participants are seen to maintain significant social network relations while construing a new identity away from 'the Old Country'. Starting from an overview of the typical contents of emigrants' letters, first outlined in Dossena (2008 and 2011), I aim to investigate some significant pragmatic strategies that enabled the correspondents to relate to each other meaningfully across time and space. In addition to the presence of extratextual elements, such as realia meant to make the new context more accessible to the recipients, my analysis will take into consideration involvement and personalization strategies in the correspondence of different generations, in order to assess how such strategies may be seen to vary across time.

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Bethany Christiansen
"Sexual anatomy of the 'Medicina de quadrupedibus': A semantic analysis"

In this paper, I will examine the semantic fields of several Old English words for sexual organs, including words for penis (gecyndlimu, scytel, and teors), for testicles (sceallas, herðbylges) and female reproductive parts (hrife, wambe, innoðes). In doing so, I will attempt to establish whether the term can be said to differentiate between external and internal organs, between male and female genitalia, and between animal and human parts. My analysis also involves pragmatic considerations, as language for sex and reproduction is particularly susceptible to politeness strategies such as euphemism and metaphor, and to nuances in register. I hope to develop not only a more precise understanding of the denotation of sexual terms, but also to shed light on their social connotations and possible usage.

My investigation will focus on the Old English Medicina de quadrupedibus (MDQ) as found in Cotton Vitellius C.iii (MS V) and Hatton 76 (MS B) from H. J. DeVriend's The Old English Herbarium (1984). The MDQ is a treatise on medicines made from animals, and it contains a relatively high number of recipes pertaining to sex and regeneration (21% of the total one hundred and seventy-five recipes). MS V is especially useful for investigations into Anglo-Saxon medical language because it seems to be a word-by-word translation of a Latin source text (Biblioteca Governativa, no. 296 [MS L] in DeVriend, and various B-recension fragments in Howald and Sigerist's Antonii Musae [1927]). By comparing the Old English and Latin, we are able track the consistency with which the Anglo-Saxon translator rendered a Latin word for an Old English one. Such an analysis, in conjunction with the semantic field study outlined above, provides the basis for establishing what comprised the Anglo-Saxon medical language, and to what extent it can be considered a technical language. I will also examine other Anglo-Saxon medical texts, glosses, and homilies for comparison.

Despite an accelerating interest in early medieval medicine, scholars have largely neglected Old English anatomical terminology. Analyses of Anglo-Saxon medical language have focused on identifying obscure ingredients and categorising herbs (examples include Peter Bierbaumer's Der botanische Wortschatz des Altenglischen in 1975, and Maria D'Aronco's 1988 article, "The Botanical Lexicon of the Old English Herbarium"). Although no comprehensive work on Old English medical terminology exists, there are some systematic studies of Latin medical and sexual terminology. In particular, I make use of D. R. Langslow's "Medical Latin in the Roman Empire," to frame my discussion on the criteria for a Fachsprache, and J. N. Adams's "The Latin Sexual Vocabulary." An apparent lacuna in scholarship at this time is the identification and more precise definition of Anglo-Saxon medical language in terms of anatomy, pathology, and therapeutics, one which I hope to begin to fill with my present research on sexual anatomy.

Izabela Czerniak
"Changes in early English morpho-syntax and Anglo-Scandinavian language contacts – focal area"

The rise of rigid SVO order in early English, i.e. the change from the synthetic to the analytic type, is one of the most important changes the language underwent in the course of its development. The studies on the subject have so far pointed to many factors, both internal and those having their source outside the language structures. Among possible external influences, contacts with the early Scandinavian population have been mentioned as providing an important early input. While it might be controversial to regard the contact situation as the main trigger for word order change in English, some credit has to be given to this particular linguistic cross-encounter for enhancing the process of inflectional erosion in its early stages (e.g. Iglesias-Rabade 2003). This morphological change, especially the erosion of case inflections, has often been mentioned as instrumental in the gradual stabilisation of the SVO order (e.g. Robinson 1992).

The current paper is part of a doctoral study which attempts to assess the role of these external pressures in the establishment of new syntactic conditions in early English. My initial analysis of data from parsed corpora of Old (YCOE) and Middle (PPCME2) English revealed that SVO developed faster in the dialects of the areas affected by the contact, viz. the North and East Midlands. This feature seemed well ensconced especially at the subordinate clause level where the rise of the new syntactic layout was not regulated by the typically Germanic V2 rule (Czerniak 2011). Yet, of the two Scandinavian influenced sectors, it is the North where a particularly high and most systematic preference for SVO could be observed. The prominence of SVO in this dialect stood out in various output configurations. The differences in the distribution of SVO north of the Humber suggest 'a deeper [Scandinavian] linguistic penetration' in these regions as noted already by Samuels (1985, 271-2), who referred to these regions as the *focal area* of the change. Perhaps it was not at all incidental that the petering out of (case) inflections progressed more rapidly in the same, northern dialect (e.g. Lightfoot 1991, 124). The fact that the two changes had a common starting point in one particular locale seems to clearly corroborate Samuels' claims about the existence of the *focal area* in the northern part of the Danelaw.

In the present study, the statistical tool of coefficient of variation (CV) has been used to control and interpret the level of dispersion of the investigated feature in the data sets representing different dialect sectors (Frank & Althoen 1994, 58-59). CV was found to be useful in cases where the mean values between the sets were very similar or identical. In those cases, the use of the coefficient made it possible to point out the sector with the most regular dispersion of the feature, as opposed to the data samples where the similar mean values were obtained from a highly fluctuating output.

Abbreviations not spelled out in the text (corpora used):
PPCME2: Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (2nd edition) (Kroch & Taylor 2000)
YCOE: York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (Taylor et al. 2003)

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Alexandra D'Arcy
"So slow yet totally frenetic: Intensification in longitudinal perspective"

The modification of adjectives is an enduring topic in English studies (e.g. Stoffel 1901; Mustanoja 1960; Stenström 1999). Within the variationist paradigm, this work is primarily concerned with intensifiers, those forms which amplify or boost meaning (e.g. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005; Rickford et al. 2007), exemplified in (1).

     (1) a. They wore *very pretty* bonnets. (A.Hamilton, b.1877)
       b. Mutton in those days was *quite cheap*. (E.Robinson, b.1919)
       c. That sounds *really sexist*, doesn't it? (fop99, b.1954)

The intensifier system is a notorious site of change in English, characterized by 'fevered invention' (Bolinger 1972:18) and constant renewal (Brinton & Arnovik 2006). These qualities make it inherently interesting with respect to the mechanism that operate on variation and change, which have been widely examined in synchronic perspective, revealing a system in flux and exposing ongoing shifts in the frequency of individual forms (e.g. *very*) as well as ongoing delexification and generalization of incoming forms (e.g. *really*, *so*).

