CONNECTIVES IN
THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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Volume 283

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logical synergies permit us to create a happy balance between quantitative and qualitative approaches.

It is our very sad duty to announce that Elina Sorva died prematurely in January 2006, and we publish her paper in memory of a dear friend and highly respected colleague.

Munich and Helsinki, January 2007
Ursula Lenker and Anneli Meurman-Solin

Introduction

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1. Connectives and current linguistic research

Clausal connection is one of the key building blocks of language in use, and thus a field where a wide range of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and cognitive phenomena meet. The availability of large databases as well as considerable advances in corpus-linguistic methods have strengthened the interest in the history of features linking clauses or larger chunks of text. However, in recent typology-oriented research, the inventories of clause-combining devices in English and other European languages have chiefly been constructed by using secondary sources such as dictionaries and grammars (see, e.g., Devriendt et al. 1996 and Kortmann 1997). There is thus space for a greater degree of integration between cross-disciplinary corpus-based analysis and the reconstruction of taxonomies and typologies of connectives, the former detecting complex patterns of variation and change which may remain unidentified in insufficiently representative data.

The papers collected in this volume therefore set out to combine a thorough corpus-based analysis of the history of individual connectors, their co-occurrence patterns, and patterns of variation and change from both intra- and inter-systemic perspectives with a variety of methodological tools, ranging from sophisticated methods of grammatical analysis to pragmatics, text linguistics and discourse analysis. Drawing on quantitatively and qualitatively improved data, the studies try to reconstruct the history of connectives in English from various new theoretical perspectives.

The distinctive profile of this volume is based on a number of developments in current linguistic research. Firstly, the studies profit from the fact that solid analyses of texts from the various periods in the history of English are now greatly facilitated by balanced corpora, such as ARCHER, or large single-genre corpora, such as the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (for a more detailed account of corpora employed, see Section 7 below). Secondly, they illustrate how recent ad-
vances in the fields of pragmatics and text linguistics have enriched the diachronic study of connective devices in English – see, for example, tracing of the path of new connectors from utterance-token to utterance-type meanings to their conventionalization as coded meanings (cf. the "Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change", as proposed in Traugott & Dasher 2002). Such studies are, of course, only possible when the quantitative methods of corpus linguistics are combined with a careful micro-level analysis of the texts in question. In other words, even though the quantitative analysis is part and parcel of methods employed, the majority of the contributions also rely on a detailed analysis of individual examples in their contexts.

This combination of corpus findings with a close analysis of co-text and context is particularly fruitful for those studies which apply recent findings of information processing to the history of connectors. For example, beginning with Thompson's analysis of the different functions of initial versus final purpose clauses (Thompson 1985), there has been an increasing and continuing interest in the discourse factors which determine the position of subordinate clauses in Modern English (see Haiman & Thompson 1988; Ford 1993 and, most recently, Diesel 2005), an approach which is here seen as being essential for an understanding of the history of connectives, and in particular of clause combination not only on the local level, but also on the global level of text (see Claridge on the position of if-clauses, González-Cruz on that of while-clauses and Lenker on that of causal/resultive clauses).

Thirdly, this view of sentence connection not only on the clause, but also on the sentence and discourse levels, requires the examination of functionally related features as systems. Thus, certain uses of relatives are analysed within the variational pattern of anaphoric reference at the sentence level instead of being interpreted exclusively in terms of the established grammatical categorization of relatives in English (Meurman-Solin). Systems consisting of co-occurrence patterns are the focus of the construct of "connective profile", created by Kohnen as a new analytical tool for the assessment of varying degrees of orality and literacy in texts and genres.

2. Connectives: Continua in clause linkage

Linguistic literature has often neglected connectives in a wider sense, because many theories of grammar choose the sentence as the highest level of analysis. Thus, the established criteria mainly relate to the composition of compound sentences by coordinators such as and or or, or, as far as complex sentences are concerned, the differentiation between coordination and subordination, and their respective connectives (see Quirk et al. 1985: Chapters 13.2–19, 14.1–4; Biber et
For several studies in this volume Lehmann's typology is very useful; it, for example, provides a framework for the development of English *lest* from a subordinator (OE *fy les pe*) to a complementizer, i.e., from a less to a more embedded connective structure (López-Cousso). Following the diachronic path of an even more embedded structure, Los plots the Old English to-infinitive on the continua provided by Lehmann's parameters, determines its position towards the low end of the parameters (indicating compression rather than elaboration) and compares this with the positions of the other two structures she considers to be parallels – the subjunctive clause and the to-prepositional phrase – thus reconstructing a scenario for category change. Los also poses the question of the extent to which the continuum from highly elaborated to compressed overlaps with grammaticalization continua (at first glance only obvious in Lehmann's parameter (iv) from full verb to affix).

