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A Diachronic Study of the Pragmatic Markers *well* and *now*

Fundamental research into semantic development and grammaticalisation by means of a corpus study

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PART I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. AIMS

Semantic and pragmatic language change can be seen as a product of active speakers, of the – strategically built – interaction between a speaker and an addressee. Elements of discourse known as *pragmatic markers* especially serve as a means through which speakers can structure discourse and express personal points of view through language. This study focuses on the historical development of two pragmatic markers, viz. *well* and *now*.

Previous studies have mainly focused on the synchronic description of functional and pragmatic uses of *well* and *now* (Schiffrin 1987; Schourup 2001; Aijmer 2002; Johansson 2006; Hasselgård 2006 among others). Far fewer studies have researched the diachronic steps in the semantic-pragmatic evolutions of the two markers (e.g. Jucker 1997; Finell 1989). Taking a closer look at the functional diversification of *well* and *now*, however, can give us further insights into present-day multifunctionality as well as into the complex relationship between pragmatic markers and their semantic origins. Synchronic multifunctionality can be connected to hypotheses of historical language change, viz. the processes of grammaticalisation and subjectification. Multiple layers of meaning for one item can be seen as the result of different occurrences of 'functional split' during the course of the item's historical development. A diachronic "form-to-function mapping" (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 13) can trace the grammaticalisation of linguistic elements and their changes in 'discourse meaning'. This study aims to examine different stages in the evolutions of *well* and *now* against the background of theories of grammaticalisation, in order to shed further light on the complex relationship between form and function of each individual marker, and to test theories of unidirectionality. Discourse markers have

> […] increasingly come to be seen not only as an underexplored facet of language behavior but as a testing ground for hypotheses concerning the boundary between pragmatics and semantics and for theories of discourse structure and utterance interpretation. (Schourup 1999: 228)

A further description and structural characterisation of the historical evolutions of these two markers and of their formal and functional developments enables us to test these kinds of hypotheses, and to investigate the borders between semantics and pragmatics in historical discourse. Different approaches have been suggested for the semantic-pragmatic

evolution of adverbs. The development of *in fact*, for instance, has been presented as resulting in various semantic polysemies (Schwenter and Traugott 2000), instead of in a number of functions that are defined by the context and that can be brought back to a single monosemous lexical item – which would entail the idea of a core meaning. Other lexical elements probably developed differently and should therefore be explained by means of a semantic core meaning with pragmatic polysemy (Altenberg and Granger 2002; also see Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003). This project wants to participate in this debate, by studying the historical development of two pragmatic markers in detail (for terminology, see section 2.1.).

Results are presented on the basis of a detailed historical corpus study, covering different periods between c. 850 and c. 1760. The following general aims will be focused on:

a) to carry out a quantitative and qualitative – corpus-based – study of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of *well* (sections 8-14) and *now* (sections 15-19) in their respective historical developments.

b) to interpret the multifunctionality of each marker within a broader context of communicative processes and rhetorical strategies, with specific attention for the influence of speaker-addressee relations.

c) In section 20, the developments of *well* and *now* are compared, and possible similarities are further discussed. An evaluation of the results will take into account the fact that the markers have similar propositional counterparts (i.e. adverbs of manner and time respectively) and will consider to what extent this enables us to make generalisations with respect to semantic-pragmatic paths of development.

d) to examine whether the idea of a "core meaning" (Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006; Altenberg and Granger 2002) can be supported by our data and related to the historical developments of the two markers; and

e) to test hypotheses of unidirectionality and (inter)subjectivity.

2. <u>**DEFINING PRAGMATIC MARKERS**</u>

<u>2.1. Terminology and functions</u>

Many different terms have been used to refer to the elements of speech known as *pragmatic markers* (Brinton 1996), *discourse markers* (Fraser 1999; Jucker 1997), *pragmatic particles* (Östman 1995), *discourse particles* (Aijmer 2002) or *discourse operators* (Schourup 1999). In this thesis I will use the term *pragmatic marker* (see Brinton 1996) as a general, encompassing term for those items which do not contribute to the propositional, truth-functional contents of an utterance, and which predominantly occur sentence-initially, more particularly in the 'pre-front' field of discourse (Auer 1996). Brinton (1996: 32ff.) lists a set of features which can in various degrees be attributed to *pragmatic markers*. Mostly found in spoken interaction, they are typically short items (Östman 1982: 149 in Brinton 1996), and often unstressed. PMs can be single words (e.g. *well*, *now*, *so*) or larger phrases (e.g. *you know*; *I mean*), and cover different word classes.

Following Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenbergen (2006), subclassifications are made on the basis of formal criteria, clarifying the differences between pragmatic expressions (*I think*, *you know*), (modal) particles and (modal) adverbs (*certainly*, *surely*) (Hoye 1997: 212; Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006), and functional criteria, creating specific distinctions with for instance *discourse markers/particles*, which focus on discourse-structuring functions.

For one specific form, different uses (propositional or pragmatic) can sometimes be found. Often, the dividing line between semantic and pragmatic meanings cannot always be unambiguously drawn. Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenbergen mention the example of *certainly* and *of course*, which – as adverbs – can be placed on the boundary between modal adverbs and pragmatic markers (2006; Hoye 1997: 212). Semantic and pragmatic meanings influence one another, and semantic or "literal meanings are 'overridden' by pragmatic functions involving the speaker's relationship to the hearer, to the utterance or to the whole text" (Aijmer 2002: 2). A general denotation (*pragmatic markers*) with subdivisions allows for a more specific delineation of various forms and uses, and takes into account multiple (propositional or pragmatic) uses of one particular form.

In line with Halliday's distinction between *ideational*, *textual* and *interpersonal* meanings (1994), semantic and pragmatic uses can be distinguished according to a three-fold

division, into propositional, textual, and expressive or interpersonal meanings. Propositional meanings are 'content'-related and can be seen as the "representation of our experience of the world around and inside us" (Palander-Collin 1999: 24). The propositional meaning of *well*, for instance, refers to the adverbial sense that is "done well" or "done in a good manner". Pragmatic meanings are generally divided into textual and interpersonal meanings. On a textual level, pragmatic markers help to structure discourse and can serve as a means to create textual coherence. They mark textual boundaries in discourse, close off topics or initiate new ones, and assist in turn-taking (especially in oral discourse). On an interpersonal level, pragmatic markers are used to let a speaker express a personal viewpoint or communicate a subjective attitude towards the addressee. In this function, they can be evaluative or serve to attain some level of intimacy between speaker and addressee – for instance by indicating shared or common knowledge or by appealing to the addressee (also e.g. by paying attention to face loss). Pragmatic markers can express "judgements, expectations, demands and indicate the nature of social exchange" (Palander-Collin 1999: 43). Palander-Collin also refers to the social role of epistemic markers (cp. Givón 1993: II, 277-280), which function as "politeness strategies to negotiate social meaning between the speaker (writer) and the listener (reader)" (1999: 43), especially when the speaker is talking to social superiors. Previous synchronic research has shown that each pragmatic marker has its own complex structure of meanings and functions. Textual and interpersonal functions are not mutually exclusive, but usually one of them predominates.

3. <u>THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO PRAGMATIC MARKERS</u>

<u>3.1. Theoretical studies</u>

Pragmatic markers can be approached from different theoretical perspectives. Each specific approach will put different emphases on the description and interpretation of pragmatic markers – which is why more than one theory can be applied to the study of one particular marker. In general terms, discourse elements can be studied by either a top-down approach (e.g. relevance theory), focusing on discourse markers as a means to "facilitate the processing and comprehension of the text" (Aijmer 2002: 1), or a bottom-up approach (e.g. Schiffrin 1987) – which provides a description of the evolution or the uses of one individual pragmatic marker.

Schiffrin's influential work on pragmatic markers (1987; including discussions of *well* and *now*) offers a study in discourse analysis, describing discourse on the basis of different closely-connected 'planes (levels of discourse)' (Aijmer 2002: 13), i.e. components of coherence such as 'ideational structure', 'participant framework', or 'exchange structure' (ibid.: 12). As "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 31), pragmatic markers are explained on the basis of their specific context. For *now*, for instance, Schiffrin introduces the notion of *discourse time* and uses the structure of comparisons. She interprets *well* and *y'know* in the context of question/answer structures, and draws on the structure of narratives and arguments to interpret most markers she deals with.

A top-down approach such as Relevance Theory (e.g. Sperber and Wilson 1986; description based on Aijmer 2002) focuses not on meaning, but rather on how the hearer is led to infer meaning from what is said or implied. Based on the Gricean principle of relevance (stating that speakers will always strive for maximal relevance), the hearer's interpretation is constrained and guided by existing background assumptions, in line with the principle of relevance. Certain pragmatic structures, however, can be "conventionalised (grammaticalised) in order to facilitate processing" (Aijmer 2002: 9). The example of *you see*, offered by Blakemore (1987: 88 in Aijmer 2002: 10) – "She slipped. You see, the road was slippery" – illustrates the procedural meaning of *you see* as a connector between two clauses. In choosing to use a pragmatic marker such as *well*, for instance, the speaker may indicate that the background assumptions (i.e. the context of interpretation) need(s) to be renegotiated, and that "the context created by the previous utterance […] is not the most relevant one for the

interpretation of the impending utterance" (Jucker 1993: 440). Aijmer stresses that the choice of a particular pragmatic marker is influenced by various linguistic and contextual factors, including, for instance, position in the discourse and text type, and proposes the use of additional theoretical approaches for the description of pragmatic markers.

Although the occurrence of a particular marker can serve to indicate the opinion of a speaker, and as such offers an indication of his or her subjective views on discourse, certain research perspectives emphasise the fact that a subjective speaker stance also influences the speaker's *inter*subjective positioning. Pragmatic markers can illustrate a modal or epistemic meaning when indicating a speaker's view on the reliability of an utterance or on a "mode of knowing", e.g. indicating belief, deduction, sensory evidence (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1127). These senses connect pragmatic markers with a larger framework of *evidentiality*. Through evidentials, the speaker's/addressee's knowledge is matched against the interactants' expectations (cp. Chafe 1986 in Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1128). Expectations can either be met (e.g. *of course*) or countered (e.g. *actually*, *in fact*). As pointed out by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen, despite the fact that *well* is "more elusive than the other expressions of expectation" and although "its function of signalling an attitude to knowledge is less obvious", *well* can also be seen as "an evidential of some kind, since it signals the speaker's awareness that the common ground needs to be reestablished" (2003: 1128).

A second approach which places pragmatic and modal markers in a larger context of intersubjective positioning is developed by White (2003). He proposes a framework, based on Bakhtin's concepts of *heteroglossia* and *intertextuality* (Bakhtin 1981), in which discourse contexts can be seen as "heteroglossically diverse" (White 2003: 280), and the speaker's voice is applied interpersonally in all utterances. However, "utterances differ in the extent to which they explicitly recognize or play down the possibility of divergence, the existence of other texts, and other viewpoints" (in Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1128). According to this perspective, speaker can use pragmatic markers to place their own points of view in alignment or disalignment with those of the addressee. Evidentials are "basically rhetorical options chosen by speakers to position themselves intersubjectively in the context" (ibid.). Different hearer-oriented strategies may represent different layers of meaning (and function) for individual discourse elements.

3.2. Grammaticalisation

The diachronic research of pragmatic markers, studying their semantic-pragmatic evolution, can also be approached from different perspectives. Whereas *pragmaphilology* is an approach which focuses on social contexts of language change, ***diachronic pragmatics*** studies the interface and interrelation between linguistic structures and related discourse meanings. Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 13) indicate that *diachronic pragmatics* offers two more subdivisions. A diachronic *function-to-form* approach is mainly onomasiological and takes a specific speech act function as its starting point – whereas ***form-to-function mapping*** – which will be the approach of the present study – offers a mainly semasiological perspective, examining how one particular linguistic form has developed various meanings over time.

From a diachronic perspective, the study of pragmatic multifunctionality can be further defined and elaborated by reference to the diachronic process of grammaticalisation, which offers a broad starting point for the study of semantic-pragmatic language change. The process of grammaticalisation can provide explanations for diverse aspects of language change and has been supported and studied by Meillet (1912) and Givón (1971), and frequently from the mid 1980s onwards by Bybee (1985), Hopper (1991), Hopper and Traugott (2003), Traugott (1995a; 2001), Lehmann (1995), and Traugott and Dasher (2002) among others. Aijmer stresses that "grammaticalisation and discourse particles 'seem to be made for each other'" seeing that this historical process "offers an account of the relation between form and function which is motivated by observable diachronic and synchronic processes" (2002: 16). Grammaticalisation is defined as

> "the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts [Traugott 1995a: 15: in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts] to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions." (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 232)

What this entails is that when linguistic items recurrently and routinely occur in "specific linguistic contexts" (Palander-Collin 1999: 48), they are reanalysed (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 50f.) as items with an increased morphosyntactic fusion and a decreased semantic content – and move from lexical to grammatical categories. Grammaticalisation can be seen as a set of universal clines, according to which individual linguistic items develop new meanings. This does not necessarily result in a fixed point of completion, but rather in a continuum in which items can be found that are less or more grammaticalised. One

hypothesised cline suggests that grammaticalisation causes concrete references to move to abstract meanings, as in the case of *be going to* – which has moved from a concrete construction (with reference to *go* as a verb of motion) to an abstract tense marker (cp. *be gonna*) (Traugott 1995: 14). The manner in which language change takes place through grammaticalisation is generally considered to be unidirectional, in the sense that grammaticalised items as a rule (with some exceptions) do not de-grammaticalise. Elements that are grammaticalised not only undergo *semantic bleaching*, i.e. a loss of semantic content, but also what is called *pragmatic strengthening*, i.e. an increase in pragmatic implicatures. Grammaticalisation also involves changes through which an element gains increased scope and increased syntactic freedom – while at the same time the position of that element becomes more restricted in the sense that its position becomes "more clearly defined in its syntagmatic relation to other sentence elements" (Palander-Collin 1999: 50).

The hypothesis of unidirectionality has been criticised by Newmeyer (1998) and Campbell (2001), who argued against the generalisations suggested in unidirectionality theories, and focused on a number of counterexamples. Newmeyer firmly states that "unidirectionality is not true" (1998: 263), in the sense that the different diachronic processes that are visible in language change are not dependent on grammaticalisation but function independently as indications of language change in general. Newmeyer (1998: 262n.) refers to a quote by Östen Dahl taken from a posting on the *Linguist List* (18 August 1996), stating that

> "Grammaticalization is unidirectional in about the same sense as biological processes such as growth, maturation, and aging are. As we grow up, we become taller; in old age, we may shrink a little. However, we would not expect a child to start becoming shorter and finally return to its mother's womb. Similarly, eyesight generally deteriorates with age, but myopic persons may actually become less so due to their eye lenses getting more rigid and compensating the myopia. In other words, the biological processes that take place during our lives sometimes give rise to contradictory results but here can be no doubt that they are basically irreversible."

Newmeyer concludes that grammaticalisation is "a label for the conjunction of certain types of independently occurring linguistic changes" (1998: 237), and cannot be conceived as a distinct process. The emphasis therefore needs to be shifted to separate clines that are related to grammaticalisations but are not exclusively bound to the historical process and can also exist outside of it. Newmeyer finds that assumptions of unidirectionality are often based on *semantic change* (1998: 278) but that, although "there is a *general* directionality to the

semantic changes observed in grammaticalization, […] strict unidirectionality appears to be incorrect". The hypothesis of grammaticalisation therefore engenders three kinds of reactions. The supporters claim that unidirectionality is built into the definition of grammaticalisation and that this enables us to make predictions on the evolutions of all clines associated with grammaticalisation. Opposers find that grammaticalisation has no independent status and is derivative from diachronic clines which are not limited to grammaticalisation.

Thirdly, we find intermediate voices such as that of Hopper and Traugott (2003), which acknowledge counterexamples, but see those as exceptions that confirm the rule. Countering Newmeyer's and Campbell's claims, Traugott suggests that the validity of these counterexamples needs to be established, and grammaticalisation should be seen as a "hypothesis about a robust tendency" (Traugott 2001: 1) entailing a number of clines. Structure (a) below illustrates the unidirectional movement of these clines as it was originally described. Originating in propositional content-related meanings, the development can move to text-structuring functions towards increasingly expressive or interpersonal functions. The brackets indicate that propositional meanings do not necessarily shift towards pragmatic functions, and that the hypothesis also considers the idea that expressive meanings do not necessarily derive from textual functions but can also directly from propositional meanings. This shift was proven to be too strong and was revised (e.g. Traugott 1999) and reformulated as a set of overlapping unidirectional tendencies (b), in which more emphasis is put on the final stage of the evolution, i.e. on an increase in speaker-addressee related expressiveness.

a) propositional > (textual >) (expressive)

b) Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation
               > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described
                 situation.
   Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation
               > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.
   Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief
                 state/attitude toward the proposition. (Traugott 1989: 34-35)

A possible motivator for grammaticalisation and historical language change is the speaker's need to indicate attitudes and personal opinions in discourse (Traugott 1995a, 1995b, 1997). Haspelmath suggests that

> "semantic bleaching […] does not seem to be a consequence of routinization […] but a prerequisite for it […]. [A] lexical item can become grammaticalized only if it is used in a basic discourse function, because otherwise it would not increase significantly in frequency." (Haspelmath 1999: 1062)

The recruitment of propositional material for communicative purposes can be attributed to the historical processes known as *subjectification* and *intersubjectification*. Subjectification (Traugott 1995b, 1997) causes meanings to 'shift toward greater subjectivity [and] become increasingly associated with speaker attitude' (Traugott 1995a: 2), and is defined as

> "the process whereby meanings come over time to index, encode, and externalize the speaker/writer's perspectives and attitudes" (Schwenter and Traugott 2000: 10)

Intersubjectification, which is generally preceded by subjectification and cannot occur without it (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 97), highlights the other end of the speech event and is described as 'a mechanism whereby meanings become more centered on the addressee' (Traugott 1999: 3). More specifically, intersubjectification is defined as

> "the explicit expression of SP/W's attention to the "self" of AD/R in both an epistemic sense, paying attention to their (likely) attitudes to the content of what is said, and in a more social sense (paying attention to "face" or "image needs")." (Traugott 1999: 2)

We can see language (change) as something which is created by language users, i.e. active participants in a communicative framework (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 17). As such, the speaker's "tendency to recruit lexical (propositional) material for the purposes of creating text and indicating attitudes in discourse situations' (Traugott 1995b: 47) is what constitutes semantic-pragmatic change, resulting in an increase of pragmatic significance and expressiveness (Traugott 1995b: 4). An example of pragmatically-driven change towards increasing speaker-expression is the evolution of *indeed* (Aijmer 2002: 16f.; Traugott 1995a: 7f.). Originally a prepositional phrase, *indeed* ('in deed') evolved away from a clause-internal adverbial towards the field of (modal) sentence adverbials and acquired the epistemic (modal) meaning 'certainly' (Traugott 1995b: 18). Through a further movement on the adverbial cline, *indeed* shifted to clause-initial position, and to meanings expressing "elaboration and clarification of the discourse intent" (Traugott 1995b: 11) of the speaker.

Grammaticalisation, (inter)subjectification and semantic-pragmatic change in general are dynamic processes. Grammaticalisation should be seen "as a continuum from less

grammaticalized to more grammaticalized" (Palander-Collin 1999: 49; Hopper and Traugott 1993: 95). A specific discourse element can therefore display different levels of grammaticalisation at particular points in its historical evolution. When a single lexical item develops new meanings, these may or may not replace older meanings. If they do not, the emergence of new meanings results in a co-occurrence of different variants (Figure 1), known as *layering* (Hopper 1991).

$$A > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} A \\ B \end{array} \right\} \ (> B)$$

Figure 1: Layering and development of polysemies (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 12)

For one individual lexical item, different forms of 'functional split' can be visible at different moments in the item's historical evolution, representing different stages of grammaticalisation. Historical research can in this sense be related to synchronic variation, because the historical emergence and coexistence of different variants becomes reflected in a a linguistic item's synchronic multifunctionality. The study of different (synchronic and diachronic) polysemies of pragmatic markers such as *well* and *now* can therefore be advanced by researching the markers' different layers of meaning at different stages in their development, in order to see how various uses have come to exist, have evolved, or coexist.

4. <u>**SYNCHRONIC STUDIES ON PRAGMATIC MARKERS**</u>

<u>4.1. Monolinguistic and cross-linguistic studies on *well*</u>

Synchronically, the pragmatic and functional uses of *well* in conversation have been the aim of a number of studies (Lakoff 1973; Svartvik 1980; Watts 1986; Schiffrin 1987; Schourup 2001; Müller 2004 among others). Table 1, added after section 5, offers an overview of preceding studies on *well*. Among the earliest studies are those of Lakoff (1973), Murray (1979), Svartvik (1980), which found that *well* usually prefaces responses that are either indirect or felt to be insufficient by the speaker. Svartvik distinguishes the pragmatic uses of *well* as a *frame*, a *qualifier*, and a '*floorholder, hesitator, or initiator*' (Svartvik 1980: 176). He adds that the use of *well* as a topic (focus) shifter functions as a common denominator, illustrating that the speaker intends to modify "one or more assumptions or expectations which have formed the basis of discourse so far" (1980: 177). Svartvik's and Lakoff's analyses of *well* are parallelled by Schiffrin's study (1987), in which she places *well* primarily in the participation framework of discourse, and focuses on the marker's interactive and interpersonal functions. She states that

> […] *well* is a response marker: *well* anchors its user in a conversational exchange when the options offered through a prior utterance for the coherence of an upcoming response are not precisely followed. (Schiffrin 1987: 127)

According to Schiffrin's analyses, *well* can be used to signal (ideational, deictic or evaluative) shifts in orientation, in a non-optimal discourse situation where a need has arisen to establish coherence between the expectations of speaker and addressee. In a context where speaker and addressee have different expectations, the role of *well* as a marker of reception is to facilitate coherence between speaker turns. This function was attested in other synchronic research by Owen (1983) and Pomerantz (1984) – who also found that in cases where a request or offer is rejected, or where a question is insufficiently answered, i.e. in a context of confrontation, the use of *well* can offer a means to minimise a possible face-threat.

Studies which have set out to find a unitary (semantic) core meaning for *well*, covering a large range of uses, include Murray (1979), Carlson (1984) and Bolinger (1989). Carlson and Bolinger propose a lexical approach and connect the various discourse meanings of *well* with the marker's semantic source. The adverbial or adjectival meaning of *well* as it is found in the *OED*, i.e. "good, according to one's wish" (cp. OED *well*, adv. 3c), is directly translated

to the discourse level, resulting in a core meaning of 'acceptance (of a situation)' (Carlson 1984: 27). Bolinger suggests a similar shift from the locutionary sphere – i.e. concerning what is said – in which has the meaning of "relatively good, relatively strong" to the illocutionary sphere – i.e. what is intended or conveyed – and that the use of *well* allows speakers to make reference to a certain 'standard' or 'norm' (Bolinger 1989: 332; also see Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003) for a discussion of different approaches).

In contrast to these lexical approaches, Jucker (1993; 1997) and Smith and Jucker (2000; 2002) follow a more pragmatically-based interactional approach, extracting a central meaning from the marker's polysemy and polyfunctionality. Both studies have looked at *well* in questions, invitations and advice, and found that the marker functions as an element which can signal a discrepancy in the attitudes of speaker and addressee. *Well* serves as a "warning signal", indicating that the assumptions behind an original claim are going to be challenged and need to be reassessed (Jucker 1993), or signalling "the need for renegotiating the relevant background assumptions" in order to establish a source of common ground (Jucker 1993: 443). In his article on the contemporary use of *well*, Schourup (2001) posits that adverbial and pragmatic *well* can be related through the shared notion of "consideration". In his view, adverbial *well* entails a positive judgement, which can be connected to present-day pragmatic uses of *well* which illustrate that "the speaker is reflectively weighing or considering something" and that he or she is "actively taking into account what is already known or assumed. Schourup connects pragmatic marker *well* with 'mental state' interjections, stating that "*well* may be regarded as indicating a variety of epistemic-prospective consideration" (2001: 1046).

The approaches presented by e.g. Carlson and Jucker are examples of *meaning minimalism*, in which the different meanings of an individual marker are brought together in one "common denominator" or "unitary word sense" (Aijmer 2002: 19f.). This recent approach stands in contrast with the more traditional method of *meaning maximalism*, in which the different contexts in which a particular discourse marker occurs are each attributed with a different meaning. Because this homonymous approach suggests that the various contexts (and their matching meanings) are not related, the end result is a collection of separate subforms and uses, without an encompassing or common meaning.

Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003) propose a combination of a unitary semantic approach and an interactional pragmatic (contextual) approach as a starting point for their contrastive research on *well* and on translations of *well* in Swedish and Dutch. Their cross-linguistic study of English, Dutch and Swedish wants to find a common denominator between

various contextual uses of *well* in pragmatic discourse, as well as a core meaning which is compatible with the marker's multiple functions and with its non-pragmatic counterpart (i.e. adverbial *well*). Aijmer calls this a "modified minimalist meaning" (2002: 21), in which different contextual functions can be discerned for one individual marker, and related to a core meaning in a polysemous way. This approach offers an explanation for the fact that discourse meanings may overlap, and that the relationship between pragmatic and propositional meanings may in certain uses be called "fuzzy" (ibid.). The research perspective defended by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen combines a description of the multifunctionality of markers (i.e. of *well* in the case of their study) with a semantic delineation, and can therefore motivate connections between semantic and pragmatic uses – which may not always be transparent in synchronic multifunctionality, and is therefore useful for our diachronic research as well. As the core meaning of *well*, Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen propose the notion of 'positive appraisal' (2003: 1130). In its core function, *well* is said to express

> "the speaker's heteroglossic stance, signalling awareness of heterogeneity, and more specifically counterexpectation. However, it can be used for many different rhetorical ends, including contexts where no approval or acceptance is involved, but where the situation is assessed by the speaker as problematical and the possibility of choosing between divergent positions needs to be negotiated." (2003: 1130)

Johansson (2006) extends Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen's cross-linguistic study on *well* by adding translations from Norwegian and – to some extent – German. Johansson finds that *well"* seems to mark both negotiation in relation to the addressee and deliberation in the speaker's mind" (2006: 135) and that the use of *well* can sometimes seem "to be merely phatic, serving to open or maintain the channel of communication" (ibid.). In initial position, Norwegian *vel* and English *well* can both express agreement, disagreement or qualified agreement. Both can be found in dialogues as well as in monologues – representing a speaker's thought(s). *Vel*, however, covers a more restricted area of use than *well* does (Johansson 2006: 120ff.). Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen draw on White's (2003) concept of heteroglossia (see earlier), and classify *well* as "a heteroglossic option, accommodating the utterance to the context, in particular the hearer's expectations" (2003: 1128). This includes uses of *well* both as a textual marker (i.e. topic changer) and as an interpersonal marker (i.e. politeness marker, paying attention to the addressee's face).

Both *well* and *now* can be interpreted within the framework of heteroglossia and intersubjective positioning. This thesis will further discuss the question whether both markers display historical meanings and functions which support the speaker's voice as a means to "acknowledge, to engage with or to align" the speaker's views with those of the addressee (2003: 260).

4.2. Monolinguistics and cross-linguistic studies on *now*

The synchronic study of pragmatic *now* in many cases entails a connection with the marker's propositional counterpart. After section 5, an overview (Table 2) of a selection of preceding synchronic and diachronic studies on the multifunctionality of *now* is added, describing the studies' main points of discussion. Schiffrin (1987) groups *now* and *then* together as two temporal adverbs which have evolved to adopt various discourse uses in present-day English. *Now* is discussed in the participation framework, as a marker which draws attention to upcoming topics, shifts in evaluation or footing – and not only illustrates the speaker's textual and ideational progression, but also guides the addressee through the topical development of discourse. Similarly, Bolinger (1989) and Halliday (1994) respectively describe *now* as an attention-shifting prompter and a 'continuative', signalling a new move or point of information. In her corpus-based study on *now*, Aijmer (1988, 2002) attributes the fact that the delineation between propositional and pragmatic uses of *now* is not always clear-cut to an ongoing grammaticalisation process. Specific uses of *now*, in which the temporal meaning of *now* is merged with a pragmatic meaning can be interpreted within a framework of polysemy, through which different functions and meanings can be related to one another, and can be seen as extensions from one central core meaning or prototype (see earlier). Aijmer also pays attention to prosody, and explains the individual pragmatic features of *now* within a framework of indexicality, which links pragmatic markers such as *now* to "attitudes, evaluation, types of speakers and other dimensions of the communication situation" (2002: 5).

Hasselgård (2006) studied *now* cross-linguistically and presented the results of a comparison between English *now* and Norwegian *nå* in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC). She found that both *now* and *nå* are polysemous, but that whereas *now* most frequently occurs as a continuative in English data, the Norwegian counterpart is more generally used as a modal particle. This difference is reflected in differences in translation. Hasselgård states that the continuative function of *now* in English corpus material is more frequently pragmaticalised than in Norwegian, which may be due to the fact that "time

adverbials occur more frequently in initial position in Norwegian than in English, and are thus less marked". An utterance-initial use of *nå* in Norwegian is therefore more easily considered to be temporal, unless it is accompanied by another continuative marker such as *ja* or *vel*.

Because the distinction between propositional and pragmatic meanings is often hard to make in the case of *now*, the question of polysemy and delineation of meanings is particularly significant for the description of this marker. An added question in this respect is whether we can 'split up' the notion of polysemy, i.e. whether we can see the pragmatic uses of a marker as polysemous, and consider the propositional uses as a separate domain, or consider all uses to be elements in one larger network (cp. Aijmer 2002: 22). Hansen (1998) insists that pragmatic and propositional meanings should not be seen as separate sets of (various) meanings, but that they are two uses of the same form and have a definite influence on one another. Differences can generally be easily distinguished through context – but additional historical research can offer new perspectives on how differences and new polysemies have shaped synchronic polysemies.

5. DIACHRONIC STUDIES ON PRAGMATIC MARKERS

5.1. Historical research on *well*

The theory of grammaticalisation has formed an important factor in the development of diachronic research of pragmatic markers. Studies by Traugott (1995a/b, 1999), Hopper (1991), Hopper and Traugott (2003), Traugott and Dasher (2002), Brinton (1996), and van Baar (1996) illustrated that historical meanings can be related to synchronic multifunctionality through processes of grammaticalisation. Research on individual markers has dealt with the development of epistemic parentheticals, originating in a subject + verb clause structure, as with *I think*, for instance (Palander-Collin 1999), which was studied in relation to the impersonal constructions *methinks* or *me thinketh that…*, *I think* and *I guess* (Thompson and Mulac 1991), *I say* (Brinton 2005) or *I mean* (Brinton 2003). Scheibman (2002) and Fitzmaurice (2004) discuss a variety of subjective verb-constructions (e.g. *I think*, *you know*, *I guess*) with an emphasis on the influence of speaker-perspectives in conversations, and on the conventionalisation of subjective patterns.

The value of subjectification and speaker-stance in the development of adverbials towards (epistemic) markers has been discussed by Lewis 2003 (*of course*), Schwenter and Traugott 2000 (*in fact*), and Powell 1992 (on 'stance adverbs') among others. Lewis attributes the emergence of pragmatic meanings of *of course* to reanalyses in specific discourse contexts. Through successive stages of functional split, the propositional adverbial is found to gradually adopt a polysemous epistemic meaning.

The synchronic functions of *well* as a pragmatic marker have been studied more widely than the marker's development from a semantic source has. The relationship between *well* as a propositional manner adverb and as a multifunctional marker has been described from a relevance-theoretical account by Jucker (1993; 1997), who traces a gradual diversification of the four synchronic functions of *well* (as a frame-marker, qualifier, face-threat mitigator and pause filler) back to textual uses in Middle English (ME), and interpersonal uses in Early Modern English (EModE). Two emphatic Old English (OE) forms, *hwæt* ('listen' or 'what') and *wella*, are mentioned as possible influences for a later functional diversification. Both elements have a similar attention-getting function and illustrate a close connection with early uses of *well*. *Hwaet* was also studied by Brinton (1996), who connects the marker to *you know*, and finds that *hwæt* mainly serves to foreground new information and

to create a suggestion of shared knowledge. Finell (1989) studied *well* in responses and traced the origin of pragmatic *well* (the interpersonal functions as a qualifier and a face-threat mitigator in particular) back to a predicative adjective use in a concessive context from the sixteenth century. Traugott and Dasher (2002) places Jucker's findings in an interactional context. They put forward the argumentational use of *well*, as it occurs in contexts where a speaker wants to develop an argument which "may not be achievable or even agreed upon" by the addressee. Blake (1992-3) connects a selection of historically used discourse markers with style criteria, and finds that markers such as *well*, *why*, *what*, and *I trow* help to illustrate "the attitude of the speaker to what is being said or done" (1992-3: 83). Finally, Shibasaki (2003) offers a discussion of the collocation *may well* in diachronic and synchronic data. Relevant features from these previous studies are taken up and discussed further in sections 8 to 14.

5.2. Historical research on *now*

In her synchronic description of pragmatic *now*, Aijmer (2002) interprets the close connection between propositional and pragmatic uses, and the synchronic multifunctionality of *now* against the background of theories of grammaticalisation. Temporal adverbs, such as *now* and *then* have not been studied frequently from a historical perspective. Schiffrin (1987) examines the relationship between propositional and pragmatic functions of both elements synchronically, and points out the relationships of pragmatic meanings to semantic meanings – which may give us an indication of two stages of meaning that can be connected through the study of the diachronic diversification of *now*.

Whereas Fischer (1992) and Traugott (1992) both refer to syntactic features of *now* in its propositional use, other diachronic studies compare the textual use of *now* to those of other comparable markers such as *while* (Hopper and Traugott (2003), Old English *þa* (i.e. *then*; Hopper 1979; Enkvist and Wårvik 1987), and *hwæt þa* (i.e. *so*; Brinton 1996) which has a causal meaning but originates in a temporal one. In turn, Brinton also discusses *since* as an element which has undergone similar evolutions as *now* has, and additionally compares *now* to *anon* (i.e. *at once*). The majority of historical studies discussion the semantic-pragmatic evolution of *now* focus on *now* as a "narrative structuring [device]" (Hopper 1979). Relevant aspects of previous synchronic and diachronic studies on *now* are discussed in greater detail in sections 15 to 19.

RESEARCH CONTEXT	*WELL*: MEANING OR FUNCTION	SOURCE
Synchronic research	*well* prefaces responses that are indirect or felt to be insufficient by speaker	Lakoff 1973; Murray 1979; Svartvik 1980
Synchronic research	- frame-marker; qualifier; floorholder - common denominator: topic (focus) shifter	Svartvik 1980
Synchronic research; Participation framework	response marker; establish coherence between S and A in non-optimal discourse situation	Schiffrin 1987
Synchronic research	minimise face-threat in context of confrontation or insufficient answer	Owen 1983; Pomerantz 1984
Synchronic research; lexical approach	direct translation of semantic meaning to discourse level; reference to "standard" or "norm"	Murray 1979; Carlson 1984; Bolinger 1989
(Diachronic-) synchronic research; pragmatically-based approach; *well* in questions, invitations, advice	signal discrepancy in attitudes of S and A; warning signal that assumptions behind original claim need to be reassessed	Jucker 1993; 1997; Smith and Jucker 2000; 2002
Synchronic research	relates adverbial and pragmatic uses through shared notion of "consideration" (epistemic-prospective consideration); connection with mental state interjections	Schourup 2001
Combination of unitary semantic approach and pragmatic (contextual) approach. Contrastive research (Swedish/Dutch/English)	core meaning: positive appraisal; core function: awareness of heterogeneity and counterexpectation.	Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003; cp. White 2003
Cross-linguistic research: English/Norwegian (/German)	marks negotiation in relation to A and deliberation in S.'s mind; expresses (qualified) agreement, disagreement; in dialogues and monologues	Johansson 2006
Synchronic research: Other	E.g. Watts 1986; Müller 2004	

Historical research	Discussion of functional diversification from historical perspective. PDE Interpersonal functions derive from textual functions – with subjective core.	Jucker 1993; 1997
Historical research; *well* in responses	Interpersonal functions traced back to adjectival use in concessive contexts from sixteenth century	Finell 1989
Historical research	Discussion of *well* in argumentational contexts	Traugott and Dasher 2002
Historical research	Connects *well* to style criteria	Blake 1992-3
Diachronic (and synchronic) research	Discussion of *well* in collocational tie *may well*	Shibasaki 2003

Table 1: Overview previous studies on *well*

Synchronic research	*Now* and *then*: relation between temporal adverbs and various discourse uses *Now* draws attention to upcoming topics; shifts in evaluation or footing; also guides addressee through topical development of discourse	Schiffrin 1989
Synchronic research	*Now* as "continuative"; attention-shifting prompter; signals new move/point of information	Bolinger 1989; Halliday 1994
Synchronic research	Synchronic multifunctionality of *now*: discussed as result of historical process of grammaticalisation, and within framework of indexicality	Aijmer 2002
Synchronic research	Placement of (temporal) adverbials as influenced by discoursal factors.	Virtanen 1992
Cross-linguistic research: English/Norwegian	*Now* as a continuative in English – in contrast to Norwegian *nå* (modal meaning)	Hasselgård 2006
Historical research	*Now* as topic changer; Pragmatic meanings of *now*: seen as direct extensions of deictic meaning	Finell 1992
Historical research	Relation to *anon*; both *anon* and *now* have a deictic, proximal meaning: evolution to meaning that indicates speaker's evaluative stance	Brinton 1996
Historical research	Text-structuring use of *now*: indicative of speaker's attitude towards sequencing of discourse (subjective function)	Traugott and Dasher 2002
Historical research	Connection to *now*: study of *þa* (*then*) as narrative structuring device	Hopper 1979

Table 2: Overview previous studies on *now*

6. **THE SELECTION OF *WELL* AND *NOW*: A JUSTIFICATION**

The present study deals with the historical development and multifunctionality of *now* and *well* as pragmatic markers. Individually, both markers display a complex variety of interactional functions (see brief overview of *well* and *now* in Table 3). In addition, both *well* and *now* share certain rhetorical uses in present-day discourse: they can be used as topic changers and subtopic shifters (Aijmer 2002: 71), and are both used on an interpersonal level to express speaker attitudes or to reach a source of common understanding between speaker and addressee (e.g. Aijmer 2002; Jucker 1997). *Now* and *well* frequently collocate (Aijmer 2002: 71), and contrastive research (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2003) has shown that there is a functional connection between the two markers, and that English *well* and Dutch *nou* (i.e. the semantic cognate of English *now*) display similar pragmatic functions and appear to have developed similar discourse functions from different propositional sources (2003: 1151). A further delineation of functional and pragmatic resemblances and differences between the two markers is given in sections 20 and 21.

Although Aijmer claims that *well* and *now* can both occur "with little difference in meaning" (Aijmer 2002: 71) at the beginning of a conversation, the two markers are not freely interchangeable. *Well* and *now* do share certain functions when appearing in utterance-initial position, such as connecting utterances, shifting topics or drawing the hearer's attention to the speaker's utterance. From a distributional perspective, Bäcklund (1989) and Stenström (1990: 149) found that *now* is twice as frequent as *well* in monologues – while *well* is three times as frequent as other initiators such as *now*, *however* or *anyway* in dialogue. This illustrates that *now* is often used to indicate a connection between different utterances of one individual speaker (Bäcklund 1989: 31; 37), and indicates continuation or elaboration, whereas *well* is more often used as a response to what a previous speaker has said, and indicates 'acceptance' of a previous speaker turn. Whereas *well* looks back to a previous topic, *now* generally looks forward to an upcoming one.

Both markers have similar propositional counterparts and can be traced back to adverbial origins, viz. as adverbs of manner and time. Synchronic research on *now* (Schiffrin 1987; Foolen 2000; Aijmer 2002) has shown that the marker's deictic temporal source still plays an important role in how the marker functions on an interactional, pragmatic level. Similarly, we can see that pragmatic uses of *well* can be connected with speaker-related

aspects of adverbial *well*, which have been transferred to the textual world of discourse (Schiffrin 1990).

As diachronic studies on developments of pragmatic markers have illustrated (Schourup 2001; Traugott and Dasher 2002), there is no such thing as a straight-forward development from adverbial to pragmatic discourse meanings. The development of propositional adverbs to pragmatic markers has received a fair amount of attention in recent years (see Traugott and Dasher 2002; Aijmer 2002; Schiffrin 1992 (on *then*) and Powell 1992 (on stance adverbs) among others). Adverbials which have evolved into pragmatic markers were frequently found to shift according to a fixed cline from a clause-internal position to a wider scope and a more speaker-oriented position as sentential adverbials (e.g. indeed, in fact) and in later stages towards discourse markers or "connecting adverbs" (Traugott 1995a). Theories of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification hypothesise that grammaticalised propositional items adopt additional modal or epistemic (information and belief-state) speaker-attitudes (Traugott and Dasher: 152ff.) in this process. The growing pragmatic multifunctionality (synchronic as well as diachronic) of adverbials in discourse poses questions about functional definitions and delineations – for instance between semantics and pragmatics. Against the background of theories of grammaticalisation, the diachronic study of the two markers' respective semantic-pragmatic developments enables us to see whether their evolutions have occurred along similar paths. A detailed examination of general multifunctionalities and specific pragmatic uses also provides us with a broader perspective in which the question can be considered whether it is theoretically possible to make further generalisations with respect to origins and developments of pragmatic markers. If the pragmatic multifunctionality of *well* and *now* is found to be connected to the markers' semantic counterpart, i.e. to their occurrence as propositional adverbs of manner and time respectively, this may enable us to make generalisations with regard to semantic-pragmatic evolutions of adverbial elements. In addition, a comparison between the historical semantic-pragmatic developments of *well* and *now* from their adverbial origins will be presented in order to illustrate how different levels of functional split have led to (potentially diverging) new polysemies, and how these can be connected to the markers' respective propositional meanings. The complex task of finding a core meaning for pragmatic markers such as *well* and *now* is also considered in the present study.

TOPIC	WELL – NOW	SOURCE
Textual functions (synchronic)	Shared: topic changer; subtopic shifter > *Well*: Frame-marker > *Now*: Continuative (also introduces explanation / justification); boundary signal	Schiffrin 1989; Finell 1992; Jucker 1997; Aijmer 2002
Interpersonal functions (synchronic)	Shared: Express speaker attitudes; negotiate common ground between S and A > *Well*: Qualifier; face-threat mitigator; pause filler > *Now*: subjective modality: link to speaker; used in metacomments, evaluations	Jucker 1997; Aijmer 2002
Distribution	As PMs: utterance-initial position; sentence-internally in propositional use	Traugott & Dasher 2002
Collocation	Both markers frequently collocate (e.g. *well now*; *now well*)	Aijmer 2002
Cross-linguistic connection	English *well* and Dutch *nou* (i.e. semantic cognate of English *now*): display similar pragmatic functions; apppear to have developed similar discourse functions from different propositional sources	Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2003
Frequency in monologue / dialogue	> *Well*: three times as frequent as *now* in dialogue > *Now*: twice as frequent as *well* in monologues	Bäcklund 1989; Stenström 1990
Connection between utterances	> *Well*: Indicates **response** to / acceptance of preceding utterance > *Now*: More frequently illustrates connection between utterances of one individual speaker: **continuation / elaboration**	Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2002
Orientation	> *Well*: Looks back to preceding speaker turn > *Now*: oriented forward to upcoming topic	Schiffrin 1989; Aijmer 2002
Relationship adverbial ~ pragmatic uses	> *Well*: Speaker-related aspects of propositional *well*: can be related to discourse uses. However: no straight-forward historical development > *Now*: Deictic source: indirectly transferredal to interactional / pragmatic uses	Schiffrin 1987; Finell 1989; Jucker 1997; Schourup 2001; Aijmer 2002; Traugott & Dasher 2002

Table 3: Brief overview similarities / differences between *well* and *now*

Summing up, the present study aims to answer the following questions:

1) How do the semantic-pragmatic processes of development of *well* and *now* evolve, and how is the markers' functional diversification reflected in formal features within the historical corpus material used in this study?

2) Can the two developments be explained against the background of processes of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification? Do the evolutions follow any unidirectional clines?

3) Do the individual evolutions of *well* and *now* display similarities, and do these enable us to make generalisations with respect to predictable paths of development for markers which have derived from similar (i.e. adverbial) origins?

4) Can the idea of a *core meaning* be applied to the variety of semantic-pragmatic functions and meanings of *well* and *now*?

7. **METHODOLOGY**

7.1. Spoken interaction

This study of pragmatic markers is concerned primarily with the examination of the interaction between speakers and addressees. Because the use of pragmatic markers is more frequent in oral discourse (Brinton 1996), the material for a corpus-based pragmatic study needs to present a reflection of 'real-life' oral discourse as much as possible. For historical research, however, the use of corpus-based material is not without methodological difficulty. Historical pragmatics "faces an obstacle in that our knowledge of the spoken conversation of the past is confined to what can be gleaned from written records" (Culpeper and Kytö 2000: 176; Jacobs and Jucker 1995). Historical research cannot draw on truly 'natural' data because there simply are no (recorded) spoken data available. A possible methodological solution for the lack of recorded spoken data from previous centuries is to work with corpora and text genres that offer a representation of oral discourse. Culpeper and Kytö therefore suggest the use of "speech-related texts" (1997; 2000; also see Biber and Finegan 1992; Jacobs and Jucker 1995), divided into either reconstructed recordings of speech – such as trial proceedings or witness depositions – or dramatic constructions of speech like plays or sermons, all included in the *Corpus of English Dialogues*. This kind of "historical natural language data" (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 6) provides an excellent starting point for the study of historical pragmatics. Apart from literary texts, the corpora used for this thesis also include non-literary, 'natural' dialogues, in order to respond to the question whether literary texts can give an adequate representation of spoken language.