With but one exception (Barnfield & Buchstaller 2010), however, what is notably missing from the variationist literature is research which addresses the diachronic dimension of intensification. This lack is not oversight but is due to a shortage of longitudinal speech corpora. The Origins of New Zealand English Corpus, ONZE (Gordon et al. 2007), which—through a combination of real and apparent time—spans New Zealand English 1850 to the present, thus provides a rare opportunity to trace intensification over 150 years. The current work therefore provides a critical extension to variationist research on intensification by providing a longitudinal view of competition and development within the system. Given the volatile nature of intensification, diachrony is key to understanding the mechanics of layering and recycling more generally. Are frenetic shifts in variant choice a regular aspect of the system, or is the overarching pattern one of stability, punctuated by bursts of change? We may also wonder about the longitudinal impact of delexification on the sector as a whole: Is the variable grammar affected by ongoing change, or do shifts involving individual lexical items operate separately from the architecture of intensification more generally? Accountable variationist analysis of over 12,000 adjectival heads from over 250 speakers reveals gradual patterns of historical ebb and flow. The overall longitudinal pattern is not one of rapid and large-scale reconfiguration, but of general expansion across the functional domain, just as reported by Barnfied and Buchstaller (2010) for their British materials. Intensification becomes more frequent across time, and affects a broader range of adjective types. The contemporary situation, however, is one of rapid and large-scale reorganization of forms, precisely as seen in other synchronic research of English varieties. Some of this reorganization is purely quantitative, but some is qualitative, involving changes in the configuration of the constraints on variation. The diachronic evidence provided by ONZE thus suggests that, in New Zealand at least, long-standing patterns can persevere for quite some time. Systemic change can be quite gradual, yet the

inherent form/function asymmetry that characterizes the domain supports (indeed, may even engender) periods of 'fevered' shifts in forms.

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Mark Davies
 "The 155 billion word Google Books 'corpus': Can it be used for serious research on diachronic syntax?"

At first glance, it might seem that the Google Books data (http://books.google.com/ngrams; Michel, Lieberman, et al 2011) cannot be used for serious research on historical English syntax. The "corpus" suffers from a number of serious limitations: 1) there are questions related to its textual accuracy 2) it is not possible to see differences across genres over time 3) with the standard Google Books interface, the frequency data is just presented as "pictures" -- it is not possible to retrieve the actual number of tokens (or even normalized frequencies), and 4) (perhaps most seriously) the "corpus" is not lemmatized or tagged for part of speech.

And yet . . . the "corpus" is so massive – 155 billion words for just the American English dataset, 1810s-2000s (and other datasets are available as well) – that it is extremely tempting to use this data in some way.

We have recently released a new architecture and interface for the Google Books data (American English; http://googlebooks.byu.edu), which is based on an architecture that is similar to the other large corpora from http://corpus.byu.edu, and which eliminates some of the most important limitations in the standard Google Books interface. Unlike the "frequency picture" approach of the standard interface, our interface allows users access to the raw frequency counts and normalized frequencies. Most importantly, our interface allows users to search by lemma and part of speech, which allows for powerful syntactically-oriented investigations.

In this presentation, we will provide one test case to show how our Google Books architecture and interface can be used for relatively complex syntactic searches. We will consider the "Great Complement Shift" with [to V] to [V-ing] complements (cf. Rudanko 2000, Rohdenburg 2006, Mair 2006, de Smet 2008): *Mary hates* [*to write / writing*] *proposals*. Via quick and easy searches, users can retrieve *tens of millions* of tokens of this construction. And even though the underlying Google Books n-grams are not lemmatized or tagged for part of speech, the results are extremely accurate – there are very few "false hits" in the retrieved strings.

Finally, we compare the Google Books data (from our interface) with the data from a more structured corpus – the 400 million word Corpus of Historical American English (COHA; http://corpus.byu.edu/coha), which has much more accurate texts than Google Books, and which *has* been carefully constructed for genre balance (e.g. fiction, magazine, newspapers, academic non-fiction), and which *has* been carefully lemmatized and tagged for part of speech. We find that the Google Books data matches the COHA data very closely for the shift from [to V] to [V-ing] (see Davies 2012a, 2012b). This raises interesting questions about corpus design – how careful do we need to be about genre balance when – as with Google Books – we have such a massive database, which represents such a large portion of all published material during a given period.

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Stefan Dollinger
"Historical dictionaries and linguistic theory: On the nature of an increasingly uneasy relationship"

       The study of historical lexis has not precisely been at the forefront of methodological innovation as of late. Much like geographical dialectology, historical lexicology and lexicography is at times confronted with the lack of an over-arching linguistic theory which is often seen as the sine-qua-non of linguistic work. As early as 1875, Alexander Ellis remarked that "collecting country words is looked upon as an amusement, not as laying a brick in the temple of science" (qtd. in Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 15). Today, as corpus linguists usually prefer structured corpora over quotation databases, and linguists choose data collected either in experimental or naturalistic settings over written texts, historical dictionaries are at times seen as limited resources.

       The present paper aims to make the case that historical dictionaries can be fruitfully exploited in the analysis and theory-building of linguistic change. Starting with an example from the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, I will show that even one historical quotation, in this case from the entry of *railroad time*, may provide the missing link to the corroboration of a linguistic theory, i.e. changes in the telling of time.

In the bigger part of the paper I will introduce the new *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (DCHP-2, currently in progress), which is being compiled electronically. DCHP-2 provides normalized frequency counts across multiple internet domains, which, together with the historical evidence, make interesting case studies of the genesis and maintenance of various types of isoglosses along the Canada-U.S. border (e.g. *anglophone, cube van, bachelor apartment, reading week, visible minority, washroom*). The written evidence from Canada, and comparative data from the US, allows insights into a number of theoretical concepts, such as the autonomy and homogeneity of Canadian English, which are key concepts in sociolinguistic theory.

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Joanna Janecka Esquibel
"From theodan to translaten: On the replacement of native forms with a Romance borrowing"

At the dawn of the Middle English period, the language saw a number of different terms referring to the process of translation. One of these, *WENDAN*, had a literal meaning 'to translate', next to 'cause to move, alter the direction or position' and 'to turn round or over' (Bosworth—Toller, henceforth referred to as BT), and it only extended the meaning by attaching prefixes (cf. *awendan, gewendan*, BT). Others acquired the meaning by attaching the intensifying prefix *a-* or the resultative prefix *ge-*, including *RECCAN* 'to stretch, extend' (cf. *areccan, gereccan* 'to interpret, translate' BT), *THEODAN* 'to join, attach', *CIRRAN* 'to turn, cause to move' and *HWIRFAN* 'to move about' (cf. *geþeodan, gecirran, gehwierfan*, respectively, 'to translate' BT) and *LÆDAN* 'to lead' (*oferlædan* 'to carry across, translate', BT). One more verb, *TRAHTNIAN*, evoked the meaning of 'explaining and expounding' (BT), both with and without the prefix *ge-*, but tended to be used in contexts clearly indicating translation, such as "Ðá cwæþ Pilatus Hú clypedon hig and hú byþ hit getrahtnod on Hebreisc" (*Gospel of Nikodemus*).

Interestingly enough, in none of the above cases was the meaning limited solely to 'translating'; instead, semantic domains of the verbs in question included such meanings as 'to join, connect... adjust' (*geþeodan*), 'to turn upside down', 'pervert' (*awendan*), 'oppress', 'humble, humiliate' (*lædan*) etc. (cf. BT, OED, MED), thus providing a wide contextual background for the process usually associated with translating. The plethora of terms and meanings seems to mirror the attitude of medieval scribes and authors towards translation, understood as presenting, explaining, expounding, unraveling, and explicating, interpreting, and, finally, transferring (*oferlad*) the message from one language to another, in line with the formula *translatio studii et imperii*.