Most of the other papers deal with connectives positioned at the 'elaboration pole' of the continua, namely explicit linkers such as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions or adverbial connectors. They are thus mainly concerned with intra-parameter paths in (vi) 'explicitness of linking', i.e., the path from syneesis to asyndesis, which Lehmann specifies as: '[(elaboration] anaphoric subordinate clause – gerundial verb – prepositional phrase – connective adverb – specific conjunction – universal subordinator – non-finite verb form [compression]]' (1988:213). In a prototypical study of such a path, Sorva shows how PDE *albeit* developed from an anaphoric subordinate clause (*ME al be it (that)*) into a subordinator in the standard language, but can also be used as an adverbial connector in some varieties of English past and present. This last point is similar to González-Cruz's observation that *while* – when used to mark additive rather than temporal or concessive relations – shows 'coordinator-like behaviour' by becoming less dependent on the main clause. The volume also reflects an interest in covering developments from earliest extant documents up to Present-Day English (see, e.g., recent changes in the use of *albeit* (Sorva) and *any/each/every* *time* (Brinton)). Problems related to the reconstruction of the language of the past are highlighted by phenomena such as the loss of the group of lexicalized pronominal connectors (cf. OE *forphem (pe)*) after the Early Middle English period (Lenker), the replacement of *op* by *till* (Rissanen) or by the category change of infinitival *to*, which Los concludes to have taken place in pre-Old English times.

3. Domains: Typological findings

Other studies deal with conjunctions which have basically remained stable, in the sense that they have served as conjunctions in all of the attested periods of English. Most of them developed from earlier adjectives or adverbs and show a high amount of semantic and syntactic polyfunctionality, which, however, decreases after the Old and, in particular, Middle English period. These studies illustrate another of the more recent typological findings by Kortmann (1997), namely that interclausal relations differ markedly with regard to their 'cognitive basicness or centrality for human reasoning' and also their 'cognitive complexity or specificity'. According to Kortmann (1997:342), highly grammaticalized, preferably monomorphic or single-word connectors which are frequently used and stable over time indicate 'cognitive basicness' ('lexical primes code cognitive primes'). While most of the basic relations also show a low degree of complexity, cognitive basicness and cognitive complexity must nevertheless be kept separate, since *concession*, for instance, exhibits a high degree of cognitive complexity, and yet clearly belongs to the core set of cognitively basic relations! These parameters yield a core of twelve basic relations (cause, condition, concession [CCC], result, purpose, simultaneity overlap, simultaneity duration, anteriority, immediate anteriority, terminus ad quem, place and similarity) and several layers of relations of an increasingly peripheral nature. Generally, the relations can be parcellled into four networks, i.e., temporal, CCC, modal and locative relations. Kortmann further shows that network-transcending changes are generally unidirectional, so that we can distinguish between source (locative, modal) and goal (CCC) domains. The CCC of four-C relations (contrast is now commonly added as a fourth domain; see Couper-Kuhlen and Kortmann 2000) constitute the prototypical goal network, i.e., endpoints of network-transcending semantic changes. Cross-linguistic polysemy patterns (Kortmann 1997:175–211) also show that affinities are strongest between the temporal and the CCC networks, so that original temporal connectors often develop CCC readings.

These typological findings and frequencies are reflected in the studies in this volume. Two of the studies deal with temporal connectors: Rissanen examines the replacement of the Old English temporal subordinator *op* by *till* 'till, until' in the Early Middle English period, a counter-example to the usual stability in the field of temporal connectors; Brinton follows the rise of the adverbial conjunctions *any, each, every, time*. Most of the other papers deal with prototypical goal domains, namely cause (Lenker) and, in particular, contrast/concession (Beufl, González-Cruz, Molencksi, Sorva), i.e., with items which have transcended their local (*where, whereof*) or temporal (*while, since*) source domain and have, in several steps, acquired a concessive meaning.