7.2. Corpora

The diachronic results presented in this thesis are based on corpus-based research from three historical text collections. The *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)* (CEECS), the diachronic part of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC), and the *Corpus of English Dialogues* (CED) are all three computerised compilations of text which include speech-related text genres. An overview of the features of these three corpora is provided in Table 4, which is partly based on an overview of the HC and CEECS in Palander-Collin (1999: 93). The *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)* (CEECS) is a letter corpus covering the

period from 1417 to 1681. The corpus contains 23 letter collections, with a total of 450,000 words. As a purpose-built corpus for the study of historical sociolinguistics, the CEEC (of which the CEECS is a smaller version) offers a compilation of personal letters defined by a variety of social, age-related and class-related factors. The majority of the texts can be situated in the later periods of the corpus. Letters, especially private letters can be seen as "a rich source of data for historical pragmatics". Jacobs and Jucker point out that

> [letters] may contain more intimate and more colloquial language than other text types. It is an empirical question whether they are therefore closer to the spoken language than other more formal texttypes [sic], but they contain many interactional features such as address terms, directives, politeness markers, apologies, and so on. (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 8)

The importance of the letter-genre lies in the fact that it provides "genuine interaction […] where verbs and expressions of the writer's opinion and point of view abound" (Palander-Collin 1999: 96). Personal correspondence in particular is said to "[come] close to spoken language in many linguistic features" (ibid.; also see Biber 1995: 288-289).

The *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC) is a collection of extracts of continuous text, taken from multiple genres. The diachronic part of the corpus runs from the Old English period (c. 850) until 1710, containing approximately 1.6 million words. The texts are divided into three main periods – Old English (up until 1150), Middle English (1150-1500) and Early Modern (British) English (1500-1710) – which are each subdivided into three or four smaller periods of time. The compilers of the HC aimed to form "a representative coverage of language written in a specific period". Apart from periodisation, attention has also been paid to text types, register of writing (setting on the formal-informal axis, relationship to spoken language) and sociolinguistic variation (see Rissanen et al. 1993). The CEECS and HC are both taken from the ICAME cd-rom (*the International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English)[1]*.

A third historical corpus used for this thesis is the *Corpus of English Dialogues* (CED) (see Culpeper and Kytö 1997, 2000), which is a recently-developed pilot corpus of "written spoken texts", covering the period from c. 1560 to 1760. The corpus mainly focuses on dialogue and currently stands at approximately 1.2 million words. Methodologically, the CED forms an important resource for our pragmatic research because the corpus is especially

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[1] All further information on the HC and the CEECS can be found on <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/ manuals> (last accessed on 17/09/2007). For the CEEC: also see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996. A list of the periods according to which the corpora are classified is provided in Appendix 1.

constructed to represent spoken discourse and solely contains speech-related texts. Four main text types (see Culpeper and Kytö 2000) are included, i.e. recorded ("re-constructed") speech such as trial proceedings, witness depositions or parliamentary proceedings, and constructed imaginary speech such as drama (comedies), prose fiction, or educational handbooks in dialogue form. These different text types present different degrees of speech-like characteristics, such as lexical repetitions, turn-taking features, and first- and second-person pronouns. In addition, the four text types can be contrasted with regard to narratorial interference. Trial proceedings and drama comedies, for instance, are characterised by a low level of explicit narratorial intrusion, in contrast with witness depositions and prose fiction, which contain a higher level of interference.

Corpus	*Helsinki Corpus*	*Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)*	*Corpus of English Dialogues*
Abbreviation	HC	CEECS	CED
Periods covered	c. 850 - 1710	1417-1681	c. 1560 - c. 1760
Subdivision	3 main periods (OE; ME; EModE), divided into subperiods	23 letter collections	5 periods of c. 40 years each
Size	1.6 million	450,000	1.2 million
Genre/Text type	Various	Personal letters	Written spoken texts
Aim	Variationist studies	Historical sociolinguistics	Variationist studies; historical pragmatics

Table 4: Overview features of the HC, CEECS and CED

Two additional corpora containing more recent material than the HC, CEECS and CED are used in order to make a comparison between diachronic and synchronic uses of *well* and *now*. An overview of the features of these two corpora is presented in Table 5. The first of these two is the *British National Corpus* (**BNC**)[2], which is a multi-genre corpus of present-day spoken (10%) and written (90%) British English, containing over 100 million words. The corpus contains material from the later part of the twentieth century, from various different

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[2] The main site for information on the BNC is the Reference Guide for the British National Corpus (XML Edition) <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/XMLedition/URG/>, or <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk> (last accessed on 17/09/2007).

sources such as samples from newspapers, academic books, popular fiction and essays in the written part of the BNC, or recorded informal conversation and spoken language from different formal (business discourse; government meetings) and informal contexts (radio shows; phone-ins) in the spoken part. The corpus is compiled to offer a wide representation of late twentieth-century British English, in spoken and written genres. Secondly, the ARCHER corpus (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*; Biber et al. 1994) consists of a range of different genres (e.g. drama, letters, medical and legal texts, sermons, news and journalistic texts, and science texts), with a total of c. 1.7 million words. ARCHER contains British and American English text samples dating between 1650 and 1990 and can therefore, in terms of periodisation, be placed between the HC (which runs until 1710) or the CED (-1760), and the 20th century BNC. As such, it offers a bridge between our three historical corpora and the present-day material from the BNC and in that sense presents a continued source of research material when a diachronic-synchronic comparison of pragmatic functions is made.

Corpus	*British National Corpus*	*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*
Abbreviation	**BNC**	**ARCHER**
Periods covered	late 20th century	1650-1990
Subdivision	Text extracts up to 45.000 words	2 period samples per century; in blocks of 50 years
Size	> 100 million	1.7 million
Genre/Text type	Multiple; Spoken and written British English	Wide range of genres
Aim	Synchronic research	Historical research

Table 5: Overview features of the BNC and ARCHER

An overview of the texts that are referred to in the examples that are used in this thesis is presented in Appendix 2. Below each examples occurring before 1500, a translation of the entire utterance or of relevant parts of the example is added. The overview includes the abbreviated and full name of the text, date and genre.

7.3. Representativeness

Although synchronic and diachronic corpora are "assumed to be representative" of a certain language or language period (Francis 1982: 7 in Palander-Collin 1999: 99), the linguistic domain they cover remains limited in the sense that it is hardly possible to achieve equal distribution with regard to time periods, dialect, or text type. If this is difficult for synchronic data, it poses even more difficulties for historical periods. The compilers of the HC and CEECS have aimed at different kinds of representativeness – "chronological, regional, sociolinguistic and generic" versus sociolinguistic coverage. Also for the CED, different variables have been taken into account (e.g. period, text type) in order to give a balanced representation of historical spoken discourse (in written texts containing dialogues). The BNC, finally, makes use of sampling methods to avoid over-representation of idiosyncratic texts. Even with specific aims, however, an 'ideal' result will be blocked by, for instance, a lack of texts of a certain text type within the earliest periods of a corpus.

Frequencies of pragmatic markers and of their forms of appearance will be influenced by differences in genre-representation. In her research on *I think*, for instance, Palander-Collin (1999) finds that, as text genres, personal correspondence, trial proceedings or plays are much more speech-based than other genres. *I think*, in turn, is considered a pragmatic expression of the speaker's opinion and also has a speech-based nature. It can therefore be expected that *I think* will occur more frequently in text genres that are speech-based and that come closer to spoken language. Palander-Collin found that *I think* indeed occurs more frequently in personal correspondence than in other genres. In addition, private letters contain a higher frequency of the pragmatic expression than (more formal) non-private letters (1999: 178). Inevitable differences in representativeness of this kind should therefore be kept in mind when considering quantitative or qualitative corpus results.

7.4. Data retrieval

As an initial step in the data selection, the computerised texts from the HC, CEECS and CED were run through the Wordsmith Tools software programme, to generate a list of occurrences for both *well* and *now*. Different historical spellings for the two markers – *well*, *wel*, *weel*, *wele*, *welle*; *now*, *nowe*, *nu*, *nou, nov*, *nw*, *nv* – mentioned in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) were considered, and invalid tokens were filtered out. For instance, instances of *nou*

were found to be part of the word *nought*, or *nov* stood in some cases for November. The total number of tokens that was proven valid for further analysis is found in Table 6.

Corpus	Total tokens *well*	Total tokens *now*
HC	3088	3544
CEECS	1064	964
CED	2692	2398
Total	6844	6909

Table 6: Frequencies for *well* and *now* in all three historical corpora

All selected tokens were filed – with the use of the Filemaker Pro 7 database programme – and classified on the basis of various formal, functional and collocational features. Different categories were chosen for each marker, depending on individual semantic-pragmatic characteristics. For *well*, for instance, a clear functional classification on the basis of word type (e.g. verbal adverb, pragmatic marker, predicative adjective) was made, as well as a division on the basis of semantic field types and modal collocations. In the case of *now*, the distinction between temporal and pragmatic meanings, features enhancing topic change, and verbal collocations proved to be more important, and were consequently focused on in the classification of the uses of *now*. Interpersonal collocations are given specific attention with both markers. Additional details with regard to specific formal and functional categories are given in the individual discussions of each marker.

This study aims to present a qualitative discussion of quantitative numbers. Results are presented in terms of observed frequencies (actual figures) as well as relative frequencies (i.e. percentages). A large number of different subclassifications and specific features may result in lower numbers per (sub)category. Although this may bias the representativeness and statistical significance of the results, and thus the general interpretation, the approach taken in this study favours a more detailed classification of certain features.

PART II: THE SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC EVOLUTION OF *WELL*

8. SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC STUDIES ON *WELL*

> Telle on thy tale, Manciple, I thee preye.
> "Wel, sire," quod he, "now herkneth what I seye."
> (Chaucer; Prologue, The Manciple's Tale, II. 25, 104)

<u>8.1. Synchronic studies on *well*</u>

Previous research on the semantic-pragmatic uses of *well* shows that the marker often occurs in the context of a confrontation between speaker and addressee, and that *well* can be used to create or restore coherence. Schiffrin's synchronic analysis focuses on the use of *well* as a means to signal shifts in orientation in non-optimal discourse situations where a need has arisen to accomplish coherence between the expectations of speaker and addressee. These shifts can move the focus of both speaker and addressee to a different part of the discourse (also see Aijmer 1996), and include instances of self-repair, deictic changes, or evaluative shifts. The appearance of self-repair or deferral, as illustrated in example (1), shows the speaker's adjustment to the "ideational content of talk", as a result of his or her "orientation to the conversational demand for an answer, despite the fact that the answer has not been immediately forthcoming" (Schiffrin 1987: 110).

(1)   So we decided since he was living in West Philadelphia, **well** *both* my mother and father, we decided to come out here. (Schiffrin 1987: 124) (My bold et passim)

Secondly, deictic changes (example (2)) include shifts in tense, person or mood, and can be created through a context of reported speech (reported responses in particular)

(2)   And uh now that the – her father's not a twin, and his mother's not a twin. But the twins in the family say **well** they were so surprised that of all the people, that he had the twins. (Schiffrin 1987: 125)

Finally, *well* can occur when a speaker comments on someone else's or on his own previous utterance in an evaluative rather than a descriptive manner. These evaluative shifts in orientation constitute "reflexive frame breaks", marking "alternations in the objectivity of talk" (example (3)).

(3)   I – I could show y-
       they talk about the Negroes, they want a certain percentage of the big – big companies.
       Well I could show you a lot – I'll show you a lot of Jews that are not…in the big companies.
       I'll show you there ain't a half a per cent in them. (Schiffrin 1987: 125)

The re-orientations marked by *well* can be seen as a means to direct both speaker and addressee back to a main narrative event (Norrick 2001) or to move their orientations towards a sense of 'mutual concern' (cp. also Svartvik 1980 who sees *well* as a sharing device). The pragmatic approach followed by Jucker (1997) brings the multiple (propositional, textual and interpersonal) uses of *well* in present-day English together into a functional subdivision, presented in Table 7.

Function	*level*	*label*
adverb, adjective	propositional	-
discourse marker	textual	frame marker
discourse marker	interpersonal	face-threat mitigator
discourse marker	interpersonal	qualifier
discourse marker	interpersonal	pause filler

Table 7: <u>Jucker's classification (Taken from Jucker 1997: 92).</u>

The four functions that are distinguished in this table include one text-structuring use, in which *well* functions as a frame marker (example (4)), "indicating a topic change or introducing direct reported speech" (Jucker 1997: 92; also see Svartvik 1980).

(4)   A: and he said **well** tell me something about rickets (Jucker 1997: 93 – *from the London-Lund Corpus*)

Functioning as a frame, *well* can be used to shift the interlocutors' focus to previous topics – and in that sense serves to create textual coherence between different speaker turns – introducing explanations or elaborations, and facilitating self-correction (Schiffrin 1987). Jucker suggests that the pragmatic use of *well* comprises three interpersonal functions. In situations where a dispreferred answer is given (cp. Schiffrin's research on synchronic *well*), for instance where a speaker responds with refusal when acceptance or agreement is expected, *well* can serve as a face-threat mitigator (example (5)). In order to help prevent face-loss for the interlocutor, the speaker can use *well* as a mitigator for the upcoming disagreement or confrontation.

(5)   A: I didn't know there was such a job going
        B: [mhm]
            well there was about a year ago now
            they had a first batch [ə:m] – and then a second batch - - (ibid.)

Similarly, the interpersonal function of *well* as a qualifier (example (6)) signals a discrepancy between the expectations and responses of the interlocutors. When *well* precedes an answer which is not 'optimally coherent with the preceding question' (Jucker 1997: 94; Schiffrin 1987: 102-127; also see Carlson 1984), the lack of a clear response – when answering a yes/no-question, or of a wh-element in response to a wh-question – signals a breach in the coherence between question and answer. The use of *well* can signal this and serve as a means to let the interlocutor know that certain information will need to be added, either by the questioner – by inference – or by the speaker him/herself.

(6)   Zelda: Are you from Philadelphia?
        Sally: **Well** I grew up uh out in the suburbs. And then I lived for about seven years up in upstate New York. And then I came back here t'go to college. (Schiffrin 1987: 106)

The use of *well* as a qualifier creates interpersonal coherence. When a given answer is not deemed sufficient or complete, *well* can be used to indicate a qualification of the given response, in that way 'warning' the addressee that "upcoming coherence is not guaranteed" (Schiffrin 1987: 126).

A third and last interpersonal function, as listed by Jucker, is that of *well* as a pause filler (example (7)). Jucker mentions that each line in example (7) stands for a separate tone unit, indicating the speaker's hesitation. The use of *well* in this context allows the speaker to 'bridge interactional silence' and to keep the floor, for instance when a speaker is still searching for the right words.

(7)   B: yes
            quite
            well there you are
            you see
            [əm] – it's an obvious – [?] application [Jucker 1997: 95]

As a central meaning encompassing these various functions, Jucker sees *well* as a means to signal a possible breach in the assumptions of speaker and/or addressee, and a need for reassessment (Jucker 1993; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1125). Similarly, the central meaning of "positive appraisal", and the core function of signalling "awareness of heterogeneity", counterexpectation and "the possibility of choosing between divergent

positions", as suggested by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003: 1130) requires that synchronic propositional and pragmatic uses are taken into account, as well as diachronic uses.

8.2. Relationship with propositional meanings

The historical relationship between the multifunctional synchronic use of *well* and the marker's semantic source has been said to be "far more tenuous" (Schourup 2001: 1038) than is the case with certain similar modal adverbs (*certainly*, *frankly*, or *seriously*) of which the semantic origins remain relatively transparent (Traugott 1995a; Powell 1992). In an approach which acknowledges pragmatic as well as semantic uses of *well* in interactional environments, we need to consider the historical connection between the two, keeping in mind that "[the] marker *well* has [properties] that cannot be predicted on the view that the marker is simply an adverb called into illocutionary service" (Schourup 2001: 1038), and that the marker's adverbial meaning has to a large extent been lost in the grammaticalisation process.

In comparison to the many studies on synchronic aspects of *well*, far less research has been done on the historical development of the pragmatic marker. Although Schiffrin states that *well* can be used for "so general a discourse function" because it has "no inherent semantic meaning" (1987: 127), she does not "exclude the possibility that there may be a historical connection between the adverb well and the discourse marker well" (1987: 333n1). The semantic-pragmatic evolution of *well* has been discussed by Finell (1989), Jucker (1993, 1997) and Traugott and Dasher (2002). These studies support the idea that the functional diversification of *well* has been motivated by the diachronic process of grammaticalisation, and that – consequently – variants through functional split may have resulted in different developments and polysemies. Reference has been made to the nature of historical *well* by Fuami (1995) and Blake (1992-3), and to possible origins of the pragmatic use of *well* by Van Herreweghe (Unpublished paper (2003)) and Schourup (2001).

Finell's research (1989) on *well* in responses traced two of the pragmatic uses of *well* – i.e. the functions of face-threat mitigator and qualifier – back to the marker's use as a predicative adjective. Jucker (1997) suggested a more complex picture by stating that the reference to an adverbial or adjectival origin is not an adequate source for the further functional development of pragmatic *well*, and that propositional uses of *well* – which were already firmly established in Middle English – are not "sufficiently transparent as being the origins of the discourse meanings of *well*" (1997: 107). Jucker's view, i.e. that these

propositional senses can be seen as precursors for later pragmatic meanings – which in turn served as a basis for present-day discourse functions of *well* is further discussed in section 10. Van Herreweghe (2003, unpublished) suggests a further connection with the Old English discourse marker *wella* or *wel la*, which can be related to *well* and mainly served as an attention-getting device (with an interpersonal function) or as an indicator of positive appraisal. Van Herreweghe states that the development of *well* as a discourse marker can be related to this form, but also to adverbial or adjectival meanings of *well*, and to other items such as Old English *weg la* or *wa la* ("alas").

Schourup (2001) connects the 'positive' aspect of adverbial *well* with pragmatic meanings of *well*, and finds both uses related through a shared element of "consideration". Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003) similarly regard the positive meaning of the adverbial as a factor in the polysemous development of *well*, and that this connection with a semantic origin makes *well* "interactionally useful in cases where speakers are aware of possibly divergent interpretations, of possibly different expectations, and of the need to negotiate common ground" (p. 1129).

A more detailed study of different historical layers of meaning is therefore intended in our research, in order to determine the influence of propositional senses and of speaker-attitudes in the diachronic development of *well* towards pragmatic multifunctionality.

9. *WELL*: METHODOLOGY

9.1. Data: frequencies and data-retrieval

As a marker with propositional (adverbial) as well as pragmatic uses, *well* offers a diverse set of features and options for formal and functional historical research. The categories in which the data for our research on *well* are divided therefore differ from the classifications according to which *now* is studied.

The computerised historical corpora used for this research lend themselves well to specific searches of individual linguistic items by means of the Wordsmith search engine. The various spellings of *well* that are mentioned in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) were used as a basis for data research in our corpus collections. The tokens that were found were checked for validity, resulting in a total number of 6844 valid tokens spread over the three historical corpora. Table 8 includes all valid tokens for *well* (including *well*, *wel*, *weel*, *wele*, and *welle*) in the material from the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* and the *Corpus of English Dialogues*.

	HC	CEECS	CED	Total
Total tokens *well*	3088	1064	2692	6844
Total number of words per corpus	1.572.820	450.085	1.183.690	3206595

Table 8: Frequencies for *well* in all three historical corpora

All tokens were initially subdivided on the basis of their respective **word type**. Table 9 below gives an overview of the (seven) different types that were found. The first and largest category contains those tokens of *well* which serve as *Verbal Adverbs* (Vadvs), i.e. where *well* directly modifies a verb form, as in examples (8) and (9).

(8)   […] a minister […] who can explain the policy **well** in public. (BNC, FRB (706))

(9)   Oh Sir, is it not a very handsome Lady? Does she not dance **well**? (CED, d3hfmaug: 1653)

A related category presents a selection of tokens in which *well* appears as an element in the phrase "as well as". Whereas, in certain cases, the connection between this use of *(as) well (as)* and the modified main verb is still clearly visible (example (10)), the semantic meaning

'to an equal extent' is in most cases bleached and has come to signify 'also' (examples (11) and (12)). The former have been classified as *Verbal Adverbs*, the latter as a separate category (*As well (as)*).

(10) I believe no more about it than I do understand; I believe the Dead shall rise and live, and I very well understand what Rising from the Dead and Living again means, as **well** as I do what Rising from Sleep, and Living again means. (CED, d5hobapt: 1737)

(11) […] the mater toucheth a grete comminalte **as well as** me. (HC, Cmpriv: 1420-1500)

(12) Globes [and] mappes […] haue been prouided, **as well as** bookes. (HC, Ceeduc2b: 1570-1640)

The second largest category, named *Modifiers*, refers to instances in which *well* functions as a modifier of adjectives (examples (13) and (14)) or of prepositional phrases (example (15)). The category of Modifiers also includes tokens in which *well* serves an emphasising function, preceding a description of degree, or a numeral – as in example (16).

(13) The dentist kept himself **well** clear. (BNC, CHX (677))

(14) It is **wel** schort in wordes and riȝt longe in sentence, þat is vnderstondynge; liȝt to seyn, sutel to vnderstonde. (adapted from HC, Cmayenbi: 1250-1350)

(15) […] the observed frequency […] is **well** below this figure. (BNC, FED (1075))

(16) And fro þat spryngeþ yleon, þe whiche is a smal and a longe gutte, **wel** of 7 or 8 arme lengþe. (HC, Cmchauli: 1420-1500)

Translation: And from that springs the ileum, which is a small and long intestine, with a length of 7 or 8 cubits (lit.: 7 or 8 arm's lengths).

One problematic aspect encountered in our data was the classification of *verbal adjectives* (VAs). VAs can be classified as adjectives but are derived from a verbal root, as is the case with *well conceived* and *well affected* the following examples ((17) - (18)).

(17) [M]y lord the Bysshop of Excetre […] thanketh your kyndenesse of your gode and **well conceyved** letter that ye sende unto hym on Sonday last passed. (CEECS, Shilling: 1447-1448)

Translation: My lord the bishop of Exeter […] thanks your kindness for your good and well received letter which you sent to him on Sunday last passed.

(18) […] to countenance the same in such sorte as maie both encourage your lordship and increase the love and goodwill towardes her, of those **well affected** people. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

Depending on their individual contexts, VAs can be classified as Verbal Adverbs or as Modifiers. This poses specific problems for the division into semantic field types – which are further dealt with and discussed in sections 11.3. and 11.4.

A separate category was created for tokens that can be defined as *Pragmatic Markers* (examples (19) and (20)). These generally occur in utterance-initial position, and were selected on the basis of syntactic (e.g. sentence position) and semantic criteria, as well as were the tokens from the group of *Predicative Adjectives* (PA) (examples (21) and (22)), including adjectival uses of *well* following copular verbs.

(19)   **Well** I do, I mean I didn't know it anyway. (BNC, KDM (12268)) [Pragmatic Marker]

(20)   Tom.: Your friend is unknown to me, he should have set his name, and then it may be he had been safer, but I suppose his modesty would not permit it.
       Capt.: **Well**, is this all you have to say? (CED, d4hoep: 1680) [Pragmatic Marker]

(21)   Physically she was quite **well**. (BNC, CRE (1692)) [Predicative Adjective]

(22)   I hope thease lines will finde you **well** at Oxford. (CEECS, Harley: 1625-1666)

Finally, two categories were not considered to be valid material for further research. The first includes instances of *well* that are Nouns or Noun Phrases, as in examples (23) and (24).

(23)   But whosoeuer drinketh of the water that I shal giue him, shall neuer thirst: but the water that I shall giue him, shalbe in him a **well** of water springing vp into euerlasting life. (HC, Centest2: 1570-1640)

(24)   […] þat þou maist holde þe siȝt of þi soule on þis blessid persoone Iesu Crist, and on his souereyn beynge, stably in **wele** and in wo, in ese and in vnese, […]. (HC, 1420-1500 Cmhilton)

       Translation: that you may hold the sight of your soul on this blessed person Jesus Christ, and on his sovereign being, stably in well and in woe, in ease and in unease, […]

Also included in this category are instances in which a Noun (Phrase) is formed through the combination of *well* with a noun that is derived from a verb, as in for instance *well being*, *a farewell*, or *a well-come* (example (25)).

(25)   I am hartely sorry that I have lived so long in ignorance of your estate, that I must necessarilie doubt of your **well beinge**; but my continuall prayers and **well wishes** […] have promised so perfect a recovery, that […] (CEECS, Cornwall: 1613-1644) [Noun Phrase]

The category labelled *Rest* includes verbs (e.g. *to well up*; *welle* as an older form of the modal *will*), instances where *well* is part of a larger adverbial unit (as in *well-nigh* (almost, nearly) or *wellhwaer* (everywhere, generally)), and tokens in which the context was unclear and a

classification could not be clearly made. The percentages (and actual figures between brackets) of these various categories are listed in Table 9.

Word Type	HC		CEECS		CED	
Verbal Adverb	61.8	(1909)	56.5	(601)	46.7 (1257)	
Modifiers	15.6	(483)	13.8	(147)	8.9	(240)
Pragmatic Marker	3.9	(119)	1.3	(14)	28.9 (776)	
Predicative Adjective	5.1	(158)	16.2	(172)	6.9	(187)
As Well (as)	5.8	(178)	7.2	(77)	7.1	(192)
Noun (Phrase)	5.1	(157)	3.8	(40)	1.1	(30)
Rest	2.7	(84)	1.2	(13)	0.4	(10)
Total	100 (3088)		100	(1064)	100 (2692)	

Table 9: Classification of historical data: Word types

9.2. Classification

A further division of the selected data was made on the basis of formal criteria, resulting in the following categories. Additional relevant formal subdivisions are discussed in later sections.

a) Text: The period of time, text genre, and name of the text in which the token occurs were indicated in the classification of *well*.

b) Position in the sentence: The uses of *well* in the Verbal Adverb category were sorted according to their position in relation to the rest of the utterance, following the division taken from Quirk et al. (1985) into Initial, Medial and Final position (and subdivisions).

c) Semantic field: The prominent co-occurrence of *well* with mental verbs was the initiating factor for a classification according to semantic process type. Reflecting the division taken from Biber et al. (1999), all verbs modified by adverbial tokens of *well* were subdivided into seven different verb fields: activity, cognition, communication, existence, causality, occurrence and aspectuality [see sections 11.3. and 11.4.].

d) Collocations: This category covers diverse collocations of *well* with other lexical items, such as the co-occurrence of initially-positioned *well* with *now*, or the frequent

combination of *well* with modal (auxiliary) verbs. A separate listing was also made for premodifying and postmodifying elements, as shown in the following examples ((26) and (27)).

(26) My lorde seyde, "Mayer, ye seye **right well**, and so we woll do and precede" (CEECS – Shilling: 1447-1448)

Translation: My lord said: "Mayer, you say **right well**, and so we will do and proceed".

(27) My son Betson wyll handyll þe matyrs **well I-nowe**. (CEECS, Stonor: 1424-1483))

Translation: My son Betson will handle the matters **well enough**.

These categories can be seen as a functional and formal starting point for semantic-pragmatic research on the changing senses of *well* in our historical corpus material, and will be complemented by further interactional – i.e. speaker-addressee related – criteria.

10. POSITIONS OF *WELL* AND THEIR SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC INFLUENCE

10.1. Correlation between position and adverbial meaning

The relationship between the position of a lexical item and the other elements in an utterance can to a large extent restrict the meaning, word class or function of that item. Traugott (1995a) states that

> "It has frequently been pointed out that what meanings an adverb may have is highly correlated with possible positions in a sentence […] as in:

> a. She spoke <u>well</u>.
> b. <u>Well</u>, she spoke.   (in Traugott 1995a: 6)

Despite their lack of truth-functionality, pragmatic markers occupy "a syntactic slot, and have highly constrained syntactic as well as intonational properties" (ibid.: 5). They generally occur utterance-initially (Brinton 1996) or, in other terms, are positioned mainly in the "pre-front field" (Auer 1996), outside the syntactic structure of the remainder of the sentence. Traugott argues that the grammaticalisation process also generates a shift in position. The three positional categories she distinguishes – relevant for the development of adverbs – are listed below.

a. Traugott defines **Verbal adverbials** (VAdv) as those adverbial elements which are positioned towards the end of the clause, as in the following example where *beside(s)* appears clause-finally as an adverbial of location and of extension (i.e. meaning "by side of, at the side, near")

   E.g. In whiche albeit thei ment as muche honor to hys grace as wealthe to al the realm **beside**, yet were they not sure howe hys grace woulde take it, whom they would in no wyse offende. (1514-18 More, History of Richard III, p. 78 – in Traugott 1995a: 11)

b. **Sentential adverbs** are elements with a wider scope, following the tensed verb or immediately following a complementizer (i.e. a 'clause linker' such as *that* or *if*). In the following example, *besides* takes this position, and "extends the propositional content with additional, non-central material" (Traugott 1995a: 12). In the following example, besides can be paraphrased as "in addition".

E.g. Tolde he not you that **besides** she stole your Cocke that tyde? (1552-63 Gammer Gurton, p. 61 [HC] – ibid.)

c. On the left periphery of the sentence, Traugott places **Discourse Markers**, which often function as disjuncts and carry an individual intonation and stress pattern. The use of *beside* in the next example serves to add an afterthought, and to "refocus attention on the purposes of the discourse" (p. 12). The marker illustrates the meaning "besides (all this)".

E.g. I shall not know where I am, nor how to behaue my selfe in it: and **beside**, my complexion is so blacke, that I shall carry but an ill fauored countance vnder a hood (1619 Deloney, Jack of Newbury, p. 70 [HC] – ibid.)

The hypothesis put forward in grammaticalisation theory is that clause-internal or "predicate" adverbials tend to shift to sentence adverbials and further on to discourse markers (also called 'discourse particles' or 'connecting adverbs' in Traugott's study).

"The hypothesis is that an adverbial, say a manner adverb, will be dislocated from its typical clause-internal position within the predicate, where it has syntactic narrow scope and pragmatically evaluates the predicated event, to whatever position is the site for wide-scope sentential adverbs. […] Whatever its syntactic site, a [sentential adverb] that has the appropriate semantics and pragmatics may acquire new pragmatic functions and polysemies that give it the potential to become a DM" (Traugott 1995a: 13).

10.2. Historical importance of *well* in initial position

The propositional source for the further semantic-pragmatic development of *well* can, according to Schourup (2001), be found in occurrences where *well* is placed in utterance-initial position – as in example (28).

(28) Cloten: Nay, come, let's go together.
Second Lord: **Well**, my lord. (Schourup 2001: 1049)

The semantic connection between adverbial and pragmatic uses is found to be stronger in earlier periods of English, and is particularly clear in this kind of utterance-prefatory use of *well*, as found for instance in Shakespeare's plays. Schourup states that these uses are "hard to tell apart from the now obsolete use of *well* to express consent or agreement" (p. 1049). A

similar meaning is found in example (29) in which the utterance-initial use of *well* also signifies agreement.

(29)   Medley: the Town is capricious, for which Reason always print as fast as you write, that if they damn your Play, they may not damn your Copy too.
Sowrwit: **Well, Sir,** and pray what is your Design, your Plot?
Medley: Why, Sir, I have several Plots, some pretty deep, and some but shallow. (CED, 1744publ.: d5cfield/1737 speech event)

In this context, *well* can be seen as an abbreviated form of the phrase (*that is very) well*. In fact, Finell traces the further semantic-pragmatic development of *well* back precisely to this abbreviated propositional use, and proposes the context of example (30) as the earliest setting for a further pragmatic evolution of the marker.

(30)   "And where as they saye that the Gospell must be taught after the interpretations approued by the churche **(that is very well) but** all the stryfe is, which is the trewe church." (OED, *well* – 1560. taken from Finell 1987: 655).

The use of *well* in this sentence illustrates that the semantic use of *well* as a predicative adjective can serve as a starting point for further elaboration, in this case expressing an element of concession (*that is very well, but…*). The combination of agreement, as a signal that "the interlocutor *has got a point*" (Finell 1989: 655), and a concessive element, indicating that the speaker "is not prepared to completely comply with the interlocutor" (ibid.), can be seen as a precursor for the later pragmatic functions of qualifier or face-threat mitigator (example (31)).

(31)   Are you coming to the lecture? – **Well**, I'd like to, but I'm afraid I can't today. (Finell 1989: 655)

Schourup stresses that there is a historical connection between pragmatic marker *well* and adverbial *well*, but that the relationship is complex and definitely not transparent enough to form a direct semantic connection. In addition, Jucker (1997) notes that Finell's view only considers propositional functions of *well*, and that pragmatic, interpersonal functions of the use of *well* may have developed out of textual functions. More specifically, Jucker finds that the earliest text-structuring occurrences of *well*, appearing as a frame marker in the context of reported speech, derive from propositional meanings. It is only in late Early Modern English that pragmatic *well* adopts new meanings – e.g. as an interpersonal face-threat mitigator – and that the text-sequencing functions become more versatile, occurring outside the specific textual frames of previous periods. The functions of qualifier and pause filler were unattested

in Jucker's data and are therefore likely to have originated in later, post-Shakespearean periods.

Schourup calls the present-day use of *well* epistemic in the sense that by using pragmatic *well*, the speaker looks back and expresses consideration of a previous utterance – 'actively taking into account what is already known or assumed' (p. 1043). The aspect of position can be significant for the historical evolution of *well*, if we consider that an utterance-initial position can more clearly serve as a connecting element between two utterances. For the diachronic development of *well*, this would mean that the aspects of 'agreement' or 'acceptance' can be translated into the speaker's judgement on a previous speaking turn or a previous utterance in its entirety. The evolution of different layers of meaning is examined further in the following section (10.3.), focussing on the development of *well* in initial position.

10.3. Utterance-initial *well*: Historical layers

For our quantitative and qualitative analysis of utterance-initial uses of *well* in the historical corpus data, "pragmatic markers" were initially distinguished on the basis of syntactic criteria, viz. sentence position. Pragmatic markers generally occur sentence-initially, and essential for selection as a PM was the idea that **well** should be disconnected from the remainder of the utterance. This was supported by the two definitions mentioned below, which were used for further selection of research data. Both definitions illustrate that the use of *well* as a pragmatic marker is related to that of *well* in its adverbial use. It should also be noted that both definitions mentioned below place the semantically bleached meaning of adverbial *well* in utterance-initial position.

First, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) describes one of the meanings of *well* as an adverb as an element which is

> [e]mployed without construction to introduce a remark or statement, sometimes implying that the speaker or writer accepts a situation, etc., already expressed or indicated, or desires to qualify this in some way, but frequently used merely as a preliminary or resumptive word (OED2, *well* adv. VI. 23.a)

One of the definitions ascribed to the adverbial use of *well* in the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED) describes *well* as a means to

[initiate] an utterance, acknowledgement, or a response, usu. with reduced semantic force and sometimes perh. conveying acquiescence, skepticism, or concession (MED online, *wel* adv. 17a)

Although the pragmatic use of *well* correlates with uses of propositional *well* that are placed in utterance-initial position, this correlation is not absolute. An initial categorisation of occurrences of *well* in the historical corpus data shows that certain occurrences of *well* that can be classified as a pragmatic marker exceed the grammatical (word class) category of "adverb". This is illustrated by the examples below ((32)-(34)). In example (32), *well* occurs utterance-initially, but can be classified as a verbal adverb – modifying the lexical verb in the utterance. In (33), *well* also appears clause-initially, and even though this early historical use of *well* can be paraphrased as *that is very well* (cp. adjectival use in example (34)) and therefore illustrates a connection with the propositional use of *well*, the abbreviated form was distinct enough to be classified as a pragmatic marker with a semantically weakened meaning. Although it is possible for pragmatic markers to be situated in medial position, all tokens from our historical data were found in utterance-initial position.

(32)   Full **well** I it wist thou wold com to thi hall. (HC, Cmtownel: 1420-1500) [Initial VAdv]

Translation: Full well I knew (that) you would come to your (lit.:) hall.

(33)   He seide "**Well**, mayer," and bade me come ayen that same dey afternone […] (CEECS, Shilling: 1447-1448) [PM – could be paraphrased as 'that is very well']

Translation: He said: "Well, mayer," and requested me to come again in the afternoon of that same day.

(34)   Yf good come of it, it is **well**, and they have to glorie in their dooinge. (Ceecs, Hutton: 1566-1638) [Predicative Adjective]

Although propositional uses may have influenced the further evolution of pragmatic *well*, and we need to keep in mind that meanings may coincide – especially in the context of an ongoing historical evolution – semantic and pragmatic meanings were separated as well as was possible. The distinction between propositional and pragmatic meanings can be more easily made through the use of prosody in synchronic uses of *well*. Hirschberg and Litman (1993: 516) and Altenberg (1987: 137), for instance, found that *well* frequently forms a separate tone unit in its function as a pragmatic marker, when placed in utterance-initial position. However, we lack the help of prosodic features for historical data research to determine pragmatic meaning. Table 10 gives an overview of the number of utterance-initial

tokens that were found in the data from the HC, CEECS and CED. Because the three corpora use different chronological divisions, the various periods of the respective corpora in Table 10 do not correspond completely. The divisions of the HC as presented in Table 10, viz. in stretches of 100 years, are identical to the divisions suggested in the *Helsinki Corpus* manual. Because of the small number of pragmatic utterance-initial occurrences of *well* in the CEECS, the data of the texts in which the tokens occur are given, rather than a broader periodisation into periods of fifty or one hundred years. Finally, the tokens from the CED are classified according to five main chronological periods (of fifty years each). Because the respective periods of the three corpora do not correspond completely, the periods are presented according to a more or less corresponding order on the grid (Table 10), in order to create the possibility to compare the data from all three corpora more easily and to trace possible evolutions between different periods of time. The table offers actual figures rather than percentages – because of the low number of total occurrences.

CEECS		HC		CED	
---	---	**850-950**	(6)[3]	---	---
---	---	**950-1050**	(1)	---	---
---	---	**1050-1150**	---	---	---
---	---	**1150-1250**	1	---	---
---	---	**1350-1420**	1	---	---
1447-1448	1	**1420-1500**	9	---	---
---	---	**1500-1570**	31	**1550-1600**	153
1585-1586	9	---	---	---	---
1585-1596	2	**1570-1640**	30	**1600-1650**	154
1617-1669	1	---	---	---	---
1656-1680	1	**1640-1710**	40	**1650-1700**	268
---	---	---	---	**1700-1760**	201
Total	**14**		**119**		**776**

Table 10: Pragmatic markers in CEECS, HC and CED (Actual figures)

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[3] Only one pragmatic occurrence is found in the period between 950 and 1050, viz. the use of the form *wel la*. The six forms found in the period between 850 and 950 form three pairs (in the phrase *wel ðe, wel ðe*). These occurrences are – strictly speaking – not considered pragmatic markers, but will be discussed in relation to the use of *wella* (*wel la*), and are therefore taken up in this overview (Table 10).

In the CEECS, the actual numbers count up to a total of 14 tokens, i.e. 1.3 percent of the total number of *well*-tokens selected for research (in the corpus, i.e. 14/1064). For the HC and CED, the actual figures (119/3088 and 776/2692 respectively) equal a total percentage of 3.9 % and 28.8 % respectively.

For the numbers of the HC and CED, which are represented in fixed periods of time (of ca. 50-70 years), two separate tables (Table 11) and (Table 12) are added to provide percentages – a first column offers percentages calculated on the total number of pragmatic marker occurrences of *well* in the HC and CED respectively, and a second column presents percentages based on the total word count per period (see Appendix). Because the (relatively few) tokens from the CEECS all refer to the data of the specific texts they occur in (see Table 10), rather than in a broader temporal division of e.g. 50 years, the numbers of this corpus are excluded from these tables. In the HC (Table 11), which covers a wide chronological span, we can witness a steady increase in numbers, and therefore a heightened occurrence of pragmatic uses of *well* in later periods of the corpus data (especially after 1500). In the CED, which offers numbers starting from the period of 1560, we see a similar increase. The two final periods in the *Corpus of English Dialogues*, i.e. 1700-1750 and 1750-1760 are taken together as one subdivision, because the final period only covers ten years. The percentages go up in the last column of the table, which takes into account the lower word count of the entire period (Table 12).

HC	Actual figures	% (/total PM uses of *well* in HC)	%[4] (/total word count per period)
850-950	(6)	(5.0)	(6.5)
950-1050	(1)	(0.8)	(0.4)
1050-1150	---	---	---
1150-1250	1	0.8	0.9
1250-1350	---	---	---
1350-1420	1	0.8	0.5
1420-1500	9	7.6	4.2
1500-1570	31	26.1	16.3
1570-1640	30	25.2	15.8

---

[4] The word count for each period of the HC and CED is listed in Appendix 1. The actual percentages in the final column of as will convince the addressee to adopt the same have been multiplied by 1000, in order to reach higher figures that are comparable to other figures presented in the table.

1640-1710	40	33.6	23.4
TOTAL	119	99.9[5]	7.6

Table 11: Percentages of Pragmatic Marker occurrences of *well* in the *Helsinki Corpus*

CED	Actual figures	% (/total nr. of PMs in CED)	%[6] (/total word count per period)
1550-1600	153	19.7	7.6
1600-1650	154	19.8	5.4
1650-1700	268	34.5	6.7
1700-1760	201	25.9	6.7
TOTAL	776	100	6.6

Table 12: Percentages of Pragmatic Marker occurrences of *well* in the *Corpus of English Dialogues*

10.4. Old English period: *well, wella, wel þe*

In the earliest periods of the *Helsinki Corpus*, i.e. between 850 and 1250, only few utterance-initial forms appear which can possibly be related to later uses of *well* (see Table 13). The early form *wel la* appears only once, in the period between 950 and 1050. In the earliest period of the corpus, i.e. between 850 and 950, six occurrences of *wel* were found, paired up in the phrase *wel ðe, wel ðe*. Although this phrase can be classified as an adjectival occurrence, a connection with *wella* and later uses of *well* will be suggested below. No instances of *wella, wel la, wel ðe wel ðe*, or other early forms were found in the CEECS or CED. Despite the low number of occurrences of these forms in the corpus data, their appearance is considered significant for the further semantic-pragmatic development of *well*.

HC	% (Actual figures)
850-950	3 pairs (*wel ðe, wel ðe*) [= 6 tokens of *wel*]
950-1050	1 (*wel la*)
TOTAL	7

Table 13 Occurrences of *wel(la)* and *wel ðe, wel ðe* in the HC

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[5] The percentages in this column have been rounded to one decimal. Due to this, the total percentage reaches 99.9% in total.

[6] The percentages in the final column of Table 12 have been multiplied by 100

The Old English form *wella* or *wel la*, which occurs only once in our data (*Helsinki Corpus*) – viz. in the period between 950 and 1050 – functions as an attention-getting device and can as such be described as a marker with an interpersonal function. In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, two meanings are listed for *wella* (OED, *wella* int. and adv., Obsolete, A.a/b):

    a) well then
    b) Ah! Alas!

Wella is generally used as a marker of positive appraisal, derived from the combination of the Old English adverb *wel(l)* ("well") and the enclitic particle and interjection *lá* ("lo!", "behold!", "oh!", "ah!") (MED, *wella*, adv.). The use of *wel la* in example (35) is followed by a vocative ('children of men in the middle world') and in this respect serves an interpersonal function. However, *wel la* also indicates elaboration ('well'; 'well then'). We could interpret this use as an emphatic means to "ask the addressee to pay attention to what is to follow" (Jucker 1997: 97)

(35) **Wel la**, monna bearn geond middangeard, friora æghwilc fundie to þæm ecum gode þe we ymb sprecað, and to þæm gesælðum þe we secgað ymb (HC, Cometboe: 950-1050).

    Translation: **Well**, children of men in the middle world, every freeman should endeavour to find the eternal goodness which we are talking about, and the prosperity which we are speaking about. (Translation taken from Van Herreweghe 2003, unpublished).

Apart from translations in which *wella* is represented as a marker of positive appraisal (example (36)), Van Herreweghe (2003, unpublished) signals that instances have also been found in which the marker is translated by the negative form 'alas' (cp. second meaning in the OED), as in example (37). Both examples ((36) and (37)) are adapted from Van Herreweghe 2003 (unpublished), as are the Modern English and Latin translations.

(36) Drihten, Drihten, min God, dem me æfter þinre mildheortnesse, þæt mine fynd ne gefeon mines ungelimpes; ne hy cweþan, on heora mode, **Wel, la wel** is urum modum; ne hy ne cweðen, We hine frætan. (Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, i.e. the Prose Portion, or the ' First Fifty ' of the So-Called Paris Psalter)

    Translation: Lord, Lord, my God, judge me according to Your mildheartedness, so that my enemies will not rejoice at my misfortune; so that they won't say in their hearts: "**Well, well** (Bravo, bravo) is it to our minds"; nor say: "We have devoured/broken him".

    Latin: 24(23)] Iudica me, Domine, secundum misericordiam tuam, Domine, Deus meus, ut non insultent in me inimici mei, 25] nec dicant in cordibus suis: **Euge, euge**, anime nostre, nec dicant: Obsorbuimus eum.