After the Norman Conquest, however, the meaning of 'transfer between languages' in the above verbs starts to disappear with the exception of *WENDEN*, which is still used in this sense in mid 13th century (cf. "Icc till Ennglissh hafe **wennd** Goddspelless hallʒhe lare", *Ormulum*). Incidentally, that is also the time when *TURNEN* seems to take over the same sense in such contexts (cf. "Ziff þu willt Emmanuæl Till Ennglissh spæche **turrnenn**, Itt seʒʒþ þatt Godd iss her wiþþ uss." *Ormulum*). Finally, the language borrows the foreign term *TRANSLATEN* (F.-L., Skeat), which at the end of the 13th century starts to function along *WENDEN* and *TURNEN* in the meaning of 'transferring, changing, replacing' (cf. MED), and in the 14th century acquires the literal meaning of 'translate' (MED, Skeat), marginalizing or eliminating older forms.

The present paper focuses on the loss of the meaning 'to translate' from the semantic domains of the native verbs and the pattern of its replacement by the foreign term to indicate 'transfer of a message between two languages'. The study shall analyze the affiliated texts classified by date and dialect in such electronic corpora as *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus Database* and *The Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose,* with special emphasis on the 13th century, when the old terms ceased to be used and the new term had not yet been clearly established.

Markku Filppula and Izabela Czerniak
"Syntactic divergence between British and Irish English: HAVE TO vs. HAVE GOT TO"

HAVE TO and its variant form HAVE GOT TO have in Modern English established themselves as part of the system of modal auxiliaries in most varieties; Quirk et al. (1985) include them in their subcategory of 'semi-auxiliaries'. Because of their relatively late grammaticalisation in deontic function, both HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO have been described as 'emergent modals' (see, e.g. Krug 2000). Previous research has also shown that in British English (BrE) the latter is of more recent vintage and does not enter the language until the latter part of the 19th century, followed by a rapid increase in use in the 20th century (Krug 2000: 74). HAVE GOT TO is often considered to be common but informal in BrE. Thus, the OED describes it as being used in 'familiar language' (*OED* online, s.v. *get*, no. 24 a.).

While there is evidence to show that there are differences in the usage of HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO between major varieties such as BrE and AmE, little attempt has so far been made to study the patterns of synchronic and diachronic variation between these two forms in other varieties. The aim of this paper is to add to our knowledge of such variation by comparing BrE and another 'national variety' spoken in the British Isles, viz. Irish English (IrE). For synchronic comparisons, we will use the written and spoken components of two major corpora, which are the *International Corpus of English – Great Britain* (ICE-GB for short) and the *International Corpus of English – Ireland* (ICE-IRL). The diachronic aspect is examined in the light of data from nineteenth-century British and Irish texts.

The results of our quantitative study of HAVE GOT TO vs. HAVE TO (both full and reduced forms) show, first, that their distribution is significantly different in the two present-day varieties: in spoken BrE, HAVE GOT TO is proportionately clearly more frequent than in IrE, where the preferred variant is HAVE TO. The situation is more even in the written mode where the frequencies of HAVE GOT TO are much lower in both varieties. This confirms the earlier observation that in BrE HAVE GOT TO is a feature of spoken informal speech. On the other hand, the virtual absence of this variant even in spoken IrE suggests that it never really made its way into IrE. Our examination of the data from nineteenth-century Irish texts reveals that this, indeed, is the case.
In conclusion, the findings of this study suggest that in respect of this feature (and of several others, for that matter), the development of these two national varieties have gone their separate ways, with IrE (like AmE in many cases) turning out to be more conservative than BrE – possibly as a result of 'colonial lag'.

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Peter Grund
"Seeing is believing: Evidentiality and visual perception verbs in EModE witness depositions"

Speakers of English have a number of means to signal evidentiality or the source of the information that they are conveying, whether sensory perception, assumption, inference, or statements by others. Although research on evidentiality has traditionally focused on languages that employ more or less obligatory morphological marking (see Aikhenvald 2004), a number of studies have also shown that Present-Day English has a complex system of evidentiality that primarily relies on lexical resources (e.g. Chafe 1986; Bednarek 2006; Whitt 2010). However, much remains unknown about the evidential system of English, including patterns of use in historical periods (see Grund 2012).

The aim of my paper is to add to our knowledge of the historical picture of evidentiality by exploring a central category of evidentials, namely visual perception verbs, such as *see*, *observe*, *note*, and *perceive*, in Early Modern English witness depositions. Witness depositions, which are written records of oral statements made in connection with court cases, are very suitable material for a study of evidentiality as deponents make frequent use of evidential markers to highlight the basis of their evidence (see Grund 2012). My study is based on ca. 900 depositions provided in Kytö, Grund, and Walker (2011), which hail from various regions in England in the period 1560–1760. My paper will investigate the frequency and variation in visual perception verbs over the course of the early modern period. I will also consider the diachronic development and function of various complementation patterns of perception verbs, such as *that*-clauses (*I saw that he was coming*), object+infinitives (*I saw him come*), and object+participles (*I saw him coming*) (Whitt 2011). Finally, I will show that evidential uses of perception verbs frequently perform pragmatic functions in certain contexts, such as signaling certainty and reliability.

In addition to contributing new information about evidentiality in the history of English, my paper also underscores the general importance of considering communicative setting in charting linguistic use and variation in historical periods.

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Cynthia Hallen
"Noah Webster and the definition of linguistic(s)"

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) attributes the first attested occurrence of the plural noun form "linguistics" (definition B.b.) to an 1847 reprint of the *American Dictionary of the English Language* (ADEL) that was published by the Merriam Brothers after the death of Noah Webster in 1843. However, the occurrence cited in the OED entry for "linguistic, adj. and n." is not the first attested citation of "linguistics" as a noun plural in the English language. Webster had already included an entry for "LIN-GUIST'ICS, n." in the Addenda section of the 1844 reprint of his 1841 second edition of the ADEL published by the Adams Brothers in Amherst, Massachusetts. In the 1844 Addenda, Webster had defined "linguistics" as the "science of languages, or of the origin, signification, and application of words." The OED noun definition repeats Webster's first phrase but revises the triadic second phrase to one word: "The science of languages; philology."

The OED attributes the first attested occurrence of the adjective form "linguistic" (definition A.) to an 1856 citation by C.J. Ellicott in *Cambridge Essays* (p. 187). However, this occurrence (also cited in the OED entry for "linguistic, adj. and n.") is not the first attested citation of "linguistic" as an adjective in the English language. Webster had already included an entry for "LIN-GUIST'IC, or LIN-GUIST'IC-AL, a." in the Addenda section of the 1844 reprint of the second edition of the ADEL. In the 1844 Addenda, Webster had defined the adjective "linguistic" as the "Relating to linguistics, or to the affinities of languages", citing "Gliddon" as a reference. The OED adjective definition does not repeat Webster's phrase that links the adjective forms to the noun form "linguistics" but rather establishes its own phraseology: "Of or pertaining to the knowledge or study of language . . . Of or pertaining to language or languages."

Neither the adjective nor the noun definitions (A. and B.) in the OED provide more recent senses of the singular and plural terms "linguistic" and "linguistics" pertaining to structural, generative, theoretical, and computational language studies. The OED entry should be revised to include such developments. Furthermore, the citations should be revised to list Noah Webster's 1844 reprint of the ADEL as the first attested source for both the noun and adjective forms. In other words, Noah Webster should receive credit as the lexicographical "father" of the field of Linguistics in the history of the English language.