4. Grammaticalization

These processes commonly imply an increase in subjectification and are thus seen as prototypical instances of grammaticalization. This scenario has repeatedly been
mentioned in the literature, but in the studies of this collection it is analysed in
great detail with respect to the wider perspective of frequency patterns in balanced
corpora on the one hand, and the narrow analysis of decisive bridging contexts
on the other (see above for Traugott & Dasher’s “Invited Inferencing Theory of
Semantic Change” and Heine 2002). The perspective of variationist typology to
connectives positions them in a variational space in which polyfunctionality
and fuzziness are inherent features. A history of unverbated *albeit* based on the ana-
sysis of morpho-syntactic properties, for example, may permit the conclusion that we
have here a straightforward case of grammaticalization. Evidence of categoral
fuzziness and polyfunctionality, elicited from a wide range of digitized sources,
suggests, however, that the history of this connective should rather be described
in terms of two parallel processes, i.e., the development of the subordinator and
that of the discourse marker (Sorva; see also Lenker on ME and EModE for). The
corpus-based diachronic approach has also permitted the examination of gram-
naticalization vs lexicalization patterns (for a comprehensive up-to-date account
of the various, often opposing views and conceptions on lexicalization and gram-
naticalization, see Brinton & Traugott 2005: Chapters 2 and 3). In discussing the
contexts of the change in domain of *where* and *whereas* from local to concessive/contrastive,
Breul focuses on the appropriateness of neo-Greek principles as the
contextual basis for such explanations in grammaticalization theory, arguing
that relevance theory is to be preferred over neo-Greek approaches.

5. Co-occurrence patterns

The focus of this collection on semantic and pragmatic aspects and, in particular,
its perspective on evidence above the clausal or sentential level is illustrated
by Kohen, whose analyses of co-occurrence patterns of linguistic features (see
Biber 1988, 1995), i.e., of a particular set of subordinators and coordinators, can
be used as a diagnostic tool for defining what he calls the “connective profile” of a
text or genre. Both Kohen and Claridge integrate corpus linguistics and historical
stylistics by discussing corpus data from the perspective of genre and text type.
They express an interest in the identification of general stylistic trends, either by
positioning their investigation of a particular time period within the wider frame-
work of how written discourse developed in Early Modern English texts (Claridge
on conditional clauses in texts dating from the period 1640–1740 and represent-
ing the registers of Politics and Science), or by examining developments in
two quite different genres over a long time-span (Kohen). While Claridge dis-
cusses the dimensions of interactive vs. non-interactive (cf. Biber’s involved vs.
informational) and argumentative vs. non-argumentative (cf. Biber’s persuasive
vs. non-persuasive), Kohen polarizes sermons and statutes, hypothesising that
these two genres will reflect different degrees of orality and literacy in their use of
specific sets of connectives.

Meurman-Solin relates connectives to other cohesive devices in text structure
by examining relative elements as anaphoric reference signals at sentence level.
In addition to degree of topicality and referential accessibility, the choice of variant
realizations of referential links is shown to be conditioned by the particular text-
structuring properties and formulaic language use of epistolary prose. A further
dimension is the finding that sequences of particular speech acts can be related to
the choice or particular use of a connective (see also González-Cruz).

6. Language contact

Finally, the inspection of data originating from the Middle and Early Modern
English periods (when English finally developed into an Ausbausprache) raises
questions as to the influence of contact-induced change, which strengthens the
typological orientation of current research on connectives. Thus, the role of bor-
rrowed syntax from Latin in the development of the subordinator and complement-
tizer *lest* is discussed by López-Couso, and the hypothesis that the phrase *all be it
(that)*, later an atomic connective, is modelled on the Old French expression *tout
soit il/é ce que* (Sorva). Latin influence is a complex issue, and it is proposed here
that some new light could be shed by drawing on multi-genre corpora including
translations of Latin texts, and by examining variational paradigms of linguistic
features which share a particular function in text structure from a comparative
perspective.

7. Theoretical and methodological synergies

The rationale behind this compilation of studies can be described with reference
to the theoretical and methodological synergies which are relevant and necessary
for gaining a deeper understanding of the complex history of clause-combining
devices, both from the perspective of a single language system and that of a com-
parative approach, including language contact phenomena. Such synergies can
be identified in the following areas in particular: elaboration of corpus-linguistic
tools for historical pragmatics, historical text-linguistics, historical stylistics, and
historical typology; application of variationist principles to provide synchronic
and diachronic accounts of linguistic features and systems; and integration of in-
formation about phonological, structural, syntactic and semantic properties with
that acquired in micro-level analyses of discourse functions, especially as regards
the framework of grammaticalization and subjectification theory.
The ability to provide new information on clause-combining devices in the history of English is dependent on sufficiently large and representative diachronic corpora. There are still important gaps, in Late Modern English in particular, and differences between compilation principles and practices sometimes make comparisons between data drawn from different sources difficult, even impossible. In the studies in this volume, standard digital sources such as the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC), the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (HCOS), the Century of Prose Corpus (COPC), and the British National Corpus (BNC) are still used as originally constructed, but the benefits of producing tagged and/or parsed versions of at least parts of these databases, such as the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, are obvious (see Los in this volume). In addition to a number of new on-line dictionaries, most studies in this volume draw on a wide range of sources, complementing corpus data with data extracted from the Toronto Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC), the Middle English Compendium (MEC), the Literature Online (LION) database and the quotations corpus of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED).