(37) […] **wella well** hu mycel þa earman fram stige oððe of wege awegalæt nytenys. (Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae, Book 3)

Translation: **well, well (or alas, alas,)** how ignorance can lead the wretched ones astray or let them go away from the path.

Latin: **eheu** quae miseros tramite deuios abducit ignorantia.

The context of example (36), in which *wel la* indicates a positive judgement and is translated by Latin *euge, euge* ("Good!"; "Bravo!") reveals a semantic link with the propositional meaning of the adverbial or adjectival use of *well*. Van Herreweghe (2003) signals that the Old English sentence in example (37), on the other hand, which is – not unimportantly – a gloss in a Latin text, shows *wella* as a translation of the Latin word *(e)heu*, which is "an interjection of pain or grief" and can be translated as 'alas'. She suggests that although this seems at odds with the generally positive semantics of *wel(la*, it is possible that the – generally – positive forms *wella*, *wel la* or *wel la wel* have been confused with other, exclamative forms with a negative meaning such as *wa la (wa)* or *weg la* ('alas'; MED, *wei-la*, interj., 1a.). These forms derive from the combination of *wa* ("woe") and *la* ("lo") and are related to the present-day English (though obsolete) form *wellaway*, which derives from Old English *wālawā*, i.e. *woe lo woe*, and of which the Middle English use (*welaway*) is influenced in form by *wel* ('well') and *away* (Klein 1971).

In addition, we suggest that a different form, which is used in the Old English corpus material of the *Helsinki Corpus*, may also be explained in this context. The phrase *wel ðe, wel ðe* occurs three times in the corpus period between 850 and 950, in the Biblical text "The Vespasian Psalter" (*Helsinki Corpus*). The Old English glosses in which the phrases occur are given in examples (38) to (40). The Latin translation is presented separately but is in fact also taken from the context of the HC example, in which the Old English part of text precedes the Latin original. The Present-day English translation was added on the basis of personal translations and internet translations of Bible fragments[7]. What is important is that the original Latin phrases all contain the phrase *euge euge* – i.e. an exclamative interjection expressing enthusiasm and positive appraisal, which also occurs as a translation for *wella*.[8]

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[7] PDE Translations are based on the following internet sites: <http://www.newadvent.org/bible/psa039.htm>; <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/21034.htm> and <http://www.newadvent.org/bible/psa034.htm> (all accessed 17/09/2007).

[8] I owe many thanks to Professor Wim Verbaal from the Department of Latin and Greek Studies (Ghent University) for providing valuable background information on the Latin translations given in this study, and on the shades of meaning and the contexts in which *euge euge* occurs.

(38)   […] scomien ða ðencað me yfel. Forðberen sona scome his ða cweoðað me **wel ðe wel ðe**.

Latin: […] erubescant qui cogitant mihi mala. Ferant confestim confusionem suam qui dicunt mihi **euge euge**.

Translation: Let them […] be ashamed that desire evils to me. Let them immediately bear their confusion, that say to me: **'T is well, 't is well**.

(39)   […] þæt [ne bismerien in mec feond mine] ne cweðen in heortum heara **wel ðe wel ðe** sawle ure ne cweðen we forswelgað hine

Latin: […] ut non [insultent in me inimici mei nec] dicant in cordibus suis **euge euge** animae nostrae nec dicant absorbuimus eum.

Translation: […] let them not […] say in their hearts: **It is well, it is well**, to our mind: neither let them say: we have swallowed him up.

(40)   gebreddon in me muð his cwedon **wel ðe wel ðe** gesegan egan ur [ðu gesege dryhten ne swiga ðu dryhten ne gewit ð from me]

Latin: Dilatauerunt in me os suum dixerunt **euge euge** uiderunt oculi nostri [uidisti domine ne sileas domine ne discedas a me.]

Translation: And they opened their mouth wide against me; they said: **Well done, well done**, our eyes have seen it.

Wel ðe can be interpreted as an adverbial or adjectival rather than a pragmatic form, viz. as a combination of *wel(l)* and the dative form of *ðu* (i.e. "to you"). A single instance of *wel ðe* appears in the period 1150-1250, two instances of the related form *wel þe* in 1050-1150, but these three tokens of *wel(l)* were classified in our data as predicative adjectives. The double form *wel ðe (wel ðe)* functions as an expression of positive appraisal, directed towards a specific addressee. This is supported by the fact that all three occurrences are introduced by a verb of speaking and are found in a frame of direct reported speech. *Wel ðe, wel ðe* is translated as "(that is) well, (that is) well" or "(that is) well done(, you!)", and is a fitting reflection of *euge euge*, signifying enthusiastic approval and positive appraisal.

As a background remark, however, we can add that while *euge euge* indicates a sense of agreement and enthusiasm as early as 200 BC, there was confusion early on among Latin authors because the expression was not always given an exclusively positive meaning. In fact, in alternative editions of the Vespasian Psalter, *euge euge* is substituted by *va va (va)*, which is an indication of negative judgement and disapproval. In the time period of the Vespasian Psalter, *euge euge* was mainly used as an exclamative expression of playful ridicule. Although *wel ðe wel ðe* and *wella* are two forms of a different nature (– *wel ðe* has a clear propositional meaning), a comparison can be valuable in two respects. Both expressions share a translation form (*euge euge*), and secondly, the fact that *euge euge* is used for the translation of *wel ðe*

wel ðe also allows us to make extended inferences for the meaning of *wella*. The fact that *wella* can be translated – both in positive and negative contexts – by *euge euge* can primarily be attributed to a connection with *wa la* or *weg la*, but our data suggest that this translation may also indicate the marker's general strengthening character. *Wella* allows the speaker to communicate a sense of positive assessment, and to draw attention and add exclamative force to an utterance.

According to Jucker (1997), neither the form *wella* nor its interpersonal use as an attention-getting device are continued in later periods. As such, Jucker suggests that *wella* cannot be connected to the first pragmatic functions of *well* which – he finds – all serve text-structuring functions [further discussion: see below]. Traugott and Dasher (2002) claim that *wella* is probably related to *well*, but that the two forms have a different history. Van Herreweghe (2003, unpublished) stresses that the relationship between the two forms cannot be discarded, suggesting a possible blending of different pragmatic (interpersonal) and propositional (adverbial, adjectival) forms.

Although the specific form *wella* (or collocation *wel la*) did not survive into the Middle English period, our data suggest that there are still certain semantic-pragmatic and formal similarities which may imply a connection, or a blending of forms, between *wella* and later propositional (adjectival, adverbial) as well as pragmatic (interpersonal) uses of *well*. In its function as an attention-getting device, *wel (la)* has an important interpersonal value. The hearer is encouraged to pay attention to the upcoming part of discourse. On a subjective level, this also entails that *wel la* indicates the speaker's wish to call attention to what follows, and to stress the importance of the new (or shared) piece of foregrounded information. In this respect, Jucker (1997: 97) suggests a relation between *wella* and *hwaet(!)* – which is an Old English pragmatic marker (Brinton 1996: 181) and attention-seeking marker that can functionally be compared to Modern English *you know*. *Hwaet* and *you know* also serve as means to foreground upcoming information, call the hearer's attention, and create the suggestion that the information given is shared or familiar to both discourse parties.

Wella has a positive meaning, mainly indicating positive appraisal, which can be related to the propositional use of *well* as an adverb of manner or predicative adjective (cp. *that is well done*; *that is well*). Despite the fact that *wel la* does not survive in its Old English form, this positive meaning, affecting the relationship between speaker and addressee, is an aspect which *wel (la)* shares with the Middle English uses of *well* (see discussion below). A second connection in which *wel (la)* resembles the Middle English use of *well* is its formal context. In our example from the *Helsinki Corpus*, *wella* is followed by a vocative, in the

quoted examples, *wella* is accompanied by a verb of speaking or a context of direct speech. If *wella* can be connected to the form *wel ðe wel ðe*, a similarity in translation may also relate *wella* to a context of direct reported speech – which is the formal context in which utterance-initial *well* is mainly found in the Middle English period.

10.5. Further development of *well* after 1150

Following Traugott (1995a), who has presented the historical developments of markers that have evolved from an adverbial source – such as *indeed*, *in fact* and *besides* – our description of the different layers of (semantic-pragmatic) meaning in the evolution of *well* is divided according to a set of successive stages. Each stage is based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of our historical corpus material, and takes into account positional, functional, semantic and pragmatic factors. Our focus does not lie on strict functional delineations, but rather on the ways in which the creation of (multiple) meanings for *well* is influenced by the speaker's need to express a personal stance and to establish interpersonal ties with the interlocutor.

10.5.1. Stage 1: Acceptance – in a frame of direct reported speech

In the period between 1150 and 1500, i.e. the Middle English period, the utterance-initial tokens of *well* in the HC and CEECS are mainly found in a similar textual frame. Ten out of twelve tokens (see Table 14) are used to introduce direct reported speech, and are accompanied by a verb of speaking (as in examples (41) and (42)). These figures are in agreement with Jucker's (1997) study, in which all Middle English occurrences of *well* can be functionally categorised as frame-markers, introducing direct reported speech.

	Quotation	No quotation	Total
HC	9	2	11
CEECS	1	---	1
Total Initial tokens	10	2	12

Table 14: Numbers direct reported speech between 1150-1500: HC and CEECS (Actual figures)

In the two examples below ((41) and (42)), *well* indicates the speaker's **acceptance** of a previous speaker turn. The value of the use of reported speech lies in the fact that "the author

who reports the utterance uses *well* and thus ascribes a particular attitude to the quoted speaker" (Jucker 1997: 100; Traugott and Dasher 2002: 176).

(41) He seide "**Well**, mayer," and bade me come ayen that same dey afternone […] (CEECS, Schilling; 1447-1448)

Translation: He said: "Well, mayer," and requested me to come again in the afternoon of that same day.

(42) Thou mayste have no mercy: therefore aryse and fyghte with me!
- "Nay," sayde the knyght, "I woll never aryse tyll ye graunte me mercy."
"Now woll I proffyr the fayre: I woll unarme me unto my shyrte, and I woll have nothynge upon me but my shyrte and my swerde in my honde, and yf thou can sle me, quyte be thou for ever."
- "Nay, sir, that woll I never."
"Well," seyde sir Launcelot, "take this lady and the hede, and bere it uppon the; and here shalt thou swere uppon my swerde to bere hit allwayes uppon thy bak and never to reste tyll thou com to my lady, quene Gwenyver."
- "Sir, that woll I do, by the feyth of my body." (HC, Cmmalory: 1420-1500)

Translation: […] "No, sir, I will never do that." "**Well**", said sir Lancelot", "take this lady and the head, and carry it on you; and here you shall swear upon my sword to always carry it on your back and never to rest until you come to my lady, queen Guinevere."

In these examples, *well* serves as a turn-taking device in the context of an ongoing dialogue. The marker illustrates that the speaker looks back to the preceding utterance, and indicates a meaning which still lies very close to the – now obsolete – meaning of expressing consent or agreement (see section 10.2), and to adverbial or adjectival meanings. On a functional level, this use has been referred to as a frame-marker, i.e. as a text-structuring function (Jucker 1997: 98ff.). In addition to this textual meaning, however, an important aspect of this Middle English use of *well* can be found in the fact that

> *[w]ell* functions as a frame marker and text-sequencing device, but in many cases it may also indicate an acceptance of a situation that has been expressed or indicated, and thus it may already have some interpersonal significance besides its mainly textual function. (Jucker 1997: 99).

The textual and interpersonal meanings interrelate, in the sense that *well* not only indicates the speaker's acceptance of a previous utterance, but that this expression also helps to structure the discourse between speaker and addressee. The following examples from the Middle English corpus material ((43) - (45)) illustrate that the use of *well* can introduce a conclusion (based on the 'accepted' utterance), close off a topic, or can allow the speaker to elaborate on a previous utterance. In example (43), for instance, *well* expresses the – quoted – speaker's

agreement and acceptance of the preceding utterance, and is followed by a shift back to the original line of reasoning – after a short elaboration on the truth-value of the situation in question (and a resolution for concrete action: *I shall ordayne to…*).

(43) "Iff thys be trew," seyde Arthure, "hit were grete shame unto myne astate […]"
       "Hit ys trouthe," seyde the knyght, "for I saw the oste myselff."
       "**Well**," seyde the kynge, "I shall ordayne to wythstonde hys malice". (HC, Cmmalory; 1420-1500)

       Translation: […] "It is true", said the knight, "for I saw the army myself." "Well", said the king, "I shall prepare to withstand his malice".

In (44), the initial question (*what is your […] name*) is answered not by the addressee but by a third person (*his name is…*). *Well* introduces a conclusion (*syn that ye know…*) in response to the preceding utterance, and allows the speakers to continue the conversation.

(44) (A [to B]:) "What is your lordis name?" seyde sir Launcelot.
       (C:) "Sir," she seyde, "his name is sir Phelot, a knyght that longyth unto the kynge of North Galys."
       (B [to C]:) "**Well**, fayre lady, syn that ye know my name […] I woll do what I may to gete youre hauke […]." (HC, Cmmalory; 1420-1500)

       Translation: […] "**Well**, fair lady, since you know my name, […] I will do what I may to get your hawk."

Finally, in example (45) below, *well* is used by the second speaker to accept the preceding utterance (of the first speaker). At the same time, this acceptance serves as a starting point for further elaboration, introduced by *than* ("then"). The combination of *well* with *then* is significant because *then* serves as a marker of temporal succession, which is discourse-time oriented rather than deictic, and explicitly indicates a textual transition from the speaker's acknowledgement (of the preceding turn) to the speaker's response to the given information. Schiffrin (1987) states that *then* can be "preceded by markers which display

1) either **acknowledgement** of prior information […] or **receipt** of that information

2) general **participation transition** (*so*) or more specific transition to **respondent** status (*well*)." (Schiffrin 1987: 259)

In example (45), *than* ("then") indicates a textual bridge with the preceding sentence (*Aske what ye woll… Well,…than I aske…*), and directly reflects the meaning of acknowledgement or acceptance found in the use of *well*.

(45) "Ye sey well," seyde the kynge. "Aske what ye woll and ye shall have hit and hit lye in my power to gyff hit."
"Well," seyde thys lady, "than I aske the hede of thys knyght that hath wonne the swerde, othir ellis the damesels hede that brought hit. (HC, Cmmalory; 1420-1500)

Translation: "[…] Ask what you will and you shall have it if it lies in my power to give it."
"Well," said this lady, "then I ask the head of this knight who has taken the sword, […].

The meaning of *well* in these examples still remains close to propositional (adverbial or adjectival) meanings, and can be paraphrased as *that is well* or *I accept/consider what you just said* (cp. "if this is so", according to Jucker 1997: 100f.). Schourup's (2001) suggestion that the connection between propositional and pragmatic uses of *well* can be found in the shared notion of "consideration" [see sections 4.1. and 8.2.] is applicable here, in the sense that the Middle English use of *well* illustrates that the speaker looks back at a preceding utterance and "actively [takes] into account what is already known or assumed" (2001: 1043). Agreement can be seen as the positive result of a speaker's consideration; the aspect of "mental action" – with which Schourup connects the pragmatic use of *well* – is illustrated in example (46) by the addition of *I see well…*

(46) "Oute of what courte be ye com fro?" seyde Balyn.
"I am com frome the courte of kynge Arthure," seyde the knyght of Irelonde, "that am com hydir to revenge the despite ye dud thys day unto kynge Arthure and to his courte."
"Well," seyde Balyne, "I se well I must have ado with you; that me forthynkith that I have greved kynge Arthure or ony of hys courte." (HC, Cmmalory; 1420-1500)

Translation: […] "I have come from the court of king Arthur", said the knight of Ireland, "[and have] come here to avenge the insult you did this day to king Arthur and to his court."
"Well," said Balyne, "I see well I have business to do with you; […].

In nine of the twelve tokens found before 1500, the utterance-initial use of *well* is followed by clear agreement or elaboration, as in the examples above. Only in three cases is the sense of agreement, expressed by *well*, followed by a slightly "divergent" response. This can take the form of a modification, an elaboration after an undesired response (example (47)), or a request for an alternative option or suggestion – as in example (48).

(47) "Now, jantyll and curtayse knyght, geff me the swerde agayne."
"Nay," seyde Balyne, "for thys swerde woll I kepe but hit be takyn fro me with force."
"Well," seyde the damesell, "ye ar nat wyse to kepe the swerde fro me, for ye shall sle with that swerde the beste frende that ye have and the man that ye moste love in the worlde, and that swerde shall be youre destruccion." (HC, Cmmalory; 1420-1500)

Translation: "Now, gentle and gracious knight, give me the sword again." "No", said Balyne, "for I want to keep this sword except if it be taken from me with force." **"Well", said the lady,** "you are not wise to keep the sword from me, for with that sword you shall slay the best friend that you have […]".

(48) "A, sir! That steede he hath benomme me with strengthe, wherefore my lorde woll sle me in what place somever he fyndith me." "**Well," seyde sir Percyvale, "what woldist thou that I ded**? Thou seest well that I am on foote. But and I had a good horse I sholde soone brynge hym agayne." "Sir," seyde the yoman, "take my hakeney and do the beste ye can, […]

(HC, Cmmalory: 1420-1500)

Translation: […] for which my lord will slay me in whichever place he finds me. "Well," said sir Parsifal, "what do you expect me to do?" You can well see that I am on foot.

Although the contexts of these two examples illustrate an initial contrast between speaker and addressee, the positive sense of agreement of *well* is unchanged.

10.5.2. Stage 2: Acknowledgement and concession

Direct Reported Speech

After the Middle English period, i.e. from c. 1500 onwards, the syntactic frame of direct speech in which *well* functions as a frame-marker continues to be used (e.g. example (49)).

(49) […] called vp his olde woman that lay in the loft ouer him, and wylled her to take out all the money he had, which was iiij. markes, which he saide was all the money in his house […]. **"Wel," quoth they, "**master parson, if you haue no more, vpon this condicion we wil take of the locke, that you will drinke [xij] pence for our sakes to-morow at the alehouse wher we found you, and thank the good wife for the good chere she made vs." He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the locke, and went their way […] (HC, Cefict1b: 1500-1570)

The number of tokens occurring without reported speech or verbs of speaking, however, increases. The figures in Table 15 indicate that, in the period between 1500 and 1570 of the *Helsinki Corpus*, 17 out of 31 tokens of utterance-initial *well* (i.e. 54.8 %) occur in a context of direct reported speech and are introduced by a verb of speaking. In the following period, i.e. between 1570 and 1640, this figure decreases to a mere 16.7 % (i.e. 5 out of 30 tokens). In the final period (1640-1710), none of the 40 utterance-initial tokens in the HC are found in this context.

The few utterance-initial uses of *well* in the CEECS from the period between 1585 and 1680 (13 tokens) include only one token which is embedded in direct speech (example (50)).

(50) "**Well, now we will say, and make your lordship know," say they**, "the people bearing the love wee see they doe to her majestie, if she had taken the sovereignty over us, she should have had monethly 300,000 florens, […] (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

In the periods between 1570 and 1710 (HC), the lack of direct reported speech does not affect the dialogic nature of *well*. In fact, most occurrences (56 out of 65) are taken from e.g. plays or trial proceedings, which assign the various speaker turns to specifically indicated speakers.

		Quotation	No quotation	Total
HC	1500-1570	**17**	**14**	**31**
	1570-1640	5	25 (=18 dialogue)	30
	1640-1710	---	40 (=38 dialogue)	40
CEECS	1585-1586	**1**	**8**	**9**
	1585-1596	**---**	**2**	**2**
	1617-1669	**---**	**1**	**1**
	1656-1680	**---**	**1**	**1**
Total Initial tokens	-------------	23	91	114

Table 15: Numbers direct reported speech after 1500: HC and CEECS (Actual figures)

In the *Corpus of English Dialogues* (Table 16), which only includes material dated after 1500, *well* undergoes a tentative increase towards a larger percentage of quotations (from 16.3% between 1550 and 1600 to 43.6% after 1750).

CED	Quotation	No quotation	Total initial tokens
1550-1600	22.2 (34)	77.8 (119)	100 (153)
1600-1650	11.0 (17)	89.0 (137)	100 (154)
1650-1700	15.3 (41)	84.7 (227)	100 (268)
1700-1760	31.8 (64)	68.2 (137)	100 (201)

Table 16: Numbers direct reported speech: CED (Percentages and (Actual figures)).

The data from the CED do not follow the decline witnessed in the material from the HC and CEECS, and apart from the possibility that this difference may be caused by an uneven representation of corpus data after 1500, an explanation can also be found in genre differences. Table 17 shows that the genre categories of witness depositions, trial proceedings, and prose fiction – which are genres that represent oral discourse and that therefore generally contain more oral elements such as pragmatic markers – tend to have the highest percentages in the latest periods of the CED.

CED	1550-1600		1600-1650		1650-1700		1700-1760	
Witness depositions	6.5	(10)	5.2	(8)	2.2	(6)	---	
Trials	0.7	(1)	10.4	(16)	12.3	(33)	4.5	**(9)**
Drama Comedy	**48.4**	**(74)**	26.0	(40)	36.6	(98)	**51.2**	**(103)**
Prose fiction	19.6	(30)	13.0	(20)	17.2	(46)	**33.8**	**(68)**
Didactic Works (Lang. Teaching)	12.4	(19)	13.0	(20)	12.7	(34)	1.5	(3)
Didactic Works (Other)	9.8	(15)	18.8	(29)	17.2	(46)	9.0	(18)
Miscellaneous	2.6	(4)	13.6	(21)	1.9	(5)	---	
Total	100	(153)	100	(154)	100.1	(268)	100	(201)

Table 17: Distribution of genres in the CED – per time period

Corresponding to the figures from Table 17, Table 18 illustrates that the genres in which direct speech (in the use of *well*) is mainly used are the witness depositions, trial proceedings, prose fiction, and didactic works i.e. those categories that (apart from the last category of didactic works) form the most represented group in the final periods of the CED.

CED	Witness depositions		Trials		Prose fiction		Didactic works (Other)		Total	
1550-1600	29.4	(10)	---		70.6	(24)	---		100	(34)
1600-1650	5.9	(1)	5.9	(1)	82.3	(14)	5.9	(1)	100	(17)
1650-1700	14.6	(6)	7.3	(3)	73.2	(30)	4.9	(2)	100	(41)
1700-1760	---		1.6	(1)	98.4	(63)	---		100	(64)

Table 18: Direct reported speech – per genre and per time period: CED

The correlation between specific genres and textual functions of *well* is discussed further later in this section.

Modification and Concession

The meaning of acceptance or acknowledgement is continued in the Early Modern English use of *well* – and forms a ground for further elaboration in the two examples below ((51) and (52)). *Well* is followed by *then* in both cases. As mentioned earlier (page 47), the combination of *well* with *then* clearly indicates the speaker's acknowledgement of the preceding speaker turn, as well as his or her "receipt" of the information given (cp. Schiffrin 1987). In example (51), the form *well then* – which occurs six times in the *Helsinki Corpus*, in the period between 1500 and 1640 – marks the speaker's acceptance or, indeed, the receipt of information (cp. *Well then […] if it be so,…*). The additional use of *then* explicitly indicates that the speaker's acknowledgement (*well*) leads to a mental action, i.e. that the "prior information [is taken up] into [the speaker's] knowledge base" (Schiffrin 1987: 259), which in turn introduces a transition to "an action based on that information" (For a comparison with *now then*, see sections 18.5.4., 18.6.2. and 20.1.). The speaker is presented here as an active participant in the dialogue.

(51) "Is not this house," quoth he, "as nighe heauen as my owne?"
To whom shee, after hir accustomed homely fashion, not liking such talke, awneswered, "Tylle valle, Tylle valle!"
"Howe say you, mistris Alice," quoth he, "is itt not so?"
"Bone deus, bone deus, man, will this geare neuer be lefte?" quoth shee.
"**Well then**, mistris Ales, **if it be so**," quoth he, "**it is very well**. […] (HC, Cebio1: 1500-1570)

Example (52) starts with a request or question from speaker A (*tel me who…did not the cat?*), followed by an answer from speaker B (*I thinke…*). Speaker A responds with an acknowledgement of the answer (*very well*), followed by *then you see* – which guides the addressee to the same viewpoint as the speaker. The use of *then* illustrates a mental action of deliberation or consideration (cp. "[an] intervening consideration that alters the view of things" (Bolinger 1989: 293)), which at the same time makes room for a transition from acknowledgement to elaboration (or conclusion). In example (52), the speaker's consideration leads both interactants to a common understanding.

(52) Dan.: Then tel me who set her in such a deuilish rage, so to curse & banne, as to with that vengeance of God might light vpon him and his? did not the Cat?
Sam.: Trulie I thinke the Deuil wrought that in her.
Dan.: **Uerie well, then you see** the Cat is the beginner of this play. (HC, Cehand2a: 1570-1640)

In all three historical corpora, the beginning of the Early Modern English period marks a starting date after which an increasing number of tokens of *well* not only indicate the

speaker's acknowledgement of a preceding speaker turn, but also serve as a basis on which the speaker can develop a personal argument. Classifying contexts that apply to this notion of "developing a personal argument" is not a matter of formal features, and a distinction is therefore not in all cases easy to make without ambiguity. In the examples below, the subjective element presented by the speaker takes on the form of an aspect of *modification*. In fact, whereas the use of utterance-initial *well* is mainly followed by agreement or elaboration in the Middle English period, a shift can be seen after 1500 in cases where *well* introduces modification, slight disagreement, concession and even opposition. In example (53), for instance, *well* expresses the speaker's acknowledgement of the preceding speaker turn (*Moses was a wonderful felowe, and dyd his dutie…*) – which is in turn followed by a specification, viz. a qualification of the acknowledged utterance (*Moses dyd his dutie…We lacke suche [a good man] as Moyses was > Well, I woulde <u>al men</u> woulde loke to their dutie…*).

(53)   Moses was a wonderful felowe, and dyd his dutie being a maried man. We lacke suche as Moyses was. **Well**, I woulde **al men** woulde loke to their dutie, as God hath called them, and then we shoulde haue a florishyng christian commune weale. (HC, Ceserm1b; 1500-1570)

The example is also mentioned by Traugott and Dasher (2002: 176), which present the effect which *well* has in this context as follows. *Well* introduces an "argument q" (*I woulde al men…*) that "the situation in p" (*Moses was a wonderful…suche as Moyses was*) "should be changed". The proposed situation (q) "may not be achievable or even agreed upon by AD/R", which is why the shift from situation p to proposed situation q is not an abrupt one. This structure is also applicable to the context of example (54), which starts with a threat (*He shall neuer scape death on my swordes point*) – to which to which the second speaker responds with a request to pardon the third party. The first speaker then accepts the second speaker's suggestions (introduced by *well*), but adds a restriction (*yes, this once, but…*).

(54)   R. Royster: He shall neuer scape death on my swordes point […].
       M. Mery: Nay, if ye will kyll him, I will not fette him, I will not in so muche extremitie sette him, He may yet amende sir, and be an honest man, Therfore <u>pardon him</u> good soule, <u>as muche as ye can</u>.
       R. Royster: **Well, for thy sake, this once** with his lyfe he shall passe, **But** I wyll hewe hym all to pieces by the Masse.
       M. Mery: Nay fayth ye shall promise that he shall no harme haue […] (HC, Ceplay1a; 1500-1570)

As in the context of example (54), modification shifts into concession when *well* is followed by words such as *but*, *yet*, or *although*. Table 19 gives a brief overview of contrastive markers that follow the use of *well* and initiate a contrast with the preceding

utterance or an initial sense of concession. On a total number of pragmatic utterance-initial occurrences of *well* in the respective corpora, *well* is followed by a contrastive element in 8.4% of the tokens in the HC (i.e. 10/119). In the CEECS and CED, this is 21.4% (3/14) and 9.0% (70/776) respectively.

	HC	CEECS	CED	Total
but (…yet)	8	2	54	64
howsoever (…yet)	---	1	1	2
(but)…**though**…(yet/I am sure)	---	---	7	7
(and/if…) **yet**	2	---	8	10
Total tokens	**10**	**3**	**70**	**83**

Table 19: Contrastive markers following PM uses of *well*: actual figures per corpus

The chronological distribution of these contrastive markers is illustrated in Table 20 (HC) and Table 21 (CED). Two of the three markers in the data from the CEECS occur in the period between 1585 and 1586, one occurs in a text dated between 1617 and 1669. The data from the *Helsinki Corpus* show that the contexts in which a speaker acknowledges the preceding speaker turn by using *well*, and in which he or she subsequently introduces a new turn by a signal of contrast or initial concession, are mainly used from the Early Modern English period onwards, i.e. after 1500. Also in the CED, these markers show fairly high frequencies of occurrence. Additional illustrations below include examples (55) and (59).

HC	< 1500	1500-1640	1570-1640	1640-1710
Total tokens	---	12.9 (4)	6.7 (2)	10.0 (4)
Total PM occurrences of *well*	100 (18)	100 (31)	100 (30)	100 (40)

Table 20: Distribution of contrastive markers following *well*: HC: Percentages (and actual figures) per period

CED	1550-1600	1600-1650	1650-1700	1700-1760
Total tokens	7.2 (11)	9.7 (15)	10.4 (28)	8.0 (16)
Total PM occurrences of *well*	100 (153)	100 (154)	100 (268)	100 (201)

Table 21: Distribution of contrastive markers following well: CED: Percentages (and actual figures) per period

The concessive[9] meaning of *well* develops particularly well in contexts where speaker and addressee have diverging points of view. The situation in (55) is an example of such a context, and starts when Mistress Ford expresses her disbelief (*I'll nere beleeue that*), which is met with an opposing response (*but you doe in my minde*). Mistress Ford then acknowledges the validity of this response, i.e. it may well be that Mistress Page has a different belief (*Well: I doe then*). The use of *well…then* indicates that the information provided by the addressee has been taken up by the speaker – who then adds further proof to the contrary (*yet I say, I could shew you to the contrary*).

(55)   Mistress Ford: Nay, [I'll] nere beleeue that; I haue to shew to the contrary.
       Mistress Page: "Faith but you doe in my minde.
       Mistress Ford: **Well: I doe then: yet I say,** I could shew you to the contrary: O Mistris Page, giue mee some counsaile. (CED, d2cshake: 1623 publ./1602 speech event; Also in HC, Ceplay2a: 1570-1640)

The positive sense present in utterance-initial *well* functions as a buffer where a speaker's perspective differs from that of the addressee, and where this entails a risk of face-loss for the addressee. *Well* helps to create interpersonal coherence and acquires features that are similar to those of the present-day interpersonal function of face-threat mitigator (Jucker 1997: 94; page 47). The two examples below ((56) and (57)) show that *well* can function as a barrier against an upcoming confrontation. In the first case (56), *it is true* stands in contrast to the preceding utterance *of such a church did I neuer heere*. *Well* helps to mitigate the sense of disagreement and assists in the creation of common ground between speaker and addressee.

(56)   […] as many windowes as there are days, and as many pillers as there are howers in the yeare, I haue bene in many cuntreys quoth Freeman but of such a church did I neuer heere, **Well it is true** q[uo]d our host, and it is but fifteene miles hence, and therefore seeing you neuer sawe it, if I were as you, I would see it, […] (CED, d1fsharp: 1597)

In (57), the confrontation poses a much greater face-threat for the addressee. The miller's reluctance is countered by strong determination (*thou shalt dooe it or els…*).

(57)   The Miller made great mone, and lamented saying: "I can not tel in the world howe I shall doo, for I am neuer able to dooe this feate: **"Well", sayde Skelton, "thou shalt dooe it or els thou shalt fynde no fauour at my hands.** and therfor go thy way, […]" (CED, d1ftales: 1567)

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[9] Concession as it is used in our study is defined as the "[admission] of a point claimed in argument" or the "acknowledgement of the validity or justice of a proposition or idea." (OED, *concession* 2). In the context of an argumentation, concession is also seen as to "[the formal acknowledgement of] the truth of a statement […] for the sake of argument" (OED, *to concede*, 1a) or in order to ground a fresh argument thereon, or to clear the way for one of greater importance" (OED, *concession*, 2; in *Rhet.*)]

In the following three examples ((58)-(60)), *well* is used as a marker of reception and acknowledgement, and is followed by an illustration that the speaker not necessarily agrees with what has been said or believes the information given by the addressee. In example (58), the use of *well* grants acknowledgement, protecting the addressee's face from an upcoming confrontation. *Well* is followed by an argument which undermines the validity of the interlocutor's information (*well… you know not what I know*).

(58)   Yes surely, said the other, not onely I but all the rest had occasion to iudge that your curtesie was his chiefe comfort.
       Well, quod Dame Elinor, **you know not what I know**.
       Nor you what I think, quod Dame Fraunces.
       Thinke what you list, quod Elynor. (CED, d1fgasco: 1573)

In the preceding (58) and following example (59), the sense of 'acceptance' illustrated by *well* does not have the same semantic meaning as in earlier examples – in which acceptance equalled agreement. In the following context (example (59)) *well* at the same time acknowledges the previous claim and allows the speaker to dismiss its value. The term *claim* can, following Smith and Jucker (2000), be seen as "an assumption that comes to be part of the common ground of the conversation", or "a belief that is put onto the floor by some means" (2000: 209). The claim that *I wis I wis, she is more your friend, then you are your owne* is responded to by the second speaker with a concessive answer. The phrase *Well let her be what she will* indicates an acknowledgement or a "receipt" of the information in the preceding speaker turn, but also backgrounds this information and directs the attention back to the first speaker's original instruction (*I would not have thee to meddle with…*).

(59)   Wife (quoth hee), I would not haue thee to meddle with such light braind huswiues, and so I haue told thee a good many times, and yet I cannot get you to leaue her company.
       - Leaue her company? why husband so long as she is an honest woman, why should I leaue her company? Shee […] hath alwayes been ready to tell me things for my profit, though you take it not so. I keepe none but honest company I warrant you. Leaue her company ketha? Alas poore soule, this reward she hath for her good will. I wis I wis, she is more your friend, then you are your owne.
       Well let her be what she will sayd her husband: but if shee come any more in my house, shee were as good no. And therefore take this for a warning I would aduise you: and so away he went. (HC, Cefict2b: 1570-1640 – also CED, d2fdelon: 1596-97? speech event; 1619 publ. date)

Concession is defined as the "[admission] of a point claimed in argument" or the "acknowledgement of the validity or justice of a proposition or idea." (OED, *concession* 2). As defined by Barth-Weingarten (2003), the "Cardinal Concessive schema" (2003: 33) consists of three realisations – which are shown in Figure 2. The first move is formed when a first speaker "stat[es] something or mak[es] some point/claim". In response, X' and Y are

expressed by a second speaker, who acknowledges the validity of the initial claim (X') but adds a counterclaim (Y), "claiming the validity of a potentially incompatible statement or point" (2003: 33; 35).

1. the realisation of the initial claim, X,

2. the realisation of the acknowledging move, X', and

3. the realisation of the counterclaim, Y.

Figure 2: The Cardinal concessive schema (Barth-Weingarten 2003: 33)

The acknowledging move in this prototypical structure can be expressed through sentences in which *well* takes utterance-initial position. The sense of acknowledgement which is conveyed when the marker is used to respond to a preceding utterance grants acceptance of the addressee's claim, and serves as a basis on which the speaker can build a personal claim. The prototypical form of concession is created when this claim constitutes a contrast to what has preceded. Syntactically, this is made clear through the added use of contrastive conjunctions such as *but*, *(al)though* or *yet* (see above section 10.5.2.). In combination with a marker which signals the speaker's acknowledgement, the contrastive element creates a concessive context in which the addressee's risk of losing face is mitigated, and in which the speaker can posit a counterclaim which expresses a personal point of view that is different from that of the speaker's interlocutor. Exceptions to the rule of concession do exist, and Barth-Weingarten mentions, for instance, the notion of Adversativity (2003: 51) which has the same structure as concession has but without the element of acknowledgement (i.e. X + Y instead of X + X' + Y). In contrast, concessive structures occur in which not the acknowledging element is missing, but in which the counterclaim is implicit (2003: 130ff.). In the context of example (60), the accepting meaning of *well* similarly indicates the speaker's acknowledgement of the preceding speaker turn X (*Vilain, thou didst it in contempt of me*). The second speaker's response (*Well, and* [i.e. *if*] *you take it so, so be it*) is not followed by an explicit counterclaim, but the dialogue context indicates that the acknowledgement of the validity of the addressee's claim does not necessarily entail agreement or belief. Instead, the acknowledging move X' is followed by a warning, in which the speaker advises the adressee to *put off this vaine attire*.

(60)   Lemot: Well, and you do not like my humor, I can be but sory for it, I bit you for good will,

and if you accept it, so, if no, go.

Florila: Vilain, thou didst it in contempt of me.

Lemot: **Well, and you take it so, so be it**: harke you Madam, your wisest course is, euen to become puritane againe, put off this vaine attire, and say, I haue despised all: thanks my God, good husband, I do loue thee in the Lord, and he (good man) will thinke all this you haue done, […] (CED, d1cchapm: 1599)

The use of *well* as an indicator of acknowledgement, with an implied awareness of alternative claims, may not fit into the narrow concessive frame as it is most prototypically used in present-day English, but can nevertheless illustrate an implied "contrast" which can, according to Barth-Weingarten, be considered "an umbrella term for a variety of discourse-pragmatic relations associated with and including Concession" and which can be used as "a general term for all kinds of relations which in some way express an opposition between items of one sort or another" (2003: 39).

In the Early Modern English period, the use of *well* has evolved into a marker which allows the speaker to acknowledge a preceding speaker turn without necessarily agreeing with the truth-value of the interlocutor's offered information. On an interpersonal level, the acceptance expressed through the use of *well* seems to offer a pretence of belief, which helps to advance the shared understanding between speaker and addressee. As a consequence, the meaning of *well* is more often dependent on the speaker's subjective points of view (regarding what has been said) than it is a sign of propositional or textual approval.

Concession is also defined as the "acknowledgement of the truth of a statement […] in order to ground a fresh argument thereon" or to foreground an argument of greater importance (OED, *concession*, 2). As such, *well* can be applied in a context of ongoing argumentation between speakers, as a means to foreground a personal (opposing) view or a piece of information which the speaker deems important. Although *well* mainly serves an interpersonal function when used in this context, the marker also helps to shape discourse on a textual level. For instance, the situation in (61) opens with a request or command (*sit down to your work*). When this request is responded to with words rather than direct actions, the first speaker acknowledges what has been said but also initiates a re-orientation back to the original command (*you will sit down to your work anon, I trust*). In this sense, the early Modern English meaning of *well* may be semantically bleached, but still contains a positive element – derived from propositional meanings and Middle English pragmatic uses. This positive aspect is applicable in situations where speaker and addressee have different views and where *well* can help to 'soften the blow' for the addressee. Barth-Weingarten locates *well* "at the periphery of Concession, in particular when […] it is the only sign of 'acknowledgement'"

(2003: 150). She mentions *well* as a means to signal acknowledgement as well as upcoming disagreement. This view reflects Carlson's (1984) claim that *well* is

> "[…] a sign of considered acceptance. It can be construed as giving due consideration to the opposing view without implying acceptance of the view itself. More importantly, *well* does not make the contrast between the two viewpoints explicit in the way *but* does […]" (1984: 44-45).

Barth-Weingarten explains that the use of *well* "can leave [the speakers'] stance towards their interlocutor's claim rather vague [which] enables them to avoid an open conflict, whilst still being able to advocate their own point" (2003: 150).

In example (61), the acknowledgement which is granted through the use of *well* makes space for an additional, text-structuring function. The sense of "considered acceptance" allows the speaker to bring her initial claim back to the foreground. The phrase *Well, ye wyll sitte downe to your worke anon, I trust* echoes the original command to *sit down*, and leads the attention back to the initial discourse topic.

(61) M. Mumbl.: **Sit downe to your worke**, Tibet, like a good girle.
      Tib Talk.: Nourse, medle you with your spyndle and your whirle, No haste but good, Madge Mumblecrust, for whip and whurre – the olde prouerbe doth say – neuer made good furre.
      M. Mumbl.: **Well, ye wyll sitte downe to your worke anon, I trust**. (HC, Ceplay1a; 1500-1570)

Similarly, in (62), *well (be it so then)* grants acknowledgement of the preceding speaker turn, more specifically of the truth value of the information given by the interlocutor. The sense of acceptance expressed by the use of *well* is not one of agreement or consent, but indicates a more semantically bleached meaning which helps to close off a part of an ongoing discussion and to make room for a shift to a new topic or to bring the attention back to an original line of discourse. In (62), *but what have you now to say to me* redirects the conversation back to the start of the conversation, where the chancellor demands the second speaker to *answer for [her]self*.

(62) Chauncelor: Well gentle kinswoman, seeing you are so snappish & over-busying your self in other folkes matters that apperteine not vnto you, I pray you let me heare now how handsomely you can answere for your selfe.
      Woman.: With whose matters did I medle I pray you, did not you first name mistresse A. B. your selfe?
      Chauncelor: All is one for that, I know you meant her when you said, that my oath might as well alow me to shew fauour to my kinswoman in a trifle, as to a [stranger] in a matter of weight.
      Woman.: **Well be it so then**: if your conscience did accuse you, looke you to that: **But** what haue you now to say to me, and **what is the cause why you haue sent for me**?

Chauncelor: You neede not aske, you know it well enough I am sure. (CED, d2hochur: 1601)

In the following example (63) from a later period in the CED (1650-1700), speaker A similarly expresses her doubts about the trustworthiness and sincerity of her interlocutor. Speaker B's justification is met with acknowledgement (*well*), an indication that speaker A's doubts have been reassured (*…not disputing any further your talent of secrecy*), and a transition to the first speaker's next topic (*what security can you give of your sincerity?*), which again is followed by an explanation, and subsequently by an acknowledgement and conclusion introduced by *well* (*well, enough of this to night*).

(63)   Belira: You Men of the Town, never value a Woman for her self, 'tis only to increase the Wretched number, tho' your selves are never the better for it.
Wildman: That's only seen amongst the Loose, Idle part of Mankind; who not setting a value upon their own Reputations, think it no fault to Expose a Lady.
Belira: **Well, not disputing any further your Talent of Secrecy, what Security can you give of your Sincerity?**
Wildman: Your Charms, and the opinion the World has of my Sense: Be-gad, wou'd you have a more undoubted one? […]
Belira: **Well, enough of this to Night**; I receive you for my Lover, and as such, you must do me what Service I desire. (CED, d4cmanle: 1696)

10.5.3. Stage 3: (Inter)subjectivity: consideration as a basis for (inter)personal elaboration

Well in monologic narrative use

As a marker of reception, *well* is mainly used in situations where interlocutors have conflicting or diverging points of view. The voices in these contexts are dialogic and make use of the hedging function of pragmatic *well* to create common ground. In the Early Modern English period, however, *well* is also used in monologic use, more specifically in the context of a personal narrative (Figures shown in Table 22).

CED	Tokens of *well* embedded in personal narrative		HC	Tokens of *well* embedded in personal narrative
1550-1600	4		**1500-1570**	1
1600-1650	1		**1570-1640**	4
1650-1700	1		**1640-1710**	1
1700-1760	---		**-------------**	-------------

Table 22: Utterance-initial tokens of *well* occurring in the context of personal narrative: CED and HC (Actual figures)

In the two examples below ((64) and (65)) *well* is used in a part of discourse of one single speaker who is addressing a hearer. In both examples, *well* marks a transition from a personal reflection or evaluation (*he can quickly turne her from that*; *hee is worthie of whatsoeuer befalles*) back to the factual narrative.

(64)   Samuel: I am fully perswaded he ruleth her heart.
       Daniel: Then was shee his drudge, and not he her servant, he needeth not to be hired nor
       intreated, for if her hart were to send him any where, vnto such as he knoweth hee cannot hurt,
       nor seeth how to make any shewe that he hurteth them, he can quickly turne her from that. **Wel,
       the cat goeth and killeth the man**, certain hogs and a Cow; howe could she tell that the Cat did
       it?
       Samuel: How could she tell? why he told her man, and she saw and heard that he lost his cattell.
       (HC, Cehand2a: 1570-1640)

(65)   […] and whatsoeuer mistres Marian saith, hee thinks it is Gospel: but if he wil be so simple as to
       think that his last nights worke is not a sufficient warning, hee is worthie of whatsoeuer befalles.
       Well, vpon this Marian sent for him, and come hee did in the euening, where, to make my tale
       short, she made him walk in his wonted state […] till one of the clocke: […] (CED, d1fcoble:
       1590)

Placed sentence-initially, *well* indicates the speaker's consideration of the preceding part of discourse, and comprises his or her resolution to resume the narrative and present the next factual event in the story to the addressee. In example (64), *well* also has a recapitulating function: the marker introduces a certain fact or problem situation, after which a question is posed to the addressee, asking him to give his views on the motives of the characters in the narrative. The edificational tone of this conversation is due to the fact that it is taken from a handbook (on witchcraft), which is essentially composed with a persuading and instructing purpose.

Trials and witness proceedings: acknowledgement and textual progression

The speaker's consideration of the preceding information is central in the genres of trials and witness depositions. The tokens of *well* occurring in these particular texts can largely be found in similar contexts, viz. in dialogic exchanges of information. In examples (66) and (67) the interrogees' answers are acknowledged, but not recognised as indisputable. The responses *I see thou wilt answer nothing ingenuously* and *let his lyfe and my death witness how truly he speakes* indicate that the interrogator finds the validity of the witness and his anwer questionable.

