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human creativity. To understand it, one has to read the spaces and places and the layers of meaning they have accumulated over the centuries.

The question is, are we all – as a result of this fundamental reversal in the relationship between bios and topos – the "fusion and confusion" which Butler imagined when he ruminated about the relationship between personal identity and "outside things", are we all moving towards the life-concept of Galen Strawson's "episodics"? As I have pointed out earlier, narrativity as a basis for conceptualizing individual lives and as an indispensable ingredient for most life-writing is still going very strong, but the stereotype effect created by such spatialized forms of life-writing will continue to put pressure on the linear time concept underlying all traditional narrativity and all conventional life-writing.

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### Section V

### Modern English in the Making

Chair:

Marianne Hundt  
Ursula Lenker

MARIANNE HUNDT (HEIDELBERG) AND URSULA LENKER (MUNICH)

### Modern English in the Making: Introduction

Until recently, the languages of the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century had to be described as "the Cinderellas of English historical linguistic study" (Jones 1989: 279). The linguistic features of Late Modern English have received relatively little scholarly attention, most likely because we are not as (linguistically) removed from those centuries as we are from the English of earlier periods. There seems to have been a lingering agreement that phonological and syntactic changes are only observable at a great distance and that we are 'too close' chronologically for any meaningful observations concerning language to be made. Histories of English traditionally concentrated on the periods up to 1800, and for the time after the sixteenth century, they furthermore focused predominantly on descriptions of metalinguistic works, such as grammars and dictionaries, particularly stressing or even criticizing their normative or prescriptive characteristics (a notable exception is Strang 1970). Thus most histories of the English language used to end with statements about the eighteenth century as an "age of prescriptivism" or "age of correctness".

Fortunately, however, this scenario has changed in the last decade: The general interest in the language of an increasingly more distant past and the change of emphasis within historical linguistics to socio-historical and corpus-based approaches led to a surge of interest in Late Modern English. In addition to the relevant volumes of the *Cambridge History of the English Language* – from 1476 up to 1776 (ed. Lass 1999) and from 1776 until today (ed. Romaine 1998) –, these years have seen the publication of Bailey's (1996) book on *Nineteenth-Century English* and Görlach's introductions to the English both of the eighteenth (2001) and nineteenth centuries (1999). In August 2001, the University of Edinburgh hosted the first international conference on Late Modern English (ed. Dossena and Jones 2003); the second conference of this kind was held in Vigo in 2004. 2004 is also the year of publication of Beal's *English in Modern Times* – an introduction to the developments in English from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the Second World War.

In other words, Late Modern English has turned out to be a highly rewarding field for study. The linguistic characteristics of English during this period deserve an independent in-depth investigation, positioning it in long-term developments of English, showing how it is transitional and anticipatory of more current English, but also highlighting some of the defining properties of the respective sub-periods. The section "Modern English in the Making" thus aimed at taking stock of what German-speaking linguists are contributing to the topic, borrowing the title of this workshop from a monograph by McKnight (1928) – a book which, however, covers the whole of the early and late modern period up to the late 1920s.

### 1. Social Change and Its Impact on the Language of the Period

There is no doubt that English-speaking society and culture were transformed dramatically during the last two centuries: we see the rise of the constitutional monarchy, the rise of the British Empire (and its breakdown), the Industrial Revolution, and the consequences of the urbanization of society, of new technologies, of new means of transport, of rich new opportunities for communication and universal education – developments which all had their impact on language. One of the obvious consequences of these changes is that new words were coined at a rate not seen since the sixteenth century, as technological and scientific innovations, trade, exploration and colonization all brought speakers into contact with phenomena which had not previously been named in their language (Beal 2004, 14-34).

For linguistic research, the key factors of social change are certainly the various aspects of geographical and social mobility: The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see the language diversify further as it starts spreading on a truly global scale, leading – among other developments – to the early linguistic declaration of independence by Webster in 1789. At the beginning of the period, overseas varieties of the language were barely distinguishable from those of Britain; by the end of it, some had developed independent and distinct standards for English. The precise details of the evolution and development of the new Englishes, however, have only begun to be studied (e.g. Kytö 1991 on early American English, Gordon 2004 on New Zealand English or Trudgill and Watts 2002 on some lesser-studied Englishes).