Megan Hartman
"The sound of wisdom: Stylistic Repetition in Old English gnomic poetry"

In the course of his metrical studies, A. J. Bliss described gnomic verse as some of the most metrically unusual in Old English poetry.[1] Haruko Momma specifically studied a group of irregular lines singled out by Bliss in order to argue that they form a special formulaic system that is unique to gnomic poetry, which she terms the "gnomic formula."[2] This formula is interesting for a number of reasons. First, it tends to create long verse patterns—it in fact combines two clauses into one verse—but it nevertheless consistently forms a single statement. Second, it can be expanded from a normal verse into a related hypermetric form. And third, though it appears in many different poems, it always contains an aphoristic statement, and the hypermetric version most frequently occurs in the poems dedicated to maxims.

In this paper, I will argue that Momma's gnomic formula is not the only such formula in gnomic poetry; many analogous formulas occur, to the point that similarly structured formulaic systems are a distinctive stylistic feature of the genre as a whole. These formulas are all comparable because they contain a wise statement that appears in a single verse, or occasionally a pair of verses, in tightly organized formulas that are repeated throughout the poem. Moreover, these verses can often be expanded into hypermetric versions when the poet wishes to add more detail to his aphorism. Thus, the metrical patterning reinforces the content and syntax typical of gnomic poems to create a specific sound or rhythm associated with the genre. This sound must have lent an air of formality to gnomic poetry, since the stately repetition would reinforce the wise diction to create an elevated tone. Furthermore, the poets' use of hypermetric meter increases the formality further still. In many narrative poems, hypermetric verses are frequently used to facilitate a straightforward syntax that allows the poet to explain or narrate with greater ease. In gnomic poems, the hypermetric verse certainly facilitates the composition, but here the poets frequently use them to fit longer, expanded gnomic statements into a single verse or a verse pair. The hypermetric sections therefore add greater gravity to the poems because the length of the line, the diction, and the content all work together to highlight these particularly important maxims. While unusual, then, gnomic meter should not be considered irregular, but rather a stylistic feature of the tradition that sets the important genre of wisdom poetry apart.

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[1] See in particular A. J. Bliss, *The Meter of* Beowulf, revised edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967) and "Single Half Lines in Old English Poetry. *Notes and Queries* n.s 18 (1971): 442-449.

[2] Haruko Momma, "The 'Gnomic Formula' and some Additions to Bliss's Old English Metrical System." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 4 (1989): 423-426.

Xingzhong (Charles) Li
"'Last Monday' or 'Monday Last'? An optimality treatment of syntactic inversions in Chaucer's verse"

This paper adopts an optimality theoretical approach to studying the interplay between metrical constraints and syntactic inversions in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (CT). In doing so, the paper makes three arguments. First, it argues for a set of strictly ranked constraints that captures the fine-grained gradient well-formedness in the grammar of the metrified CT. Second, it argues for integrating semantic constraints, in addition to syntactic and metrical constraints, into consideration of formulating OT constraints and their ranks in charactering Chaucer's metrical performance.

Closely related with the first two arguments is the third argument: Major metrical and syntactic constraints in poetry, as recognized and ranked in current OT literature, stand in need of revision. This is so not only because there exist different determinations of universal constraints and their ranks among metrists (Hayes, 2012) but also because semantic constraints have generally been out of consideration by OT metrists. In the past decade or so, some metrists claim that when metrical constraints and syntactic constraints conflict, the latter yield (Rice, 1997; Golston and Riad, 2000, among others). Other metrists believe that metrical and syntactic constraints are interleaved; that is, syntactic constraints outrank metrical constraints but are, in some cases, outranked by metrical constraints (Fitzgerald, 2007). Still other metrists hold, and for attested reasons, that, although metrical and syntactic constraints are interleaved, both of them are also outranked by certain phonological and syntactic constraints (Youmans, 2009). As its third argument, this paper suggests that semantic constraints play an important role in Chaucer's metrification practice and dominate, and in some cases are dominated by, both metrical and syntactic constraints.

Rising Diphthongs in the History of English

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Abstract

In the history of English diphthongs can be broadly divided into two classes, those of rising and of falling diphthongs. For Modern English, the latter consist of sound sequences in which the second element was historically /r/, as in NEAR /nɪə/ < /nir/, PEAR /pɛə/ < /per/ and CURE /kʊə/ < /kur/. The rising diphthongs have a longer history, stretching back at least to Middle English. For Old English the syllable codas of a word like *day* is assumed to have been *dæġ* in which the final element is interpreted as an approximant which was later vocalised through absorption by the nucleus vowel: æ + j → æj → ai. A similar development is assumed for words like *law,* OE *lagu*, laɣu (after vocalisation of ɣ) → ɑ + w → ɑw → ɑu → au. This analysis assumes that /ai/ and /au/ are Middle English developments. An additional diphthong is that in French *point* with which /ɔi/ established itself in English yielding a triad of rising diphthongs.

For the current paper the concern is with how these three diphthongs developed since Middle English, both in English English and other varieties. The lexical incidence of /ai/ and /au/ changed with the major English vowel shift so that the nuclei of words like *sail* and *saw* moved to /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ respectively. The new instances of /ai/ and /au/ arose from the diphthongisation of early Middle English /i:/ and /u:/ respectively.

The central question for this paper is whether the new diphthongs from /i:/ and /u:/ moved in tandem and were somehow 'linked' in their migration through phonological space. There is evidence for this in the history of southern English English up to the late modern English period when fronting of /au/ in the MOUTH lexical set began. For other varieties the paired movement of /ai/ and /au/ is attested, e.g. in the centralisation of both onsets in Canadian English. The relationship of /ai/ to /ɔi/ is also relevant as onset retraction with /ai/ generally leads to onset raising for /ɔi/ with the possible exception of a merger in the eighteenth century (BILE - BOIL merger). Evidence for or against linking of /ai/ and /au/ will be considered by examining varieties which show diphthong flattening in which /ai/ and/or /au/ all but lose their upglide and result in a long low vowel. The fact that diphthong flattening is nowhere attested for /ɔi/ would suggest that it is the odd one out in the triad /ai/ - /au/ - /ɔi/. The question of linked vowel movements will also be broached when considering the diphthongisation of the long mid vowels in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets.

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Anatoly Liberman
"The History of the Old English reflexes of Germanic */r/"

The history of the phoneme /r/ in English contains many unclear moments. This presentation will focus on two of them.

1. OE /r/ AND GERMANIC LENITION. The Great Germanic Lenition that began with the First Consonant Shift and Verner's Law had decisive consequences for */r/. Not only did */s/ undergo weakening (voicing): this process also affected */z/ < /*s/ and resulted in rhotacism. The rhotacism of various consonants (to the extent that it is a systemic change) occurred in many languages and has been attested, among others, in Latin, present day Romance dialects, and some dialects of Modern English and German. Its phonetic mechanism is always the same (weakening), but the structural factors triggering the change differ from language to language. The phoneme that arose by Germanic rhotacism had two options: to continue weakening and become a vowel or to merge with old /r/. It chose the second way, but old /r/ too succumbed to lenition. Among the Germanic languages, English went especially far in this direction. Originally, */r/ must have been a trill of the Modern Scots type. But very early it aligned itself with such weak sounds as /w/ and /h/ (all three worked together in several West Germanic changes). Still later, Engl. /r/ acquired its typologically rare modern realization and tended to disappear after vowels.