(66)   L. C. J.: Did you lie with them?
          Dunne: No, my Lord, I did not.
          L. C. J.: **Well, I see thou wilt answer nothing ingenuously**, therefore I will trouble my self no
              more with thee: Go on with your Evidence, Gentlemen. (HC, Cetri3b; 1640-1710)

(67)   A: Did you advise me to cease my enterprise?
          B: My [Lord], (quoth he), I thinke I did.
          A: Nay (quoth [the earl]) it is now not tyme to answere vppon thinkinge, did you indeede so
              counsell me?
          (B:) he answered: "I did".
          A: The E. **pausing as it were in a wonder replyed thus. Well, let his lyfe and my death
              witnes howe truely he speakes**. Then was agayne vrged the Consultation at Drewery house,
              […]. (HC, Cetri2a; 1570-1640)

Well is used when the speaker has considered the information provided and in this sense lies very close to the present-day pragmatic use of *well* which, according to Schourup,

> not only grants what is – it also indicates putting what is to inferential use in the process of utterance formulation. This inferential quality is captured by the term 'consideration' […]. (2001: 1049)

In situations where speaker and addressee have differing views or expectations, or in contexts where modification, concession or disbelief could prevent the interlocutors from reaching a ground of common understanding, the use of *well* becomes a means to indicate acknowledgment and to show the addressee that the given information has been received and considered. As such, these aspects of acknowledgement and consideration form a starting point for the development of (inter)subjective perspectives.

In the Early Modern English period, the textual use of *well* becomes more versatile. In contrast to the Middle English use, where *well* is mainly used as a frame marker in the context of direct reported speech, co-occurring with a verb of speaking (e.g. *"Well", she says,…*), this frame has become less fixed after 1500. The examples below ((68) and (69)) illustrate that *well* is also used in a context of reported speech, but without the additional co-occurrence with a verb of speaking. Apart from this, *well* adopts an additional text-structuring use through which the marker can serve to emphasise the progression of discourse. This use, illustrated in the following examples, appears specifically though not exclusively in the genre of trials and witness proceedings. In the interrogative dialogue of example (68), lead by the Lord Chief Justice, *well* functions as a marker of reception, through which the speaker expresses that the information given by the witness has been heard. *Well* then introduces a request for further elaboration (*what can you say more?*). In (69), a similar pattern of acknowledgement and insistence on continuation (*Well, and what then?*) is seen.

(68) L. C. J.:   And where did they lie?
      Mr. Carpenter: In the Room where they supped.
      L. C. J.:   Who lay there?
      Mr. Ca[r]penter: Hicks and Nelthorp lay there.
      L. C. J.:   Was Nelthorp named there?
      Mr. Carpenter: No, I never heard of his Name till after he was taken.
      L. C. J.:   What kind of a Man was he?
      Mr. Carpenter: A tall, thin, black Man.
      L. C. J.:   **Well, what can you say more?**
      Mr. Carpenter: My Lord, this Person has swore, that a Letter was offered me, but I refused it;
                        but I assure your Lordship I never saw any Letter. (HC, Cetri3b: 1640-1710)

(69) Mr. Bedlow: […] And I had been, I think, Six or Seven dayes together with Sir Edmondbury
          Godfrey, at his House, and had got much into his Acquaintance.
      Mr. Justice Wild.: By what means did you get into his Acquaintance?
      Mr. Bedlow: Why, I pretended to get Warrants for the Good Behaviour against persons, that
          there were none such.
      Lord Chief Just.: **Well, and what then?**
      Mr. Bedlow: This was the Week before the Saturday that he was Kill'd; and I was there every
          day but Saturday. On the Friday I went to the Grey-Hound-Tavern, and I sent my Boy to see if
          Sir Edmondbury Godfrey were at Home. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was not at Home then.
          (CED, d3tgbh: 1678/9 speech event; 1679 publication date)

The meaning of *well* in these examples is context-dependent in the sense that the added questions and requests for further information lend an additional element of urgency or eagerness to the meaning of the marker. In phrases such as *Well, what did he?*, *Well, what else?*, *Well, and what of that?*, *Well, saye on*, *Well, on*, and in example (70) below, the addressee is urged or encouraged to provide more information to the speaker. Example (70) is taken from *The merry wives of Windsor*, and shows two occurrences where *well* is inserted at points in discourse where the first speaker does not stick to the initial subject (i.e. Mistress Ford), and needs to be redirected to the original line of discourse (*Well, on; Mistresse Ford, you say.*; *Well…what of her?*; *Mistresse Ford: come, Mistresse Ford*).

(70) Quickly: There is one Mistresse Ford, Sir I pray come a little neerer this waies: I my
              selfe dwell with M. Doctor Caius.
      Falstaffe: **Well, on**; Mistresse Ford, you say.
      Quickly: Your worship saies very true: I pray your worship come a little neerer this waies.
      Falstaffe: I warrant thee, no-bodie heares: mine owne people, mine owne people.
      Quickly: Are they so? heauen-blesse them, and make them his Seruants.
      Falstaffe: **Well; Mistresse Ford, what of her?**
      Quickly: Why, Sir; shee's a good-creature; Lord, Lord, your Worship's a wanton: well: heauen
              forgiue you, and all of vs, I pray - .
      Falstaffe: **Mistresse Ford: come, Mistresse Ford.**
      Quickly: Marry this is the short, […] (HC, Ceplay2a: 1570-1640)

When *well* is used to introduce a request for elaboration, the context seems to demand that the attention be drawn to the upcoming question. In example (71), the meaning of *well* has moved

away from the marker's clear semantic sense of acceptance or acknowledgement. We can see this as a change in meaning with a subjective motive, because the conversational context implies that the emphasis is placed on the speaker's expectations.

(71) Captain Crackbrain: But I perceive you care not what reflections you make upon my friend.
Tom the Cheshire Piper: Your friend is unknown to me, he should have set his name, and then it may be he had been safer, but I suppose his modesty would not permit it.
Captain Crackbrain: **Well, is this all you have to say?**
Tom the Cheshire Piper: There needs not, I think, but one word more, […] (CED, d4hoep: 1580)

Table 23 illustrates that – of the tokens of *well* occurring utterance-initially in the CED – 41 occurrences introduce an addressee-oriented request for elaboration. The table shows the distribution according to period and according to text genre. In c. 25% of these cases (10/41), *well* is supported by the use of a vocative (not indicated in the table below). Of these figures, 25 out of 41 occur in the Trials text genre. The final column takes into account the total number of pragmatic occurrences of *well* (i.e. tokens of *well* that are classified as a *pragmatic marker* in the corpus data), and offers relative frequencies per genre, calculated on the basis of the total number of pragmatic occurrences of *well* in each genre. These percentages confirm that the large number of tokens in the Trials genre can be attributed to the large relative frequency of requests for elaboration, instead of being merely due to a greater occurrence of Trials texts in general.

CED	1550-1600	1600-1650	1650-1700	1700-1760	Total	% of total genre in PM Category
Trials	---	2	**17**	**6**	**25**	**42.4 (25/59)**
Witness dep.	---	1	---	---	1	4.2 (1/24)
Prose Fiction	---	---	---	3	3	1.8 (3/164)
Drama Comedy	3	1	---	1	5	1.6 (5/315)
Did. Works (L.T.)	1	---	1	---	2	2.6 (2/76)
Did. Works (Other)	3	1	---	---	4	3.7 (4/108)
Miscellaneous	---	1	---	---	1	3.3 (1/30)
Total	**7**	**6**	**18**	**10**	**41**	

Table 23: *Well* introducing a request for information or elaboration: CED (actual figures; distribution per time period and per genre)

The data from the *Helsinki Corpus* show similar results (Table 24). The majority of tokens which introduce a request for elaboration or information are found in the genre of Proceeding and trials (6 out of 16; similar as the genre of Drama and comedies). In one third (6/18) of all cases, *well* is followed by a vocative. Both in the *Corpus of English Dialogues* and in the *Helsinki Corpus*, the frequency numbers of these addressee-oriented tokens go up increasingly after ca. 1640.

HC	1500-1570	1570-1640	1640-1710	Total	% of total genre in PM Category
Proceedings, trials	---	---	**6**	**6**	**35.3** (6/17)
Drama, comedies	---	3	**3**	**6**	16.2 (6/37)
Fiction	1	---	**2**	3	15.8 (3/19)
Handbooks, other	---	---	**1**	1	11.1 (1/9)
Total	**1**	**3**	**12**	**16**	

Table 24: *Well* introducing a request for information or elaboratin: HC (actual figures; distribution per time period and per genre)

After 1700, the function of *well* as a textual marker is increasingly influenced by the relationship between speaker and addressee. The marker draws attention to an upcoming request for information, and is simultaneously directed towards the addressee in two more contexts. The first context has been distinguished by Fuami (1995), who studied the use of *well* in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Example (72) illustrates that *well* can occur sentence-initially at the start of a new scene in plays. The fact that *well* appears directly after a stage entrance creates the suggestions that the "conversation is continuing from off-stage" (in Jucker 1997: 104). Depending on the preceding (off-stage) utterance, the marker can therefore be interpreted as a qualifier, a face-threat mitigator or as a subtype of frame markers.

(72)　Ford: **Well: I hope, it be not so**.
　　　　Pistol: Hope is a curtall-dog in some affaires: Sir Iohn affects thy wife. (MWW 2.1.106 in Jucker 1997: 104)

The interpretation is less distinct in examples (73) to (75). Each of these uses of *well* occurs directly after a stage entrance and is followed by a vocative. Particularly in examples (74) and (75), *well* does not seem to introduce a response or a counterargument to a preceding off-stage utterance. Rather, the meaning which is expressed in these contexts is one of **anticipation**, drawing the attention of the addressee to the introduced question.

(73) Enter Bonniface and Cherry.
Bonniface: **Well Daughter, as the saying is, have you brought Martin to confess?**
Cherry: Pray, Father, don't put me upon getting any thing out of a Man; I'm but young you know, Father, and I don't understand Wheedling. (CED, d4cfarqu: 1707)

(74) Knocking at the Door.
Rang.: Pr'ythee, Simon, open the Door.
Enter Millener.
Well, Child -- and who are you?
Mille.: Sir, my Mistress gives her Service to you, and has sent you home the Linnen you bespoke. (CED, d5choadl: 1747)

(75) ARABELLA AND LUCY COME HOME FROM THE CHURCH.
Well, Lucy, said she, did you observe that Stranger who ey'd us so heedfully To-day at Church? (CED, d5flenno: 1752)

The contexts of the following two illustrations ((76) and (77)) are similar, except for the fact that they do not occur at the beginning of a new scene or stage entrance. *Well* is again followed by a vocative here, and by a question directed at the addressee. The tokens do, however, occur at the opening of a new conversation.

(76) It was in vain that miss Betsy told her, she never yet had seen the man she thought worthy of a letter from her, on the score of love: the other persisted in her asseverations; and miss Betsy to silence her railery was obliged to shew her some part of the letter she had received from miss Forward. It being near breakfast-time they went down together into the parlour, and as they were drinking their Coffee, "**Well, pretty lady**," said mr. Goodman to miss Betsy, with a smile, "**how did you like the gentleman that dined here yesterday**." This question so much surprised her, that she could not help blushing. (CED, d5fhaywo: 1751)

(77) When they had look'd about them a little: "Well, Mrs." ------ says the Mayoress to my Nurse; "and pray which is the little Lass that intends to be a Gentlewoman?"
I heard [her] and I was terrible frighted at first, tho' I did not know why neither; but Mrs. Mayoress comes up to me, "**Well Miss**" says she, "**And what are you at Work upon?**" (CED, d5fdefoe: 1722)

The occurrences of *well* in the examples above function on the textual level because they can be interpreted as frame markers: they open a conversation and introduce a new topic. They also have an interpersonal function because they draw the attention of the addressee to the upcoming question (supported by the use of a vocative). The total number of occurrences of

well either after a stage entrance or at the onset of a new dialogue is shown in Table 25. In the HC as well as in the CED, the numbers are highest in the period after ca. 1640.

CED	Introd. of new scene + voc.		HC	Introd. of new scene + voc.
1550-1600	2		**1500-1570**	-------------
1600-1650	1		**1570-1640**	-------------
1650-1700	4		**1640-1710**	4
1700-1760	18		**-------------**	-------------

Table 25: Tokens of *well* occurring after a stage entrance or introducing a new dialogue, followed by a vocative (Actual figures)

The dialogic nature of *well* still serves as an essential factor in these examples. The sense of acknowledgement (of the preceding utterance), which is clearly visible in Middle English pragmatic uses of *well* and which helps to reach coherence between the perspectives of speaker and addressee, has gained a more subjective meaning in the Early Modern English period, however. This means that the propositional meaning of agreement or acceptance may have been semantically bleached, but that the pragmatic use of *well* in these latest examples nevertheless still indicates that the information presented in utterance A has been received by the hearer, and that the consideration and mental processing of the information serves as a foundation for the formulation of utterance B.

Examples (78) and (79) illustrate that this foundation can also introduce a personal perspective. Both occurrences of *well* are placed at the start of a scene or after a stage entrance, and both are followed by a vocative, and introduce a personal evaluation.

(78) Enter Aimwell and Archer.
  Archer: **Well, Tom, I find you're a Marksman.**
  Aimwell: A Marksman! who so blind cou'd be, as not discern a Swan among the Ravens.
  Archer: Well, but heark'ee, Aimwell.
  Aimwell: Aimwel! call me Oroondates, Cesario, Amadis, all that Romance can in a Lover paint, and then I'll answer. (CED, d4cfarqu: 1707)

(79) A DIALOGUE BETWEEN MR. NEHEMIAH TRAP, A REFORMER OF MANNERS, AND CAPT. FLOURISH, AN OFFICER IN THE GUARDS.
  N. T.: **Well Captain, I am glad of the Honour of your Company to this Choice Glass of Wine**. I wish I had as good Company to Entertain you with, as you had when you Treated me at the Tower.
  Capt. F.: Thank you Landlord; then send for your Wife. (CED, d4holuci: 1703)

The overview below (Table 26) shows how frequently *well* is used to introduce a personal evaluation (e.g. example (80)) or a subjective perspective (e.g. example (81)) in the Middle English and Early Modern English periods of the CED and HC.

(80)　[Ala.] Or as a certain Knight's Lady that gives you Wine of her own making: I wou'd as live drink Water of her own making.
[Mod.] **Well, surely** an old Jest, or an old Story, is not duller than Love in an old Man or Woman. (CED, d4ckilli: 1719)

(81)　I haue bene in many cuntreys, quoth Freeman, but of such a church did I neuer heere, **Well it is true** [quod] our host, and it is but fifteene miles hence (CED, d1fsharp: 1597)

These occurrences do not fall into strict categories, which makes it necessary to look at each token separately. However, many of these cases tend to occur with mental indications such as *I see…*, *I believe…*, *I find that…*, *I'm glad* or *that is.…* In the CED, *well* is most frequently used as an introduction to a personal view in the last period of the corpus, i.e. between 1700 and 1760. In the HC, the evaluative use occurs from the Middle English period onwards, and covers one third of all utterance-initial occurrences in the period between 1500 and 1570.

CED	*Well* + personal evaluation	HC	*Well* + personal evaluation
-------------	-------------	**1420-1500**	22.2　(2/9)
1550-1600	10.5 (16/153)	**1500-1570**	**35.5**　(**11**/31)
1600-1650	7.8 (12/154)	**1570-1640**	10.0　(3/30)
1650-1700	7.5 (**20**/268)	**1640-1710**	20.0　(**8**/40)
1700-1760	**11.4** (**23**/201)	-------------	-------------
Total	**(71/776)**		**(24/110)**

Table 26: *Well* + personal perspective or evaluation: CED and HC: Percentages (and actual figures)

10.6. Summary and Conclusions

In the Old English period of the *Helsinki Corpus*, *wella* or *wel la* appears as an early predecessor of later pragmatic uses of *well*, which is at the same time connected to propositional meanings of *well*. *Wella* functions as an attention-getting device (often followed by a vocative) and is therefore attributed with an interpersonal meaning. Because the interjection directs the hearer's attention to an upcoming part of speech, the use of *wella* also functions on a text-structuring level, allowing the speaker to emphasise certain parts of discourse. *Wella* is generally given a meaning of positive appraisal ('bravo'; expression of enthusiasm or positive judgement), but has also been translated with a negative meaning ('alas'; interjection of pain or grief). One interpretation for this is that *wella*, as an exclamative interjection, can reflect and strengthen the speaker's emotive assessment. Although the exact form *wella* is not used after the Old English period, the interjection shares certain formal similarities with Middle English pragmatic uses of *well*, and both illustrate a semantic link with propositional (adverbial or adjectival) meanings of *well*.

The text-structuring meanings of *well*, arising in the Middle English period, are all found in a similar formal frame, introducing direct reported speech. Initially, this use can be seen as an abbreviated form of the propositional phrase *(that is very) well*, granting acceptance or consent to the preceding utterance. The relationship between the text-structuring pragmatic uses in which *well* is placed at the start of a sentence and the propositional use (adverbial, adjectival) of "positive judgement" is evident. The textual function continues to be used but gradually expands to other, less restricted contexts.

From the Middle English period onwards, the root of all pragmatic uses of *well* can be considered interpersonal. Utterance-initial uses of *well* indicate the speaker's acceptance of the information provided by the addressee. Not only does this entail that the speaker considers and receives the interlocutor's information, but also that he/she becomes a respondent after an act of active consideration. this is particularly clear in the use of *well then*, which indicates that the "prior information [is taken up] into [the speaker's] knowledge base" (Schiffrin 1987: 259). In looking back to the preceding utterance, the speaker can either find his own perspective in alignment or disalignment with the point of view of the addressee. Whereas *well* is mainly followed by agreement or elaboration in the Middle English period, the marker increasingly introduces a sense of modification, disagreement or concession after 1500. A concessive response "acknowledges the validity" of a preceding speaker turn "for the sake of argument". The acceptance (through the use of *well*) of what the addressee has just said

therefore allows the speaker to give a divergent response or to establish a personal attitude without further threatening the Face of the addressee. The positive element still present in *well* is recruited fittingly in contexts where the expectations of speaker and addressee do not correspond. By the Early Modern English period, the interpersonal function of *well* as a face-threat mitigator is established, marking the speaker's wish to create or restore interpersonal coherence when the interlocutors' views are in disalignment. This use has a two-fold function. On an interpersonal level, *well* allows the speaker to foreground a personal point of view. In terms of textual progression, *well* can acknowledge a preceding speaker turn, and allow the speaker to redirect the conversation back to an initial or different topic of discourse.

From the Early Modern English period onwards, the textual functions of *well* become more versatile. In addition, the ways in which *well* serves as a means to structure discourse seems inherently influenced by interpersonal aspects of meaning. Increasingly from 1550 onwards, *well* occurs in the context of monologic personal narrative. This use of *well* illustrates that the speaker, before continuing the narrative, takes into consideration his own preceding discourse. In personal narrative, *well* often indicates a shift from a personal reflection or evaluation back to the factual narrative. At this point in the development of *well*, the marker not only indicates acknowledgement of a preceding utterance, but also illustrates an active role on the speaker's part. An act of consideration, which can be seen as an inferential process "used in the process of utterance formulation" (Schourup 2001: 1049), is required as a starting point for the development of further (inter)subjective perspectives in discourse. In the EModE period (especially after 1700 in the CED), the amount of occurrences in which *well* introduces a personal evaluation increases. From 1640 onwards, and especially in the text genre of trials and witness proceedings, the acknowledgement granted through the use of *well* is followed by a request for further elaboration (*Well, what then?*). The meaning of *well* is complemented with an added sense of urgency or insistence on continuation, and the addressee is encouraged (or urged) to provide more information to the speaker.

In addition, from c. 1640 onwards, *well* adopts meanings that are directed towards the addressee. In contexts where *well* occurs directly after a stage entrance or at the onset of a new conversation, the marker manages to draw the attention of the addressee to an upcoming question. In this use, *well* not only has a text-structuring function – opening a conversation and introducing or continuing a new topic – but also has an interpersonal value – drawing the addressee's attention to an upcoming request for information. Mark that in this use, *well* is often followed by a vocative. By the final periods in our historical corpus data, a change in

semantic-pragmatic meaning has taken place which presents *well* as a marker that has shifted from the transparent sense of acceptance and acknowledgement, and has moved towards a meaning that increasingly places more emphasis on subjective and intersubjective motives. A schematic overview of the semantic-pragmatic evolution of *well* is given at the end of section 14.

11. *WELL* IN MEDIAL POSITION: VERBAL COLLOCATIONS

11.1. Adverbial meanings of *well*: Aims

The influence which propositional utterance-initial meanings of *well* have had on the marker's later semantic-pragmatic development can be complemented by a study of medially-positioned adverbial meanings of *well*. This section discusses the verbal contexts in which *well* typically appears as a verbal modifier in the historical corpus data of the HC, CEECS and CED. Our aim is to see whether a correlation can be found between grammatical context (position, semantic verb type field) and level of (inter)subjectivity, or in other words to what extent the diversity of adverbial forms of *well* may have created pragmatic, speaker-based or addressee-oriented meanings.

The adverbial meanings of *well* can be interpreted on different levels, viz. either as lexical, emphatic or epistemic. An analysis according to these different layers of meaning depends at least partly on the marker's verbal collocates and on the positional relationship between verb and adverb (see further in sections 11 and 12). These two factors are therefore focussed on in this section, and interpreted against the background of a possible development from propositional to predominantly evaluative and subjective meanings. Possible connections with uses of *well* as a pragmatic marker (cp. sections 9 and 10) are considered in terms of meaning, scope, position and level of epistemicity, in order to be able to place different polysemies of *well* in a larger frame of semantic-pragmatic evolution and/or possible diverging developments.

11.2. Levels of adverbial meaning

Jucker (1997: 99) mentions that several senses of the adverb *well* were already established in Middle English:

a)   in a way appropriate to the facts and circumstances; fittingly, properly (OED2, *well* adv., 5)

   E.g. **This is wel sayd**, saide Morgan le fay. (Malory, Arthur X. xxxvi. 471, 1470-85)

   Translation: "**This is well said**", said Morgan le fay.

b)   with good reason; naturally; as a natural result or consequence (OED2, *well* adv., 8a)

E.g. **Men…wel it calle may** The daisie, or elles the ye of day. (Chaucer, The legend of good women 183, c1385)

Translation: **Men may well call it** the daisy, or else the eye of day.

c)   clearly, definitely, without any doubt or uncertainty (OED2, *well* adv., 14a)

E.g. **I wot well** Messias shall come. (Tindale, John iv. 26, 1526)

Interestingly, meaning (b) generally occurs with modal auxiliaries, especially with *may*, while (c) is frequently used in combination with a mental verb such as *understand*, *see* or *know*, as can ben seen in the examples of the OED. These collocations are further discussed in sections 11 (on collocations with verbs of cognition) and 12 (on modal collocations). Apart from these co-occurrences, the OED signals that meaning (a) mainly occurs with verbs of saying or speaking, as in example (82).

(82)   Ðæt is **wel** cweden swa ӡewritu secqað, þæt […] (a900 Cynewulf Christ 547- in Jucker 1997: 99).

Translation: That is **well** said, as the the book says, that […]

These adverbial uses may have served as precursors for later textual meanings of *well* (cp. 8.4.) The combination of *well* with a communicative verb (*Ðæt is wel cweden*), for instance, can be related to the utterance-initial use of *well* expressing agreement or acceptance. The meaning of *well* in a phrase such as *Well, she said, …* can in some cases be paraphrased as *that is well* or *that is well said*. In this sense, the inherently subjective meaning of adverbial *well*, through which a speaker matches something against a certain standard, is also present in the marker's utterance-initial use, in which the evaluative denotation of *well* is applied to a preceding speaker turn or to an interlocutor's claim.

Level 1: Adverb of Manner: marker of positive evaluation

As a predicative adjective or a manner adverb modifying a lexical verb, *well* can generally be seen as a 'marker of positive attitude'. This meaning is in line with the core meaning of 'positive appraisal' – as defined by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003: 1130; cp. section 4.1.). The diversity in propositional meanings is illustrated in the following examples (taken from the *Middle English Dictionary Online* (MED)). *Well* can be defined as a manner adverb

or an adjective which indicates a state of good fortune, welfare or happiness (MED *wel*, adj. 1a; example (83). In example (83), *wel is him* can be interpreted as "may he be fortunate, blessed". The speaker's use of *well* illustrates that he or she finds that when something is "done well" (see example (84)), it is done in accordance with a good or high standard of conduct or morality (MED *wel*, adv. 1.a), in accordance with the standards of an art, a craft or a profession (MED *wel*, adv. 5a; example (85)), or done conscientiously or attentively (example (86)). The meanings are largely contextual.

(83)   **Wel** him [Roy: wel is him] þe wakeð wel.
       (c1225(?c1200) St. Juliana (Bod 34); MED *wel*, adj. 1a)

       Translation: May he be blessed who remains awake.

(84)   Do(n) well, live(n) well (Act/live virtuously, in accordance to God's will; MED *wel*, adv. 1.a):
       For when they doe **well** or ill the praise or blame will be laid there [HC, Ceeduc3a, 1640-1710].

(85)   Make…well (Make…in accordance with the standards of a craft/an art):
       Now also I schall speke of…the Gerneres Joseph that he leet make for to kepe the greynes for the perile of the dere yeres. And thei ben made of ston, full **wel made** of Masounes craft. [HC, Cmmandev, 1350-1420]

       Translation: […] And they are made of stone, full **well made** through the skills of a mason.

(86)   The strengthe of man is sone lore But if that he it **wel** governe.
       (a1393 Gower CA (Frf3); MED *wel*, adv. 3a)

       Translation: The strength of man is soon lost except if he governs it **well**.

Level 2: Marker of Degree: Intensifying use

Apart from the 'standard' manner meaning, i.e. 'in a good manner, according to a standard', propositional *well* can be used with a more emphatic or intensifying meaning, indicating degree (rather than manner). As an intensifier, *well* "express[es] the semantic category of degree" (Hoye 1997: 169) which means that the adverb "scale[s] upwards from an assumed norm" and thus has a heightening effect on the modified (verbal) element. In the examples below ((87)-(89)), *well* intensifies the meanings of the verbs *to love* and *to know*. In contrast to examples (83) to (86), in which *well* matches the modified element against a (positive) standard, the use of *well* in examples (87) to (89) indicates a certain degree on a scale. In the illustrations from the MED, the sense of *well* in *love well* or *know well* has been paraphrased as "greatly, devotedly", "assuredly" or "in depth".

(87)   So **wel** she loved clennesse and eke trouthe. [MED *wel*, adv. 14a – c 1430]   (= greatly, devotedly)

Translation: So greatly he loved cleanliness and also faithfulness.

(88)   Wite thou **wel** that in the last dayes schal come perilous tymes. [ibid. – c ?1387] (= assuredly)

Translation: Be assured that in the last days perilous times shall come.

(89)   Knowen well (= in depth, with great familiarity):
E.g. I wot **wel** thi werkes. (MED *wel*, adv. 11a – 1400)

Translation: I know your doings **well**.

The evolution from a propositional manner meaning to an intensifying use is influenced by position and direct environment. This correlation is discussed further in sections 11.4. to 12.6. below.

Level 3: Epistemic meaning

Already before 1500 *well* can be found in contexts expressing an epistemic meaning. The notion of *epistemicity* is "concerned with knowledge and belief (as opposed to fact)". More specifically, epistemic expressions illustrate the speaker's point of view with regard to the truth of the proposition (see Traugott and Dasher 2002: 106). Epistemicity can be expressed by means of pragmatic markers (e.g. *in fact*), adverbs of evidentiality (*probably*) or modal verbs (*You must be tired.*). In the following examples ((90)-(92)) the subjective, epistemic sense of the adverb is influenced specifically by the modified verbs. With verbs of obligation (e.g. *deserve*), modals (e.g. *may*), or a marginal modal such as *dare*, *well* adopts meanings indicating an intensified sense of likelihood (cp. *indeed*; *likely*). In these contexts, *well* has the meaning "clearly, definitely, without any doubt or uncertainty" (OED2, *well* adv., 14a; cp. above meaning (c) from Jucker 1997).

(90)   He seeþ turmentoures on euery syde bisette to do hym woo, as he haþ **wel** deserued. (MED *wel*, adv. 14a – a1450) [with verbs denoting obligation, deserving: *duly*, *indeed*]

Translation: He sees torturers [placed] on every side to do him harm, as he has **well** deserved.

(91)   **Well** may he be a kyngys son, for he hath many good tacchis. (MED *wel*, adv. 15a – a1470) [= *possibly*, *likely* – intensified sense of likelihood]

Translation: He may well be a king's son, for he has many good characteristics.

(92)   Swich a noble theatre as it was I dar **wel** seyn in this world ther nas. (MED *wel*, adv. 14a – c1385)

Translation: Such a noble theatre as it was, I dare **well** say there was none (i.e. not a similar one) in this world.

Considering the fact that the semantics of *well* (propositional, intensifying, epistemic) are influenced by verbal collocations, our aim is to further examine the correlation between context (i.e. position, collocations) and levels of subjectivity (i.e. levels of speaker-intrusion or speaker-attitude) and intersubjectivity in the historical corpus material.

11.3. Data selection and classification

We can consider subjectivity to be

a general notion that is not tied to one particular linguistic expression or category. Therefore, providing evidence for the conventionalization of subjective forms in English interactive discourse requires attending to a range of combinations of grammatical and discursive elements and constructions that appear frequently in conversation. (Scheibman 2002: 60)

Following this view, a quantitative and qualitative study of typical – verbal – patterns of how *well* is used in the corpus data points out that the total number of adverbial uses of *well*, appearing in contexts where *well* modifies a lexical verb, accounts for nearly 60% of all tokens of *well* in the HC, CEECS and CED. *Well* appears 601 times as a Verbal Adverb (VAdv) in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)* (on a total of 1064 *well*-tokens, i.e. 56.6%), 1909 times in the *Helsinki Corpus* (on a total of 3088, i.e. 61.8%), and 1258 times in the CED, on a total of 2692 tokens of *well*, i.e. 46.7% (see Table 9 page 54). The verbs in this category, i.e. those modified by *well*, were divided according to the semantic verb field they belong to. The classification into seven categories is based on Biber et al. (1999: section 5.1.). Illustrations of each category are given below:

(a)   Activity[10]: e.g. *make*, *buy*, *work*, *carry*, *wear*, *open*.

E.g. "[…] if ye geve hym laysyr, he shall now **pay your mastership well** and suffisauntly […]" (CEECS, Stonor; 1424-1483)

Translation: "[…] if you give him an occasion, he shall now **pay your mastership well** and sufficiently […]"

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[10] Activity verbs are verbs which 'primarily denote actions and events that could be associated with choice', e.g. *come*, *bring*, *leave*, *run*, *take*, *work* (Biber et al. 1999: 361)

E.g. Have you **well slept** last night? Have you had a good nights rest? (CED, d4hfboye: 1694)

(b)　　　Mental[11]: e.g. *think*, *love*, *know*, *want*, *believe*, *read*.

E.g. "Whan Melibee hadde herd the wordes of his wyf Prudence, he seyde thus: '**I se wel that the word** of Salomon is sooth.' […]" (HC, Cmctpros; 1350-1420)

Translation: When Melibee had heard the words of his wife Prudence, he spoke thus: "I see well that the word of Salomon is true."

E.g. "And, syr, I trust to God as ffor my parte so to indevour me ffor your maystershipe þat with Godes grace bothe ye and my lady your wiffe **shall well undyrstond and know** that I loffe bothe your worshipes, and your profett, and so it shall prove in dede with Godes helpe." (CEECS, Stonor; 1424-1483)

Translation: […] that with God's grace both you and my lady your wife **shall well understand and know** that I love both your worships, […]

(c)　　　Communication: e.g. *say*, *tell*, *shout*, *suggest*, *thank*, *write*.

E.g. "Yif me gold and oþer fe, þat Y mowe riche be, […] for **þu ful wel bihetet me** þanne I last spak with þe!" (='for you well promised me when I last spoke with thee') (HC, Cmhavelo; 1250-1350)

Give me gold and other (lit.) property, (so) that I may be rich, […] for you full well promised me when I last spoke with you.

E.g. "My lord, **I can tell it very well**: […]" (HC, Cetri3a; 1640-1710)

(d)　　　Existence: e.g. *represent*, *include*, *involve*, *indicate*, *seem*, *live*.

E.g. "[…] and very true it was they did all acknowledge, that her highnes had shewed herself a most loving princesse and neighbour to them, **as did well appeer** to their embassadors in England […]." (CEECS, Leycester; 1585-1586)

(e)　　　Occurrence: e.g. *change*, *grow*, *develop*, *occur*, *become*, *happen*

E.g. "[…] þei takeþ cold water & salt to-geder & waschuþ ouer-al & froteþ him wel. […] & so **wol þe swellynge aswage wel** [enough]." (HC, Cmhorses; 1350-1420)

Translation: "[…] they take cold water and salt together and wash (him) all over and rub him well […] and so the swelling will be well [enough] reduced."

E.g. […] working in the Hay, a paine and a starknesse fell into the necke of this Examinat which grieued him very sore; wher[upon] this Examinat sent to one Iames a Glouer […] and desired him to pray for him, and within foure or fiue dayes next after this Examinate did **mend very well**. (CED, d2wpendl: 1612 speech event; 1613 publication date)

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[11] Mental verbs 'denote a wide range of activities and states experienced by humans; they do not involve physical action and no not necessarily entail volition. […] They include both cognitive meanings (e.g. *think* or *know*) and emotional meanings expressing various attitudes or desires (e.g. *love*, *want*), together with perception (e.g. *see*, *taste*) and receipt of communication (e.g. *read*, *hear*)' (Biber et al. 1999: 362-363). Mental verbs include dynamic verbs (*examine*, *discover*) but also verbs that are more stative in meaning (e.g. *believe*, *know*, *remember*, *understand*).

(f) Causative: e.g. *allow*, *cause*, *enable*, *help*, *require*, *let*.

E.g. "**His Highnes also well allowed that** your Grace noteth not onely remisse dealing, but also some suspitione in that the Lord Dacre so litle estemede the mynde and opinion of the Kings sister […]." (HC, Ceoffic1; 1500-1570)

(g) Aspectual: e.g. *start*, *keep*, *begin*, *continue*, *stop*, *finish*

E.g. "[…] I blles the Lord, that He has ouer-ruled the harts of men, and I hope **they goo now on well, to** doo that greate worke they haue in hand." (CEECS, Harley; 1625-1666)

Many lexical verbs can be called ambiguous in the sense that they can be classified in more than one semantic verb category. Verbs such as *resist*, *obey* or *follow (a command or law)*, for instance, seem to fit both into the cognitive and activity verb categories. Moreover, it is possible for one single verb to display different meanings, consequently fitting into different categories (e.g. *deserve* can be categorised as either cognitive or existential, depending on the immediate context (see Biber et al. 1999: 366 ff.). In order to create a consistent categorisation, all entries were classified on the basis of their individual contexts. A further discussion of positional differences of *well* in relation to the modified verb is given in section 11.7 below.

11.4. Verb types in the historical corpus material

A quantitative verb count of all the verbs modified by *well* in the historical data showed that adverbial *well* is most likely to co-occur with mental verbs. These include verbs such as *see*, *perceive*, *know*, *understand*, *mean*, or *like* (see Table 28). The HC, CEECS and CED indicate correlations of *well* with mental verbs amounting to 41.3% (HC), 39.8% (CEECS) and 40.1% (CED) respectively. These figures contrast with smaller percentages in the correlation with activity verbs, viz. of 36.4% (HC), 31.4% (CEECS) and 33.3% (CED) respectively.

Semantic Field	HC	CEECS	CED
Activity	36.4 (695)	31.4 (189)	33.3 (419)
Mental	**41.3** (789)	**39.8** (239)	**40.1** (504)
Communication	11.3 (215)	13.5 (81)	16.2 (204)
Existence	7.1 (135)	9.1 (55)	8.0 (100)
Occurrence	3.3 (64)	5.1 (31)	2.0 (25)
Causative	0.3 (6)	0.2 (1)	0.2 (2)

Aspectual	0.1	(2)	0.5 (3)		0.2 (3)
Indefinite/Implicit	0.2	(3)	0.3 (2)		---
Total	**(1909)**		**100 (601)**		**100 (1257)**

Table 27: Verbs modified by *well*: Semantic Field distribution (Historical data)

In order to assess the meaning of these figures, a comparison with data from two sets of contemporary material was made as a general reference point. A first comparison is made with figures from Biber et al. (1999) which present present-day data of general verb type frequencies, i.e. without any co-occurrence with *well* (Table 28). The figures from Biber et al. only take into account the most common verbs, i.e. those verbs that occur at least 50 times per million words. The percentages have been rounded to a figure without decimals and therefore do not add up to an even hundred. About 50% of all verbs taken up in this table are activity verbs, followed by a much smaller number of mental verbs (19%). We must keep in mind that mental verbs – in general, i.e. not considering possible collocations with *well* – are notably common in conversation and fiction. Biber et al. state that

> mental verbs, especially *know*, *think*, *see*, *want*, and *mean*, are particularly common in conversation. These verbs report various states of awareness, certainty, perception, and desire. They typically occur with *I* or *you* as subject, and not infrequently occur together in the same utterance (Biber et al. 1999: 378).

A sample from the *British National Corpus* serves as a second point of comparison (Table 28. From a sample of 300 tokens of *well*, 200 relevant tokens of *well* were used as a basis for a comparison between our historical data and the present-day data from the BNC. A quantitative examination of the adverbial uses of *well* in the sample shows that the percentages found in the BNC are similar to those in the Biber data, and display a majority of activity verbs (56.1%) against a much smaller percentage of mental verbs (21.2%). The data from the BNC are further compared with the historical data in section 11.7.

Semantic Field	Biber et al.	BNC
Activity	**49 (138)**	**56.1** (37)
Mental	19 (53)	21.2 (14)
Communication	13 (36)	9.1 (6)
Existence	8 (22)	7.6 (5)

Occurrence	5 (14)	3.0	(2)
Causative	4 (10)		---
Aspectual	3 (8)		---
Indefinite/Implicit	**---**	3.0	(2)
Total	**101 (281)**	**100**	**(66)**

Table 28: Verbs modified by *well*: Semantic Field distribution (Synchronic data)

The comparison between the historical data from the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)* and the *Corpus of English Dialogues* on the one hand, the present-day corpus data from the *British National Corpus* (sample), and the general figures taken from Biber et al. (1999) shows that the historical corpus data (HC, CEECS and CED) have a higher percentage of mental verbs than of activity verbs (modified by *well*). The present-day data (BNC) illustrate opposite numbers, with more instances in which *well* modifies activity verbs, rather than mental verbs. The data from Biber et al., which do not take into account any collocations with adverbial *well*, may offer a general indication and confirm the results from the BNC, i.e. that activity verbs are in general more frequent in PDE than mental verbs.

The category of *verbal adjectives* (VA), mentioned earlier in section 9.1., is not included in the semantic verb categorisation of Table 28. Verbal adjectives are forms such as *well-pleased* or *well-acquainted*, that function as (predicative) adjectives but at the same time contain verbal elements (examples (93) and (94)). The term "verbal adjective" as it is used here therefore not only refers to the verbal part (e.g. *pleased*, *grounden* or *acquainted*) but to the combination of this verbal element with the adverbial element *well*, which is attached to it. *Well* is seen as an inherent part of this co-occurrence, which can in its entirety be applied in an adjectival use. Because of the ambiguity of the verbal form, verbal adjectives pose a problem for the classification into semantic field types.

(93)   I kept the Synod of the Clergie […], treating them so that I hope (and they assured me all as much) **they are well pleased** with their Bishop […]. (CEECS, Cosin; 1617-1669)

(94)   And laste when þat it is colede, medle þerwiþ **wel-grounden powdre**. (HC, Cmchauli; 1420-1500)

Translation: And finally when it has cooled, blend well-ground powder with it.

In the general overview of Table 9 (section 9.1.), the uses of *well* that occur as elements in the context of verbal adjectives were classified either as a subset of verbal adverbs

or as a subset of the category of Modifiers, depending on their specific context. The tokens classified as modifiers were not taken up in Table 27, which presents a specific semantic categorisation of verbs modified by *well*. However, because the semantic field classification can be applied to the verbal roots of the forms collocating with *well*, the semantic classification of these forms is added for completeness in a separate table (Table 29). The results show that the largest percentage of *verbal adjectives* can be placed in the semantic field of mental verbs.

Semantic Field	HC	CEECS	CED
Activity	34.0 (67)	21.6 (27)	43.7 (21)
Mental	**36.5** (72)	**72** (90)	**52.1** (25)
Communication	---	4.0 (5)	2.1 (1)
Existence	0.5 (1)	---	---
Occurrence	2.0 (4)	---	---
Aspectual	---	---	2.1 (1)
Indefinite/Implicit	26.9 (53)	2.4 (3)	---
Total	99.9 (197)	100 (125)	100 (48)

Table 29: Verbal Adjectives: Semantic Field distribution

11.5. Subject forms in the historical corpus material

The fact that historical uses of adverbial *well* collocate with mental verbs in such high percentages may be related to the nature of the corpus texts. It is assumed that a higher level of interaction (for one particular genre) will result in a higher use of 'subjective' linguistic items. This suggestion is based on Scheibman's statement that "language – in particular, spontaneous conversation – is subjective in that it is fundamentally used by speakers to express their perceptions, feelings, and opinions […]" (2002: 61). She establishes a connection between the communication of subjective attitudes and verb types by referring to the fact that, in her conversational data, verbs of cognition are the most frequently occurring verb class, in combination with first person singular subjects. This ties in with a general hypothesis which says that

> linguistic elements that commonly appear in conversation should be those that participate in subjective expression […]. There should also be greater co-occurrence of items whose

combinations lend themselves to conveying speaker point of view than those whose combinations do not (e.g. after Benveniste 1971, verbs of cognition would more frequently appear with a first person singular subject than with a third person singular). In other words […] there should be associations between commonly occurring conversational material and semantic and pragmatic expression of subjectivity. (ibid.)

Mental verbs, expressing 'opinions, wants, and feelings, and [those] of other people' (Biber et al. 1999: 365), are a suitable medium for communicating perception and cognitive processes and may therefore serve a relevant function in the interactional frame. Biber et al. state that "mental verbs, especially *know*, *think*, *see*, *want*, and *mean*, are particularly common in conversation" (ibid.: 378), and confirm that mental verbs seem to have a natural correlation with first and second person subject forms. Erman (1987) and Fox Tree and Schrock (2002) have shown that *you know* and *I mean* can be used epistemically and can both be attributed with a 'speaker-oriented function' in present-day discourse (Östman 1981). Finally, Fitzmaurice (2004) also stresses that mental and modal verbs in particular are common grammatical resources for the expression of speaker self-expression – as in e.g. *you see*, *you know*, or *I believe*.

Table 30 gives an overview of the mental verbs occurring most frequently in the historical corpora. In all three corpora, *know well* is the collocation with the highest frequency, viz. with **35.5%** (280 on a total of **789** mental verbs) in the HC, **30.5%** (73/**239**) in the CEECS and 36.9% (186/**504**) in the CED. In all three corpora, the frequency of *know* (in collocation with *well*) is considerably larger than that of any other other verb (mental or other) in the corpus.

HC		CEECS		CED	
know	**35.5 (280)**	**know**	**30.5 (73)**	**know**	**36.9 (186)**
understand	6.7 (52)	understand	7.9 (19)	like	10.3 (52)
see	6.3 (50)	love	7.1 (17)	love	7.7 (39)
love	4.9 (39)	remember	6.3 (15)	remember	6.2 (31)
like	3.5 (28)	like	5.4 (13)	understand	5.2 (26)

Table 30: Most frequent mental verbs in the historical corpora, co-occurring with *well*: Percentages (and actual figures)

The historical corpus data confirm that *know* (in collocation with *well*) occurs most frequently with the first and second person subject forms, i.e. *I* and *you*, as is shown in Table 31 below.

KNOW	HC	CEECS	CED
I	**34.6** (97)	**35.6** (26)	**36.0** (67)
You	**24.6** (69)	**32.9** (24)	17.7 (33)
They	8.2 (23)	8.2 (6)	4.3 (8)
He	18.6 (52)	11.0 (8)	**21.5** (40)
She	2.5 (7)	4.1 (3)	4.3 (8)
It	0.4 (1)	---	---
We	2.5 (7)	---	1.1 (2)
Rest	8.6 (24)	8.2 (6)	15.1 (28)
Total	100 (280)	100 (73)	100 (186)

Table 31: Subject forms of *know* modified by *well*: Percentages (and Actual figures) per corpus

Similar results can be seen in the figures for three other mental verbs with high frequencies. The collocations of *well* with *see*, *remember* and *understand* (Table 32 to Table 34) generally occur with first and second person subject forms. The figures for *understand well* are slightly more divided between first, second and third person forms (Table 34). However, reservations need to be made for the low frequency of actual figures for some of these verbs in some of the corpora.