The predominant socio-linguistic consequence of social mobility was the emergence of what Labov has termed "linguistic insecurity", a characteristic typically associated with the aspiring middle classes. This can be exemplified by the role of grammars and dictionaries, which may have started as agents of codification in the eighteenth century, but which found a new market as self-help guides for the aspiring classes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is also evident in the pronunciation guides and dictionaries, which became immensely popular as a consequence of the rise of social accent and, in particular, the development of the 'received accent – RP' (cf. Mugglestone 1995). In studies of the phonological and syntactic developments of the period, it is therefore interesting to review the efforts of those who sought to "ascertain and fix" the language and also to describe the changes which occurred despite (or sometimes because of) such efforts. Recurrently investigated features in phonology are, for example, the loss of rhoticity or Yod- and H-dropping in British English.

### 2. Material

Unlike previous periods, Late Modern English provides a wealth of material to investigate, not only with respect to the sheer quantity but also as regards the diversity of text types – some of them, such as newspapers and advertisements (cf. Gieszinger 2001), attested for the very first time.

As has already been mentioned, there is also a rich fund of metalinguistic writing available for investigation in the form of dictionaries, grammars and usage guides, unparalleled in any of the previous periods. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries wit-

nessed, for example, major milestones in lexicography with the publication of Johnson's dictionary (1755) and the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* (first published by James A.H. Murray et al. in ten volumes as the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* between 1888 and 1928).

Numerous grammars were written, first with the aim to "ascertain and fix" the language – a tradition continued in the prescriptive handbooks and style manuals. Seminal works to mention for the prescriptive tradition are Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1798) – both published in various editions well into the nineteenth century. Descriptive codification of English on a larger scale set in towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Early hallmarks are Sweet's *New English Grammar, Logical and Historical* (1891-1898) or Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (1909-1949).

Advances in the new academic discipline of philology were leading scholars also to an awareness of the validity of non-standard dialects as systems in their own right. As a result, the late modern period is, on the one hand, the period when standard English is codified, but is, on the other hand, also the period when linguists begin to map its internal variation. Thus, the Philological Society was not only the major driving force behind the *OED*-project with its focus on the common stock of the vocabulary, i.e. Standard English, in the first edition, but also supported the parallel projects of Joseph Wright, which resulted in the publication of *The English Dialect Dictionary* (1896-1905) and *The English Dialect Grammar* (1905).

While the outstanding value of these sources for linguistic research is attested in studies which have used them for investigations of phonological, morphological, lexical and also pragmatic features of later Modern English (e.g. Beal 2004, Lenker 2003), the rich body of primary material has only recently begun to be studied in a more comprehensive way in corpus-based papers. These studies are facilitated by the growing number of available corpora, such as the *ARCHER* and *CONCE* corpora, the extension of the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* or the databases of fictional writing published by Chadwyck and Healey, but also the "Citation Collection" of the *OED*. These and further relevant corpora are listed in the "References", below.

Examples of monographs in this field are Krug's study of *Emerging English Modals* (2000), Smitherberg's (2005) investigation of the progressive in the nineteenth century, Hoffmann's recently published book on complex prepositions (2005) and Schlüter's volume on the influence of rhythm on grammatical variation and change in English (2005). Interesting results are now also to be expected from the recently published corpora of newspapers such as the *Times Digital Archive* or the *Corpus of American Historical Newspapers*. These corpora will certainly also allow new insights into the development and changing defining properties of certain text types or genres (cf. Diller and Görlach 2001; Görlach 2004).

Data-driven research also instigated a new interest in studies on morphology and syntax. Beal (2004, 67), for example, remarks that "research on later Modern English syntax has only flourished since the later twentieth century, when the availability of large

corpora of both printed works and private correspondence has made it possible to trace variation and change across thousands of words".