2. OE /r/ AND WEST GERMANIC GEMINATION. A characteristic example will illustrate the situation with sufficient clarity. Two homonyms met in Old English: *werian* 'defend' (Gothic *warjan*) and *werian* 'dress' (Gothic *wasjan*). Both have /e/ from */a/ (umlaut). In *werian* 'dress', /r/ is the product of rhotacism. In both forms, /r/ withstood lengthening, which proves that rhotacism predated West Germanic gemination (*/s/ would have been doubled), a fact of relative chronology usually passed over in our textbooks. The most often discussed question is why /r/ did not undergo lengthening. At least two conjectures have been offered: the presence of epenthesis after /r/ (Wilmanns) and the vocalization of /j/ to */i/ after /r/, with a concomitant accentual change in the affected word (Boer). Both are examples of ad hoc hypotheses and therefore carry little conviction. The cause of the special development of /r/ is the early spread of palatalization, especially in West Germanic: /r/ can be palatalized (as shown by the situation in Slavic), but for purely anatomical reasons, if palatalized, it cannot be lengthened. Strangely, this obvious explanation has not occurred to anyone, including those in whose native languages (Russian, Polish) consonant palatalization is distinctive (Russian and Polish contributions to the history of umlaut are many). The reason is not far to seek: in the study of umlaut, "the anti-palatalization school," unfortunately, won over in the nineteenth century, was reinforced in the works with the focus on the phonologization of allophones, and has been taken for granted by later schools.

Sylwester Łodej
"Goodman and goodwife in Early Modern English: Tracing the diachrony of social ranks in comedy texts"

The respectful forms of address which referred to social stratification in Tudor and Stuart England employed the titles of *Lord - Lady* for the nobility, *Sir - Dame* and *Mr - Mrs* for the landed gentry and *Goodman - Goodwife* (*Goody*) for the yeomanry. In the course of time the system of these titles underwent reorganization. The high status ranks generalized to polite forms of address and the low-status titles fell out of use (cf. Nevalainen, 2006; Nevalainen — Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003). This paper discusses the socio-pragmatics of *Goodman* and *Goodwife* as recorded in the texts of Early Modern English drama and offers an account of their decreasing frequencies in theatrical dialogues. The trends in frequencies use the date of the first performance of plays on stage as an indicator of the synchronic currency of the studied language. The paper also evaluates the validity of the genres of comic and tragic drama for sociolinguistic studies. A reference is made to theatrical theory on the topicality of the two genres which may have consequences for historical linguistic studies. Extensive accounts of research on the spoken corpus of comic plays are found in Biber — Burges (2000) and Nevalainen (2005), but it appears that this material remains largely uncharted. A systematic use of comedies for pragmatic and sociolinguistic corpus research offers valuable insight into the spoken discourse of Early Modern English.

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Donka Minkova
"From stop-fricative clusters to contour segments in early English"

  A narrow phonetic transcription of *Why choose white shoes?* in fast speech will not distinguish between the two underlined sequences, yet their phonemic content is distinct: ***choose*** has the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/, while the similar-sounding *white shoes* is a sequence of a voiceless alveolar stop [t] and a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ]. Phonetically, affricates are stops in which the release of the constriction produces a prolonged friction, creating a contour segment unrecognized in the IPA consonantal chart. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 90) describe affricates as "an intermediate category between simple stops and a sequence of a stop and a fricative". This phonetic complexity can result in a reanalysis of the sequence as a single phoneme, as is the case in Present-Day English (PDE), see Cruttenden (2008: 182-184) for a survey of the arguments in favor of the analysis of /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ as single contrastive units. Compare this to Modern German, where /pf/ and /ts/ are accepted as uniphonemic, but the status of [tʃ] and [dʒ] is controversial and the voiced [dʒ] is found only in loan-words.

  Proto-Germanic had no affricates. In Old English, the existence of medial affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] from geminated [k] and [g], as in <þeccean> from *þakjan* 'to cover' or <bycg(e)an>, Gothic *bugjan* 'to buy' is universally accepted, yet the evolution from stop-fricative clusters to contour segments has not been worked out. Hogg (1992: 36-44) posits a contrast between a singleton /dʒ/ and geminate /ddʒ/ for OE, but acknowledges that the distributional arguments are weak. My first goal will be to collect data on the distribution: initial, medial, final, and the commutability of the fledgling affricates. My second goal will be to test the behavior of <-cc-> and <cg> in a metrical system where syllable quantity is relevant and singletons after short stressed vowels are associated with the onset. My third goal is to track *LAEME* spellings for possible scribal/native speaker evidence indicative of sequential or uniphonemic perception of the affricates. Finally, the results will be discussed in the context of later innovations: the affrications in e.g. *nature, creature, soldier, verdure, gotcha*, Injun, and the continuing assimilation of [ʒ] to [dʒ] in loanwords as in *garage, prestige, mélange*.

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Chelsea Murdock
"Native to English: Observing language contact in place names"

Many place names in the United States can be traced to Native languages, from rivers to townships. These place names have been studied by scholars such as Bright (2004), often in a state-to-state manner, such as Bright's examinations of place names from Colorado and California. Other scholars, such as Grant Smith, "focus more specifically on Native American terms borrowed into English and transferred from one area to another" (1996: 47). In general, these approaches lead to various guidebooks on the indigenous name meanings with very little depiction of the historical context that surrounded the development of these place names. In some parts of the United States, the indigenous linguistic influence on place names can go beyond Native loanwords. An example of this would be "Etowah" and "Hightower" in the Appalachian foothills. The difference is that instead of acquiring the Native name a new Anglo adaptation was adopted.

The aim of my paper is to examine the transition of Native American place names to English place names. I will use the interrelated terms "Etowah" and "Hightower" as a case study, but I will also contextualize the patterns of these words within larger patterns in the southeastern United States and throughout the nation. To illustrate the shift between Native to English, I intend to examine how this change could have come about and how this relationship reflects the climate of the times. I will use first accounts taken by Spanish explorers to discover what the original name of the "Etowah" site could have been, moving forward through history through the English-Native interaction of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and on to present day. To do this, I will call upon a number of linguistic factors—such as phonology and morphology— that could have led to the shift from "Etowah" to "Hightower," from Spanish translation to English pronunciation. This sort of shift toward Anglicization is indicative and representative of the attitudes of Spanish and American perceptions of Natives throughout the history of the linguistic contact—from a need for communication by the Spanish explorers to the shift into erasure by Anglo-Americans. Though, instead of erasing the name entirely, it was adapted to the growing populace that entered the region. Place names can be representative of history and the interaction between cultures. In examining this occurrence, the paper will reveal the complicated relationship between the Native languages, English, and the historical context in which the place names were given or changed.