SEE	HC	CEECS	CED
I	**40.0** (20)	**60** (3)	**55.6** (5)
You	**28.0** (14)	**40** (2)	---
They	14.0 (7)	---	---
He	6.0 (3)	---	**22.2** (2)
She	---	---	---
We	4.0 (2)	---	11.1 (1)
Rest	8.0 (4)	---	11.1 (1)
Total	100 (50)	(5)	100 (9)

Table 32: Subject forms of *see* modified by *well*: Percentages (and Actual figures) per corpus

REMEMBER	HC	CEECS	CED
I	**66.7** (10)	**46.7** (7)	**51.6** (16)
You	**20.0** (3)	**40.0** (6)	**16.1** (5)
They	---	---	---
He	13.3 (2)	13.3 (2)	9.7 (3)
She	---	---	**16.1** (5)
We	---	---	
Rest	---	---	6.5 (2)
Total	100 (15)	100 (15)	100 (31)

Table 33: Subject forms of *remember* modified by *well*: Percentages (and actual figures) per corpus

UNDERSTAND	HC	CEECS	CED
I	11.5 (6)	**57.9** (11)	**38.5** (10)
You	**38.5** (20)	**36.8** (7)	19.2 (5)
They	7.7 (4)	---	3.8 (1)
He	**25.0** (13)	---	**30.8** (8)
She	---	---	3.8 (1)
We	5.8 (3)	5.3 (1)	3.8 (1)
Rest	11.5 (6)	---	---
Total	100 (52)	100 (19)	99.9 (26)

Table 34: Subject forms of *understand* modified by *well*: Percentages (and actual figures) per corpus

Apart from these four verbs, the mental verbs *like* and *love* also appear in the top ten list of most frequent verbs. However, these are verbs of emotion, and the four cognitive verbs with the highest frequency were chosen because they are more likely to reflect the speaker's cognitive activities.

In comparison with the results for these cognitive verbs, the subject forms co-occurring with the most frequent activity verbs and communicative verbs in the HC, CEECS and CED (actual figues presented in Table 35 and Table 36) offer a more varied picture. First of all, the tables show that activity verb *to do* + *well* has the largest actual frequency and is the second most frequent verb, following *to know* (+ *well*), in all three corpora. *Say* and *greet* are the most frequent communication verbs collocating with *well*. The remainder of the most frequent communication and activity verbs are much lower in number. This is due to the fact

that the total group of activity and communication verbs has a large variation of different verbs, and therefore contains more verbs with relatively low frequencies per individual verb – in contrast to the group of mental verbs, which contains more verbs (such as *know*, *see*, *understand*, *love*) that have high frequencies per verb. As such, it is easier to make generalisations with regard to subject forms of activity and communication verbs. An overview of the thirty most frequent verbs in collocation with *well* in each historical corpus is provided in Appendix 3.

HC (695)		CEECS (189)		CED (419)	
do	**100**	**do**	**61**	**do**	**110**
beat	15	come	9	use	13
stamp	12	serve	8	make	12
show	11	use	5	come/meet	11
keep, hold (= protect)	10	handle	4	sleep	10

Table 35: Most frequent activity verbs co-occurring with *well* in the historical corpora (actual figures)

HC (215)		CEECS (81)		CED (204)	
say	**48**	**greet**	**47**	**say**	**69**
greet	26	say	4	speak	48
sing	7	agree	3	wish	12
speak	7	avow	3	answer	8
teach	6	tell/write	2	agree/pronounce/sing	6

Table 36: Most frequent communication verbs co-occurring with *well* in the historical corpora (actual figures)

The subjects co-occurring with the most frequently occurring activity verb (do) present slightly different results. *Do well* mainly collocates with a second person singular (28.0%, 54.1% and 34.9% in the HC, CEECS and CED respectively) (Table 37), which may partly be explained by the faxt that do is mostly used in the context of advice-giving (*It were well done to…*; *You shall do well to…*).

DO	HC	CEECS	CED
I	3.0 (3)	8.2 (5)	7.3 (8)
You	**28.0** (28)	**54.1** (33)	**34.9** (38)
They	12.0 (12)	3.3 (2)	6.4 (7)
He	**24.0** (24)	18.0 (11)	11.0 (12)
She	3.0 (3)	3.3 (2)	5.5 (6)
It	3.0 (3)	---	11.0 (12)
We	7.0 (7)	---	1.8 (2)
Rest	**20.0** (20)	13.1 (8)	**22.0** (24)
Total	100 (100)	100 (61)	99.9 (109)

Table 37: <u>Percentages per corpus: Subjects of activity verbs modified by *well*: *Do*</u>

Other activity verbs offer a varied representation of subject forms, rather than a straightforward majority of first and second person subjects. The correlation *show + well* in the *Helsinki Corpus*, for instance, shows a fairly spread distribution (Table 38).

SHOW (HC)	I	You	They	He	It	We	Rest	Total
	1	3	---	1	4	1	1	11

Table 38: Subject forms of *show* modified by *well*: Actual figures in the HC

Table 39 shows the subject forms co-occurring with *say* (*well*), which is the most frequent communicative verb in the corpus material. A large percentage of these figures consists of fixed phrases (*you say well*; *(that is) well said*; *Well said!*) and therefore mainly belong to the second person subject and impersonal categories.

SAY	HC	CEECS	CED
I	10.4 (5)	---	7.2 (5)
You	**39.6** (19)	25.0 (1)	**29.0** (20)
They	4.2 (2)	---	---
He	**16.7** (8)	**75.0** (3)	4.3 (3)
She	2.1 (1)	---	1.4 (1)
It	2.1 (1)	---	---
We	8.3 (4)	---	1.4 (1)

Rest	**16.7** (8)	---	**56.5** (39)
Total	100.1 (48)	100 (4)	99.8 (69)

Table 39: Subject forms of *say* modified by *well*: Percentages (and actual figures) per corpus

Scheibman's (2002) analysis of present-day collocations between verbs and subject forms (without the correlation with *well*) largely reflects the tendencies found in our historical material. Verbs of cognition, in particular *think*, *know* and *guess* are most frequent with first person subjects. The highest percentages in the present tense subcategory are taken up by the verb *to know*. Similar to our data, the category which Scheibman calls material verbs (i.e. activity verbs) does not contain any "individual, highly repeated expressions", in contrast to the category of cognitive verbs. Frequent cognitive collocations in synchronic material include *I don't know*, *I think* and *I guess* in the first person, and *you know* in the second person form. Scheibman stresses that the importance of these expressions lies in the fact that they do not "inform participants of the speakers' cognitive activities (2002: 67). Instead, the expressions serve to create a common ground between speaker and addressee or to indicate that the speaker has a wish to share relevant information.

Considering these similarities with present-day data, a quantitative analysis of subject forms may give an initial indication but is not enough to gain a full understanding of the verbal collocations of *well* and of the influence of/on speaker-addressee relationships. A further qualitative analysis of the contexts in which *well* co-occurs with mental verbs can attest which added (pragmatic) value *well* gives to the most frequently used collocations in the historical corpora.

11.6. Historical collocations: *as you well know*

The results from Scheibman's synchronic study indicate that "the most common combinations of subjects and predicates in the conversational database are precisely those that express speaker point of view" (2002: 61). Expressions such as *you know*, *I think*, *I guess* and other combinations of interactive subject forms with mental verbs can be used epistemically in present-day discourse. These kinds of constructions have moved away from a referential sense of providing cognitive information to the addressee, and have evolved towards a more pragmatic use of structuring the "expression of the speaker's point of view". As such, they can be used to get the addressee involved in the conversation, and to "solicit support" for the speaker's stance (Scheibman 2002: 75; Schiffrin 1987). As a verbal modifier, *well* illustrates a

frequent historical co-occurrence with such cognitive verbs as for instance *know* and *see*, and interactive subject forms (*I* and *you*) (see sections 11.4. and 11.5.). Considering this frequent co-occurrence, the added use of *well* in an expression such as *you know*, *I understand* or *I know* could be relevant for the interactive value of these correlations as they occur in the speaker-addressee dyad (e.g. *I know (very well) that…*; *as you (well) know,…*).

Quirk et al. (1985) state that this type of formula, i.e. *you + (well) + know* does not function as a mere reference to the hearer's cognition or to his or her knowledge of a fact or event, but rather serves as an appeal to the addressee, indicating that 'he or she is not being underestimated' and that it is probable that he or she already knows the facts that are referred to. In this sense, phrases such as *as you (well) know* or *as you may (well) know* can serve as a help to acknowledge the hearer/addressee. Its use can prevent face-loss and can keep the argumentational flow of a conversation going by integrating the addressee in the discourse frame. The expression in which a first or second person subject form is combined with a mental verb such as *to know* also occurs without the additional use of *well*. The following illustrations may help to attest what exactly the added interactional value of adverbial *well* is in such a collocation.

I.   referential use

Example (95) illustrate an instances in which *well + know* is combined with a first person subject and forms a clearly referential context. The phrase is used in the context of a narrative and indicates the speaker's propositional reference to a piece of information.

(95)   **I knew well** too that his Jesuites begged from door to door in Spaine: **and I knew well that** the King of Spaine was bankrupt, as was protested by most of the Merchants of Christendome: And could I imagine then that in his poverty he could disburse six or seven hundred thousand Crowns? (CED, d2wralei: 1648 publication date; 1603 speech event)

As a comparison, example (96), which is taken from a witness deposition, combines *well* and *know* with a third person singular subject (*he did not well know him*) and with a second person address (*you did well know him*), and equally applies *well* as a propositional (adverbial) modifier of *to know*.

(96)   L. Ch. Just.: Did he add, that **he did not well know him** by the Candle-light? But Mr. Oats, when you heard his voice, you said you knew him; why did you not come then, and say **you did well know him**?
Mr. Oats.: Because I was not asked. (CED, d3tcolem: 1678)

II.   referential use, with awareness of alternative views

The meaning of *well* in the following contexts is still classified as a propositional, adverbial form. However, the co-occurrences of "*I/you* + *well* + mental verb" can be explained in a larger frame of argumentation and speaker stance. Example (97), for instance, presents a situation in which the second speaker is reprimanded and must justify himself for killing a snake that belonged to the first speaker. The situation poses a possible risk of face-loss for speaker A. Speaker B therefore starts by acknowledging his interlocutor's claim (*I know well the lyon was nat myne*) before putting forward his own point of view. The reflection of the accusation diminishes a possible face-threat and allows the speaker to develop his line of reasoning.

(97)   A: I have norysshed in thys place a grete whyle a serpente whych pleased me much […]. And yestirday ye slew hym as he gate hys pray. Sey me for what cause ye slew hym, for the lyon was nat youres.
B: Madam, **I know well the lyon was nat myne, but** for the lyon ys more of jantiller nature than the serpente, therefore I slew hym […]. (HC, Cmmalory; 1420-1500)

Translation:
A: For a long time I have nourished a serpent in this place, which pleased me much […]. And yesterday you killed it as it was trying to catch its prey. Tell me for what cause you slew it, for the lion was not yours.
B: Madam, **I know well the lion was not mine**, but because the lion is of a more noble nature than the serpent, thefore I slew it.

The additional use of *well* has a supporting function in this argumentative context, in the sense that *well* adds an intensification to the speaker's assertion. The use of *I know well* grants acknowledgement to the interlocutor and to the truth-value of his or her claim. In this example, the underlying meaning can be paraphrased as *indeed* or *certainly*. This meaning is also present (and explicitly added) in example (98) where *I do remember well indeade* gives added force to the (validity of the) speaker's subsequent argumentation. In addition, the phrase *and so may* you helps to bring the addressee to the same level of understanding. In example (99), the cognition of the addressee's claim and the emphasis that is put on the truth-level of the utterance can be seen as a form of reassurance for the addressee.

(98)   Her majestie **I do remember well indeade**, and so may you, howe before all my lords she seamed to mislyke that I should take any other charge then as her generall […]. (CEECS, Leycester; 1585-1586)

(99)   Syr, […] **I wot well ye remembre** what your ffader by his last letter assureþe you in joyntur: and syr, þat ys feyr: and as for oþer thynges touchyng your self, I shall enfourme you at our next metynge […].   (HC, Cmpriv; 1420-1500)

Translation: Sir, […] **I know well you remember** what your father promised you […]: and sir, that is fair: and as for other things with regard to your self, I shall inform you at our next meeting.

Although these uses of *well* can still be classified as propositional, their meaning is applied in a context where the speaker is aware of the fact that his/her opinion may differ from that of the addressee. Examples (100) and (101) similarly illustrate two situations in which *I + know + well* supports the positioning of the speaker and lends added strength to his/her own conviction. Specifically, we see in (100) that a speaker wants to downtone a compliment (*you do but jear me*). The use of *I know very well that…* does not serve to put forward a personal point of view here, but rather helps to soften an utterance that could pose a possible face threat for the interlocutor. The fact that the speaker's conviction is emphasised, also heightens the acceptability of the claim for the addressee.

(100) I know it very well. I have learnt very much in this little time that I have enjoyed your good company. You speak better then I. Sir, now you are too open. **I know very well that** you do but jear me. I should be very sorry to do so, I assure you. (CED, d3hfmaug: 1653)

In (101) the severity of the phrase *I hope I know 't well enough* places an emphasis on the speaker's knowledge of a certain fact, and weakens the acknowledgement of the interlocutor's utterance. This is reflected in the following (opposing) statement *I did not aske to be told*. The mood of this utterance is set by the utterance-initial marker *why*, which can be described as an expression of "a certain air of superiority and a touch of mild condescension" (Jucker 1997: 103).

(101) [WAS.]   […] how long ha' wee bin acquainted, I pray you?
       [QVAR.]   I thinke it may be remembred, Numps, that? 'twas since morning sure.
       [WAS.]   **Why, I hope I know't well enough**, Sir, **I did not aske to be told**.
       [QVAR.]   No? why then? (CED, d2cjonso: 1631)

Examples (102) to (104) illustrate the use of *well* (+*know*) in contexts where speaker and addressee have divergent views or where the speaker attempts to bring across his or her personal perspective. The phrases *as (you) well know* or *(as) you (may) very well know* make use of a second person subject form which explicitly acknowledges the addressee. In (102) and (103) the phrases *as your maystership knows well/ as your ladyship well knows…* urge the addressee to consider the validity of the speaker's utterance.

(102) […], which **as your maystership knoweth well** was right shorte warnyng, remembring þat þe more parte of my lordes servauntes were sente into Suffolk […] (CEECS, Stonor; 1424-1483)

Translation: […] which, **as your mastership knows well**, was right short notice, bearing in mind that the majority of my lord's servants were sent to Suffolk […].

(103) I confesse I am not without some regrette that, eyther by [your Ladyship's] election or my misfortune, it falls out at such a time when I am not soe much at liberty, **as [your Ladyship] well knows**, nor soe much master of myself, […]" (CEECS, Cornwall; 1613-1644)

(104) Surely, Madam, there is great reason, **you very well know**, that you should strayne yourself for the effecting of this mach; for, as I have often expressed… (CEECS; Cornwall; 1613-1644)

In this context, the use of *well* (+ *know* + interactional subject) ties in with Östman's (1981) suggestions on the interpretation of *you know*, saying that the speaker "does not indicate by *you know* that he wants the addressee to accept the truth of his proposition, but he wants the addressee to PRESUPPOSE the tenability of what he is saying" (Östman 1981: 18). This use of *you know* allows the speaker to

> express (presumed) certainty ("as you know"): the speaker invokes a prior agreement as the source for the trustworthiness of what he is saying; and the addressee might be expected to believe the speaker. This use of *you know* is primarily a speaker-oriented, Face-Saving *you know*: by using the declarative *you know*, the speaker does not want to be argued against.

III.   epistemically coloured use in argumentative contexts

Examples (105), (106) and (107) below differ from the preceding illustrations only by a shade of meaning. The use of *well* is embedded in contexts in which speaker and addressee are aware of differences in perspective, and in which the adverb is applied to give additional strength to an interlocutor's personal conviction. While *you know well* can be used by a speaker to emphasise and attain a source of common ground, certain examples seem to add a more critical sense to the proposition. In example (105), Sir Credulous Hippish's response to Agnes' question is one of disbelief. Similarly, the member of parliament does not accept the freeholder's answer in example (106). *You know well enough what I mean* and *You know well enough,…* indicate the speaker's conviction that the interlocutor is in fact aware of the situation. Example (107) places two speakers in a context where the male speaker requests an explanation (*tell me how I have disobliged you*), and the female speaker justifies herself by appealing to a piece of knowledge which she is sure her interlocutor possesses (*you well know that persons of my sex and quality are not permitted to…*). This reference can be seen as the basis of her explanation.

(105) [Sir Cred.] That's not what I ask you.

[Agnes.] What then?
[Sir Cred.] Ah! you cunning Gipsy -- **you know well enough what I mean**.
[Agnes.] Indeed, Papa, but I don't.
[Sir Cred.] Is this the way of doing what you was bid? Did not I order you to come and tell me immediately every thing that you saw?
[Agnes.] Yes, Papa.   (CED, d5cmille: 1734)

(106)   [Free.] […] Nay then, so far we are Safe, now for our Armies abroad, who is General there this Summer?
[Mem.] **You know well enough**, the same as the last, only his Loyalty to the Queen, and great Services to his Country have been the meanes to advance him from Earl, to a higher Title of Duke of [M]. (CED, d4homemb: 1703)

(107)   Indeed but it is, Lady Bella, interrupted he; for if I knew how to please you, I would never, […] offend: Therefore, I beg you, tell me how I have disobliged you; for, certainly, you have treated me as harshly as if I had been guilty of some very terrible Offence.
You had the Boldness, said she, to talk to me of Love; and **you well know** that Persons of my Sex and Quality are not permitted to listen to such Discourses (CED, d5flenno: 1752)

In argumentative contexts, the contrast between *I/you know that…* and *I/you very **well** know that…* may be found in the intensifying effect which the use of *well* adds.

The collocation of a second person subject with *know* and *well* can be attributed with different degrees of "intersubjectivity". At the most referential part of the cline, in e.g. *you know well how it is, that…*, the speaker's direct address with reference to the addressee's state of knowing has an interpersonal function, in the sense that an attempt is made to include the hearer in the conversation and to bring him or her to the same level of understanding as that of the speaker. At the other end of the cline, the meaning of *you + know + well* is epistemically coloured (as in the examples above), strengthening the speaker's conviction that the hearer is on the same level of understanding as he/she is. Both nuances are easily recognised in contexts where the speaker makes a reference to his own (degree of) knowledge, as in *you know as well as I do…*, *you know well **enough** what I mean* or *…, as you know both right well*. In the data from the HC, 62 out of 69 collocations serve clear interpersonal – intensifying – uses (i.e. 89.9%). In the CED and CEECS, this is 69.7% (23/33) and 83.3% (20/24) respectively. As in the illustrations above, *I/you very well know* carries an implication which can be paraphrased as "I am not trying to pretend that I don't know this" or "don't (you) try to pretend that you don't know this". This underlying meaning can be compared to two Dutch phrases, namely to the neutral phrase "Je weet dat hij in Gent woont" (i.e. "You know he lives in Ghent") versus "Je weet goed genoeg(!) dat hij in Gent woont" (i.e. "You know well (enough) he lives in Ghent" – said when the addressee denies). Similarly, in French this difference translates as "Tu sais que…" ("You know that…") and "Tu sais bien que…" ("You know (very) well that…") respectively. The intensified positive meaning of

adverbial *well* can in this sense be used to anticipate possible diverging opinions – which could undermine the truth-content of the utterance, to validate the utterance of the speaker, and to serve as a basis on which the speaker can tackle diverging opinions without creating face-loss for the addressee ["I see what you're saying. However…"]. More so, the speaker creates an assumption of shared knowledge (or at least expresses the hope that the hearer will be brought to the same level of understanding). Although *well* is not an indispensable element in this mental collocation, the use of the adverb does provide an additional intensifying factor, and seems to play an important role in the positioning of the speaker, as well as in establishing common ground.

11.7. Positional and structural shift: *You know well that… ~ as you well know*

The results from our historical corpus data indicate that the correlation between *well* and collocating verbs (e.g. *to know*) is also subject to differences in position. The variation between *you understand well*, with *well* in Final position, and *you well understand*, with *well* in Medial position, may lead us to wonder whether this difference has a correlated influence on the meaning of the collocation.

The positions distinguished in our data are based on the classification found in Quirk et al. (1985: sections 8.14-8.23: pp. 490-501), summarised as follows (overview: 1985: 490).

o In **Initial** position (I), the adverb is placed before all other clause elements.
   E.g. *Suddenly*, the driver started the engine.
   E.g. *By then* the book must have been placed on the shelf. (I)

o **Medial** position (M) places the adverb between Subject and (finite lexical) verb or after the first auxiliary or the verb *to be*. Medial position has two subvariants that appear in our data: **Initial Medial** position (iM), where the adverb is placed between the subject and the operator, and **End Medial** (eM), where the adverbial is immediately before the main verb of the verb phrase.

   The book must *by then* have been placed on the shelf. (M)
   The book *by then* must have been placed on the shelf. (iM)
   The book must have been *by then* placed on the shelf. (eM)

o   In **Final/End** position (E), the adverbial follows all other obligatory elements. If the adverbial is placed after Subject and Verb but is still followed by an obligatory element (e.g. a direct object), the position is classified as **Initial End** (iE).

The book must have been placed on the shelf *by then*. (E)
The light was fading *rapidly*. (E)
The book must have been placed *by then* on the shelf. (iE)
She kept writing *in feverish rage* long, violent letters of complaint. (iE)

The position which *well* has in relation to the main verb can serve as a syntactic criterion for determining pragmatic meaning. Quirk et al. (1985: 589ff.) state that the term 'intensifier' not only indicates an *increase* in intensity, but also refers to elements which either refer to a high or a low point on an abstract scale of intensity. Intensifiers which indicate an increase are termed *amplifiers*. Quirk et al. classify the manner adverb *well* as an amplifier, more specifically as a 'booster' (also e.g. *highly*, *intensely*, *greatly*). Elements which fall into this subset of the class of intensifiers are said to indicate a relative reinforcing degree or a high point on a scale (Quirk et al. 1985: 589ff.; see Figure 3).

		a) <u>Maximizers</u>: e.g. She *entirely* agrees with you.
	Amplifiers	b) <u>Boosters</u>: e.g. We all know him *well*.
INTENSIFIERS		
	Downtoners - - - - - […]	
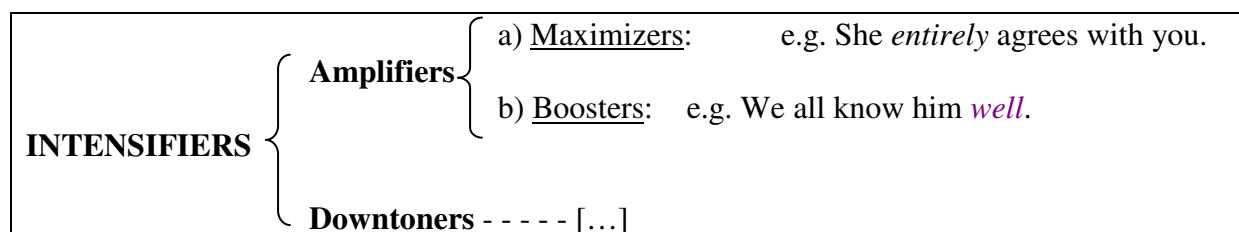
Figure 3: Intensifiers: Classes (Quirk et al. (1985: 589ff.))

The positional norms for amplifiers (i.e. adverbs/intensifiers that can be classified as amplifiers) are that they can occur in Medial and End position. A difference in position, however, can also imply a difference in interpretation. While still classified as a manner adverb, *well* can therefore occur with intensifying or "amplified" meanings in specific contexts. Certain adverbials can be interpreted literally when appearing in End position (e.g. *They attacked him violently*; i.e. with violence, referring to physical assault) or be read as boosters when placed in Medial Position (e.g. *They violently attacked him*; i.e. 'strongly'; Quirk et al. (1985: 591)). Quirk et al. also mention that certain amplifiers "tend to co-occur predominantly with certain verbs" (e.g. *entirely* + *agree*; *greatly* + *admire*) (1985: 593). In addition, intensifying subjuncts are said to be connected to verbs that are "largely expressive of attitude" (1985: 589). The first question that can be posed here is whether different positions in the use of *well* also imply different readings. In other words, in which contexts

can *well* be interpreted literally as an adverb of manner, and in which contexts – with different formal characteristics – can the manner adverb be interpreted with an intensifying meaning, as a booster. Secondly, we can ask to what extent the semantic type of the modified verb plays a role in these interpretations.

The position of *well* in correlation with activity verbs such as *to play* is fairly restricted to a propositional meaning. When modifying an activity verb, *well* therefore generally appears in Final (or Initial End) position (*He plays the flute well* (E)) rather than an intensified use where the adverb is placed in Medial position (**He well plays the flute* (M)). In the CED, for instance, all nine instances of *play well* have Final position. For *do well* (i.e. the most frequent collocation in the semantic field of activity verbs) the majority of tokens is placed in Final or Initial End position (Table 40). *Do + well* also appears in uses where the adverb is placed in Medial position. However, the majority of these Medial figures consists of the fixed phrases *(that is) well done* or *it is/would be/were well done (to…)* (18/20 Medial tokens in the CED; 17/20 in the CEECS and 9/31 in the HC (in which most medially positioned tokens of *do + well* are Old English examples) and can as such not be attributed with a pragmatic or intensified meaning.

DO + *well*	E	iE	M	I	eM	Other	Total
HC	**48.0** (48)	7.0 (7)	31.0 (31)	5.0 (5)	1.0 (1)	8.0 (8)	100 (100)
CEECS	24.6 (15)	**36.1** (22)	32.8 (20)	---	6.5 (4)	---	100 (61)
CED	**60.6** (66)	20.2 (22)	18.3 (20)	0.9 (1)	---	---	100 (109)

Table 40: *Do + well*: Percentages (and actual figures) of the position of *well* in all three corpora

Similar positional restrictions seem to appear in the co-occurrence of *well* with verbs of communication such as *greet*, for instance. *Greet well* is restricted to Final position and Initial End position in the HC and CEECS (Table 41). The collocation does not occur in the CED.

GREET + *well*	E	iE	M	I	Total
HC	73.1 (19)	26.9 (7)	---	---	100 (26)
CEECS	95.7 (45)	4.3 (2)	---	---	100 (47)
CED	---	---	---	---	---

Table 41: *Greet + well*: Percentages (and actual figures) of the position of *well* in all three corpora

The position of the adverb in the collocation *say well* (Table 42) also has large figures for *well* in Final position. About 60% of all Medial tokens in the HC (i.e. 6/10 Medial tokens) and 100% of all Medial tokens in the CED (40/40) in the collocation *say well* are occurrences of the phrase *(that is) well said*.

SAY + *well*	E	iE	M	I	iM	Other	Total
HC	**47.9** (23)	22.9 (11)	20.8 (10)	6.3 (3)	2.1 (1)	---	100 (48)
CEECS	**100.0** (4)	---	---	---	---	---	100 (4)
CED	42.0 (29)	---	**58.0** (40)	---	---	---	100 (69)

Table 42: *Say + well*: Percentages (and actual figures) of the position of *well* in all three corpora

In the co-occurrence of *well* with mental verbs, the distribution of positions in the historical corpora is slightly different. The different possible positions of the most frequent collocation, i.e. *well + know*, which occur in the historical corpora are illustrated by means of the following examples ((108)-(113)).

(108) Initial: Be stille Adam, and nemen it na mare, It may not mende. For **wele** I wate I haue done wrange, And therfore euere I morne emange, Allas the whille I leue so lange, Dede wolde I be. (HC, Cmyork: 1420-1500)

Translation: be still Adam, and take it no more, it can not be repaired. For **well** I know (that) I have done wrong, […]

(109) Medial (a): *well* follows form of verb *to be*
And I do repeat it, my Lord, as I hope to attain Salvation, I never did know
Nelthrop, nor never did see him before in my Life, nor did I know of any body's coming, but Mr. Hicks, and him I did know to be a Nonconformist Minister; and there being, as is **well** known, Warrants out to apprehend all Nonconformist Ministers, I was willing to give him shelter from these Warrants. (HC, Cetri3b: 1640-1710)

(110) Medial (b): Subject + adverb + (lexical) verb
[…] but ye sought me in a wronge Cales, and þat ye shuld **well** know yff ye were
here and saw this Cales, as wold God ye were and som off them with you þat were with you at your gentill Cales. (HC, Cmpriv: 1420-1500)

Translation: […] but you sought me in a wrong Calais(?), and that you should **well** know if you were here and saw this Calais, […]

(111) End Medial: […] the forsaid Brere or brembre[,] the whiche comune wronge vses & many other if it lyke to yow: mowe be shewed & **wel** knowen bi an indifferent Iuge & mair of owre Citee […] (HC, Cmdocu3: 1350-1420)

Translation: […] may be shown and **well** known by an impartial judge and mayor of our city […].

(112) End: […] it is well done ye remember hym off them ffor dyverse consederacions, as ye know bothe right **well**. (CEECS, Stonor: 1424-1483)

Translation: it is well done (if) you remind him of them for diverse reasons, as you both know right **well**.

(113) Initial End: [Y]ou know **well** he is full of gentlenesse. (CED, d2hfwodr: 1625)

Hoye (1997: 149) states that Medial position is more usually associated with modality and degree. In terms of position, we can observe a tentative shift from Final (*you know well*) towards Medial position (*you well know*) in the CEECS (Table 43). If Medial position is associated with modality and degree, then the phrase *you well know* is more likely to present an intensifying meaning, through which the speaker indicates a sense of modal conviction or strengthens a personal assessment. However, the HC and CED present more varied results with a larger focus on Final position (Table 44 and Table 45). In Table 43, the results from the CEECS are subdivided and grouped together in three main periods. The percentages in this table are calculated on the total number of entries per period (viz. respectively 48, 10 and 16 tokens per period). Although the Final (and iE) position holds the largest percentage in the earliest period of the CEECS (for the collocation of *well* with *know*), a shift towards Medial position can be seen (Table 43, results in graphical form in Figure 4).

CEECS *Know*	Initial	Medial	Final	Initial Final	Total
ca. 1400-1500	2.1 (1)	17.0 (8)	38.3 (18)	42.6 (20)	**100.1 (47)**
ca. 1500-1600	-	60 (6)	30 (3)	10 (1)	**100 (10)**
ca. 1600-1680	-	43.75 (7)	25 (4)	31.25 (5)	**100 (16)**

Table 43: CEECS: *know + well*: percentages (and actual figures) of the position of *well*
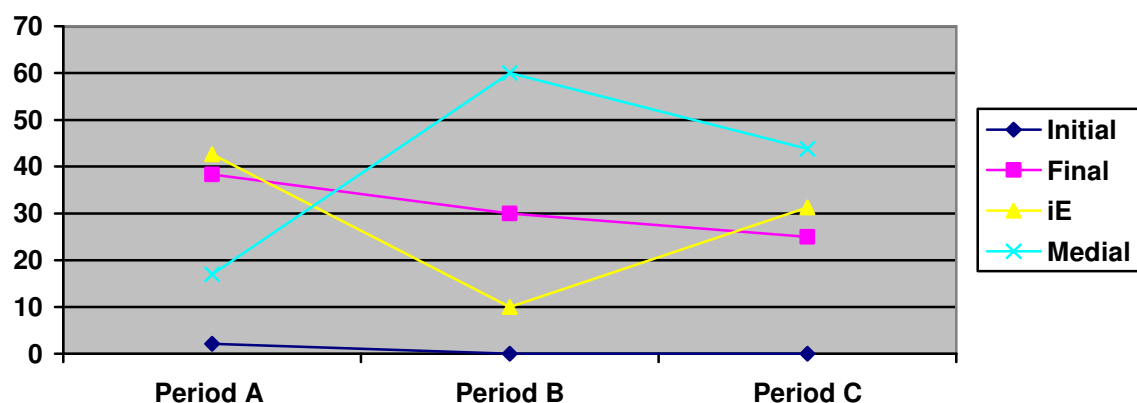
Figure 4: CEECS: position of *well* (+ *know*): percentages per period

The figures of the HC and CED, however, present more varied results (Table 44 and Table 45). In the *Helsinki Corpus*, the numbers for M position (*well know*) increase towards the later corpus periods, more specifically after 1500 (i.e. the start of the Early Modern English period). The figures for iE position are more frequent in the earliest periods. However, the evolution is not straightforward. In the CED, which only offers figures after 1550, the numbers for Medial position form one third of the total percentage but remain stable.

HC *Know*	Initial		Medial		End Medial		Final		Initial Final		Rest	Total	
850-950	100	(1)	-		-		-		-		-	100	(1)
950-1050	-		100	(1)	-		-		-		-	100	(1)
1150-1250	22.7	(5)	9.1	(2)	-		27.3	(6)	36.4	(8)	4.5 (1)	100	(22)
1250-1350	29.2	(7)	8.3	(2)	-		29.2	(7)	33.3	(8)	-	100	(24)
1350-1420	18.75	(15)	11.25	(9)	1.25	(1)	15	(12)	53.75	(43)	-	100	(80)
1420-1500	9.6	(8)	8.4	(7)	1.2	(1)	16.9	(14)	63.9	(53)	-	100	(83)
1500-1570	2.8	(1)	38.9	(14)	-		38.9	(14)	19.4	(7)	-	100	(36)
1570-1640	-		42.9	(6)	-		28.6	(4)	28.6	(4)	-	100.1	(14)
1640-1710	-		21.1	(4)	-		52.6	(10)	26.3	(5)	-	100	(19)

Table 44: HC: *know + well*: percentages (and actual figures) of the position of *well*

CED *know + well*	E	iE	M	I	Total
1550-1600	**55.3** (21)	18.4 (7)	23.7 (9)	2.6 (1)	100 (38)
1600-1650	31.9 (15)	**36.2** (17)	31.9 (15)	---	100 (47)
1650-1700	**51.4** (37)	16.7 (12)	31.9 (23)	---	100 (72)
1700-1760	**62.1** (18)	13.8 (4)	24.1 (7)	---	100 (29)

Table 45: CED: *know + well*: percentages (and actual figures) of the position of *well*

We cannot say that for the collocation of *well* with mental verbs (in general) and with *know* in particular, there is a straight-forward evolution from a Final (*you know well*) to a Medial position with possible "intensifying" meaning (*you well know*). Although *well* is more often placed in Medial position when the adverb collocates with mental verbs, than when collocating with activity or communication verbs, Final position is still more frequent in the co-occurrence of *well* with e.g. *know*. Quantitative results of positional shifts therefore do not illustrate a clear development from Final to Medial position, but only a slight preference for Medial position in the case of *well + know* compared to other semantic verb fields.

Structural shift

Although the combination of *well + know* does not evolve from Final to Medial position as such, a positional shift can be witnessed on a broader structural level. On a propositional level, the combination *well + know* occurs as a referential structure, in which a co-occurrence of adverb + (mental) verb is embedded in the wider grammatical context. A comparison with present-day data from the BNC and ARCHER, however, shows that the combination is increasingly used as a parenthetical remark, introduced by *as* (e.g. *as you well know,…*; *as you know right well,…*).

As a pragmatic expression, *you (well) know* can be compared to epistemic parentheticals such as *I mean*, *I think* or *I guess*. The development of such parenthetical remarks has been dealt with quite extensively in the literature on epistemic evolutions. Various structural paths of development have been proposed for the grammaticalisation of such epistemic combinations of subject (+ adverb) + mental verb. For the evolution of *I think* and *methinks*, for instance, Palander-Collin (1999: in Brinton 2003: 9) suggests a shift from a following that-clause (*I think that he will win*) to a that-less clause (*I think he will win*) and finally to a structure where *I think* can be postponed as an epistemic parenthetical, following

the proposition (*He will win, I think*). An alternative development has been suggested for *I think* and *I guess* and related parentheticals (Brinton 1996). Starting from a relative structure (e.g. *as/so/which I mean*), these expressions are said to evolve towards deletion of the relative pronoun and "a change in status…from adjunct to disjunct" (Brinton 2003: 10). A third hypothesised evolution – suggested for the development of *I mean* (Brinton 2003) – suggests that *I mean* initially "governs a phrasal element {NP, VP, AP, PP, AdvP}" (Brinton 2003: 12). The connection with this element is gradually loosened, and allows for *I mean* to be postponed and reanalysed as an independent element. For the development of *you + know + well*, our historical data show that the combination of *you* and *know* (+ *well*) initially co-occurs with a noun phrase (with pronoun: example (114)), a *that*-clause (example (115)), or a subordinated clause introduced by *how* or *where* (example (116)).

(114) þurrh þatt Godd wass wurrþenn mann forr ure miccle nede, þurrh þatt wass he, **þatt witt tu wel**, all wiþþ hiss lefe wille niþþredd & wannsedd wunnderrliȝ […]. (HC, Cmorm; 1150-1250)

Translation: because God had become man for our great need, through that he was, **you know [that] well**, humbled and greatly diminished al through his will.

(115) **Þou wost ful wel**, yif þu wilt wite, **þat** Ætelwold þe dide site on knes and sweren on messe-bok […] þat þou hise douhter sholdest yelde […]. (HC, Cmhavlo; 1250-1350)

Translation: **You know full well**, if you want to know, **that** Ætelwold made you sit on your knees and swear on the missal […] that you would (lit. should) hand over his daughter.

(116) "Guode womman," seide þe holie man: "**þou wost wel hou it is, þat** þat chief louerd habbe þe beste aygte: […]. (HC, Cmseleg; 1250-1350)

Translation: "Good woman", said the holy man: "**you know well how it is, that** the highest ruler has the most valuable possession: […].

In these early sentences from the Old English period and early Middle English period, *know well* refers to a known point within the sentence and has limited scope. Table 46 shows the HC figures of the Old and Middle English period. Because the actual numbers in these periods are low in frequency no percentages are given. The results therefore need to be considered with due caution. In the Middle English period, we see an increased number of early forms (e.g. co-occurrence with clausal that-complements or co-occurrence with phrasal complements in the form of a pronoun or a NP) but also the appearance of a that-less clause (example (117)) or a parenthetical construction (examples (118)-(122)).

HC	NP/Pronoun	That-clause	That-less clause	Subord. Clause	Parenthetical	None	Total
850-950	**1**	---	---	---	---	---	1
950-1050	**1**	---	---	---	---	---	1
1050-1150	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
1150-1250	3	---	1	2	1	1	8
1250-1350	3	2	---	1	1	---	7
1350-1420	**4**	**12**	3	1	**4**	---	24
1420-1500	**4**	**9**	2	1	**2**	---	18

Table 46: Structure of *you + know + well* in the HC: Old and Middle English periods (actual figures)

Examples (118) to (122) illustrate contexts in which the combination of a second person subject form, a (mental) verb and the use of *well* form a collocation which is detached from the internal structure of the sentence, with a greater positional freedom and a broader scope.

(117) **You know well** he is full of gentlenesse. (CED, d2hfwodr: 1625)

(118) […] ant sire Iohan Abel, mo y mihte telle by tale, boþe of grete ant of smale, **ȝe knowen suyþe wel**. (HC, Cmpoemh; 1250-1350)

Translation: […]and sir Iohan Abel, I might tell more through story, both of great and of small, **you know very well**.

(119) Þu hast a garnement wel iweue adoun to þi foot, in whiche þyn husbounde Crist wil haue gret lykyngge to fynde þe icloþed in. An hemme, **as þu wost wel**, is þe laste ende of a cloþ […]. (HC, Cmaelr3; 1350-1420)

Translation: you have a garment well woven down to your foot, in which your husband Christ will be pleased to see you dressed in. A hem, **as you know well**, is the last end of a piece of cloth […].

(120) It is well done ye remembre hym off them ffor dyverse consederacions, **as ye know bothe right well**. (HC, Cmpriv; 1420-1500)

Translation: It is well done (if) you remind him of them for diverse reasons, **as you both know right well**.

(121) And, **as you know right well**, I have Slyngsby bonden as your surty in an obligation […] for the perfirmance of your bargan, which I have redy in my keping. (CEECS, Plumpton: 1461-1550)

Translation: And, **as you know right well**, I have Slyngsby under obligation (i.e. in a legal document) as your guarantee […].

(122) He that doth procure another Man to commit a Felonie or a Murther, **I am sure you know well ynough**, the Law doth adjudge the Procurer there, a Felon or a Murtherer. (HC, Cetri1; 1500-1570)

The figures from the Early Modern English period in the HC (Table 47), CEECS (Table 48) and CED (Table 49) illustrate that a structure in which the combination of *you + know + well* co-occurs with a NP complement or pronoun complement remains the most frequently occurring one, but that parenthetic uses also frequently appear in the historical corpus data from the Middle English period onwards. In the CEECS, the parenthetical use of *(as) you well know/know well* takes up the largest percentages. Due to the low figures, however, the results cannot be generalised without further research.

HC	NP/Pronoun	That-clause	That-less clause	Subord. Clause	Parenthetical	None	Total
1500-1570	---	---	---	2	1	1	4
1570-1640	---	1	1	1	---	---	3
1640-1710	2	---	---	1	---	---	3

Table 47: Structure of *you + know + well* in the HC: Early Modern English period (actual figures)

CEECS[12]	NP/Pronoun	That-clause	That-less clause	Subord. Clause	Parenthetical	None	Total
1400-1550	4	2	2	2	**8**	---	18
1500-1600	1	---	---	---	---	---	1
1600-1700	1	1	---	---	**3**	---	5

Table 48: Structure of *you + know + well* in the CEECS: Late Middle English and Early Modern English period (actual figures)

CED	NP/Pronoun	That-clause	That-less clause	Subord. Clause	Parenthetical	None	Total
1550-1600	**4**	1	1	1	1	---	8
1600-1650	**10**	3	1	---	1	---	15
1650-1700	**4**	1	---	---	---	---	5
1700-1760	1	1	1	2	---	---	5

---

[12] The tokens from the CEECS were classified according to the three main periods in the corpus.

Table 49: Structure of *you + know + well* in the CED: Early Modern English period (actual figures)

Additional data from two corpora containing (Early) Modern English material, i.e. ARCHER and the BNC, form the basis for a further comparison with these historical figures, in order to verify the possibility that *(as) you + well + know* has become more fixed as a parenthetical expression. ARCHER (A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers) contains Early Modern English and Modern English material (from 1650 to 1990) in a range of different text genres. The corpus forms a bridge between our three historical corpora and the twentieth-century data from (a sample taken of) the *British National Corpus*.

The ARCHER figures (Table 50) show that there is no evolution towards an increasing number of parenthetical uses of *you + know + well*. In the period between 1650 and 1990, the majority of tokens (15 out of 25) are taken up by NP/Pronoun-structures (examples (123) and (124)) and that-clauses (example (125)). The use of *know well* is purely referential in example (123). In (124), *that* refers to the information presented to the addressee in the preceding clause (*I have already lost…*). The scope of *know + well* is broader in this second example, as is the case in (125), where *you know very well* is followed by (and refers to the information in) a that-clause.

(123) Sir Robert Chiltern: **Did you know her well**? (ARCHER, wild.d6: 1895)

(124) I have already lost the sight of my eyes, Lamorre. **You know that well enough**, and it is my belief that you are trying to make a fool of me. (ARCHER, haml.d8: 1943)

(125) Eliza: Why is it that the furniture in lodgings is always so hard? I must say two years married, […] and still living in lodgings. […]
Harriet: **You know very well**, dear Eliza, **that** Bysshe thinks luxury is wicked. (ARCHER, jell.d9: 1966)

The use of *know + well* has interpersonal relevance in these illustrations; *you know that well enough* and *you know very well, (that…)* are applied in a context where the speaker wants to bring the addressee to the same level of understanding.

A similar interactional meaning can be found in the use of that-less clauses (example (126)) and parenthetical structures (examples (127)), which take up 6 out of 25 tokens in ARCHER. In (126), the speaker appeals to a piece of information (*you know very well…*) which she is sure her interlocutor must be aware of. It is this epistemic attitude with regard to the knowledge of the addressee which supports the speaker's claim that "such a question" should not be asked.

(126) Harry: Did you ever know what it is to love?

Sophia: now, how could you ask one such a question? **You know very well** one must not tell! (ARCHER, holc.d3: 1792)

The ARCHER data contain one parenthetical use of (*you +*) *know + well* (example (127)). The collocation is a relative structure introduced by *as*, which, according to Quirk et al. (1985: section 15.55) can be used to introduce a "sentential relative clause", as is the case with sentential relative element *which*. The collocation is an ambiguous case because (*as you well know*) *it would be* could also be classified as a collocation followed by a that-less clause. The relative structure, however, has a broad scope, is less dependent on a factual point of reference in the sentence, and can be placed at the beginning, after, or in the middle of an utterance.

(127) It was, **as you well knew it [would] be**, a great pleasure to me to look into Glencoe - and yet the play is to my mind a failure, even without thinking of Ion. (ARCHER, brng.x5: 1840)

ARCHER	NP/Pronoun	That-clause	That-less clause	Subord. Clause	Parenthetical	None	Total
1650-1700	1	2	---	1	---	---	4
1700-1800	---	---	1	---	---	---	1
1800-1900	5	2	1	1	1	---	10
1900-1990	3	2	3	1	---	1	10

Table 50: Structure of *you + know + well* in ARCHER: Modern English period (actual figures)

The twentieth-century material from the BNC sample (Table 51) illustrates that this relative construction, introduced by the relative pronoun *as* or *which*, has become frequent in present-day use, and that the expression has become more fixed.

BNC	NP/Pronoun	That-clause	That-less clause	Subord. Clause	Parenthetical	None	Total
	3	1	---	---	**3**	---	7

Table 51: Structure of *know + well* in the BNC: Twentieth century data (actual figures)

Because the sample taken from the BNC provided so few actual tokens, the collocation *you + know + well* was expanded to include other subject forms as well. From a total of only seven

tokens of the collocation *know + well* or *well + know*, three refer to a NP/Pronoun-structure, and three tokens illustrate a parenthetical use (e.g. examples (128) and (129)).