Yet, morphological and syntactic change in Late Modern English has been the least researched aspect of this period. In 1998, Denison – in the opening of his book-length chapter on "Syntax in Late Modern English" – wrote: "The topic of syntactic change in late Modern English is only just beginning to get its share of serious scholarly attention" (1998, 92). Structurally, the English language has probably not altered as drastically as in previous periods. All the same, to trace individual developments on all structural levels is an undertaking worth our while, not least because of the rich body of textual evidence that will allow us to draw inferences on the precise nature of historical change which may in turn be fruitful to the study of earlier periods (e.g. the application of the social network approach to grammatical change in Pratt and Denison 2000 or the study of letters by people of the lower classes in Fairman 2003).

Despite these efforts, however, the overall picture still remains rather sketchy – it is therefore not much of a surprise that quite a few contributors to this workshop promised to fill gaps in the existing research.

### 3. Outline

In our call for papers, we asked for contributions on diachronic developments from the second half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. We also asked for studies investigating the socio-cultural background to the period, developments in the range of text types and the history of English language scholarship. The papers collected here show that nearly all of these areas were covered.

Two studies concentrate on metalinguistic works, namely Ulrich Busse and Anne Schröder's analysis of developments "from Prescriptivism to Descriptivism?" in usage guides over the last 100 years, and Gabriele Knappe's investigation of the value of Roger's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* for historical phraseology.

As an exemplary case of the specific properties of a new text type emerging in the period in question, Renate Bauer chooses early nineteenth-century parliamentary debates and analyses how speech events are reported in the *Hansard* collection which documents these debates. In her investigation of scientific and press writing of the nineteenth century, Claudia Claridge raises the question of the various functions and, in particular, the textual value of comparison.

Three papers deal with the diachronic development of individual linguistic constructions in the late modern period: Nadja Nesselhauf investigates the relation of *be to* and *going to* marking future tense from 1700 to 1990, asking whether the development of these two constructions is linked or whether they develop independently. Christian Mair shows that there have been two developments in the field of English clausal complementation since the eighteenth century, namely a general tendency for nonfinite subordinate clauses to spread at the expense of finite ones and a more specific tendency for the gerund to spread at the expense of the infinitive in nonfinite clausal complements. In her account of "noun + noun constructions", Anette Rosenbach finds that

the increase of these constructions is a real one and not a by-product of the fact that British English has become more 'nouny' over time: there is not only an increase in frequency but also an extension of the contexts in which noun+noun constructions can occur.

Nearly all papers take some aspect of variation – either regional or text type specific variation – into account. One of the main questions in research on Late Modern English syntax is whether the changes that we observe are merely changes in frequency – with some patterns becoming first old fashioned and later obsolescent, while others show a major increase in Late Modern English – or whether more fundamental changes took place. This question was addressed by David Denison in his key note paper on category change in Late Modern English. It offered an opportunity to discuss the question raised at the beginning of our introduction: Are syntactic changes only observable at a great distance, or are we still 'too close' chronologically for any meaningful observations concerning the English language to be made? The lively discussions that ensued from the papers were further evidence of the fact that the late modern period offers a rich field for further research with the promise of not only filling descriptive gaps but also of harvesting valuable crops in the area of theoretical modelling.

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#### Corpora

- A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER)*  
*Corpus of American Historical Newspapers* [*Los Angeles Times* (1881-1966), *The New York Times* (1851-2001), *The Wall Street Journal* (1889-1987), *The Washington Post* (1877-1988)].

*Corpus of Late Modern English Prose* (Denison, 1994)  
*Corpus of Nineteenth-Century English (CONCE)* (Kytö, Rudanko, and Smitterberg, 2000)  
*Corpus of Public and Private Writing (PPW)* (Oldireva, 2001)  
*Early American Fiction* (Chadwyck-Healey electronic database)  
*Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Chadwyck-Healey electronic database)  
 Extension of the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC)*  
*Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts*  
*Network of Eighteenth-Century Texts (NEET)* (Fitzmaurice, forthcoming)  
*Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Chadwyck-Healey electronic database)  
*Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* "Citation Collection"  
*Times Digital Archive*  
*Zürich English Newspaper Corpus (ZEN)*

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