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John Newman
"Token Frequency and Plural Number Marking in the Old and Middle English Masculine *nd*-stems *Feond* and *Freond*

The nouns *feond* 'fiend' and *freond* 'friend', the most broadly attested members of the small class of Old English-Middle English masculine *nd*-stems, exhibit a pattern of plural number signaling which is atypically intermittent as regards the analogical adoption of the *s*-plural marker (-*as* in Old English/ -*es* in Middle English), a plural formative that was originally restricted to the masculine *a*-stem paradigm but later, in Late Middle English times, was generalized to function as the regular plural marker of the great majority of English nouns (cf. Newman 2008: 114-118, 166, 175, 187, 198-199, 208). Although both *feond* and *freond*, which in Old English formed their plurals by umlaut or zero marking, began to attach the *s*-plural marker in Late Old English, particularly in Late Northumbrian (cf. Wełna 1996: 29), both nouns also underwent a lull in Early Middle English times, at least in dialects other than Northern, and adopted the *s*-plural as their regular plural formative only in Late Middle English times (cf. Newman 2008: 22, 40, 65, 68, 88, 90, 109, 111, 114). Data examined in this study suggest that the resistance of these nouns to *s*-plural extension was due, at least in part, to Early Middle English umlaut- and zero-plural analogical modeling by *feond* and *freond* on nouns like *man* 'man' (plural in umlaut) and *þing* 'thing' (plural in zero) whose contemporary plural token frequencies were significantly higher than those of *feond* and *freond*, and whose *s*-extension resistance was greater than that of the two *nd*-stems in Middle English times (cf. Bybee 2007: 29 on low frequency of occurrence and susceptibility to analogical modeling). Additionally indicated by the evidence culled is that *feond* was measurably more frequently occurring in Old English and Early Middle English than was *freond*. The possibility that the higher frequency of *feond* increased its resistance to the spread of the *s*-plural, and the chance that this was causal to the fact that *feond* adopted the *s*-plural later than *freond* did so, are also considered in the discussion (cf. Bybee 2010: 75 on high frequency of occurrence and resistance to analogical change). Among the sources from which data were gleaned are: *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (OE: Northumbrian); *The Rushworth Gospels: Matthew* (OE: Mercian); *The West Saxon Gospels* (OE: West Saxon); *The Old English Gospels, MS Hatton 38* (OE: Kentish); *Cursor Mundi* and *Sir Tristrem* (ME: Northern); *The Peterborough Chronicle* and *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter* (ME: East Midland); *The Katherine Group Texts* and *The MS Jesus College 29 Texts* (ME: West Midland); *The MS Digby 86 Texts* and *The Early South English Legendary* (ME: Southwestern); and *An Bispel (MS Cotton Vespasian A xxii)* and *The Ayenbite of Inwyt* (ME: Southeastern).

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Toshihiro Oda
"Prosodic approach and phonetic basis in the history of English"

The contemporary, prosodic approach and phonetic basis are employed each in the later stages of English and rather commonly throughout the history. The functions on them seem to be apparently controversial and depend on the themes. (see Fulk 1997, Liberman 1990, Luts 1986, Minkova 2000, Murray 2000a, Salmons 1990, Vennemann 1991 on the syllabic phonology). The loci of the explanations are to take the other positions at the same time (most frequently, onset and coda) for prosodic approach and to make the discrepancies with the universal structures for phonetic basis. As sound changes proceed in the history of English, both of them are increasingly necessary, but qualified partially as the explanatory theory. For the purpose of making the unified analysis on this issue, a supposition will be made.

Prosodic approach conditions one of the hierarchies from mora to utterance. The shift between the hierarchies is (a) from lower to higher, (b) caused by the allophonic variation taking other position, and (c) motivated by phonetic conditioning. This is related to, say, the declining obligatory onsets (Minkova 2000). More specifically, the glottaling epenthesis in OE onsets, some of the foot-based allophones, and others are subject to the discussion. It is led to be claimed that the foot-based forms and the lacking onsets are correlated with each other or, otherwise, that obligatory pronunciations cause them to occur. This explanation is, however, applicable only to the phonology with a wide variety of the allophones.

Phonetic bases themselves are in general applied to the language-specific phenomena. This makes sense on the themes both in and other than the syllabifications (cf. Hall 2004 on the violation of the Syllable Contact law, Howell and Wicka 2007 on Late OE smoothing). The essential role phonetic bases play in the syllabifications is that the allophonic shift may or may not occur in the sense that they diverge from the phonological counterparts. If the allophone is derived, the phonetic basis holds to it, but not vice versa. What is more, the allophones with it differ distributionally from those in the other periods. Given the phonetic basis on the synchronic fluctuation, it makes a difference from the one on each pronunciation or each increase. In the earliest stage, the surface [x] and [C] have the phonetic conditioning and the rhyme of a stressed syllable becomes trimoraic in some of the cases. The shift like this is likely to occur constantly. As opposed to prosodic approach, it should be asked whether phonetic basis should distinguish the syllabic domain from the prosodic one.

The two allophonic analyses are considered to be applied, but not for everything, and do not serve as the single framework in it. However, by combining the two approaches, an explanatory theory on the allophonic variations, in particular, on many kinds of the illustrations in English is posited. The surface syllable structures contrary to the universal ones have a phonetic conditioning (i.e. monodirectional). When foot or higher hierarchies than it is used, the allophones conditioned on it stem from two phonetic aspects at the same time, thus, bidirectional: crosslinguistic one like the common consonant lenition and language-specific one with the phonetic detail. This framework is systematically true since the allophones with the high hierarchy definitely have a phonetic conditioning. It is reflected in the identical forms with different

hierarchies.

Carol Percy
"Seventeenth-century shifting English: Bathsua Makin's languages of learning"

Exploring some early stages of the standardization of English, in this paper I will use the correspondence and publications of the scholar and educator Bathsua Makin (c1600-c1681) to chart some functions and assess the relative status of the English language in the later seventeenth century– in England and in Europe.

The later seventeenth century is often seen as a watershed for English, at least as a language of learning. For instance, the Oxford Companion to the English Language (s.v. "Latin") mentions Newton's shift from Latin in his 1687 Principia to English in his 1704 Opticks, and Pal characterizes the demise of Europe's seventeenth-century republic of letters as characterized by the rise of vernaculars as media for scientific research in such state-sponsored academies as England's Royal Society of London (est. 1660). Yet the process was complex: critiquing the work of Jones, as summarized by Markley (1-2, 18-22) literary scholars have complicated the concept both of a linear "triumph" of English and of the "rise" of a modern prose style. In Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe Burke argues for a more nuanced account of European language ecologies.

My interest in Makin arises from a larger project that uses women's grammars as a focus for considering the standardization of the mother tongue in the long eighteenth century. The unrepresentatively learned Makin is a useful focus for describing, contextualizing, and interpreting the status of English as one medium of learning. Makin vigorously promoted English - but as a tool for learning foreign languages in what Pal carefully describes as "the first treatise in English to argue that women could and should be educated in [...] humanist learning" including Latin and Greek. Moreover, her multilingual and sometimes macaronic correspondence placed her in networks of Europe's women and men of learning – scientific and pedagogical. I will use Makin's collaboration with such Comenian educational reformers as the grammarian Mark Lewis (1622-81), and her multilingual poem to the scientist Robert Boyle (1627-1691) as an opportunity to sketch and interpret the linguistic media of learning in late seventeenth-century England.

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Betty Phillips
"Words Swimming in Sound Change"

It has been over 30 years since Labov's 1981 article in *Language* entitled "Resolving the Neogrammarian Controversy."   Yet this controversy over what constitutes "regular" sound change and what lexically diffused sound change still has not been resolved. Labov's *Principles of Linguistic Change: Cognitive and Cultural Factors* (2010) devotes a chapter to "Words Floating on the Surface of Sound Change," in which he defines lexical diffusion as a process "whereby change proceeds gradually through the lexicon by the more or less arbitrary selection of individual words," despite his acknowledgement that "In most such cases, there is a correlation of word frequency with order of selection," which implies that the selection of words is not arbitrary. Nonetheless Labov later makes it clear that, to him, "To be identified as lexical diffusion, the process of selection must have an arbitrary and unpredictable character." Indeed, he claims that "If the sound change does select words one at a time, the phonological constraints should shrink or disappear, and be replaced by lexical diffusion." But by using this definition, Labov has set up a straw man, which he has no trouble refuting with data on the fronting of /uw/, the fronting of /ow/, and /æ/ raising and fronting, even though he himself finds lexical items that behave exceptionally.