(128) I almost bought one of those on our trip to the Sunderland game**…as you well know**. (BNC, J1H (1349))

(129) **As is well known**, Dick Crossman, who did not always conform to the rules, had maintained a most complete – if not invariably accurate – account of the Cabinet meetings that he attended and the discussions with his colleagues. (BNC, FPN (163))

The relative structure *as you well know* or *as is well known* indicates a sense of shared knowledge between speaker and addressee. *Well* is placed in medial position, in relation to subject form and verb (in contrast to the NP-structures, that-clauses and that-less clauses with which *well* is generally placed in End or Initial End position). The entire collocation can be postponed (example (128) or placed in front of the rest of the clause (example (129)).

The collocation *(as) + you + well + know* has various layers of uses. When followed by a that-clause, for instance, the collocation can be used on a propositional level (*you know well that…*), indicating the interactants' referential knowledge of a certain event, person or fact. In addition, *you + know + well* can be applied to influence the relationship between speaker and addressee. The position of *well* in this use does not necessarily affect the semantic-pragmatic meaning of the collocation, and can be either Final (or Initial End) or Medial. The historical and contemporary data show that in a collocation of what we can call an 'interactive' second person subject, i.e. referring to an addressee, with *know* and *well*, the propositional nature of adverbial *well* – which indicates the acceptance of a particular event or to the knowledge of a particular fact – remains to be used in various contexts. In addition, the collocation develops alternative uses as a fixed parenthetical with an epistemic effect on the relationship between speaker and addressee. Formally, this parenthetical takes on the shape of a relative construction (introduced by relative pronouns *as* or *which*) in present-day English, which generally places *well* in Medial position (*as you well know*). In Medial position, adverbial *well* often takes on an intensifying use with a meaning that is close to epistemic. In collocation with a mental verbs such as *know*, this allows the speaker to emphasise the truth of his or her own attitude with regard to the propositional contents of an utterance. *Well* can be seen as a means to strengthen an assertion, in order for the speaker to justify a line of reasoning or to share a certain level of understanding. As such, *well* supports the speaker's expression of epistemic stance, at the same time acknowledges the addressee as a partner in the interactive frame, and helps to create a context of agreement and shared knowledge. In this sense, the use of *I know well that…* or *as you well know* illustrates a shift to a more

abstract point of reference within the frame of interaction. The collocation can serve as an example of intersubjective orientation and fits in with Traugott's view of intersubjectivity as defined in section 3.2., as

> "the explicit expression of SP/W's attention to the "self" of AD/R in both an epistemic sense, paying attention to their (likely) attitudes to the content of what is said, and in a more social sense (paying attention to "face" or "image needs")" (Traugott 1999: 2).

12. *WELL* IN MEDIAL POSITION: MODAL COLLOCATIONS

12.1. Epistemic Modality

The suggestion that "linguistic elements that commonly appear in conversation should be those that participate in subjective expression" (Scheibman 2002: 61), which was mentioned in section 11.5., was proven accurate in the frequent collocation of *well* with mental verbs and interactive subject forms. The data from the HC, CEECS and CED showed that the added use of *well* in phrases such as *you know (well) that…* or *(as) you understand (well)* indicates the speaker's attitude with regard to the validity of an utterance, and urges the addressee to adopt the same perspective on a piece of information. The interactional value of this collocation (*well + know*) seems inherently dependent on the interaction between the two elements, i.e. the adverb and the modified verb.

A second collocation which frequently occurs in the historical corpus data is the combination of *well* with modal verbs. In phrases such as *you may well know (that…)* or *as you may well know*, *well* is incorporated in a modal environment which strengthens the adverb's epistemic characteristics. A question that can be asked in this respect is how the interaction between both elements, i.e. adverb and modal auxiliary, affects the eventual meaning of the collocation as a whole. Secondly, we can wonder to what extent the factor of position influences the level of epistemicity in modal collocations.

As early as the Old English period, a modal collocation of *well* and *may* illustrates the subjectification of the manner adverb *well*. Traugott and Dasher (2002) mention the example and suggest that *well* has an epistemic function here (example (130).

(130) Cwæð he: **Wel þæt swa mæʒ**, forþon hi englice ansyne habbað.
       Translation: He said: **Well that may (be) so**, because they have angelic faces.
              (?900 Bede, ii.i. (Schipper) 110 [Jucker 1997: 100], in: Traugott and Dasher p. 175)

The sentence portrays *well* as an element that can hardly be seen as a propositional modifier but rather as an element which has evolved towards a more intensifying meaning – one which can be paraphrased as 'indeed' or 'certainly'. The use of *well* in this example can be attributed with an increased level of epistemic modality, which is, according to Hoye's definition (1997: 42-43),

concerned with matters of knowledge or belief on which basis speakers express their judgements about states of affairs, events or actions. [The speaker is] not making statements of fact or categorical assertions but conveying his subjective view of the world.

The fact that *well* occurs in utterance-initial position can play an important role in the creation of epistemic meaning. The aim of this section, therefore, is to examine the frequency and the semantic-pragmatic features of modal auxiliary verbs in combination with *well* as they appear in the historical corpus data of the HC, CEECS and CED, and to interpret the results in a broader context of increasing subjectivity and epistemicity.

12.2. Historical data selection and classification

In selecting the modal auxiliaries (that co-occur with *well*) from the historical corpus data, a distinction was made between epistemic modality on the one hand, and deontic modality[13], which is

concerned with the possibility or necessity of acts in terms of which the speaker gives permission or lays an obligation for the performance of actions at some point in the future (Hoye 1997: 43)

The distinction between the two is often hard if not impossible to see in certain individual cases. One factor which creates ambiguity in the interpretation of historical modality is the position of the adverb in relation to the modal and/or accompanying lexical verb. Medial position (M) is more usually associated with modality and degree (see Hoye 1997), and may therefore serve as a useful criterion for modal classification. However, position can give an indication but cannot be seen as an absolute criterion. The two clear-cut examples below ((131) and (132)) illustrate that a slight shift in position can create a different meaning. The clause *It may wel be* in example (131) indicates the speaker's view on the probability of a certain fact or point of view, and places *well* in Medial position, i.e. between modal auxiliary and *to be*. In contrast, *well* is found in End Medial position (eM) in the clause *as may be wel perceyued* from example (132), i.e. following the (modal) auxiliary *may* and the verb *to be*, and placed immediately in front of the main verb of the verb phrase (*perceyued*). In this

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[13] Hoye mentions that deontic modality is also non-factual and can express a subjective speaker-stance, but that subjectivity is not a defining characteristic of deontic modality (1997: 43).

example, the adverbial (*well*) modifies the full verb which it precedes (i.e. *perceive*), rather than the modal (auxiliary) *may*.

(131) "Mercy, god!" quoth this folish woman; "**it may wel be,** for ye be not much vnlike […]". (HC, Cefict1b, 1500-1570)

(132) […] our maystir […] was as ny God as ony erdely man myte be, **as may be wel perceyued** be þe labour whech he had in inuestigacion of þe godhed in þe bokes […] (HC, Cmcapser, 1420-1500)

Translation: our master […] was as close to God as any earthly man might be, **as may be well perceived** by the labour which he put in […]

The difference between these two cases is comparable to the difference between the phrases *as may be well perceived* (eM position) and *as may well be perceived* (M position), for instance. Both Goossens (1982) and Bybee (1988) argue that "clear epistemic meanings are hard to find out in Middle English" (Goossens 1982: 78). In many cases, the interpretation depends on semantic context. In example (133), for instance, *well* is classified as a modifier of the full verb it precedes (i.e. *know*).

(133) …he **must** extraordinarily **well know** paintings, that shall distinguish them from the originalls. (CEECS, Cornwall, 1613-1644)

Because of the ambiguity with regard to modals in historical data, all entries were classified on a case-by-case basis in order to distinguish between tokens illustrating deontic and epistemic modality.

The combination of *well* with epistemic *may* is by far the most frequent collocation in the historical material. In the HC, CEECS and CED, this collocation takes up more than 74% in the CEECS, and 50% in the HC and the CED. As such, *may* is much more frequent than any other epistemic modal verb in combination with *well*. Table 52 presents the percentages of the epistemic modals collocating with *well* in the three corpora. Minor modals represented in very low numbers (e.g. *birde*, signifying 'must' or 'needs to') were also included.

Modals	CEECS	HC	CED
May	50.0 (22)	74.0 (74)	50.0 (33)
Might	18.2 (8)	12.0 (12)	37.9 (25)
Can	11.4 (5)	-	3.0 (2)
Cannot	11.4 (5)	-	-
Could	-	-	6.1 (4)

Shall	6.8 (3)	4.0 (4)	-
Should	2.3 (1)	5.0 (5)	3.0 (2)
Ought (to)	-	2.0 (2)	-
Would	-	2.0 (2)	-
Birde/birþ	-	1.0 (1)	-
Total	100 (44)	100 (100)	100 (66)

Table 52: Most frequent epistemic modals in collocation with *well*: percentages (and actual figures) per corpus.

May well has turned into a fixed idiom in present-day English. Shibasaki states that it is "the most frequently used expression in the modal verb-adverb construction, synchronically and diachronically" (2003: 400). The collocation is invariable and an example of 'semantic harmonization', which entails that *may* and *well* are semantically within the same scope of modality. The concept of *semantic harmonisation*, suggested by Shibasaki (2003), is based on research by Lyons (1977), who has studied the semantic cohesiveness between adverbs and modal verbs and found that the two influence and reinforce each other in a manner that is modally harmonic. The level to which adverbs and modal verbs are compatible poses certain restrictions on their collocation. *Well* and *may*, for instance, are compatible because they illustrate a similar level of likelihood. In contrast, the co-occurrence of modal *may*, expressing possibility, and the adverb *certainly*, indicating certainty, for instance, illustrates a combination of two elements that are situated on different scales of likelihood and of which the epistemic meanings cannot be "coalesced into the same scope of modality" (2003: 392) and are "modally non-harmonic" (Hoye 1997: 241). Because *well* and *may* are semantically harmonized, they have a stronger tendency to co-occur, and their combination creates a stronger level of epistemicity than the sum of the two individual elements. Hoye (1997: 240) indicates that the combination of *well* and *may* not only creates an intensification of the modal, but a transformation of its meaning. Whereas the unmodified modal signifies possibility (illustration (134), the combination with *well* conveys probability (example (135). As such, the epistemic meanings of both *well* and *may* are intensified – to the same degree – when combined in one fixed modal expression.

(134) it may / might / can / could   ∅   be true that he beat her

(135) it may / might / can / could   **well**   be true that he beat her   (from Quirk et al. 1985: 588)

The value of *well* in this type of restricted modal environment (*may well*) lies in the fact that

well signifies a transformation in the epistemic value of the auxiliary, which […] alters the status of the speaker's attitude and commitment towards the 'known facts'. (Hoye 1997: 210)

Whereas the use of *may* represents the speaker's subjective view on the probability or truth-value of a propositional fact or an utterance, the supplementary use of *well* "additionally lends weight to the force of the speaker's argument" (Hoye 1997: 144), creating an environment in which not only the contents of the utterance are given a greater truth-value but also the subjective view of the speaker is credited with additional authority.

12.3. Modality and evidentiality

The following examples, taken from the historical corpora, illustrate that the combination of *well* with a modal such as *may* can create a context in which a speaker emphasises his/her view on the probability of a certain situation, as in examples (136)-(139).

(136) "And as for you, [Mister] Dod", quoth [the advocate] "**you might well have forborne**, seing you have been warned heeretofore, and passed by upon promise of amendment." (CED, d2thighc: 1632 speech event; 1886 publication date)

(137) I have not all the Beauty you attribute to me, said Arabella, smiling a little: And, with a very moderate Share of it, **I might well fix** the Attention of a Person who seemed to be not overmuch pleased with the Objects about him (CED, d5flenno: 1752).

(138) I fere me **he cannot well shew** them to your mastership. (CEECS, Stonor, 1424-1483)

Translation: I fear (that) **he cannot well show** them to your mastership.

(139) If that fleet vp and downe with him, **well he may loose an eye** with poaring vpon his Puerilis, but with climing the Alpes as Hanniball did, for catching an ill humour in that sort, I dare put you in comfort and be his warrant. (CED, d1hoob: 1594)

The modal meaning of *may* can occur without the co-occurrence with *well*, as in examples (140) and (141), but the contexts in which *well* is added, displays an added emphasis on the speaker's epistemic attitude or belief.

(140) Mr. Hannington and I […] heard a sermon at White Hall before the King. Dr. Bolton preached and that **you may know** that Mr. Hannington is of no ordinary esteeme, […]. (HC, Cepriv3: 1640-1710)

(141) […] led by the young student, who, as soon as he beheld mr. Francis, cried: "ha! Frank, how came you here? You look out of humour."

"How I came here, it matters not," replied he, sullenly; "and as to my being out of humour, **perhaps you may know better than I yet do**, what cause I have for being so." (CED, d5fhaywo: 1751)

From an interpersonal perspective, the formula *may + well +* lexical verb can also indicate that the speaker projects his/her own expectations on those of the addressee (examples (142)-(145). The phrases *you may well think/understand/remember* in examples (142), (143) and (144) respectively, for instance, make reference to the addressee's mode of knowing, and indicate that the speaker wants the hearer to be on the same level of understanding. In (145), the speaker admits to the possibility that the addressee's point of view is accurate.

(142) Mr. Coosin, you **may well thinke** that I wonder at these proceedings in the College. (CEECS, Cosin, 1617-1669)

(143) My wit is short, **ye may wel understonde**. (HC, Cmctvers, 1350-1420)

Translation: My wit is short, **you may well understand**.

(144) Lord President: Sir, You have heard what is moved by the Councel on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, **you may well remember**, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what delatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands, you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolution upon them. (CED, d3tcharl: 1648 speech event; 1650 publication date)

(145) I cannot but bee extremly troubbled at my one misfortune, in that it appears to you (and I confesse it **may verie well appeare** so) that I am the worst of children to the best of mothers. (CEECS, Cornwall, 1613-1644)

These phrases can be interpreted in the framework of evidentiality, through which "the speaker's/addressee's knowledge is matched against the interactants' expectations" (Chafe 1986). The collocation *may + well* equally indicates the speaker's awareness that the common ground needs to be reestablished (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1128). The interaction between fields of modality and evidentiality results in an intensified sense of likelihood which is reflected in the subjective view of the speaker, or a suggestion made to the addressee. In the examples above, modal combinations such as *may well +* verb therefore support the creation of a mutual knowledge or understanding between speaker and addressee.

An initial hypothesis, namely that the semantic verb field of the co-occurring lexical verb plays a role in the level of (inter)subjectivity of the collocation, proved to be inaccurate. The semantic field types of mental verbs (e.g. *as you may well understand*) or of verbs of existence (e.g. *that may well be*) were not more frequent than other field types. Table 53 shows the distribution of semantic field types for the verbs collocating with *may* and *well*.

Neither type has an unambiguously higher frequency than the other semantic fields. Examples (331) to (151) give examples of the various semantic verb contexts.

Semantic Field	HC	CEECS	CED
Activity	**28.8 (21)**	**36.4** (8)	**30.3** (10)
Mental	**27.4 (20)**	13.6 (3)	24.2 (8)
Communication	23.3 (17)	9.1 (2)	**30.3** (10)
Existence	17.8 (13)	**31.8** (7)	9.1 (3)
Occurrence	2.7 (2)	4.55 (1)	6.1 (2)
Causative	---	4.55 (1)	---
Aspectual	---	---	---
Total	**100 (73)**	**100 (22)**	**100 (33)**

Table 53: Semantic field type of full verbs in the collocation *may + well* + verb: percentages (and actual figures) in all three corpora

The distinction between modal and deontic meanings of *may* can not be unambiguously made in all historical contexts in which *may* co-occurs with *well*. Examples (146), (147) and (148) below illustrate co-occurrences of the modal auxiliary *may* with *well* and with an activity verb (*spare*), verb of cognition (*remember*) and communicative verb (*maken answere*, i.e. *to reply*) respectively. These three semantic verb types present the most frequent co-occurrences with *may + well* in the three corpora. All three contexts indicate the speaker's reference to the probability that an action will take place, or indicate the speaker's belief in the probability that an addressee will – in this specific case – remember something which will bring him or her to the same level of understanding as the speaker.

(146) Call you these feates, [quod] Freeman, for wretches to periure themselues in this sort? Truely **god may well spare them** for a time, but their iudgement wil be the greater. (CED, d1fsharp: 1597)

(147) Sir, **you may well remember**, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what delatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands, […] (CED, d3tcharl: 1648 speech event; 1650 publication date)

(148) […] but yf yay haue other in commandement from yaire souueraines / The answar **may be wel maad** yat til yai be ful thorogh wiy vs / yat yay shal no thyng haue but were (HC, cmoffic3: 1350-1420)

Translation: […] […] / The reply (lit.) **may be well given** that until they be fully with us / that they shall have nothing but war.

The co-occurrence with a verb of existence such as *to be* (149) gives the clearest reference to an assumed possibility. Similarly when *may + well* collocates with verbs of occurrence (150) or causality (151), the speaker's belief in the probability of a situation is expressed.

(149) […] quoth this folish woman; "**it may wel be**, for ye be not much vnlike," […]. (HC, Cefict1b: 1500-1570)

(150) […] whereby man is inabled to abandon his wicked courses by mortifying of his inward man, I se no reason but **it may well passe**. For, ever, where sin is not imputed, but iniquity pardoned, holy life and conversation will appeare and shewe itself, […] (CEECS, Cosin: 1617-1669)

(151) […] She might be depryved also of such helps and succors as these countreys **may well asist** hir now withall, […]. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

However, it seems that only in the co-occurrence with cognitive verbs, through which reference is made to the addressee's state of knowing, *may well* can be applied to create an context of common ground in which the cognitive processes or states of awareness of speaker and addressee are explicitly referred to.

12.4. Correlation between position and meaning

The level of subjectivity, in other words the degree to which the speaker's stance is clearly visible in an utterance, can be influenced by the position in which an adverbial (collocating with a modal auxiliary) is placed. Hoye (1997) states that disjuncts can indicate personal and interpersonal meanings such as expressing subjective attitudes, indicating a "commitment to the proposition being conveyed" or encouraging particular reactions (similar to those of the speaker) in initial, medial, as well as in final position. However, in initial position the "indication of the speaker's attitude is most pronounced", according to Hoye (1997: 213). When placed initially, an adverb "immediately establishes the speaker's authority and the stance he[/she] wishes to adopt towards what he[/she] is about to say" (ibid.). Interestingly, this intensifying position is mostly seen in contexts where speaker and addressee "have something to gain or lose by their addressee's acceptance or rejection of what they are saying" (Corum 1975: 134).

We therefore need to make a distinction between the use of *may well* (example (152)) and the related collocational tie *well may* ((153)).

(152) This **may well** be true. If it is not, the bid should be be blocked. If it is true, then Kingfisher should not be afraid of arguing its case in front of the Monopolies Commission. (BNC, AAJ (238))

(153) If the post office is correct, then Elizabeth II on coins may well confuse future historians. **Well may** they ask: what happened to Elizabeths 2 to 10? (BNC, CBM (574))

When the adverb (*well*) precedes the modal auxiliary, as in the Old English example mentioned by Traugott and Dasher (example (130)[14]), as in example (153), or as in the Modern English example below (154), the initial position of the adverb breaks the unity of meaning which *may well* has, according to Hoye, and "more clearly carries the independent meanings of its constituent items and denotes 'indeed possible'" (1997: 233).

(154) Nothing can be more evident and certain than this. **Well may we join** with Solomon and say, "We know that, whatsoever God doth, it shall be forever." (ARCHER, 1789hopk.h4)

A similar kind of correlation between syntax and meaning can be seen in the difference between *can't possibly* and *possibly...can't*. Can't possibly is "one of the strongest collocational bonds represented by any modal-adverb expression", according to Hoye (1997: 106). The order in which modal and adverb are presented affects the eventual meaning of the co-occurrence. The collocation *can't possibly* is the more "likely" collocation with a stronger sense of idiomaticity. *Can't possibly* is used in contexts where the speaker expresses negative certainty or impossibility (1997: 243), whereas in the collocational tie *possibly + can't* the individual meanings of the two co-occurring elements are more distinctly visible and indicate a less certain meaning of possibility.

When *well* (as an adverb indicating a modal point of view) is placed at the beginning of an utterance, as in the Old English illustration for instance, the initial position provides additional strength to the speaker's personal assertion. In this emphasising position, the use of adverbial *well* can be compared to that of 'factive adverbs', i.e. modal adverbs that express the speaker's value judgement and '[presuppose] the truth of the adjoining proposition' (Hoye: 213) and that

> [render] the speaker's assertion all the more forceful and […] can be used in a manipulative sense 'to seduce the addressee into believing the content of the proposition' (Hoye 1997: 213).

When placed in initial position, an element which illustrates the speaker's attitude to what he or she is saying can be seen as a "means of establishing the speaker as the source of authority" and as source of "signalling his underlying attitude to the content of his utterance" (Hoye

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[14] The early example of the subjectification of *well* mentioned by Traugott and Dasher places *well* in utterance-initial position (*Well that may be so*). Of course, this use needs to be distinguished from the use as a pragmatic marker (e.g. *Well, that may be so…*) in which *well* does not function as an epistemic element that is influenced by its collocation with *may*.

1997: 187). The meaning of the adverb *well* has shifted from its propositional sense towards a meaning that is inherently influenced by the collocating modal auxiliary. However, in the context of this collocation, the element of positive judgement which is present in the adverb seems transferred to the domain of the speaker's assumptions. The frontal position of *well* (*that may be so*) strengthens the speaker's sense of conviction when he or she expresses a personal perspective on the probability of a situation. As such, the added utterance-initial use of *well*

12.5. Historical development

From a historical point of view, the position of *well* – in relation to the collocating modal auxiliary *may* – increasingly shifts towards Medial position. In the corpus with the earliest data, the HC, *well* has a tendency to occur frequently in Initial position (i.e. preceding *may* and the lexical verb) in the Old and Middle English periods (i.e. 850-1150 and 1150-1500) (Table 54; example (155)).

(155)   For out of a mans hert es broght al-kins euil, als idell thoght of man-slaghter and avowtri, fornicaciowns and felony, fals witnes and bacbiteing, sclander, and oþer euil thing. **Wele ȝe may vmthink ȝow þan** þat þise er þai þat files a man. (HC, Cmnorhom; 1350-1420)

Translation: For out of a man's heart is brought all kinds of evil, such as vain thoughts of man-slaughter and adultery, fornications and treachery, lying and backbiting, slander, and other evil things. **Well you may consider then** that these are the things that render a man morally corrupt.

The occurrences of *well* in Medial position are relatively high from these early periods onwards, and show an increase from 1350 onwards. With an average percentage of 60% in the Old English period (3/5), of 76.6% in the Middle English period (36/47), and of 95.2% in the Early Modern English period (20/21), Medial position is established as the most frequent and near to exclusive position for the collocation *may* + *well* + verb by the late Middle English period and especially in the Early Modern English period of the HC. The evolution is presented in graph form (based on percentages per period) in Figure 3.

HC	I	M	iM	eM	iE	Total
850-950	**1**	**2**	-	-	-	3
950-1050	-	**1**	**1**	-	-	2
1150-1250	**3**	**4**	2	-	-	9
1250-1350	**1**	**1**	-	-	-	2
1350-1420	2	**14**	-	1	-	17
1420-1500	2	**17**	-	-	-	19
1500-1570	-	**8**	-	-	1	9
1570-1640	-	**9**	-	-	-	9
1640-1710	-	**3**	-	-	-	3
Total	9	59	3	1	1	73

Table 54: Position of *well* in the collocation *well* + *may* + (lexical) verb: Actual figures in the HC
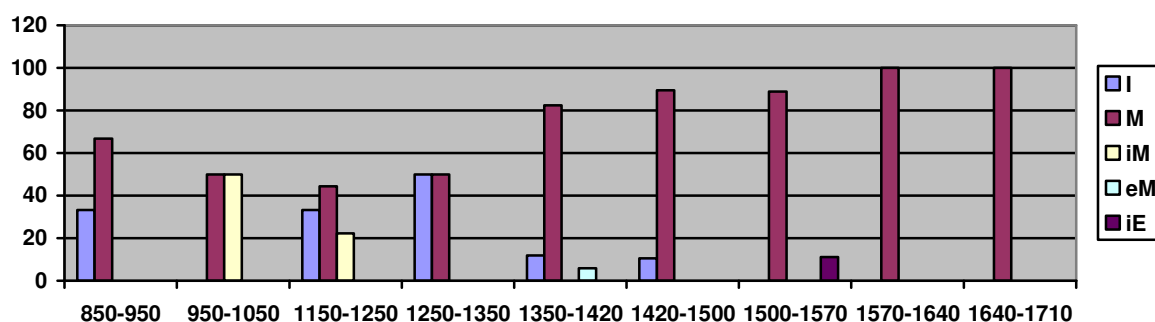
Figure 5: HC: *Well* + *may*: positions of *well* (per period)

The graph illustrates how *well* and *may* evolve towards an increasingly fixed collocation in which *well* follows and specifies the modal verb head (example (156)).

(156) […] layeth a very great obligation upon me to returne you my most thankfull acknowledgment of your speciall kindnes and favour to me herein. **It may well be that** I am in this particular likewise beholden to Mr. Gayers, of whose generous freedome and bonte I have had divers testimonies heretofore. (CEECS, Cosin; 1617-1669)

The data from the CEECS and CED respectively start from the late Middle English period (1417 in the CEECS) and the Early Modern English period (1560 in the CED) onwards. The material from these corpora reflects the results from the *Helsinki Corpus*, and similarly indicate that a majority of *well*-tokens (in collocation with *may*) occurs in Medial

position after the late Middle English period. In the CEECS, all 22 tokens of *well* (collocating with *may*) are placed in Medial position (including one *eM* token in the period 1566-1638) (Table 55).

CEECS	I	M	iM	eM	iE	Total
	---	22	---	---	---	22

Table 55: Position of *well* in the collocation *well + may +* (lexical) verb: Actual figures in the CEECS

Similarly, in the CED, 97% of all tokens (32/33) occurs in Medial position (Table 56).

CED	I	M	iM	eM	iE	Total
1550-1600	1	4	---	---	---	5
1600-1650	---	17	---	---	---	17
1650-1700	---	7	---	---	---	7
1700-1760	---	4	---	---	---	4

Table 56: Position of *well* in the collocation *well + may +* (lexical) verb: Actual figures in the CED

At the end of its evolution, the medially-positioned use of *well* within the collocation *may + well + verb* has reached a high level of dependency on the modal verb head, strengthening the epistemic character of *well* (and lessening epistemic ambiguity). In this restricted context, *well* illustrates a level of integration (in the modal clause) which indicates an advanced progression in the process of grammaticalisation. *Well* has been reduced semantically and the adverb has gained such a close epistemic connection with the modal verb that it could well be treated as a modal particle, according to Hoye (1997: 209). Modal Particles (MP) (see Mosegaard Hansen 1998) are related to pragmatic markers and work on similar levels: MPs and PMs both have evaluative and interpersonal significance (e.g. Weydt 1969). Although there is no clear consensus about their exact definition, we can say that Modal Particles focus more on the speaker's stance, the speaker's relationship with the addressee, pragmatic politeness strategies (see Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003) and background assumptions, and the concern of creating shared knowledge in conversation. MPs can be seen as a subset of pragmatic markers and are said to "sit in between" propositional content and interaction-related functions of language" (Waltereit 2005). Hoye (1997) states that modal particles help to promote the speaker's view on the world and to encourage the

addressee to accept the speaker's point. Modal particles are uncommon and to most researchers they are even non-existent in the English language. However, in other languages we can find modal particles which behave similarly to *well* (at least in particular restricted contexts), for instance the German MPs *ja* and *dann* (Abraham 1984), the Swedish *väl* ('surely') or *ju* ('as you know') – also see Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003 – and *vel* in Norwegian (see Johansson 2006). Johansson refers to examples where *well* is translated by *vel* in its function as modal particle and has the meaning of 'I suppose'. In contrastive research, *ju*, for instance, is found as a translation of *well* in the context of an ongoing argumentation. *Ja…ju* not only lexically shares the positive meaning which *well* has, but is also considered to be an "obviousness particle ('as you know') with a rhetorical, argumentative character" (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1140). This is comparable to our findings that in certain contexts *well* can also be used by the speaker to defend a particular viewpoint and at the same time to acknowledge a possible 'conflict of interests'. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen make a further connection between *well* and Dutch and Swedish modal particles, which,

> placed in the so-called middle field of the clause, are less in focus and hence less obvious choices as translations, even though they often express very similar meanings. (2003: 1152)

Interestingly, present-day Dutch combines possibility with *goed* (i.e. the Dutch counterpart of English *good*) in the phrase *Dat kan goed zijn* (i.e. *that may well be*). A concessive *maar* (i.e. *but*) is expected to follow, which illustrates that *well* is functionally connected to modality and concession through cross-linguistic associations.

The modal particles that can be linked to the pragmatic use of *well* express modality in a broad sense, i.e. focusing not only on epistemic usage, but also on the positioning of the speaker and on the way in which the utterance corresponds or fails to correspond to the addressee's expectations. Hoye relates the notion of modal particles to 'modal adverbs' and finds the difference between the two in an item's level of integration in the sentence, its syntactic dependency and delexicalisation (1997: 209ff.). According to this view, the historical development of *well* in collocation with *may* displays an advanced level of grammaticalisation, and illustrates a high degree of semantic reduction. *Well* (+ *may*) has in this sense evolved from a propositional adverb (*good*, *in a good manner*) to a more 'diluted' meaning (*indeed (possible), certainly*) (cp. Hoye 1997: 216) to the expression of a higher level of personal conviction that something may or may not be the case (i.e. a higher level of

authority). The use of *well* as the 'satellite' of a modal auxiliary such as *may* allows the speaker to give additional strength to a subjective evaluation or opinion, which can then be presented to the addressee as something which ultimately delineates the truth-value of the proposition. The early occurrences of this collocation illustrate that elements of the adverbial meaning of *well*, indicating approval or acceptance, can be used to respond to a previous speaker turn when placed in initial position (preceding the modal). The transformation to the current collocational use shows that propositional *well* has shifted to a more epistemic level where the core sense of 'acceptance' can be applied to the interactional level. *Well* has moved away from a transparent, adverbial reference – illustrating the 'acceptance' (in a broad sense) of a particular event or the consideration of a particular fact – to a more abstract sense focusing on the speaker's cognition and his or her attitude towards the propositional (truth-related) contents of the utterance.

12.6. *May* as a concessive auxiliary

Quirk et al. (1985) describe concession as an "'inverted' condition indicating circumstances in which a result would ensue irrespective of the content of the concessive clause" or, as a "'blocked' or inoperative clause" (1985: 484). Mark the contrast between the following two sets of clauses:

a) Because of his enthusiasm…   [cause]
   In spite of his enthusiasm…   [concession]

b) through his lack of enthusiasm…   [cause]
   despite his lack of enthusiasm…   [concession]

Van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) describe the concessive modal use of *may* as a postmodal meaning which has developed out of contexts of epistemic possibility. Hoye mentions that *may* and *might* can be combined with adverbials such as *certainly* or *of course* when they are used in a context with a concessive meaning (1997: 275), as in example (157).

(157)   Certainly, **he mày be** there – there's always a possibility – **but** somehow I doubt it. (Hoye 1997: 241)

As in the illustration above, *may* often occurs in a concessive context when preceding the word *but* (Quirk et al. 1985: 224n.). This causes the epistemic force of *may* (viz. possibility,

or probability in the case of *may well*) to decrease slightly, as is shown in example (158) and its paraphrase in (159).

(158) We may have our differences…, but basically we trust one another's judgement. (Quirk et al. 1985: 224n)

(159) I admit that we have our differences…but… (ibid.)

Only a minor number of occurrences of *may* + *well* in the three historical corpora has a concessive meaning (Table 57). In addition, not all of these cases could be clearly classified as concessive. However, the unambiguous occurrences from the corpus data illustrate that the concessive use of *may well* + *but* indicates the speaker's acknowledgement of the possibility (or probability) that a certain point of view is true. The epistemic strength of the collocation, however, is weakened by the restriction expressed in the concessive clause (*He may well…but/yet/however…*)

	Concessive	*May as well…*	None	Total
HC	8	3	63	74
CEECS	3	2	17	22
CED	1	11	21	33
Total	**12**	**16**	**101**	**129**

Table 57: Concessive meanings in modal collocations (may + well): HC, CEECS and CED (Actual figures)

The examples below ((160)-(162)) represent the clearest cases in each historical corpus. The concessive structure is not as established as it is in present-day English, but the combination of *may well* + a concessive use of *but* does to a certain extent express the speaker's epistemic acknowledgement, followed by a modification of the truth of that which was initially acknowledged (*but fully ne shal it nevere…*; but their iudgement wil be…).

(160) And this thyng may nat faille as longe as he lyveth; **it may wel** wexe fieble and faille by vertu of baptesme and by the grace of God thurgh penitence, **but** fully ne shal it nevere quenche […]. (HC, Cmctpros: 1350-1420)

Translation: And this thing may not fail as long as he lives; **it may well** grow feeble and fail through the power of baptism and by the grace of God through penitence, **but** it shall never fully be destroyed.

(161) Call you these feates [quod] Freeman for wretches to periure themselues in this sort? **[T]ruely** god **may well spare** them for a time, **but** their iudgement wil be the greater: and surely goods gotten in this sort must needes be cursed (CED, d1fsharp: 1597)

(162) I cannot but bee extremly troubbled at my one misfortune, in that it appears to you (and **I confesse it may verie well appeare so**) that I am the worst of children to the best of mothers; **yet** I beeseech your [Ladyship] bee pleased once more to give mee leave to bege that […] (CEECS Cornwall 1613-1644)

Van der Auwera and Plungian established that the process of grammaticalisation can influence a development from modal to postmodal meanings (1998: 91). They list concession as one of three postmodal meanings, and illustrate this with the Dutch equivalent of *may*, viz. *mogen* (example (163)).

(163) Hij mag dan een genie   zijn, dat is   een fout.
      he   may then a   genius be   that is   a   mistake
      'He may be a genius, yet that is a mistake.'   (Van der Auwera and Plungian 1998: 93)

Interestingly, if the English phrase *He may be* would be substituted by *He may **well** be*, the Dutch translation *Hij mag dan…* could similarly be replaced by *Hij mag dan **wel**…*. This cross-linguistic resemblance between English and Dutch uses of *wel(l)* in a modal, concessive context provides an interesting suggestion for further historical and / or cross-linguistic research. Especially the co-occurrence with the use of *then* (and its Dutch counterpart *dan*) in Van der Auwera and Plungian's example calls for further study in order to gain clearer insights with respect to the evolutions of *well* (and Dutch *wel*) and of temporal adverbs in contexts of modality and concession.

The additional use of *well* (or Dutch *wel*) in this concessive context can be seen as an added intensification of the epistemic conviction of the speaker. We could hypothesise that, if the concessive context diminishes the epistemic strength of *may be*, it will lessen the sense of probability of *may well be* to a matching degree. Due to the fact that the corpora contain few clear occurrences of this concessive use, further research seems necessary to gain a broader and more detailed view on the effect of the (modal) particle on the entire collocation.

As a point of comparison, a look at the sample taken from the *British National Corpus* offers eight occurrences of *may + well* on 200 tokens in total. Of these eight, only one collocation is placed in a concessive frame (example (164)).

(164) The scheme **may well** now **be complete**, **but revision is recommended** from time to time and thought must be given as to how this might be achieved. (BNC, H99 (551))

The example clearly illustrates that the speaker grants validity to one particular fact (i.e. that *the scheme [is] complete*), but adds a modification which indicates that the concessive phrase (*but revision is recommended…*) may perhaps be seen as the more important aspect.

13. COMPARISON WITH PRESENT-DAY DATA

13.1. The BNC: Pragmatic markers

The random sample of 200 tokens of *well* taken from the *British National Corpus* (BNC) forms the basis for a further comparison between historical and synchronic results. Table 58 gives an overview of the different categories found in the synchronic material. In comparison to the results from the historical corpora (Table 59), Pragmatic Markers take up a much larger percentage of all *well*-tokens. In the BNC, their frequency is more than 55 percent, while the percentages in the HC, CEECS and CED are only 3.9%, 1.3% and 28.9% respectively.

Word Type	BNC
Verbal Adverb	**33.0** (66)
Modifiers	7.5 (15)
Pragmatic Marker	**55.5** (111)
Predicative Adjective	4.0 (8)
As Well (as)	---
Noun (Phrase)	---
Rest	---
Total	100 (200)

Table 58: Classification of Word Types: BNC

Word Type	HC		CEECS		CED	
Verbal Adverb	61.8	(1909)	56.5	(601)	46.7	(1257)
Modifiers	15.6	(483)	13.8	(147)	8.9	(240)
Pragmatic Marker	3.9	(119)	1.3	(14)	28.9	(776)
Predicative Adjective	5.1	(158)	16.2	(172)	6.9	(187)
As Well (as)	5.8	(178)	7.2	(77)	7.1	(192)
Noun (Phrase)	5.1	(157)	3.8	(40)	1.1	(30)
Rest	2.7	(84)	1.2	(13)	0.4	(10)
Total	100	(3088)	100	(1064)	100	(2692)

Table 59: Classification of Word Types: Historical Corpora

A closer look at the pragmatic markers in the BNC indicates that, in terms of position, the present-day data show more variation than in the historical corpus data. In the historical corpora, all pragmatic markers are restricted to clause-initial position, without exception. Brinton (1996: 33) mentions that individual markers in present-day use generally occur in clause-initial position, but may also frequently appear in other positions as for instance sentence-medially or in final position. In the BNC, the majority of markers (97 out of 111 tokens) occurs in clause-initial position (example (165)). However, 14 out of 111 tokens occur sentence-medially, as illustrated in example (166).

(165) **Well**, that was true, I suppose, but it was after I found them together in her flat. (BNC, JXY (2890))

(166) But that was before…**well**, before you got into my bed and into my life. (BNC, FR1 (776))

The use of *well* in example (166) illustrates the speaker's acknowledgement or consideration of the presented situation, in combination with the "implicit [recognition] that diverging viewpoints are possible" (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1147).

Our analysis of the historical corpus data (section 10) showed that the initial position in which the markers occur illustrates a connection with the original propositional meaning of *well*, i.e. the "now obsolete use of *well* to express consent or agreement" (Schourup 2001: 1049). The data illustrated a gradual development from propositional acceptance and agreement, fittingly reflected in the utterance-initial position, to a semantically bleached use (acceptance of the utterance, not necessarily with agreement) followed by elaboration (agreement or – increasingly – disagreement and concession). The fact that *well* has gained a greater positional freedom in the present-day data of the BNC indicates that the pragmatic evolution of *well* has come to a point where the propositional meaning is no longer transparent, and the syntactic position of the marker is therefore also no longer limited to the position which most clearly reflects the meaning of *well* as a response marker (i.e. marking the fact that the speaker responds to a preceding speaker turn).

In terms of pragmatic meaning, the BNC sample displays a greater functional variety. The number of pragmatic markers has not only relatively increased, in comparison to the historical data, but the marker has also outgrown its limited functional contexts and has developed a more diverse range of textual and interpersonal meanings. In the earliest stages of the development of *well*, visible in the *Helsinki Corpus* and *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)*, the marker strictly occurs in the context of direct reported speech, and functions as a frame-marker. This textual function only gradually takes on more diverse

forms, in less restricted contexts of use. After 1500 *well* is increasingly followed by elements of modification or concession, which may form a possible face-threat for the addressee. Whereas the marker initially indicated a clear sense of 'acceptance' and allowed the speaker to look back on a previous utterance and express agreement, the use of *well* in utterance-initial position is increasingly used by a speaker to "[grant] what is (though not necessarily approving of it)" (Schourup 2001: 1049). In the present-day data of the BNC, *well* appears in different layers of meaning. In (167), *well* is preceded by a verb of speaking and serves as a frame-marker introducing direct reported speech.

(167)   When The Clash first met up with beat poet Allen Ginsberg in '81, **Joe asked**, "**Well Ginsberg,** when you gonna run for president?" (BNC, CAD (1796))

In examples (168) to (171), the use of *well* contains an element of consideration, which indicates that the speaker reflects upon the information given in the preceding speaker turn. This mental action serves as a basis for the speaker's response. This response can be a request for further elaboration (168), or it can be face-threatening when the speaker expresses disagreement ((169); (170)) or disbelief (171).

(168)   Gwen listened, open-mouthed still, and then she cleared her throat and tapped her pen slowly and rhythmically on the edge of the desk **and said**, without looking at Christina, "**Well, I'm afraid that I should want a little more assurance** than that." (BNC, CD1 (804))

(169)   […] maybe a joint statement? Mm. That's right. That's right. So that's every system incorporated. Staff comment followed by one It's very vague though in n it? No. **Well** it's not! So we'll leave it and down three formats possible. (BNC, F7F (1078))

(170)   **Well actually, no, [I] would disagree** with you at the moment (BNC, K77 (167)).

(171)   **Well** I don't believe you! (BNC, KCX (6566))

Examples (169) to (171) can be considered textual in the sense that they serve as response markers and assist in turn-taking. At the same time, they hold an interpersonal meaning because they grant acceptance to the addressee, before expressing a possibly face-threatening utterance. As such, *well* helps to prevent face loss and supports the creation of common ground between speaker and addressee. The function of *well* in the sentences above can be considered a face-threat mitigator. In illustration (172), *well* introduces a personal evaluative comment which is face-threatening to the addressee. Also mark the phrase *because you know quite well that…* here. This adverbial use of *well* fits into our discussion on the value of *well* in argumentative contexsts (– in collocation with mental verbs and interactive subject forms (sections 11.6. and 11.7.).

(172) "**Well, that's very hypocritical of you," said Clelia**, "because you know quite well that she only wants to have James so as not to hurt your feelings." (BNC, EFP (1251))

It is clear that the – relatively – few discourse markers in the historical data are functionally more restricted, and that the present-day pragmatic uses of *well* have incorporated more expressive possibilities for the interaction between speaker and addressee. *Well* can buffer an unexpected or unwanted response in its function as face-threat mitigator, or can modify an answer to match the expectations of the hearer in its function as qualifier (examples (173)-(175)). In these two functions, *well* signals that there may not really be disagreement with regard to the facts under discussion, but rather that speaker and addressee want to "negotiat[e] the relevance of the shared information" (Smith and Jucker 2000: 216).

(173) What time are they going?
Well they just said tomorrow, Clare said tomorrow evening then Joe said oh no I'm gonna go Sunday. (BNC, KBF (4068))

(174) I put my hand in and found it. **Well, I suppose** it was an emerald under all that flour — either that or the millers were giving away some expensive free gifts these days. (BNC, HW8 (685))

(175) Some people ask me about solos: "How come you don't play solos?" or whatever. **Well, I do play some, but** I'm not like `the solo guy" because I think a good song is much harder to come by than a good solo. (BNC, C9M (634))

The interpersonal uses of the marker illustrate the speaker's personal stance to a greater extent than in earlier periods. In (176), for instance, *well* indicates that the speaker's deliberation (or consideration of the information given in the preceding speaker turn) forms the basis for a subjective evaluation (*I think that's why…*).

(176) "**Well, I think** that's why they bought the house," **I said**. (BNC, HGF (1700))

More so than in the historical corpus data, the interpersonal uses in the BNC give evidence of an increased epistemic character. Schourup, who relates pragmatic uses of *well* with 'mental state' interjections, suggests that the present-day use of *well* "may be regarded as indicating a variety of epistemic-prospective consideration" (2001: 1046). In textual as well as in interpersonal functions, *well* indicates the speaker's consideration of a preceding speaker turn. As such, the use of *well* always entails a process of consideration – whether this is reflected in the propositional meaning of adverbial *well* (judging something against a certain positive standard), or in a semantically bleached pragmatic meaning through which the speaker "weighs or considers" given information before formulating a (personal) point of view that may differ from that of the addressee (177).

(177) **Well**, as a matter of fact… (BNC, CA9 (460))

(178) **Well** let's see now. (BNC, H0M (345))

In certain tokens from the BNC sample, the element of consideration is not only there by context, but also seems incorporated (and expected) in the meaning of the marker itself. In (179) and (180), *well* occurs non-initially and illustrates the speaker's reflection on his/her own preceding utterance, rather than on a preceding speaker turn.

(179) I thought…**well**, I thought your husband… (BNC, CL3 (1065))

(180) Clare was**, well,** desirable to say the bloody least, and they must have spent a lot of time together writing speeches, or whatever it is politicians do. (BNC, H8T (1378))

Schourup suggests that "the speaker, in saying *well*, wishes to be seen as engaged in a prefatory act of epistemic consideration" (2001: 1057). The speaker's consideration is a prerequisite for continuation. This is why *well* can also occur on its own when it is used as a prompt, to urge the addressee to elaborate (examples (181) and (182)). *Well?* expresses acknowledgement or receipt of information, but a combination with a rising intonation ("continuing tone" (Schourup 2001: 1033)) also suggests – and calls for – continuation.

(181) She took it through to the kitchen where she and her friend were breakfasting and handed it over without speaking, then watched Stella's face as she read. After a minute she asked: "**Well**?" "It's what we feared. He can't wait any longer." (BNC, G3E (724))

(182) "**Well** darlin'?" he smiled across the table at his wife. (BNC, ALL (1814))

In this use *well* signals a discrepancy between the expectations of speaker and addressee. Prompting *well* indicates that the addressee has not proveded the expected further information.