In a number of articles, relatively new corpora, which have not been used as yet quite as extensively as the above-mentioned earlier-generation ones, also appear in the lists of sources, most of these being included in the ICAME Collection of English Language Corpora: the Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts (Claridge), the Australian Corpus of English (López-Couso), the Newdigate Newsletters (Sorva), and the Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler (González-Cruz, Sorva). González-Cruz and López-Couso also draw on ARCHER-2. In addition, the use of internet sources is becoming a standard (González-Cruz, Sorva). There is ample evidence in this volume of the potential of the comprehensive corpus-based inventories to provide important new information about previously unidentified variation at all levels of language use. Claridge, for instance, shows how focused corpora such as the Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts (1640–1740) may permit us to analyse in great detail transition periods reflecting a process 'to an increasingly more modern state of the language'.

Corpora created with particular research questions in mind have also been compiled by extracting relevant texts from existing corpora and adding a considerable number of new texts, thus constructing a larger single-genre diachronic corpus. For example, Kohnen uses a corpus of sermons dating from Late Middle English to the late twentieth century which has been compiled using revised and extended versions of sermons in the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, extracting later sermons from the British National Corpus and the London-Lund Corpus, and increasing the size of this compilation by digitizing a number of new sermons.

However, the studies with a text-linguistic rather than morpho-syntactic approach in particular also reveal some of the problems of computerized data. Corpus compilers have become increasingly aware of the fact that historical texts have sometimes been edited by the application of editorial principles which may reduce the validity of the data in research. It seems that this is the case especially when non-literary texts such as legal documents and letters have been edited, presumably on the assumption that the bulk of their readership would be historians. Some differences between original manuscripts and edited texts which have direct implications for the study of connectives are, for instance, that clause structure remains recoverable in texts in which modernisation has been resorted to in areas such as punctuation and the use of capitals (Meurman-Solin). With respect to the function of global markers of discourse structure, there are also other non-linguistic features, such as spacing and paragraph structure, which play a role in syntactic and textual analysis and are unfortunately lost in the use of traditional computerized corpora. Since annotation in electronic corpora still largely focuses on morpho-syntax, the studies in this volume mostly retrieve information about semantic, pragmatic and text-linguistic features manually. This permits the authors to identify relevant examples reflecting change in periods of transition, and to keep track of parallel developments and continued variation in processes of change which take place over a long time-span.

The chapters have been ordered to reflect focus areas ranging from more general aspects such as categorial continuin (López-Couso, Los) to detailed analyses of particular connectives representing various semantic roles, i.e., connectives signalling temporal (Rissanen, Brinton), concessive/contrastive (Molencki, González-Cruz, Sorva, Breul) and causal (Lenker) relations. The last three chapters examine text-organisational aspects of connectives (Claridge on conditionals, and Meurman-Solin on relatives) and co-occurrence patterns of connectives in sermons and statutes (Kohnen), shedding new light on the evolution of genres and text types.

References

Adverbial connectives within and beyond adverbial subordination

The history of *lest*

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1. Introduction

Syntactic and semantic polyfunctionality is often mentioned as a property of a number of adverbial subordinators across languages (cf. Harris 1988:75–76; Kortmann 1997:58–69,105; Bisang 1998:759, among others). The great versatility of adverbial connectives manifests itself both intracategorically, i.e., within adverbial subordination, and extracategorially, i.e., beyond the domain of adverbial relations. Particularly interesting instances of the latter type of syntactic and semantic polyfunctionality in English are subordinators whose primary function is that of signalling certain types of adverbial relations but which, over the course of time, have developed a secondary use as declarative complementizers under specific conditions. The aim of this study is to trace the history of one of these connectives, namely *lest*, which to date has been almost wholly neglected in scholarly literature. Evidence will primarily be drawn from the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC) and ARCHER-2. Supplementary sources, such as the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC) and the Middle

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* I am grateful to the Autonomous Government of Galicia (grant no. PGDT0506XIC20401PN), and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science and the European Regional Development Fund (grant no. HUM2004-00940) for generous financial support. I am also indebted to the Department of English of the University of Freiburg for granting me access to ARCHER-2 during my stay there in the summer of 2004. Thanks are also due to my colleagues Teresa Fanego and Belén Méndez-Naya who provided input at various points. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the editors of this volume and an anonymous reviewer for many valuable comments and useful suggestions on a previous version of the study.