Using evidence from previously investigated sound changes (including /æ/ raising), the focus of the current paper is on the sources of the impasse: differing views of the relationship between the lexicon and the phonology of a language, the role of the group vs. the individual in the implementation of a sound change, the importance of frequency effects, and the dubious reliability of homonyms. It is argued that far from "floating on the surface of sound change," words are swimming in the midst of it.

Marc Pierce

"Dorothy Sayers and prescriptivism"

The late Dorothy Sayers (1893-1957) was one of the most famous writers of detective stories of her time. It is immediately clear to the attentive reader how important language and its use were to Sayers; to give but one example, Lord Peter Wimsey is able to identify a disguised criminal by his incorrect use of pronouns in French (although dressed as a woman, the criminal referred to himself using a masculine pronoun). While Sayers' stories and novels are still widely-read, her essays on linguistic topics are considerably less well-known. In this paper, I therefore discuss two such essays, "Plain English" and "The English Language" (both conveniently reprinted in Sayers 1946) with an eye to contextualizing these essays within prescriptivist approaches to English.

Consider, for instance, her remarks on shall and will, found in "The English Language," which Sayers (1946: 92) calls "that famous distinction which we English alone in all the world know how to make." Sayers further dismisses the idea that the distinction is not important, using the Biblical parable of the Prodigal Son to illustrate her argument. She contends that using shall for will in that example (i.e. I shall arise and go to my father and shall say unto him...) "compel[s] the sneering comment, 'and the poor old blighter will fall for the sob-stuff again'" (Sayers 1946: 93). She concludes her discussion of this distinction with the contention that "Does anybody, possessing a tool that will do such delicate work so easily, really desire to abandon it?" (Sayers 1946: 93).

These observations immediately stake a claim to the superiority of British English over all other varieties of English (since, according to Sayers, English speakers of other nationalities cannot distinguish shall and will) and firmly link Sayers to the English prescriptivist tradition, exemplified by H.W. Fowler (whom Sayers approvingly cites). In addition, they connect Sayers to a then-current trend in England, namely writers of fiction commenting on language use, perhaps best exemplified by George Orwell's 1946 essay, "Politics and the English Language." Finally, they also connect Sayers to the well-established (if of course inaccurate) idea that language change is language decay (an idea that goes back at least to the Greek historian Thucydides, who, in his History of the Peloponnesian War, connects semantic change in Attic Greek to a decline in Athenian character). Given Sayers' extensive education, reading, and knowledge of classical studies, this view is unsurprising. In this regard, then, Sayers' prescriptivist attitudes are very much a product of her time and background, and in fact exemplify the attitudes of her social milieu – this despite the title of Sayers (1946).

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Fuyo Osawa
"The emergence of group genitives: the nature of –es ending in complex possessive phrases"

The group genitives like the king of England's hat are not existent in Old English and this emergence is assumed to be related to the loss of split genitives like (1) observed in earlier English. I propose a new view of this innovation different from the previous studies.

    (1)   Also he ȝaf hym þe eorles douȝter of Gloucetre to wif
   **the earl's daughter of Gloucester**
           'Also, he gave him the earl of Gloucester's daughter as his wife (Trevisa)

Concerning the postmodified possessors, Allen (2013) claims that there are two principles: (i) the possessor Noun (i.e. the head of the possessor phrase) should get the possessive marking –es, and the thematic relation of possession between the possessor and the possessum (i.e. the head of the larger noun phrase) must be expressed and (ii) the possessive marking –es should be at the end of the possessor phrase, that is, it is adjacent to the possessum. In (1), the possessor eorl gets the possessive marking –es, and is at the end of the possessor phrase, but the unity of the possessor phrase þe eorl of Gloucetre has been destroyed, since of Gloucetre has been extraposed from the possessor phrase.

However, look at the group genitives in Present-day English:
(2) [the king of England]'s hat, (3) [the book I bought yesterday]'s title
There is no such a thematic relation of possession between the final nouns in the 'possessor phrases' and the possessums. The genitive marker –'s is not an inflection on the last noun, but is attached to the whole nominal phrase in the specifier position. This implies the nature of –'s in PDE. This –'s is not a case inflection but a syntactic functional D head (Abney 1987). The structure of a group genitive is shown below:

$$[_{DP} \; DP \, [_{D'} \, [\, _{D} -\text{'s} \,] \, NP]]$$
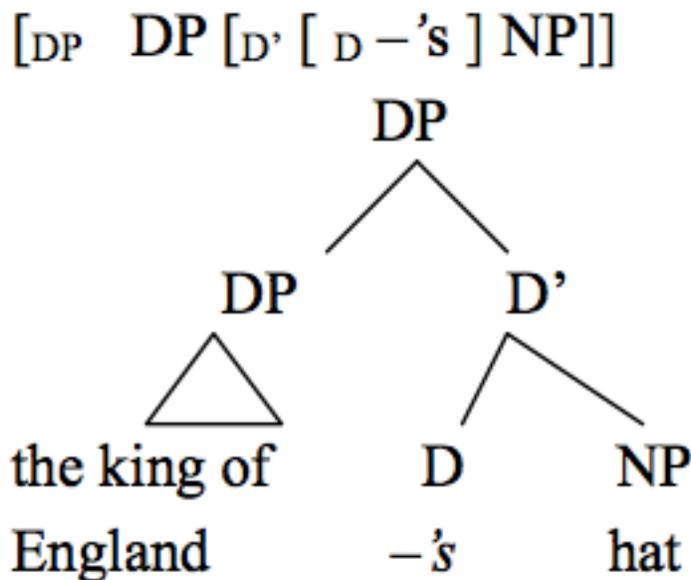
According to the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987), functional categories lack descriptive content and their semantic contribution is second-order. The–'sis not

associated with a particular 1semantic role. Then, it can attach to the whole noun phrase. Although it can convey the possessive relation, the semantic relation between –'s and the following noun is not limited to that of possession in PDE.

I claim that group genitives appeared due to this D head position. This has an important implication. OE had no syntactic D system, since OE had no group genitives. Furthermore, in order for group genitives to appear, the liberation of –es ending from meaning possession is necessary. It means that the genitive case has become a structural case, given structurally, which is not associated with a particular thematic role. This is consistent with the DP hypothesis that genitive case is supposed to be a structural case. The split construction like (1) impedes the reanalysis of –es ending since the possessor noun with –es is adjacent to the possessum. Children acquiring English as their first tongue cannot acquire the grammar containing the D head, –s. This is the reason why the split genitives disappeared from English.

When -es ending was freed from the possessive relation, it was qualified as the functional head. This reanalysis was backed up by the change of case system from a thematically motivated case system proposed by Plank (1983) to a thematically unmotivated one where case is 'uninterpretable' (Chomsky 2008).

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Sara Romero and Juhani Kiemola
"This is so cool! — Variation and change in the use of intensifiers in British and American English"

We can find various examples of adverbs of degree that intensify meaning in English. These adverbs, also known as intensifiers, are used mainly to either "boost" or "maximize" a word and its meaning and they are frequently employed in the English language (Quirk et al. 1985:590-1). Intensifiers have received a great deal of attention in recent years due to their tendency to change rather rapidly, which offers valuable insights on linguistic variation and change (see e.g. Peters (1994), Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005), Barnfield and Buchstaller (2010)).