In terms of positional freedom and functional range, the pragmatic uses of *well* are more varied in the BNC, and less attached to the marker's original propositional source than in the historical corpus data. A common factor in the diversity of textual and interpersonal meanings is the element of consideration, which leads to continuation on a text-structuring level, and aids the creation of common ground on an interpersonal level.

13.2. The BNC: Verbal and Modal collocations

The frequency of the semantic field types of the 66 verbs collocating with *well* in the BNC was discussed earlier in section 11.4., the occurrence of the verbal collocation *you + well + know* in the BNC was considered in section 11.7. It was shown that *well* co-occurs most frequently with activity verbs in the BNC, with 56.1% (37 out of 66 tokens). Of the 14 mental verbs collocating with *well*, *to know* proves to be the most frequently used (7 out of 14 tokens). In collocation with *well*, some of these tokens are purely referential (e.g. example (183)) while other uses of *know + well* have an intensifying effect on the speaker's epistemic stance (e.g. example (184), in which *well* is used in the context of a personal argumentation). These examples, in which *well* is placed in Final and Initial End position, also illustrate that there is no absolute correlation between intersubjective use and Medial position.

(183) I shall rely not just on statistics but on the position in communities **which I have known well** over many years. (BNC, HHX (10461) [1st person sg. – E position – referential use without intersubjective implications]

(184) **I know very well that** in many cases this is in the mind of the palaeontologist rather than in the rocky facts themselves. (BNC, H7K (210)) [1st person sg. – iE position]

It was shown earlier that the relative construction *as/which you well know* or *as/which is well known* forms the majority of the collocations (of *well + know*) in the BNC (e.g. (185)).

(185) Secondly, **as is well known**, if average cost is still falling at the relevant output, marginal cost pricing leads to deficits. (BNC, EX2 (1111))

In argumentative contexts, the phrases *as is well known* or *as you well know* can be applied to create the suggestion of shared understanding between speaker and addressee, or to add strength to the speaker's point of view. In comparison to the combination in which *well* is placed in Final position (*as is known well*), the phrase *as is well known* (with *well* in Medial position) is much more frequent in present-day English use. The results from a search in the entire BNC showed that the relative constructions *as you know well* only occurs once, and *as is known well* shows no occurrences. The collocations in which *well* takes medial position, *as you well know* and *as is well known* occur more often, i.e. 30 and 47 times respectively. Table 60 illustrates that – in this collocation – *well* only occurs frequently in Final position in the phrase *You know well (that…).*

BNC		Actual figures
As you well know		30
As is well known	Medial	47
You well know		32
As you know well		1
As is known well	Final	---
You know well		120

Table 60: Distribution of collocations of (as) + subject + *well* + *know* in the (entire) BNC

The phrase as a whole has therefore become a relatively fixed collocation, with *well* being typically placed in medial position. The phrase in its entirety has a large positional freedom, a fairly broad scope, and can serve as a means for the speaker to support a subjective point of view, or to create common ground with the addressee.

17 out of 200 tokens from the BNC sample show a co-occurrence of *well* with a modal auxiliary. As in the historical corpora, *may* is the most frequently used modal with 8/17 occurrences (Table 61).

Modals	BNC
May	**8**
Might	**5**
Can	---
Cannot	---
Could	2
Shall	---
Should	1
Ought (to)	---
Will	1 (indefinite context)
Total	17

Table 61: Most frequent epistemic modals in collocation with *well*: actual figures in the BNC

Because none of the collocations of *well* + *may* occurs with a first or second person subject form (i.e. *I* or *you*), this modal collocation was not frequent enough to use as a point of comparison with the historical modal collocations. In the eight collocations that were found in

the BNC sample, the combination *may* + *well* produces a similar strengthening effect on the epistemic sense of possibility expressed in the modal auxiliary *may*.

14. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to be able to test hypotheses or theories on systematic diachronic developments of discourse markers and of *well* in particular, we need to look at the different steps which the marker has taken in its process of growing semantic-pragmatic diversification.

The link between *well* as a discourse marker and as a manner adverb has been attested (Jucker 1997, Van Herreweghe 2003, Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003 among others), but the evolution is not a straight-forward one. The development of *well* towards a greater expressiveness has occurred gradually and the subjectification of the manner adverb can already be attested in the Old English period (also cp. Traugott and Dasher 2002).

In the historical corpus material of the *Helsinki Corpus*, *Corpus of Early Correspondence (Sampler)* and *Corpus of English Dialogues*, the utterance-initial use of *well* first appears in its present-day form in the Middle English period, where it is used to mark textual changes, and is directly connected to propositional uses ((*That is) well (done)*; *(that is very) well*). The shift of the propositional form to utterance-initial position is essential, because this allows the speaker to apply the positive aspects of the propositional meaning of *well* directly to the preceding utterance. In its historical development, the pragmatic use of *well* evolves according to the hypotheses on subjectivity and intersubjectivity, away from referential meanings towards meanings that are increasingly discourse-oriented and subjective in terms of speaker-stance (Figure 6). From the start of the semantic-pragmatic development of *well*, the element of positive judgement, which is present in the propositional meaning of *well* and which inherently calls for a speaker's subjective assessment, remains an element of meaning in the pragmatic (textual and interpersonal) functions of *well*. However, the semantic meaning does not remain transparent but instead shifts from consent and acceptance to acknowledgement and active consideration.

In our study, subjectivity is considered to be

> a general notion that is not tied to one particular linguistic expression or category. Therefore, providing evidence for the conventionalization of subjective forms in English interactive discourse requires attending to a range of combinations of grammatical and discursive elements and constructions that appear frequently in conversation. (Scheibman 2002: 60)

The two most frequent patterns in which *well* appears in the data from the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)* and the *Corpus of English Dialogues*

are the collocations in which *well* is combined with mental verbs (and an interactive subject form) and with modal auxiliaries (*may* in particular). The phrases (*I/You*) *know well* or (*you*) *well know* appear as early as the Middle English period and can serve as a means to strengthen the positioning of the speaker and to establish a source of common ground with the addressee, particularly in contexts where the interlocutors have diverging opinions. The meaning of *well* as a manner adverb has gained an intensifying force in these collocations, and can be used with an epistemic effect on the addressee. A comparison with present-day material from the BNC shows that, syntactically, the combination of *you* + *know* + epistemic *well* has evolved towards an independent parenthetical structure with a broader scope (*as/which you know well*), in which *well* is most often placed in Medial position (between subject and full verb).

Secondly, *well* frequently collocates with modal auxiliaries from the Old English period onwards, with *may* in particular. In the phrase *(as) you may well know*, *well* displays an advanced level of delexicalisation and syntactic dependency in collocation with the modal verb head. In combination with epistemic *may*, *well* conveys an increased level of modality and subjectivity, allowing the speaker to give additional strength to his or her opinion with regard to the on the truth or tenability of an utterance. In addition, this creates a context in which the addressee is included in the conversation and is brought to the same level of understanding. *Well* is more often placed in front of the modal auxiliary, which means that the collocation originated in a different collocational tie. In *well may* (rather than *may well*) *well* more clearly still carries its independent meaning and can be paraphrased as *indeed possible*.

The manner in which *well* is combined with a cognitive verb and a first or second person subject or with a modal auxiliary illustrates that the adverb *well* can be used on different levels of subjective strength, i.e. either propositional, intensifying (for instance indicating degree rather than manner) or – in the case of *may well* – even as an epistemic element which is bound closely to the modal verb head and functions as a modal particle.

A comparison with present-day material from the *British National Corpus* shows that the semantic-pragmatic evolution of *well* – in sentence-initial position and as a clause-internal adverb – continues to diversify functionally, pragmatically and with respect to speaker-stance. As a result of processes of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification, the development of *well* has resulted in different levels of functional split. In our diachronic corpus material, utterance-initial uses of *well* and non-initial occurrences can similarly display different levels of delexicalisation or intensification, depending on collocating subjects and/or verb types. The evolution of the utterance-initial uses of *well*, as well as the collocating uses of adverbial *well* are directly influenced by propositional meanings of *well* as an adverb or adjective. These

various uses can be seen as results of diverging developments in the marker's semantic-pragmatic evolution, influenced by advanced processes of grammaticalisation, pragmaticalisation and (inter)subjectification (Figure 6). Although *well* has lost most of its propositional meaning in these specific pragmatic contexts, the connection with the semantic meaning of *well* still shines through in the acquired pragmatic functions.

As a common denominator, the elements of positive assessment, acknowledgement and consideration inherent in propositional as well as pragmatic uses of *well* have been increasingly 'recruited' to be used in contexts where speaker and addressee have different expectations, and views that may not be in alignment, and where a pragmatic means is needed to express speaker attitude, and to establish a greater interactional understanding between different interlocutors. A schematic overview of the main points in the evolution of *well* and the marker's different polysemies is presented below (Figure 6, Figure 7 and Figure 8). The dotted line indicates the time span of occurrence of the aspects shown in the corresponding colour.

	PROPOSITIONAL	TEXTUAL	(INTER)PERSONAL
OE			***WELLA*** ▪ exclamative interjection ▪ link with propositional meanings ▪ interpersonal function: attention-getter
ME	**ADVERB/ADJECTIVE** *That is done well*. *That is very well*.	**FORMAL FRAME** Direct reported speech *He said: "(That is very) well,…"* ▪ **Acceptance** (initial position)	▪ + **SUBJECTIVE core**: personal assessment ▪ indicates **agreement**
EModE		▪ Less restricted contexts: also without verbs of speaking ▪ Modified **acknowledgement** ▪ *well* signals consideration of preceding discourse (monologic narrative use) ▪ *well* + build new topic or redirect to initial claim ▪ *well* + question: request for elaboration in e.g. trial proceedings	▪ *well* + disagreement / **modification** / concession ▪ Active consideration: speaker becomes a **respondent** ▪ positive element: mitigates face-loss for addressee ▪ More space for development of subjective assessment / evaluation ▪ *Well* calls attention of addressee to speaker's request / topic / point of view

Figure 6: Schematic overview of evolutions and divergent developments of *well*: shift from propositional to pragmatic meanings

	PROPOSITIONAL USE	*WELL* + MENTAL VERBS (*KNOW*)	SPECIFIC CONTEXT / FUNCTION
OE	Adverbial *well*	*You know (it/ that) well.*	
ME	**Established adverbial meanings:** a) **Manner**: positive evaluation b) **Degree**: intensifying use c) **Epistemic** use (cp. *indeed*)	*You know well that…* *You know very well that…* As a **parenthetical remark**: *…, as you very well know,…* *…, as you know right well,…*	Referential use Contexts where S and A have diverging points of view ▪ creation of common ground ▪ Speaker: intersubjective positioning; personal assessment is strengthened
EModE		**Parenthetical use**: ▪ more fixed ▪ in addition to other structures (still used in PDE)	▪ epistemic effect on relationship between S and A ▪ variety of uses: different shades of meaning depending on contextual factors

Figure 7: Schematic overview of evolutions and divergent developments of *well*: collocation with mental verbs

	PROPOSITIONAL USE	*WELL* + MODAL AUXILIARY (*MAY*)	POSITION
OE	Adverb *well* + modal auxiliary *may*	• *Wel þæt swa mæ3,…* ⟶ • *May* + verb : possibility *May* + *well* + verb : probability	• Initial position: "indeed possible"
ME	**Established adverbial meanings:** d) **Manner**: positive evaluation e) **Degree**: intensifying use f) **Epistemic** use (cp. *indeed*)	• Variety of forms ⟶ • **+ concessive use** *That may well be, but / yet / however…*	• **OE + ME**: frequently **I position** *Well that may be…* • After 1350: increase in **M position** *That may well be…* • By late ME: M position most frequent

EModE		• *You may well know that…*
		• **Parenthetical construction**:
		As you may well know,…
		
		  • Advanced level of grammaticalisation
		  • semantic reduction
		  • increased epistemic connection with modal verb head
			• **nearly exclusively M position**
			(though I position is still used with different collocational meaning)

Figure 8: Schematic overview of evolutions and divergent developments of *well*: collocation with modal auxiliary *may*

PART III: THE SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC EVOLUTION OF *NOW*

15. AIMS AND DESCRIPTION

> Now, sire, now wol I telle forth my tale.
>
> (Chaucer – The general prologue to the canterbury tales:
>
> CED: Cmctvers)

15.1. Description and functional delineation of *now* in previous studies

The historical development of propositional adverbs, i.e. either adverbs that mark manner (e.g. *well*), time (e.g. *now*, *then*), or expectation (e.g. *in fact*; *actually*) among others, has proven to be particularly interesting as a testing ground for examining the relationships between semantic meanings and – related – pragmatic meanings that display features of semantic bleaching and pragmatic strengthening. As a source for pragmatic diversification, adverbials have been studied from a historical perspective by Lewis (2003; on *of course*), Powell (1992; on 'stance adverbs', e.g. *actually*, *really*), Traugott (1995a; *indeed*), Schwenter and Traugott (2000; *in fact*) and Traugott and Dasher (2002; *indeed*; *actually*; *in fact*), Jucker (1997; *well*), among others.

Adverbials indicating temporal relationships have not been studied to the same extent as, for instance, manner adverbs have (Aijmer 2002: 62). From a synchronic perspective, temporal adverbs such as *now* or *then* have been studied in a number of works. Schiffrin (1987) covered both *now* and *then* in her synchronic study, while Aijmer (2002) and Hasselgård (2006) focused on the delineation of *now*. While Finell (1992) dealt with the use of *now* as a topic changer, references to the functional description of *now* are also made by Bolinger (1989) and Halliday (1994), among others.

Far fewer studies have been devoted to the discussion of temporal adverbs from a historical point of view. Traugott and Dasher (2002) state that "there is an overwhelming tendency for [adverbials] to develop from clause-internal or "predicate adverbs" to sentential adverbs, and ultimately to discourse markers or "connecting adverbs" (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 153; also see Traugott 1995a). Hopper and Traugott (2003) provide the example of *while* – which has evolved from an element with a lexical, temporal meaning to a marker with

a more abstract and concessive meaning and a closer connection to the world of discourse. Hopper (1979) studied Old English *þa* (i.e. *then*) as a "narrative structuring [device]" (in Traugott and Dasher 2002: 152) which indicates (sub)divisions in Old English stories and narratives (also cp. Enkvist and Wårvik 1987). Abraham (1991) studied the evolution of German *denn* ("after all" < "then") (1991: 373). Brinton (1996) makes reference to the development of *hwæt þa* (i.e. *so*), which has a causal meaning that originates in a temporal, sequential meaning (*What then?*). She suggests a similar origin (i.e. a conventionalisation of temporal meanings) for *since* (< *siþþan*, i.e. *from the time that*) and *now* (< *nu*, i.e. *from this time forth*). Brinton states that the development of *now* can be related to that of *anon* (i.e. *at once*), in the sense that both elements have a deictic, proximal meaning that has evolved to a meaning that is more grammatical and that more clearly indicates the speaker's evaluative stance towards the hearer and towards "the communicative situation itself" (Brinton 1996: 109).

In past studies that describe the functional diversity of *now*, both from a synchronic and diachronic point of view, much attention has been given to the connection between the adverb's temporal meaning and present-day pragmatic – text-structuring – uses. According to Schiffrin (1992), the textual and expressive uses of *then* are direct extensions of the element's deictic meaning. Previous studies by Schiffrin (1987), Aijmer (2002), Brinton (1996) and Hasselgård (2006) also refer to *now* as an element of which the synchronic uses are positioned on the boundary between propositional and pragmatic uses. Schiffrin states that the "proximal/distal deictic opposition between *now* and *then* is the basis for their different meanings and functions in the propositional, textual, and expressive domains" (1992: 785 in Brinton 1996: 59-60). The deictic nature of *now* as a temporal adverb can be considered a direct influence for the development of pragmatic functions (Schiffrin 1987; Bolinger 1989; Halliday 1994). As a temporal deictic, the indexical quality of adverbial *now* is reflected in the marker's text-structuring function of directing the attention to an upcoming topic. As a topic-changer, *now* provides a temporal index for the world within the utterance and structures the speaker's progression through discourse. The pragmatic uses of *now* largely reflect the deictic meanings which *now* has as a temporal adverb.

However, whereas most previous synchronic studies have focused on the textual functions of *now* and on the connection between a deictic indication of time and a temporal progression within the world of text, Aijmer claims that "it is important to emphasise that *now* is above all a marker of subjective modality because of its link to the speaker" (2002: 95). *Now* has a subjective function in signalling "an aspect of the speaker's rhetorical stance

toward what he or she is saying, or toward the addressee's role in the discourse situation" (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 152). The structured progression of a text, or the manner in which two utterances are connected also reveals the speaker's attitude "toward the sequencing of the discourse" (ibid.).

The connection between *now* as a temporal adverb and *now* as a pragmatic marker of textual and ideational progression can not always be clearly made. Aijmer has labelled *now* an "emergent particle" (Aijmer 2002: 58) in the process of grammaticalisation, which also entails that the temporal meaning is still transparent in pragmatic uses of *now*. In synchronic research, semantic-pragmatic meanings can be delineated with the help of prosodic features and contextual elements (e.g. metatextual prefaces, collocations with other discourse markers). The support of prosody is not available for historical research. The process of grammaticalisation, however, can be applied as a criterion for the delineation of functions and meanings of *now*. According to Aijmer,

> Grammaticalisation and discourse particles 'seem to be made for each other' [quoting Foolen 2001] since grammaticalisation offers an account of the relation between form and function which is motivated by observable diachronic and synchronic processes. (Aijmer 2002: 16)

Our study aims to study the historical development of *now* through a detailed corpus-based examination of meanings and functional developments. In the present discusseion, the term "pragmatic marker" is used to refer to *now*, as well as the term "discourse marker" when text-structuring functions are emphasised. The marker's evolution is considered against the background of processes of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification in order to attain a clearer view on the diversity of meanings which *now* has, and secondly on the way in which possible polysemies have developed from a semantic source. In section 16, an overview is given of present-day propositional, text-structuring and interpersonal meanings of *now*. Sections 18.5. to 18.7. offer a further discussion of the historical evolution of the marker, as it takes form in different periods of time.

15.2. Aims

Our study aims to contribute to a further description of formal and functional features of *now* as a pragmatic marker, by examining the multifunctionality of *now* from a historical perspective. The close co-occurrence of temporal uses with textual and interpersonal

meanings in present-day English raises questions with regard to the following points of interest.

a) How can semantic-pragmatic functions of *now* can be connected historically, and how has the marker's functional diversification occurred? This question will be addressed by means of a corpus-based study of various historical layers of meaning in the development of *now*.

b) How can the individual semantic-pragmatic evolution of *now* be interpreted in a broader frame of communicative strategies and processes of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification? Does the evolution confirm hypotheses of unidirectionality?

c) The "fuzzy" boundary (Aijmer 2002: 60) between temporal and pragmatic meanings of *now* not only raises questions with regard to the delineation of functions (both from a synchronic and historical perspective). The functional ambiguity also complicates the question whether propositional and pragmatic uses of an individual discourse element can be interpreted within a single framework of polysemy, and how a delineation of possible core meanings should be approached in the case of *now*.

d) Whereas the temporal origin is still transparent in pragmatic uses of *now*, Schiffrin (1987), for instance, attributes no semantic content to the pragmatic uses of *well*. Considering the similar adverbial origins of *well* and *now*, a comparison of their respective paths of development is made in a later chapter (section 20), in order to attest whether generalisations can be made with regard to the development of adverbial elements, and to determine the influence of individual propositional meanings on possible difference in semantic-pragmatic evolution.

16. PROPOSITIONAL AND PRAGMATIC MEANINGS OF *NOW* IN PRESENT-DAY USE

16.1. Propositional meanings

The primary semantic meaning of *now* as listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates 'reference to present time' ("at the present time or moment" (OED, *now*, adv. I1a); also cp. Hasselgård 2006). This adverbial meaning can be extended to a number of related senses. The deictic sense of *present time* can be connected to preceding utterances or past events. In this use, *now* has the following meaning. Illustrations are given in examples (186) and (187).

b. Under the present circumstances; in view of what has happened (OED, *now*, adv. I1b).

 (186)   **I see now** it is a harder matter to catch a Trout than a Chub. (OED; I. Walton. Compleat Angler iv, 1653)

 (187) **I understand now**…why we call lovers dotty. (OED; J. Galsworthy, End of Chapter II. iv. 361, 1933)

A second extended semantic meaning is also connected to the narrative in which *now* is used, and indicates a deictic point within the narrative. This meaning is described as follows.

c. At this time; at the time spoken of or referred to; […]; at this point. Also more generally: over or during the period under discussion. (OED, *now*, adv. I4), e.g.

 (188) **Now** was she just before him as he sat. (OED; Shakespeare, Ven. & Ad. 349, 1592)

 (189) Cosmo **now** approached the period of his mortal existence. (OED; W. Roscoe, Life Lorenzo de' Medici I. i. 57 (1795)

 (190) **Nu him behofed þæt he crape** in his mycele codde in ælc hyrne, gif thær wære hure an unwreste wrence þæt he mihte get beswicen anes Crist and eall cristene folc. (OED; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Laud) (Peterborough contin.) anno 1131)

"**Now he had to creep** into every corner of his big bag to see if there was any cunning trick at all by which he could still just once deceive Christ and all Christians."[15]

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[15] Translation taken from <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~wpwt/trans/owl/owlnn.htm>, note to line 694. (last accessed 17/09/2007)

In addition to these senses from the OED, Schiffrin (1987) has developed a number of temporal concepts which are relevant for the interpretation of *now*. She states that, as a temporal deictic,

> "*now* [conveys] a relationship between the time at which a proposition is assumed to be true, and the time at which it is presented in an utterance. In other words, *now* [is] deictic because [its] meaning depends on a parameter of the speech situation (time of speaking)." (1987: 228).

The concept of *reference time* (Schiffrin 1987: 228) is used to indicate the deictic relationship between the time that is presented in a proposition and the time at which the proposition is uttered. In this respect, the two sentences below (example (191)) have a similar propositional content but different reference times.

(191) a. Sue teaches linguistics now.
       b. Sue taught linguistics then.   (Schiffrin 1987: 228)

Adverbial *now* generally correlates with a present tense, illustrating that the reference time in the proposition (i.e. the propositional time) matches the speaking time, as in examples (192) and (193)).

(192) John **reads** a great deal **now**. (Aijmer 2002: 58)

(193) In the third to the Philippians, the Apostle describeth certaine. They are men, saith hee of whom I haue told you often, **and now with teares I tell you of them**, their God is their belly, their glorying and reioycing is in their owne shame, they mind earthly things. (HC, Ceserm2a: 1570-1640)

When *now* correlates with a past tense, as in examples (194) and (195) below, the temporal element refers to a temporal point within the narrative. This use is referred to as "narrative time" (Aijmer 2002: 58). Within the structure of an ongoing narrative, the use of *now* as an indicator of narrative time illustrates the speaker's subjective influence in the organisation of discourse. In the examples below ((194) and (195)), the use of *now* (in co-occurrence with a past tense) functions as a "marker of a personal narrative situation, or personal point of view' (Bronzwaer 1975: 59).

(194) It was of no use **asking myself this question now**. There I was… (Bronzwaer 1975: 59)

(195) […] our Guides steered by their own Experience; this was not so comfortable, to behold nothing but a Sea of Sand; for **now we began to turn our back upon the Gulf**, and steer a more Northern Course […] (HC, Cetrav3b: 1640-1710)

16.2. Text-structuring functions

Now can be called a *pragmatic marker* based on formal criteria, i.e. *now* is a short linguistic element, that can be used in certain contexts where it does not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance, and where it occurs sentence-initially displaying a range of connective discourse functions in synchronic uses. The majority of previous studies on pragmatic uses of *now* in present-day English have focused on the marker's use as a text-structuring element. When appearing in non-propositional pragmatic uses, *now* has been labelled "a discourse marker basically for change of topic" (Bolinger 1989: 291; cp. Aijmer 2002). Halliday (1994) classifies *now* as a continuative, indicating either a "new move" (in dialogue) or a shift to a new point within discourse (if the same speaker continues). In her contrastive research on the functions of English *now* and Norwegian *nå*, Hasselgård (2006) finds that, although the temporal use dominates, *now* is generally used as a continuative (i.e. a text-structuring function), while *nå* generally has a modal meaning.

Synchronic studies by Schiffrin (1987), Aijmer (1988; 2002) and Hasselgård (2006) among others have discussed the relationship between temporal uses of *now* and semantically bleached uses as a text-structuring or interpersonal marker. The distinction is clearly shown in the two examples below. The first phrase (196) indicates a temporal meaning of *now* that can be paraphrased as "at this moment (in time)". Sentence (197) gives an illustration in which *now* appears with a pragmatic meaning in utterance-initial position, and where the marker serves as a text-structuring means to signal an upcoming topic.

(196) The subject of my talk **now** is…

(197) **Now**, the subject of my talk is… (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 633)

Semantic and pragmatic functions of *now* have been compared in a number of respects. Primarily, as a temporal deictic *now* is closely related to the speaker and to "the speaker's space and time" (Schiffrin 1987: 228). Text-structuring functions of *now* reflect this, in the following aspects (cp. Schiffrin 1987 244f.).

a) When used to organise subsections of an ongoing narrative, *now* focuses on the perspective of the speaker and is oriented towards his or her point of view with regard to how a part of discourse should be structured. Although this also affects the

addressee's point of view, the main weight lies on the speaker, rather than on the hearer, which is why *now* is considered "ego-centered" (Schiffrin 1987: 245).

b) Schiffrin states that proximal deictics such as *now* "have evaluative overlays" (1987: 245). They are used evaluatively for instance in the expression of "narrative time" [cp. earlier section 16.1.]. Within a topical development of text, *now* can be used evaluatively to "highlight" specific parts of discourse that contain "interpretive glosses for one's own talk which a speaker him/herself favors" (ibid.).

c) Whereas the temporal use of *now* specifies the relationship between the reference time and speaking time of a part of discourse, the textual function of *now* "[indexes] a proposition to [the] temporal world [which is] internal to the utterances in the discourse itself" (ibid.).

As a "discourse connective" (Blakemore 1987), *now* connects utterances and "mark[s] the speaker's view of the sequential relationship between units of discourse" (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 152). A text can be subdivided into topics and subtopics. A "topic" can be described as "that which the sentence is 'about' and which it presupposes as its point of departure" (Quirk et al. 1985: 79). Transferred to a text-structuring level, topics can be said to bracket episodes within an ongoing narrative. To understand how the textual function of *now* influences the topical progression of discourse, we need to regard discourse as a "tree", which branches into topics and subtopics (Schiffrin 1987). When placed in utterance-initial position, the deictic strength of *now* allows a speaker to draw attention to an upcoming topic, and in that manner to signal a new upcoming piece of information. The temporal meaning of *now*, which has a "propulsive" effect when transferred to a narrative (Aijmer 2002: 63), can be applied to the textual progression of a piece of discourse. The following subtypes illustrate the main textual functions in which *now* indicates an upcoming topic change[16] (cp. Aijmer 2002 and Schiffrin 1987), i.e. either by introducing a new topic or by closing off or altering a preceding one.

---

[16] The term "topic change" is considered to indicate a more abrupt change than is the case with a "topic switch" or "topic shift". A topic switch/shift will have a clearer connection with a preceding topic and is therefore less unexpected than a topic change (Finell 1992; Lenk 1998: 174; Aijmer 2002: 76f.).

a) Introducing a new topic

When *now* is used to signal a topic change, the abruptness of the shift is often mitigated by means of a 'metalinguistic marker' (Aijmer 2002: 75). In example (198) below, *well now switching to…* explicitly describes the topical change and as such warns the addressee for an upcoming coherence break.

(198) Right. **Well now switching to** your return to this country…we have been very distressed at the thought of you becoming a school teacher. (adapted from Aijmer 2002: 75)

b) Indicating a shift from topic to subtopic, or between subtopics

When *now* indicates a transition to a subtopic, or a transition between various subtopics, the shift essentially entails an element of contrast (Aijmer 2002: 79f.). When a main argument "branches into subtopics" (Schiffrin 1987: 230), the use of *now* entails a comparison between different subsections. In example (199), *now* introduces a contrast between the age of the speaker's father and that of *Charlotte's father*.

(199) A. My father would have been a hundred and twenty-seven […]
      Now Charlotte's father would have been a hundred would he […] if […] he'd been alive. (Aijmer 2002: 80)

c) Structuring or listing different steps in a narrative

The OED describes *now* as a means to "introduce an important or noteworthy point in an argument or proof, or in a series of statements (also *now then*)" (OED, *now*, II 10). Therefore, when different steps in an argument need to be listed or structured, *now* can serve as a means to emphasise important subtopics, as in example (200), in order to highlight the different stages in a narrative or to emphasise the order in which the speaker wants to present them.

(200) **Now** one of the people who took English lessons from Joyce was the son-in-law of this family […] (Aijmer 2002: 82)

In example (201), for instance, *now* allows the speaker to focus on the order in which the guitar lesson progresses.

(201) A: **Now** I'll play them as a chord
      [plays chord]

A: **now** you can see that I've still got my finger down on the low G string, and that's the one we're really interested in (Aijmer 2002: 83)

d) Initiating parts of an argument which elaborate on preceding (sub)topic(s)

In a final related function, *now* introduces parts of an argument which elaborate on a preceding topic, for instance by providing a justification or motivation, as in example (202) below:

(202) […] the water supply to our house was from a well – **now** it had to be a well, because you could not build a house in those days without digging the well. (Aijmer 2002: 87)

In this text-structuring use of *now*, the marker draws attention to a – newly introduced – elaborating subtopic. In present-day data, this textual function is often found in collocation with explanatory phrases such as *I mean* or *you see* (Aijmer 2002: 86), which illustrate the speaker's need to bring his or her viewpoint across to the addressee.

As a text-structuring marker, *now* indicates "a speaker's progression through discourse time by displaying attention to an upcoming idea unit, orientation, and/or participation framework" (Schiffrin 1987: 230). In these textual uses, the temporal, deictic sense of adverbial *now* remains visible to some extent. However, the indication of time has shifted and is now applied to the world of discourse. Schiffrin states that *now* structures the speaker's progression through discourse, and "provides a temporal index" for the world within the utterance (1987: 245).

16.3. Interpersonal functions

16.3.1. *Now* as an indicator of speaker-perspective

The fact that *now* signals the speaker's progression through what can be seen as a structured set of topics and subtopics also suggests that *now* offers the speaker a subjective means to choose the order in which s/he wants to present and connect his/her utterances. By organising different subtopics, "*[n]ow* introduces and develops the argument – and is inserted whenever the speaker feels the need to underline a step in the argumentation" (Aijmer 2002: 82). The use of *now* can therefore serve as an important element in the establishment of a particular point (Schiffrin 1987: 238). The text-structuring uses of *now* correlate with interpersonal aspects, seeing that the topical development of an argumentation necessarily also entails a *progression of ideas* (Schiffrin 1987: 237).

Now emphasises the speaker's role in the progression of different (sub)topics, but can in addition also be used to announce shifts in speaker orientation. Schiffrin describes speaker orientation as the "stance which the speaker is taking toward what is being said" (1987: 240). Examples include grammaticalised changes in orientation, such as transitions from a declarative to an interrogative mood (e.g. (203)), or non-grammaticalised changes, for instance from a narrative to an evaluative mode (example (204)).

(203) They're using socialism t'fight capitalism. **Now** can you understand that? (Schiffrin 1987: 240)

(204) a. Finally, he put him in the third time,
    b. and he pulled out an Oriental,
    c. he was just brown, toasted, nice.
    d. **Now I mean** this is just a legend, an n– Oriental legend. (Schiffrin 1987: 240f.)

Aijmer (2002) points out that shifts in orientation are frequently accompanied by evaluative metacomments given by the speaker. The subjective function of *now* is often dependent on these evaluative collocations, as is illustrated in the following phrases, which are subdivided according to their underlying effect.

a) Speaker-control

In combination with phrases such as *listen to me* (example (205)), *let me see*, *let me try and think* or *where was I* (Aijmer 2002: 88), *now* signals that the speaker attempts to gain control over the "topical development of talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 241).

(205) That don't make any difference.
     Now listen to me.
     Take a lead eh eh a chisel, and hit it. (Schiffrin 1987: 241)

b) Personal point of view and evaluation

The use of *now* in sentences such as, for instance, *Now this is very difficult*, *Now that's dreadful* or *Now she wouldn't say something like that, if she was rational* (example (206)) indicates a shift to an evaluative comment, highlighting the speaker's assessment of a particular step in an argumentation.

(206) a. For example, eh…eh…let's assume the husband's a– w– a–
           a– a– the husband's Jewish,
       b. and the girl's, say, Catholic.
       c. and they have an argument
       d. and she says 'You goddamn Jew!'
       e. **Now** she wouldn't say something like that, if she was rational. (Schiffrin 1987: 241)

In the example above (206), the speaker's evaluation (*now she wouldn't say something like that, if she was…*) "brings out the point of his argument" and "provides a frame in which to understand what he has just said" (Schiffrin 1987: 241).

c) Awareness of interpersonal differences

Phrases such as *Now I think*, *Now I do believe…*, *…now I don't agree with…* introduce a subjective opinion and are "often associated with conflict and with disagreement" (Aijmer 2002: 92). *Now* introduces a personal point of view and at the same time signals that the speaker is aware of other opinions differing from his or her own.

(207) none of whom will speak to each other
       and all of whom want to cut each other's throats –
       now I think this is a very bad thing –
       bad thing for British democracy –
       I watched I I'm old enough
       to have watched the Labour the Liberal Party […] (Aijmer 2002: 92)

In example (207) above, *now* not only has a textual function – introducing a new subtopic or elaboration – but also serves as a "disclaimer, i.e. the speaker signals that his view is not to be aligned with that of others." (Aijmer 2002: 92). When *now* introduces a personal opinion about a disputable topic, a contrast is created with other points of view, and "the marker

illustrates the speaker's recognition of interpersonal differences about that topic". (Schiffrin 1987: 235).

16.3.2. Interaction with the hearer

Shifts in speaker orientation and speaker evaluation necessarily extend "beyond the speaker's own relationship to information: they also propose changes in the **hearer's** relation to that same information" (Schiffrin 1987: 243; bold in original). As a pragmatic marker, *now* can be used by a speaker to indicate a transition to a personal evaluation or to a subjective "assessment of the world" (Schiffrin 1987: 244). Despite the fact that *now* is inherently speaker-oriented both in its adverbial and in its pragmatic use, the shift to evaluation offers the hearer a chance to be involved and to participate in the interactional frame in an equally evaluative way and "to thereby align (or disalign) [himself/herself] with a stance toward the world" (Schiffrin 1987: 244). The utterance-initial use of *now* can be applied to highlight specific subsections of a part of discourse, and it is expected that a speaker will try to communicate the attitude which he or she wants the hearer to adopt (cp. Schiffrin 1987: 245 in Aijmer 2002: 87).

The connection between speaker and addressee is emphasised through the use of phrases such as *Now do you agree that…* through which the hearer is explicitly acknowledged and the search for common ground between speaker and addressee is clearly illustrated by a "change in 'footing'", i.e. a transition from speaker perspective to attention for the hearer (Goffman 1981; Aijmer 2002: 93). Aijmer states that this can be seen as a change in perspective rather than a topic shift (ibid.).

The relationship with the addressee can be shown by means of a number of additional contexts in which *now* has an "affective" or "intensifying" meaning, "expressing the speaker's involvement with the hearer" (ibid.). Particularly in combination with imperatives (Aijmer 2002: 93f.) *now* can indicate the speaker's wish to take back control of the conversational floor (e.g. *Now wait a moment*) or can communicate the importance of a personal point of view to the addressee with an "overtone of urgency or interest", as in the phrases *now look* or *now come on*. These collocations can help to create a sense of common ground between speaker and addressee, and help guide the hearer through the "branching" of (sub)topics in discourse. The text-structuring and (inter)personal functions of *now* considered in sections 16.2 and 16.3 are discussed in greater detail in the following part of this thesis, with particular reference to the historical development of semantic-pragmatic meanings of *now*.

17. *NOW*: **METHODOLOGY**

17.1. Data: numbers and data-retrieval

Although *well* and *now* share a number of pragmatic functions and have similar propositional counterparts (i.e. adverbs of manner and of time respectively), an analysis of their historical features and meanings requires that we take into account their individual semantic and pragmatic characteristics. As an initial step in our corpus-based analysis, the various spellings of *now* as they can be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*now*, *nowe*, *nou*, *nov*, *nw*, *nu*, *nv*) were traced in our corpus data. All valid forms were run through the Wordsmith Tools search programme, and selected for further research. Table 62 lists the total frequencies of *now* in the data from the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)* and the *Corpus of English Dialogues*. These numbers include tokens in utterance-initial, medial and final position, as well as invalid tokens.

	HC	CEECS	CED	Total
Total tokens *now*	3544	964	2398	6906

Table 62: Frequencies of *now* in all three historical corpora

All 6906 tokens of *now* in the historical corpus data were filed with the help of the Filemaker Pro 7 database programme, and have been further classified on the basis of the following points.

17.2. Classification

A formal division of the data selected for research was made on the basis of the following subdivisions.

a) **Text**:

As a basis for the classification of all used tokens in a study of the semantic-pragmatic development of *now*, all texts are initially subdivided according to period(s) of time and text genre. Specific attention is also paid to the type of text with regard to

formality (i.e. relative frequencies in formal and informal text types) and dialogic context (monologic or dialogic contexts).

b) **Position in the sentence**:

The tokens of *now* selected for research were categorised according to their position in relation to the rest of the utterance. As in our research on *well* (sections 8 to 14), the classification is based on the positional categories from Quirk et al. (1985). Our focus lies on utterance-initial tokens, which are more likely to indicate pragmatic functions (see e.g. 10.1.). Non-initial tokens in our data are also considered, in order to find out whether additional pragmatic meanings or possible connections with utterance-initial uses can be traced.

c) **Semantic-pragmatic classification**:

The distinction between adverbial meanings of *now* and pragmatic (i.e. text-structuring or expressive) meanings can not always be unambiguously made. *Now* has been labelled an "emergent particle" (Aijmer 2002: 58) that has not yet reached a level of completion in the process of grammaticalisation. As such, overlap can often be seen between propositional and pragmatic uses of *now*. In synchronic research, the distinction can be made with the help of prosodic features. However, these are not available for historical research. The close connection between semantic and pragmatic meanings has been taken into account in a further classification of functions, and is dealt with in greater detail in the discussion of now below.

d) **Tense of collocating verbs**:

As a temporal adverb, *now* is most likely to occur with a present tense (or a past tense in narratives). In her present-day English corpus data, Hasselgård (2006) found that non-temporal *now* occurs most frequently in imperative clauses and does not frequently collocate with a past tense. Her contrastive research attested the opposite for Norwegian. Aijmer refers to the importance of imperatives in contexts where *now* serves as a 'hearer-oriented intensifier' (modal particle; e.g. *now look*; *now come on*) (2002: 93f.) and where the hearer is 'impatient to take control of the conversational floor' (*now wait a moment*). The tenses of the verbs co-occurring with tokens of *now* are therefore considered as possible indications of pragmatic meanings.

e) **Semantic type of collocating verbs**:

Quirk et al. (1985) mention that the type of verbs co-occurring with *now* can function as a factor in the evolution from temporal adverb to pragmatic marker. The co-occurrence with verbs of speaking in particular is considered, and examined in relation to Finell's (1992) suggestion that verbally extended topic changers generally became more compressed (*Now (I will say that…)*) in their historical evolutions. As a second point, a possible relevance in the frequent collocation of *now* with mental verbs (*Now I think that…; Now you see; Now I mean*) is examined in further detail.

f) **Collocating elements and phrases**:

▪ Elements that collocate with *now* can serve as indications of broader discourse strategies. Phrases such as *now as to speken* or *now to our purpos(e)*, for instance, are elliptic introductions of a new topic and indicate a text-structuring function. The collocation *now then*, and collocations with conjunctions such as *and now* or *but now* can be related to the larger conversational contexts and possibly to the development of one of the functions of *now* as a differentiator between subtopics. In addition, collocating expressions that indicate increased levels of (inter)subjectivity (e.g. *Now without doubt,…*) will be examined in a wider context of pragmatic strategies.

▪ According to the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), *now* occurs in emphatic positions with a direct address or with the element 'if'. Attention is therefore given to the presence of address forms (e.g. *Now, sire, now wol I telle forth my tale.*), to the subject forms that are used and to the question whether first and second person subject forms can serve a role (cp. *well*) in the positioning of the speaker and the establishing of common ground.

▪ In addition, attention is paid to the the wider context of topical progression and to its relationship with specific formal and syntactic features.

18. THE SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC EVOLUTION OF *NOW*

18.1. *Now* in terms of position

In present-day material, the distinction between temporal and pragmatic meanings or between different pragmatic functions relies to a great extent on prosodic features. Aijmer (2002: 62) finds that the pragmatic use of *now* usually forms a separate tone unit, that it is more often deaccentuated than sentential *now* is (also see Horne et al. 2001: 1064), and often co-occurs with lexical collocates, as in *well now* or *now then*. For our historical research it is impossible to make the distinction between temporal and pragmatic functions by using prosodic features as a defining factor. This study is therefore based on formal and functional criteria of possible language change.

Aijmer also refers to the fact that "discourse *now*", unlike its temporal counterpart, appears most frequently at the onset of a (prosodic) phrase (2002: 59). Because pragmatic markers predominantly although not exclusively occur in sentence-initial position (cp. Auer 1996; Brinton 1996: 32ff.), our study of the development of *now* will initially focus on utterance-initial uses of *now* for further pragmatic research. The initial position is important for the historical study of *now* in a number of respects (see Aijmer 2002: 29). Apart from the fact that initial position "functions as a clue to discourse particle status" (ibid.), meaning that pragmatic markers more frequently occur sentence-initially rather than sentence-internally, the initial position is

> "relevant as 'a grammaticalisation position' (Auer 1996: 297) since it can be regarded as the end-point of grammaticalisation. Consequently it serves pragmatic and interactional ends which could not equally well be achieved by an element in its canonical, sentence-internal position." (Aijmer 2002: 29)

In addition, the initial position can be called "interactionally and textually attractive" (ibid.) because it provides a speaker with the possibility to announce that a new message will be presented, without the necessity to have the message planned ahead in full. In initial position, an element also immediately presents the *theme* of the sentence, i.e. the "point of departure for the message" (Halliday 1985: 38). Aijmer explains that the theme can be associated with a number of functions, for instance "to introduce topics, sub-topics or referents and to related what is said to the preceding context" (ibid.). As a temporal adverbial,

now can occur in initial, medial as well as utterance-final position. However, Virtanen notes that "adverbial positions cannot be adequately accounted for by reference to sentence structure alone" and that "[several] of the factors that may influence the placement of adverbials in their clause or sentence are textual or discoursal in character" (Virtanen 1992: 1; Hoye 1997: 29)." In utterance-initial position, certain adverbials readily take on "sentential functions", through which the scope of the adverb extends to the entire sentence. When in "discourse-initial" position (Quirk et al. 1985: section 8.135), the function of *now* as a connector between two parts of discourse is reflected in the structural position of the adverbial. At least for adverbs that indicate modal (e.g. *obviously*) or attitudinal properties (e.g. *fortunately*), the speaker "includes within the message some element that expresses his own angle of judgement on the matter, [which is why] it is natural for him to make this his point of departure" (Halliday 1985: 50 in Hoye 1997: 149f.). In the case of a temporal element such as *now*, which functions on a discourse level as a discourse connector or a speech-initiator, the utterance-initial position may bring out more clearly certain attitudinal aspects. These include attitudes or evaluations of what has been said, presented by the speaker, or can refer to the speaker's stance with regard to how discourse should be structured or how utterances (with topic and subtopics) should be connected, for instance.

  Table 63 gives an overview of the total number of tokens of *now*, subdivided according to their position in the sentence and presented per corpus. The table illustrates that the majority of tokens of *now* in our historical corpora occur in utterance-initial position.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position	Other/Invalid	Total Tokens *now*
HC	**1480**	868	646	550	3544
CEECS	**281**	450	180	53	964
CED	**1029**	778	581	10	2398
	2790	2096	1407	613	6906

Table 63: Tokens of *now* in all three historical corpora: Classification per position (Actual figures)

Table 64 gives an overview of the total number of utterance-initial tokens, presented according to the various historical periods. The tokens of the CEECS in Table 64 are subdivided into five main chronological periods. This subdivision was preferred because the data of the texts in the CEECS indicate periods of time (e.g. 1625-1666) rather than referring

to one specific date, which makes it more difficult to create clear divisions that can be compared to the subdivisions in the other two corpora. Categories A, B and C represent the periods between 1400-1500, 1500-1600 and 1600-1700 respectively. Categories AB and BC contain tokens from texts that are situated in an overlapping period of time (e.g. AB: 1461-1550; BC: 1566-1638). This division makes it easier to trace possible evolutions between different periods of time.