Tagliamonte (2008:362) states that the reason why intensification is such a popular phenomenon to study and provides researchers with an opportunity to study linguistic change is three-fold; they are "an ideal choice" because of their versatility and color capacity for rapid change recycling of different forms.

Previous research has shown that intensifier usage is especially sensitive to sociolinguistic variation, thus the focus of this study is on intensifiers and their variation according to gender and age, as well as the differentiation between two varieties of English, American and British English. The data for this study come from two corpora of spoken English: *The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (SBCSAE) to represent American English, and *The International Corpus of English – Great Britain* (ICE-GB) for British English.

The research questions this study seeks to answer are as follows: Which intensifiers are most employed in spoken British English and American English, and do differences arise between the two varieties? How do gender and age affect the frequency of intensifiers in the corpora? How do gender and age affect the choice of intensifiers in the corpora?

The results of the study demonstrate clearly the unstable character of intensifier usage: they are extremely susceptible to changes in fashion, and prone to variation according to both age and gender. There are also clear differences between British and American English: in the SBCSAE the frequency of intensification shows a clear decrease from younger to older generations, while in the ICE-GB, a peak in 43-56 age group is noticeable.

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Juhani Rudanko
"On the semantics of object control in recent English, with evidence from COCA"
Consider sentence (1):

(1) … you persuaded her to leave the plane wreck. (COCA)

Sentence (1) illustrates object control. It is widely accepted today that verbs involving object control in English are of the *order/permit* type: the referent of the object "is influenced by another participant (the referent of the subject) to perform an action" (Sag and Pollard 1991, 66). The classes of causative and jussive matrix verbs in van Valin and LaPolla (1997, 544) are conceptually similar to those featured in Sag and Pollard's approach. However, this paper argues that these types are not sufficient. Instead, corpus evidence shows that another semantic type of verb should be identified as relevant to object control. Consider (2) from COCA, the Corpus of Contemporary American English:

(2)   …a report that … credited him with having established "the first 'all-source intelligence' organization in U.S. history." (COCA)

Persuade in (1) is forward looking in that the action of the lower clause follows the act of influencing expressed by the higher verb. However, in (2) *credit* is backward looking, and the action of the lower clause is represented as having taken place prior to the action expressed by the higher verb. Further, a notion of influencing is hardly salient in (2) in view of its backward-looking interpretation.

The paper examines two different syntactic patterns with verbs involving object control with backward-looking semantics similar to what is found in (2). Illustrations of usage are from recent English as recorded in COCA. It is argued that verbs of the new type are amenable to a semantic characterization, and such a characterization is proposed in the paper.

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Lynn Sims
"From Shakespeare to Present-day American English: The survival of 'get + (XP) + gone' constructions"

The English verb get derives from Old Norse geta 'to get, obtain, beget' and is equivalent to Old English –gietan, which occurs only in compound constructions. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the earliest textual example of get is found in the Ormulum (c1200), and its transitive use denotes the basic meaning of possession. Since the Ormulum, the function of get has expanded, and several studies have examined the grammaticalization of get (e.g., Baron 1977; Johansson and Oksefjell 1996; Gronemeyer 1999). However, one group 2construction, the get + (XP) + gone construction, is only briefly mentioned in studies on get.

Therefore, in this study I examine the relationship between the fourteenth-century get + locative construction and the development of the get + (XP) + gone construction in early Modern English. The influence of the imperative be gone pattern on the get + (XP) + gone construction is also discussed. I continue with an examination of the get + (XP) + gone construction in Present Day (American) English. Although many dictionaries label this construction archaic, it continues to be used in written and spoken American English, including guests on National Public Radio and a CNN news broadcaster. In the music industry, the use of the get + gone construction has a more nominal function. Finally, I demonstrate that the semantics associated with the (XP) variable has broadened in the Present Day construction.

In addition to the OED, the Middle English Dictionary, and the Dictionary of American Regional English, data for this study is from: A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare (Spevack 1970); A Corpus of English Dialogues: 1560-1760; Corpus of Historical American English; Corpus of Contemporary American English; British National Corpus; and social-media sites.

Douglas Simms
"The numeral nine in North-sea Germanic"

  Presence of medial –g– in the numeral nine among North-Sea Germanic languages (for example OE nigon, Du. and LowGer. negen) has been a long-standing etymological puzzle (Ringe 2006:87). Other Germanic languages possess regular reflexes of the PGmc. and PIE etymon. Phonological explanations deriving this medial –g– from the medial –w– are unsatisfactory. Lehmann's suggestion that the same phenomenon is found in OE sygil 'sun' (1952) does not hold up to textual scrutiny.

  Rather than pursuing a phonological explanation, this paper presents an alternative explanation via analogy. Serial analogy is a well-known phenomenon among numerals in Indo- European languages and elsewhere. Among the decads, Germanic built twenty through fifty with the plural u-stem *–tigiwiz. Sixty through ninety, however, used the element *–tehund (Ringe 2006:288). The subsequent spread of *–tigiwiz throughout the decads, seen in OE hundnigontig, an explanation for medial –g– arises. Whereas the nominative plural u-stem *–tigiwiz does not seem a likely source of medial –g–, the accusative plural, *–tegunz, does. Beginning with an accusative plural in WGmc. *ne(w)un-tegunz, the medial –g– of the second element spread regressively to form *negun-tegunz (compare nominative *ne(w)un-tigiwiz). Back-formation in analogy with other decads resulted then in a new form of 'nine', *negun, among the North-Sea Germanic languages, whereas High German, NGmc. and EGmc. preserved reflexes of the original PGmc. *ne(w)un (Ger. neun, OIce. níu, Go. niun).

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Łukasz Stolarski
"Diachronic development of the order of prenominal adjectives in English"

Native speakers of English have preference for certain order of adjectives premodifying nouns. This phenomenon is discussed in numerous publications and various explanations of it have been proposed. For instance, Teschner and Evans suggest that "the more intrinsic the adjective is to the nature of the noun, the closer it will be to the noun" (2007:147), and they divide adjectives into five different groups according to their potential position before nouns. A Similar order of adjectives is also proposed in Endley (2010). Moreover, Bache (1978) developed a "modification zones" model which looks dissimilar from the two approaches mentioned above. Still, the order of adjectives it implies is analogous to the ones suggested by Teschener and Evans (2007) and Endley (2010). Similarly, Quirk et al. (1985) also proposed a complex model based on "zones" and, again, the conclusions they come to do not greatly differ from the other theories. Kennedy observes that the order of adjectives under discussion may have some cross-linguistic tendencies, but at the same time "the actual observed orderings are not as rigid as such an approach would seem to predict" (2008: 35). Consequently, there are also accounts suggesting solutions which are, at least partially, dissimilar from the ones discussed above. For example, Scott (2002) argues, among other things, that adjectives referring to the semantic category of "age" precede the category of "shape", in contrast to the order proposed in the other theories.

T he current project aims at performing a diachronic analysis of the development of the tendency to order prenominal adjectives in English as discussed in linguistic literature. Specifically, it investigates the relative position of adjectives referring to "age" versus adjectives denoting "shape". In order to achieve this goal a statistical analysis of selected adjective clusters has been performed on "Google Books Corpus" (Davies 2011-). The obtained results indicate that the tendency to choose the "age-shape" order over "shape-age" order has developed gradually and was not always as strong as it is in contemporary English.

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