CEECS		HC		CED	
---	---	< 850	1	---	---
---	---	850-950	65	---	---
---	---	950-1050	296	---	---
---	---	1050-1150	41	---	---
---	---	1150-1250	111	---	---
---	---	1250-1350	108	---	---
---	---	1350-1420	143	---	---
A (1400-1500)	36	1420-1500	206	---	---
AB (-----------)	19	---	---	---	---
B (1500-1600)	95	1500-1570	167	---	---
BC (-----------)	16	1570-1640	217	1550-1600	253
C (1600-1700)	115	---	---	1600-1650	295
		1640-1710	125	1650-1700	332
---	---	---	---	1700-1750	130
---	---	---	---	1750-1760	19
	281		1480		1029

Table 64: Utterance-initial tokens of *now* in all three historical corpora: classification per period (Actual figures)

18.2. *Now* as an indicator of temporal relationships

The adverb has been labelled "the shortest and frequently the most convenient realization of time adjuncts" (Quirk et al. 1985: 529). As a temporal adverb, *now* has a deictic meaning which refers to a specific point in time, either in the present or in the past (cp. narrative time [add section numbers 16.1.]; e.g. example (208)).

(208) They had been courting for two years and he *now* felt she knew his worst faults. (Quirk et al. 1985: 530)

As a temporal deictic, *now* forms a deictic pair with *then* – respectively indicating a 'near' and 'distant' reference (ibid. p. 374). Both *now* and *then* serve discourse-structuring functions that can, according to Schiffrin (1987: 228), be directly related to their respective deictic meanings as temporal adverbs. Particularly because the pragmatic use of *now* generally occurs sentence-initially, the marker serves to mark discourse boundaries and to connect utterances within a larger subset of discourse units. Schiffrin mentions, however, that

> "it is important to note that brackets look simultaneously forward and backward – that the beginning of one unit is the end of another and vice versa." (Schiffrin 1987: 37)

Her concept of *sequential dependence* therefore focuses on the function of markers such as *now* within a discourse framework that goes beyond sentence-level. We can make a distinction between the connective use of *now* as a discourse marker, and the manner in which *now* defines the connection between two clauses as a conjunction with a propositional meaning.

Now (that) functions as a conjunction on a syntactic level, introducing adverbial finite clauses of time, as in the following phrases (examples (209) and (210)). In this syntactic use, *now* may be followed by *that* and is comparable to such subordinators as *although*, *in order that*, *as long as*, or *so*.

(209) We are happy *now that everybody is present*. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1084)

(210) *Now that she could drive*, she felt independent. (ibid.)

Now (that) specifies a temporal relationship between main clause and subclause. The conjunction has the effect of indicating the simultaneity of the situation in the matrix clause and that in the subordinate clause (Quirk et al. 1985: 1083), and is said to "[combine] reason with temporal meaning, in present or past time" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1084). This means that the temporal meaning of *now (that)* is incorporated in a *circumstantial* use, which

> combines reason with a condition that is assumed to be fulfilled or about to be fulfilled, the construction expressing a relationship between a premise in the subordinate clause and the conclusion in the matrix clause. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1104)

The causal meaning is created by the sequentiality of the two clauses, in which the situation in the matrix clause follows (i.e. takes place after) that in the subordinate clause. This is illustrated in the following two sentences, in which *since* (211) and *seeing that* (212) can equally be replaced by *now (that)* without much difference in meaning (in terms of causality).

(211) *Since the weather has improved*, the game will be held as planned. ['In view of the fact that the weather has improved, the game will be held as planned' *or* 'The reason that the game will be held as planned is that…'].

(212) *Seeing that it is only three*, we should be able to finish this before we leave today.

Quirk et al. (1985: 634f.) classify the functions of conjuncts according to the semantic relations they create, and categorise *now* as an element with a resultive role, together with conjuncts such as *accordingly*, *hence*, *so*, *thus* or *therefore* (Quirk et al. 1985: section 8.137). The strength of the conclusion is dependent on the level of structure in a list of items, and can range from a "mere termination", over a summary or result to a "basis for further inference" (1985: 638). In its resultive use, *now (that)* can therefore be connected to inferential conjuncts, which indicate a conclusion based on logic and supposition. Example (213) illustrates the use of inferential *then*, for instance.

(213) If this is agreed, *then* we may proceed… (Quirk et al. 1985: 638)

In addition to its resultive role, *now* can also be classified as a *transitional* conjunct. This category consists of temporal conjuncts (*meantime*, *in the meanwhile*, *subsequently*) or *discoursal* conjuncts such as *incidentally*, *by the way* or *now* (in informal use). Discoursal conjuncts "serve to shift attention to another topic or to a temporally related event" (1985: 639). Quirk et al. state that these conjuncts can change the subject of the discourse, but are also "frequently used merely to indicate a rather adventitious relation", in a sense illustrating for instance that the speaker is suddenly reminded of a different topic. The relationship between structural uses and pragmatic meanings is considered further in our discussion of the semantic-pragmatic evolution of *now* (see below section 18).

18.3. *Now* in utterance-initial position: Semantic meanings in narrative structures

18.3.1. Distinction between propositional and pragmatic meanings

Now has been termed an "emergent particle" (Aijmer 2002: 58) in the process of grammaticalisation, because of its close connection between temporal and discourse-structuring uses. Drawing a clear-cut distinction between temporal, textual and interpersonal meanings of *now* is therefore not without difficulty. Several factors complicate the classification into unambiguous semantic-pragmatic meanings.

In synchronic research, prosody can in many cases provide convincing evidence for a categorisation according to functions or meanings. However, prosodic features are not available for historical data research. Our research therefore relies on formal and contextual characteristics to make semantic-pragmatic classifications. Secondly, functional ambiguity can be a question of overlap rather than of vagueness. As will be discussed in (18.3.3.), the distinction between semantic and pragmatic meanings for one individual use of *now*, or between various pragmatic meanings can in certain contexts be neutralised. We can say that the meaning of *now* takes on a dual function, as in the context of temporal comparisons (section 18.3.3.], for instance.

In addition, synchronic research has shown that the temporal meaning of *now* tends to shine through in many pragmatic contexts. Considering the fact that the synchronic multifunctionality of *now* is still determined by an ongoing process of grammaticalisation, we need to take into account that the relationship between temporal and text-structuring functions may be particularly close in historical uses of *now*, representing relatively early stages of the marker's semantic-pragmatic development. A few examples ((214)-(216)) illustrate the close correlation and subsequent dual categorisation of meanings for *now*. In the first two illustrations ((214) and (215)), *now* displays a propositional, temporal use, but in addition also serves a text-structuring use. The adverb is used in a context where the speaker introduces an upcoming (elaborating) subtopic.

(214) Sam.: You make the deuill wonderfull subtill.
Dan.: He is so subtill and full of all craft and fleight, that no earthly creature can escape from being seduced by him, without the light of Gods heauenly word. **But let vs come now to the other man**, whom the witch confessed shee killed by her Cat. (HC, Cehand2a: 1570-1640)

(215) […] such a Scrole shall be sent, as may make him wish himself in India before that time, and perhaps make a farther Penny of him.

R.: Content. **Now Jenny, I'll tell thee what** made our other Merchant, Sir Flat-face Puppy, scatter Words and Threats about my Credit, to make thee Uneasy, and endeavour to make me Ridiculous. (CED, d4holuci: 1703)

In example (216), *now (you may see/understand)* indicates a resultive part of discourse. The speaker introduces a conclusion that has reference to the addressee's level of understanding. However, the conclusion is based on – and refers back to – information that was given in preceding utterances (i.e. *after this has been said/explained, now you may understand…*). In this respect, *now* simultaneously specifies a point in time and a point within the topical progression of text.

(216) orr all swa summ þu þeowwtesst himm, Swa shall þin sune himm þeowwtenn, Butt iff he wurrþe lesedd ut Off hiss þeowwdomess bandess. **Nu mihht tu sen þatt tatt wass rihht Þatt mannkinn for till helle,** All affterr þatt tatt Adam for, Þatt haffde hemm alle streonedd; (HC, Cmorm: 1150-1250)

Translation: Now you may see that it was right that mankind went to hell, […]

Although in many cases one function dominates, no exact functional figures are presented in this part of our study because of the ambiguous divide between propositional and pragmatic meanings in many contexts. Instead, our research aims to provide an overview of different layers of historical meaning in the evolution of *now* as a multi-functional marker. A further discussion will take into account contextual indications and formal factors, such as tense, position, or collocating verbs.

18.3.2. Temporal and narrative meanings in the historical corpus data

Although the distinction between propositional and pragmatic uses cannot always be clearly made without contextual or prosodic help, an initial look into the historical corpus data shows that the large majority of tokens of *now* can be classified as temporal. In examples (217) and (218), for instance, *now* is placed in clause-initial position and co-occurs with a present tense. In both illustrations, *now* indicates a reference to present time which is further supported by a temporal indication.

(217) **Now is tyme** for your maistershipp to mowe your said graunt. (CEECS, Stonor: 1424-1483)

Translation**: Now it is time** for your mastership to harvest your said [i.e. as referred to] land.

(218) Burleigh.: Here the Lord Burleigh said to Mr. Attorney, "You may mistake, it was this time Twelve-Month, **for now we are in January**. (CED, d1tnorfo: 1571 speech event; 1730 publication date)

The propositional meaning of *now* indicates a temporal reference to "the time directly preceding the present moment" (OED, *now*, adv. I3.) in examples (219) and (220). These adverbial senses often co-occur with temporal indications such as *now of late*, Old English *niwan* (i.e. newly, lately; example (219)), or *just now* (example (220)).

(219) **Soðlice nu niwan gelamp on niht**, þa þa broðro wæron on reste, þæt comon þyder þa Langbearde & þær genamon ealle þa þing, þe on þam mynstre wæron, buton þæt hi ne mihton þær nænne mann gelæccean. (HC, Cogregd3: 950-1050)

   Translation: **Truly, now lately it happened at nighttime**, when the brothers were resting/sleeping, that…

(220) L. C. J.:   But mind my Question, Woman.
     Mrs. Duddle.:   Yes, my Lord.
     L. C. J.:   Did he come home that Night he went on the Recreation?
     Mrs. Duddle.:   I do not know.
     L. C. J.:   **But just now, you swore** he staid out all Night?
     Mrs. Duddle.:   No, my Lord.
     L. C. J.:   Yes, but you did though; prithee mind what thou art about. (HC, Cetri3a: 1640-1710)

In its primary use as a propositional adverb, *now* specifies the deictic relationship between the time of the utterance and the reference time presented in the utterance. In the majority of these temporal uses (with percentages between 44 and c. 64%), *now* co-occurs with a present tense (cp. Table 65). In much smaller frequencies, *now* co-occurs with a past tense, viz. between 4.6 and 10.3% of the total percentage of utterance-initial tokens of *now*.

	Present tense	Past tense	Initial position
HC	57.0 (843)	10.3 (153)	100 (1480)
CEECS	64.4 (181)	4.6 (13)	100 (281)
CED	44.1 (454)	5.0 (51)	100 (1029)
Total	53.0 (1478)	7.8 (217)	100 (2790)

Table 65: Tokens of *now* in utterance-initial position: co-occurrences with past and present tense: frequencies per corpus: Percentages (and actual figures)

Of these contexts in which *now* collocates with a past tense, the majority of tokens indicates a use in which *now* refers to a point within *narrative time* (cp. 16.1). Indications of narrative time highlight a particular point within the speaker's narration, and illustrate a subjective authority in the organisation of successive topics and subtopics within one stretch of discourse. References to narrative time also make a narrative more lively because the

highlighted actions are brought "closer" to the addressee. On the basis of formal criteria (i.e. tense) and features of individual contexts, the use of *now* as a reference to narrative time was found to cover an average of 6.6% (184/2790 tokens) of all utterance-initial tokens in the historical corpus data (cp. Table 66). This means that 9.2% (136/1480) of all utterance-initial tokens of *now* in the HC has a reference to narrative time, against lower frequencies of 4.3% (12/281) in the CEECS and 3.5% (36/1029) in the CED.

	Narrative time	Initial position
HC	9.2 (136)	100 (1480)
CEECS	4.3 (12)	100 (281)
CED	3.5 (36)	100 (1029)
Total	6.6 (184)	100 (2790)

Table 66: Tokens in utterance-initial position and uses in narrative time: frequencies per corpus: Percentages (and actual figures)

Every one of the 184 tokens of *now* referring to narrative time co-occur with a past tense. The reverse, however, is not the case. Of the 217 co-occurrences with a past tense, 184 (i.e. 84.8%) tokens indicate a point within narrative time. The remaining tokens 33 tokens indicate clear textual or pragmatic uses of *now*, as in examples (221), (222) and (223). Although indications of narrative time illustrate a subjective influence, they are still classified as propositional in our analysis. A distinction was therefore made between these uses of narrative structuring – with a semantic foundation – and clear textual or pragmatic uses. In example (221), *now* is followed by a question, indicating a change in orientation. In examples (222) and (223), *now* introduces an evaluation (with an additional concessive aspect (*now sure it was…but…*) in example (222)).

(221) Queene: O wretched Queene, what would they take from him?
   Lemot: The instrument of procreation.
   [Enter Moren]
   Moren: **Now was there euer** man so much accurst, that when his minde misgaue him, such a man was haplesse, to keep him company**?** yet who would keep him company but I, […]. (CED, d1cchapm: 1599)

(222) Chauncelor: […] You would thinke I deale hardlie with you, if I should vse any of you so.
   Woman: **Now sure it was** Bushoplike done of him if he did so. **But** what warrant I pray you had my Lord to make them crouch in this maner as you speake of? (CED, d2hochur: 1601)

(223) [Exit Smyrna, Olivia, Timothy]
   Knowlittle: […] Verily this Evening has helped the Morning, and both together made a good

Day, few better.
[Enter Tim.]
Now, Tim. thou didst it admirably. (CED, d4cmanle: 1696)

The use of *now* that indicate points of reference within narrative time are found throughout the various chronological stages in our three corpora, and can be found from the Old English period onwards (e.g. examples (224) and (225)).

(224) Ac he ne mæssade næfre. Forþanþe mæsse næs gyt geset, ærþanþe Crist sylf on þære niwan gecyðnysse gehalgode husel and het us eac swa don on his gemynde. **Nu wæs seo mæsse asteald** þurh urne hælend Crist. And se haliga Petrus gesette þone Canon, þe we [te igitur] cweþað. (HC, coaelet3: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now was [the] mass established** by our Saviour Christ. […]

(225) He hopode to Drihtne, alyse he hine; **nu he gealp, þæt he hine lufode**. Drihten, þu eart se þe me gelæddest of minre modor innoðe; (HC, Coparips: 950-1050)

Translation: […]; **Now he boasted that he loved him**.

These contexts illustrate how the speaker applies the use of *now* to focus on a particular point in time *within* the narrative. *Now* has a temporal meaning, but serves a narrative use by helping to bracket narrative boundaries. Depending on how the speaker wants to divide the different subsections of discourse, narrative *now* can be used to highlight specific units according to their level of importance in the story. Östman and Wårvik's (1994) analysis of narrative structures in the Old English *Fight at Finnsburh* suggests that whereas the use of "*þa*" denotes "larger events" on the primary level of the narrative foreground and "*ac*" (i.e. 'but') denotes "more precise events" on the secondary level", "*nu*" (i.e. 'now') perhaps [denotes] a third level of events" (in Brinton 1996: 97).

The reference of propositional *now* to points within narrative time not only serves text-structuring uses but also narrows the distance between the time in which the events are depicted and the time of speaking. The events become less distant to the discourse interactants and therefore we could say that, for speaker as well as addressee, this helps to create a sense of being more involved in the narrative. The co-occurrence of temporal *now* with a past tense, resulting in a reference to narrative time, can be found in all chronological layers of the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* and the *Corpus of English Dialogues*. The three illustrations below ((226)(227) and (228)) give examples from the Middle English period (1100-1500), the Early Modern English period (1500-1650) and the Modern English period (ca. 1650-[1710]) respectively.

(226) […] prud heo wes swiðe and modi. and liȝere and swikel. and wreðful and ontful. and forði heo bið inne þisse pine. **Nu bi-gon paul to wepen wunderliche** and mihhal heh engel þer weop forð mid him. [Þa] com ure drihten of heueneriche to heom on wunres liche and þus cweð. […] (HC, Cmlambet: 1150-1250)

Translation: She was […] treacherous, and full of wrath and envious, and therefore she is in this pain. **Now Paul began to weep fearfully** and Michael the archangel cried along with him. […]

(227) In fewe ȝerys aftyr þat þis ȝong man had weddyd he cam hom in-to Inglond to hys fadyr & hys modyr al chongyd in hys aray & hys condicyonis. For a-for-tyme hys clothys wer al daggyd & hys langage al uanyte; **now he weryd no daggys**, & hys dalyawns was ful of vertu. (HC, Cmkempe: 1420-1500)

Translation: […] after this young man had **wed**, he came home to England to his father and mother, completely changed in his array and his **manners**. Because before that time his clothes were all jagged and his language was all **vanity**; **Now he was not wearing any rags** and his talk was full of virtue.

(228) At Ten the next morning Stepwell waited on him at his Lodgings, and soon after they made for Sir Beetlehead's; who, the preceeding Night **told his Daughter, that now he hop'd** he had provided her a Husband whom she could no way except against […] (CED, d4foldis: 1692)

This temporal use of *now* offers an initial illustration of the speaker's authority in organising and directing a topical progression by referring to and by highlighting specific points within a larger discourse unit. In referring to narrative time, *now* can be used to indicate specific levels in the structure of a narrative. Though a propositional form, narrative *now* shows a close relationship to discourse strategies. In early stages of the evolution of *now*, contexts in which *now* refers to narrative time sometimes show slight overlap with functions that could be classified as textual. These can be seen as transitional contexts and are considered and discussed further in the sections below (esp. 18.4.).

18.3.3. Temporal comparisons: *and now*, *so now*, *but now*

The close association between temporal meanings of *now* and the manner in which *now* serves text-structuring strategies reaches an interesting point in the context of *temporal comparisons*. Schiffrin suggests that "the discourse structure of temporal comparisons neutralizes the distinction between *now* as a time adverb and *now* as a marker" (Schiffrin 1987: 231). If we take the example below ((229), for instance, we see that the use of *now* functions on two different levels. In one sense, *now* represents one part in a temporal contrast between two periods of time. One aspect of this comparison is referred to by a clause in the

past tense (*I did notice…*), and one by means of the adverbial *now*. In addition, *now* introduces "a new step in a series of actions" (Aijmer 2002: 60). The temporal contrast that is created therefore coincides with a (sub)topic differentiation.

(229) I did notice Poppy sort of taking her engine to pieces – and your husband saying: "all right **now put it together again**" – and she said […] (Aijmer 2002: 60)

Without definite prosodic indications, no distinction can be made between these two types of contrast. Aijmer suggests that the speaker "may have intended both interpretations to be present simultaneously" (2002: 60).

As an aside, it can be mentioned that in some contexts where a temporal comparison coincides with a topical contrast, the distinction between the two interpretations can be made when there are two or more occurrences of *now* appearing in one utterance. Because it is impossible for two adverbial uses of *now* to co-occur, one token can automatically be considered a pragmatic use (cp. Aijmer 2002: 61; Schiffrin 1987: 231). In the illustration below (230), which is a Middle English example taken from the *Helsinki Corpus*, three tokens of *now* are used in one single sentence. The second form that is used, *nu (ic eou habbe…iseid)* introduces a temporal subclause and can be classified as a conjunct. This use of *now* can be paraphrased as *now that.…* The third token of *now* (*nu scule ʒe understonden…*) has a temporal meaning and is in line with the meaning of "under the present circumstances; in view of what has happened" (OED, *now*, adv. AI.1b). In this context, *now* can be paraphrased as "now that this has been said/explained". As such, this use indicates a sense of result or conclusion, and is directed towards the addressee. Finally, it is the first, sentence-initial use of *now* which is non-propositional. This use is followed by a form of address (*nu leoue broðre*) and has a discourse-structuring function, introducing a final step in an ongoing narrative.

(230) **Nu** leoue broðre **nu ic eou habbe þet godspel iseid** anfaldeliche **nu scule ʒe understonden** twafaldeliche þet hit bi-tacnet. (HC, Cmlambet: 1150-1250)

Translation: Now dear brothers, now that I have explained the gospel in simple terms, now you shall/should understand what it means in two ways.

In the following phrases, the use of *now* lies very close to its adverbial, temporal meaning. The tokens do, however, illustrate initial appearances of temporal comparisons in our historical data which are clearly semantic, but may make clear how this context can be connected to discourse-structuring meanings. The context of the examples below is formed by an utterance-initial use of *now* and a conjunction such as *and*, *but*, *yet* or *so*. Conjunctions can

influence the nature of a (temporal comparison). In examples (231) to (234) is shown that the co-occurrence between *now* and *but* or *yet* results in a contrastive effect. This effect is engendered by the combined meanings of the two elements: an aspect of contrast (viz. from *but*) is combined with an orientation to upcoming topics (viz. from *now*), or in Schiffrin's words, the co-occurrence marks "the contrastive relationship between the subtopics" (Schiffrin 1987: 326) as well as "the speaker's orientation to an upcoming subtopic" (ibid.).

(231) […] and some tyme y was ryche; **but now** haue y no frende ne kyn (HC, Cmbrut3: 1350-1420)

     Translation: […] and at a certain time I was rich; but now I have friend nor kin.

(232) […] for ye sye well your selfe [that] hit was feble **but now hit is myche worse**. (CEECS, Marchall: 1440-1476)

     Translation: […] for you see well yourself that it was feeble, **but now it is much worse**.

(233) I did not at that time thinke it was the deuill: **but now** I see it could be none other. (CED, Dialogue concerning Witches: publication date 1593)

(234) I coulde not hitherto hope of any fauor from you**, yet now** my indeuors shall euer bee such towards you as that I will all wais aprooue my selfe […] (CEECS, Cornwall: 1613-1644)

In the examples above, the collocation of *but/yet* with *now* introduces a contrast between two situations. When *now* co-occurs with *and* (e.g. example (232)), the combination indicates "topic continuation" (Aijmer 2002: 73), with an added resultive meaning

(235) […] I recomaund me unto your Grace, mervelynge moch that I never herd form you syns […], so often as I have sent and wrytten to you. **And now am I left** post a lone in effect (CEECS, Origina1: 1418-1529)

     Translation: […] I commend myself to your Grace, wondering why I never heard from you since […], so often as I have sent [news] and have written to you. And now I am actually (?) left unaccompanied […].

Quirk et al. add that the combination of *and* and *now* not only links two (sub)topics, but also "leads to a new stage in the sequence of thought" (Quirk et al. 1972: 667). The use of *and now* does not create a contrastive effect but still presents a difference between two situations with an underlying tone of continuation. The clause-initial use of *so now*, as in (236), indicates a relationship of conclusion between the clause introduced by *so now* and the preceding one. The combination can also be called resultive, but has, in comparison to *and now*, a more informal use (Quirk et al. 1985: 635).

(236) I discharged my pockets of all the money I had: and as I came pennilesse within the walls of that Citie at my first comming thither; **so now** at my departing from thence, I came moneylesse out of it againe. (HC, Cetrav2a: 1570-1640)

The combination of a contrastive, continuative or resultive conjunction with an utterance-initial use of *now* forms a context with a clear propositional meaning and therefore differs from the contexts in which the distinction between semantic and textual meanings is neutralised. However, this co-occurrence does entail a situational (topic) shift or a change in perspective from the speaker's point of view, and can therefore be seen as an initial stepping-stone for the further transition between propositional meanings and text-structuring functions of *now*. The co-occurrence of *now* with contrastive or continuative conjunctions appears in the earliest layers of all three corpora.

Table 67 gives an overview of the types of conjunction collocating with *now* in utterance-initial position. The ***continuative*** or ***resultive*** category includes co-occurrences with the conjunctions *and ~*, *and so ~*, *so that ~* and *(so) as ~*. The category indicating ***contrast*** or ***concession*** includes collocations with *but ~*, *yet ~*, *(al)though ~*, *whereas ~*, *notwithstanding ~* and *howbeit ~*. Conjunctions classified in the category ***reason*** include *for ~*, *because ~*, *and therefore ~* and *wherefore ~*. A fourth group contains combinations in which *now* precedes the conjunction, which in turn denotes an alternative option (*now if*) or a concessive use *(~ (al)though*; *~ yet)*. The group labelled "other" contains combinations of pragmatic markers, repetitions of *now*, or exclamations, such as *now then*, *well now*, *now now* or *Ah! Now*. A more detailed table is provided in Appendix 4.

Context	HC	CEECS	CED	Total
Continuation / Result	176	91	143	410
Contrast / Concession	97	52	90	239
Reason	40	14	17	71
[Alternative option / Concession]	16	4	18	38
Other	23	3	28	54
Total	352	164	296	812

Table 67: Collocations of conjunctions + *now* **in all three corpora: Actual figures**

The collocations presented here not only give information with regard to the context of an upcoming topic or perspective, but also define the connection between the new topic and the

preceding utterances. Finell mentions that the "topic changing signals" in her historical data, i.e. markers such as *well*, *now*, *anyhow*, *besides* or *of course*, "are all preceded by *and*, *but*, or *well*" (Finell 1992: 724).

18.4. *Now* as an indicator of textual progression

In her historical research on topic changers in personal letters, Finell finds that the "topic changing signals" that occur in her data are not only preceded by *and*, *but*, or *well*, but that they also

> "never stand alone as topic changers, but seem to always need to be reinforced by an additional disjunct and/or a phrase explicitly telling the addressee that she is now taking a different run in her writing, either by introducing a new topic, closing a topic, or shifting the focus of the topic" (Finell 1992: 724).

These phrases, in which a speaker explicitly announces an upcoming topic change, are frequently seen in our historical data and can be considered an important first step in the further semantic-development of *now* as a pragmatic marker. Before we go into this in detail, the forms of appearance of this kind of topic-introducing phrase and the total frequencies in our corpora are discussed in the following section.

According to a suggestion made by Quirk et al. (1985: 640), the evolution from a temporal adverbial to a pragmatic marker "takes place when there is the implication of a verb of speaking". This means that the semantic-pragmatic development of *now* is hypothesised to originate in a structure such as the following:

[One can say] *now* **[that…]**" or "*Now* **[I will say that…]**".

According to this structural frame, in which *now* co-occurs with a verb of speaking, the transition from a temporal adverb to a marker of discourse-structure evolves from a structure in which the speaker explicitly announces an upcoming topic change to the addressee. The temporal succession which is normally indicated by adverbial *now* is here said to be "converted into the logical succession of discourse" when a verb of speaking is implied (Quirk et al. 1985: 640). This hypothesis in fact ties in with Finell's suggestion that 'verbally extended topic changers' become more compressed in their historical evolution (Finell 1992: 732). She mentions, for instance, the phrases *And now Sir let mee tell you* or *And [now] let*

mee aske you as illustrations of contexts that explicitly introduce a new topic. Phrases such as these can therefore be considered examples of contexts in which the topic-changing function of *now* originates. The importance for speaker and addressee is two-fold. Explicit phrases like these not only give the speaker control over the conversational floor, the use of these explicit topic announcements also guides the addressee towards an upcoming topic change.

Finell (1992) suggests that *well* and *now* have been used as topic introducers from the end of the 9th century onwards (1992: 732-733), in contrast with markers such as *so*, *after all* or *of course* which have only adopted pragmatic meanings from the 16th or 17th century onwards. Table 68, Table 69 and Table 70 below present frequency figures from our historical corpus data, divided according to consecutive periods of time. These data include all utterance-initial uses of *now* from our three corpora. Each table contains figures for different types of "topic changing contexts" in which *now* is incorporated. The figures are divided into two main categories. The first and most important one has been labelled the *verbal collocation* group, because this category includes contexts in which a verb of speaking – either explicitly or implicitly – announces an upcoming topic change. The category consists of two subcategories. The first one is illustrated by examples (237) to (240) and covers tokens of *now* that co-occur with an explicit verb of speaking such as *tell* or *say*.

(237) And **now y shal telle yow** of þe noble Erl Thomas of Lancastre. (HC, Cmbrut3: 1350-1420)

Translation: **And now I shall tell you** of the noble Early Thomas of Lancaster.

(238) **And now**, my dearest Cosin and friend, fearing to renew those paines of your head by the reading of thease […], **I forbear to say for the present any thing else** in thease then what my heart now and at all times inforceth mee (CEECS, Cornwall: 1613-1644)

(239) **And now**, my Lord, **give me leave to tell you** how sore it presseth upon the zeale […] (CEECS, Wesa: 1632-1642)

(240) **Now** Jenny, **I'll tell thee** what made our other Merchant, Sir Flat-face Puppy, scatter Words and Threats about my Credit, to make thee Uneasy, and endeavour to make me Ridiculous. (CED, English Lucian: publication date 1703)

A second category within the *verbal collocations* group contains those uses of *now* which explicitly announce the speaker's intention to shift to a new topic or to conclude a previous one, without the occurrence of a verb of speaking. The verbs that are used do support the topic change. The speaker can state, for instance, that he or she will *return to* (a main topic), *give an example* (within a subtopic), *leave* (e.g. a preface). This category is illustrated in examples (241) to (243).

(241) […] neuerthelesse chryst Iesu hyr housbande is her heed. & almyghty god is hyr heed also. **But now let vs retourne to our instruccyon.** Thus than ye vnderstande how that in the vnyuersall chyrche of chryste remayneth the spyryte of trouthe for euer. (HC, Ceserm1a: 1500-1570)

(242) For a bodye hath dyuers lynes metyng sometime in one corner. **Now to geue you example of triangles**, there is one whiche is all of croked lynes, and […] (HC, Cescie1b: 1500-1570)

(243) **Now**, my lord, **I will leave this long preface, and come to** some matters in my former letters. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

"Verbal collocations", as they are labelled and used in this thesis, can be defined as

> contexts in which *now* co-occurs with a verb of speaking (the most frequently occurring verbs being e.g. *secgan* or *say*, *tell*, *narrate*, *ask*) or with the implication of a verb of speaking. The collocations make explicit reference to the progression of discourse and to the announcement of an upcoming (sub)topic. Because they comment on the structure of a text or narrative, they can also be called "topical metacomments" or, following Finell's terminology, "verbally extended topic changers" (Finell 1992: 732). Because they are frequently uttered by a speaker, they are generally based in the speaker's orientation towards the organisation of discourse.

Apart from these two subclassifications, the tables below give frequency figures (in the category labelled *Quotation*) for utterance-initial tokens of *now* that are embedded in a context of direct reported speech. As illustrated in examples (244) - (246), quotational uses are also accompanied by a verb of speaking (e.g. *ða he cuæð: "Nu …"*; *"Now", quod he, "…"*).

(244) Ymb ða hwilendlican tida sanctus Paulus spræc, **ða he cuæð**: Nu is hiersumnesse tima & nu sint hælnesse dagas. (HC, Cocura: 850-950)

Translation: About the transitory age Saint Paul spoke, as he said: Now is the time of obedience and now are the days of salvation.

(245) So the good Wife was constrayned to fetch more, for feare lest the Pan should burn; And when he had them, he put them in the pan. **Now, quod he,** if you have no butter, the pan will burn and the eggs too. (CED, The Sack-Full of Newes: publication date 1673)

(246) As soon as he was gone, Mr. Froth began to consider with himself what was best to do, stick to the first Design, or discover all to your Ladyship. **Now, said he,** have I a fair Opportunity of turning Callid's Knavery to my own advantage, by discovering all to (^Amoranda^) ; (CED, The Reform'd Coquet: Speech event date 1724/publication date 1725)

These uses do not announce a topic change in the same way the other *verbal collocation* category does, but the use of direct reported speech can connect a speaker to a particular attitude, and explicitly show that it is the speaker who introduces a possible topic change.

The earliest occurrences of verbal collocations are found in the Old English period of the *Helsinki Corpus* (Table 68). The data from the HC data include data from the Old English period up until 1710, and with an average of 23.4 percent verbal collocations, the HC displays relatively larger percentages than the two later corpora. The highest numbers (up to 26.8%) can be found in the three early periods between 950 and 1250. In comparison, the numbers from later periods in the HC are lower, in particular from the second half of the Middle English period onwards (i.e. ca. 1300). This decrease is reflected in the data from the CED and CEECS (cp. Table 69 and Table 70 below).

HC	Verbal Collocation	Quotation	None/Invalid	Total Initial
< 850	100.0 (1)	-	-	100.0 (1)
850-950	6.15 (4)	**26.15** (17)	67.7 (44)	100.0 (65)
950 -1050	**17.2** (51)	**7.1** (21)	75.7 (224)	100.0 (296)
1050 -1150	**26.8** (11)	-	73.2 (30)	100.0 (41)
1150 -1250	**21.6** (24)	-	78.4 (87)	100.0 (111)
1250 -1350	14.8 (16)	3.7 (4)	81.5 (88)	100.0 (108)
1350 -1420	15.4 (22)	4.2 (6)	80.4 (115)	100.0 (143)
1420 -1500	14.6 (30)	3.4 (7)	82.0 (169)	100.0 (206)
1500 -1570	18.6 (31)	1.2 (2)	80.2 (134)	100.0 (167)
1570 -1640	8.3 (18)	5.5 (12)	86.2 (187)	100.0 (217)
1640 -1710	13.6 (17)	1.6 (2)	84.8 (106)	100.0 (125)
Total	**(225)**	**(71)**	(1184)	(1480)

Table 68: Verbal collocations in the HC: percentages (and actual figures) per historical period.

Starting from 1417 and 1560 respectively, the data of the CEECS and CED in total offer a lower number of verbal collocations than the HC does. As in section 10.3., the data from the CEECS are presented according to five chronological periods, corresponding to the periods between 1400 and 1500 (A), 1500 and 1600 (B) and 1600-1700 (C), with two overlapping periods (AB and BC) in between. Similarly, the data from the CED were divided into time stretches of fifty years each. In the CED (Table 69), we see a fairly stable evolution without massive increases or decreases – but with an overall average of about 6.8 percent tokens that are accompanied by a text-structuring verbal phrase.

CED	Verbal Collocation	Quotation	None	Total Initial
1550-1600	7.5 (19)	8.3 (21)	84.2 (213)	100.0 (253)
1600-1650	6.4 (19)	7.8 (23)	85.8 (253)	100.0 (295)
1650-1700	5.7 (19)	5.7 (19)	88.6 (294)	100.0 (332)
1700-1760	8.7 (13)	8.1 (12)	83.2 (124)	100.0 (149)
Total	(70)	(75)	(884)	(1029)

Table 69: Verbal collocations in the CED: percentages (and actual figures) per historical period

The CEECS (Table 70), however, displays a tentative increase – from 2.8 % before 1500 to higher numbers (12.7% in average) in the period after 1600. In this table, the low frequency of actual figures must be taken into account when considering these relative percentages. A comparison shows that this percentage is still lower than the average percentage in the *Helsinki Corpus*.

CEECS	Verbal Collocation	Quotation	None	Total Initial
A (1400-1500)	2.8 (1)	-	97.2 (35)	100.0 (36)
AB (-------------)	-	-	100.0 (19)	100.0 (19)
B (1500-1600)	11.6 (11)	3.1 (3)	85.3 (81)	100.0 (95)
BC (-------------)	12.5 (2)	-	87.5 (14)	100.0 (16)
C (1600-1700)	13.9 (16)	-	86.1 (99)	100.0 (115)
Total	**(30)**	**(3)**	**(248)**	**(281)**

Table 70: Verbal collocations in the CEECS: percentages (and actual figures) per historical period

From a quantitative point of view, the historical corpus data confirm that *now* is frequently found as an element in a discourse-structuring phrase. More specifically, the temporal meaning of *now* can be used in a "topical metacomment" (see definition above, section 18.4) through which the speaker explicitly announces upcoming topic changes to the addressee. From the earliest Old English data onwards, *now* can be combined with a verb of speaking, to form a metacomment which introduces topic shifts or allows a speaker to communicate his intentions with regard to how the upcoming discourse units should be structured. In addition, the occurrence of these metacomments also indicates that the propositional meaning of the adverb *now* is applied in a structure that illustrates personal choices in discourse structuring. The fact that a speaker guides the progress of a narrative structure implies a subjectified function.

Table 69 and Table 70 indicate that this frame of verbal collocations (i.e. topical metacomments) continues to be used up to the present day. The fact that the figures of these verbal collocations are highest in the Old English stages of development suggests that the collocations have in fact something to do with the marker's further development from a temporal adverb to a text-structuring indication of discourse time. If so, then our data echo the suggestion made by Quirk et al. (1985) that the implication of a verb of speaking advances the pragmatic evolution of *now*. A further detailed discussion of the layers of semantic-pragmatic meaning that are visible in the Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English data of our corpora aims to reveal in which ways temporal meanings are transferred to textual uses (and to interpersonal uses).

18.5. Old English layers of semantic-pragmatic meaning

18.5.1. Old English *nu*: topical metacomments as indications of narrative structure

Brinton (1996) states that for the discussion of "text deictics" in older periods of English the notion of a "textual" function needs to be "expanded from a strictly interclausal to a larger discourse context" (1996: 268). For deictic adverbs that function on a discourse-structuring level, a textual function therefore not only specifies "a strictly interclausal" connection but basically indicates how various speaker utterances are structured as text. Old English text deictics such as *her* (i.e. *here*), *þa* (i.e. *then*), *hereafter*, *anon*, and *nu* (i.e. *now*) in particular have been described as "narrative structuring devices" (e.g. Östman and Wårvik 1994; Brinton 1996) that can be used to shift topics (or characters in a narrative) or to create textual cohesion (Brinton 1996: 268) in a broader stretch of discourse. This section takes a closer look at how Old English topic changes take form. As seen in the data from section 18.4., an initial step in the evolution of *now* as a marker of topic changes can be seen in contexts where *now* collocates with a verb of speaking. These collocations display high frequencies particularly in the Old English period and the early Middle English period of our historical corpus data (Table 71).

HC	Verbal Collocation	(Quotation)	None/Invalid	Total Initial
< 850	100.0 (1)	-	-	100.0 (1)
850-950	6.15 (4)	**26.15** (17)	67.7 (44)	100.0 (65)
950 -1050	**17.2** (51)	**7.1** (21)	75.7 (224)	100.0 (296)

Table 71: Verbal collocations in the HC: Old English: Percentages (and actual figures)

The verbal collocations from the Old English period consist of an adverbial token (OE *nu*, i.e. *now*), and a verb of speaking such as *gereccan* (i.e. narrate, say), *secgan* (say), *axian* (= ask), *gecyðan* (tell, announce) or *biddan* (ask). Their contexts represent the speaker's announcement that he or she will move on to talk about a new topic, or conclude the discussion of a previous one. The manner in which topic changes are formed take on a number of different shapes. Many of the topical metacomments collocating with *nu* indicate an emphasis on the speaker's intention to start a new section in an ongoing narrative (examples (247) and (248)).

(247) Sume preostas nellað þicgan þæt husel, þe hyg halgiað. **Nu willað we eow secgað, hu seo boc segð be þam**: Presbiter missam celebrans et non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia sua, anathema sit; Se mæsse preost, þe mæssað and ne dear ðæt husel ðicgan, wat hine scildigne, se is amansumad. (HC, Coaelet3: 950-1050)

Translation: Some priests do not want to take/eat the Eucharist, which they consecrate. **Now we want to tell you what the book says** thereon.

(248) Men ða leofostan hwilon ær we rehton eow ðone pistol þe se halga Hieronimus sette be forðsiðe þære eadigan Marian cristes meder. Þurh þone he adwæscte ða dwollican gesetnysse þe samlærede men sædon be hire forðsiðe; **Nu wylle we eow gereccan be ðam halgum godspelle** þe man æt ðyssere mæssan eow ætforan rædde; (HC, Coaelhom: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now we want to tell you about the holy gospel** […]

Of the 56 verbal metacomments in the period between 850 and 1050 (see figures in Table 71; i.e. not counting contexts of direct reported speech), 10 indicate an intention to narrate or elaborate on a new (sub)topic (also cp. overview in Table 73). The subject forms that are used in co-occurrence with the verbs of speaking emphasise the part of the narrator in the announcement of discourse changes. Fries (1994) found that Old English *nu* frequently occurs with verbs of saying, and mainly collocates with a first person subject form (either singular (*ic*) or plural (*we*)) or sometimes with a second person addressee such as *þe* or *eow* (in Brinton 1996: 13). In Fries' study, the results are based on religious or secular instructive texts and "nonimaginative narrative texts" (ibid.). The verbal collocations in our historical data offer

similar results with regard to subject forms. A majority of tokens occurs with a first person subject, i.e. 18 out of 56 tokens for the singular form (*I*) and 16 out of 56 for the plural form (*we*) (see Table 72). The second person address form *you* (singular and plural) takes up 11 out of 56 tokens.

	I	You (sg.)	He/It	We	You (pl.)	They	Rest	Total Verbal Collocation
< 850	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
850-950	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	4
950 -1050	16	6	4	14	5	4	2	51
Total	**18**	**6**	**5**	**16**	**5**	**4**	**2**	**56**

Table 72: Collocations of *now* with verbal metacomments in Old English: Subject forms (HC): Actual figures

In close to one third (21 out of 56) of these instances, an addressee is mentioned (e.g. *Nu wylle we eow gereccan...*; *Nu ic eow secge…*).

Phrases indicating the speaker's intention, such as *Now I will say that…*, *Now let us…* or *Now we will tell you* illustrate a stage in the development of *now* in which temporal and textual meanings overlap. The temporal meaning of adverbial *nu/now* is transparent and indicates a temporal reference to what will happen "now" (i.e. "néxt" in the narrative) in a propositional sense (also cp. Fries (1994)). In addition, *nu/now* can in these contexts also be seen as a text deictic which specifies a particular point within the temporal progression of the narrative. The deictic meaning of *nu* or *now* specifies a particular (new) stage in the speaker's narrative and as such serves to foreground or emphasise the upcoming part of discourse. Alternatively, the temporal reference of *nu/now* can also indicate the result of a previous topic. In (249) *nu* functions as an element in a topical metacomment which tells the hearer that a previous part of discourse has ended. Nu co-occurs with a verb of speaking, and the combination of the two elements indicates to which point (in textual time) the topical progression has come.

(249) **Nu hæbbe we gereaht** be welan & be anwalde, & þæt ilce we magon reccan be þæm þrim ðe we unareht habbað; þæ is weorðscipe & foremærnes & willa. (HC, Coboeth: 850-950)

Translation: **Now we have related** of riches and of of the sole ruler, and similarly we can tell about the three (things) that we have not explained; which is glory and eminence and will.

An overview of the different types of verbal context in the Old English part of the *Helsinki Corpus* is given in Table 73. Apart from the 10 phrases in which the speaker's intention to introduce a topic change is specified, *nu* can occur in a context with a declarative mood (32 out of 56 tokens), with an imperative or adhortative mood (3/56), e.g. as in *Now let's…*, or can co-occur with a verb of hearing (11/56).

	Total
Intention	**10**
Declarative	**32**
Adhortative (*now let's…*); Imperative	**3**
Verbs of hearing	**11**
Total	**56**

Table 73: Overview verbal collocations: Types of context in Old English data (HC): Actual figures

A topic change can be introduced by a metacomment in which utterance-initial *nu* co-occurs with a verb in a declarative mood. This is the case in 32 of the 56 verbal comments in the Old English period of the HC (Table 73). In example (250), *nu* collocates with a verb of speaking (*cwæð*) to form a phrase that marks a new subsection in the ongoing narrative.

(250) Ða cwæð se Hælend to him, min mete is þæt ic wyrce þæs willan ðe me sende, þæt ic fullfremme his weorc. Hv ne secge ge þæt nu gyt synt feowur monðas ær man ripan mæge; **Nu ic eow secge**, hebbað upp eowre eagan & geseoð þas eardas þæt hig synt scire to ripene. & se ðe ripð nimð mede & gaderaþ wæstm on ecum life þæt ætgædere geblission se þe sæwþ & se ðe ripð. (HC, cowsgosp: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now I tell you**, lift up your selves and see […]

In examples (251) and (252), *nu* is similarly followed by a verb of speaking (*cwæð*; *secgað*) in a declarative mood. The subject forms that are used are a third person singular and plural respectively. *Nu* forms the start of a phrase that introduces an upcoming section in an ongoing narrative, and in addition also highlights one particular point of view. The phrases *Nu cwæð se halga Beda* from example (251) or *Nu secgað sume preostas, þæt…* in (252), for instance, announce that the upcoming piece of information will indicate the point of view of *se halga Beda* and *sume preostas* respectively. The use of *nu* in utterance-initial position is therefore two-fold. The deictic sense of adverbial *nu* marks specific stages within the progression of discourse – and highlights the upcoming subsection of discourse. This text-structuring aspect is similar to the topical metacomments in which the topical progression is explicitly guided by

a first person speaker. Whereas in those earlier-mentioned contexts the narrative structure was explicitly directed by the narrator, the narrator here refers to the points of view of a third party. The upcoming discourse unit in turn represents one specific opinion within a larger frame of discourse. In illustration (251), *nu* establishes the opinion of Bede. In example (252), the clause introduced by *nu* highlights the point of view of "sume preostas".

(251) Forþy ne sceall nan mann awægan þæt he sylfwylles behæt þam ælmihtigan Gode, þonne he adlig bið, þe læs þe he sylf losige, gif he alihð Gode þæt. **Nu cwæð se halga Beda** þe ðas boc gedihte, þæt hit nan wundor nys, þæt se halga cynincg untrumnysse gehæle nu he on heofonum leofað, for ðan þe he wolde gehelpan, þa þa he her on life wæs, þearfum and wannhalum, and him bigwiste syllan. (HC, Coaelive: 950-1050)

Translation: Because no man shall destroy that which he promised of his own will to the almighty God, when he is diseased, all the less he destroys, if he relieves that through God. **Now the saintly Bede,** who wrote the book, **says** that is is no wonder that the holy king heals illness now that he lives in heaven, because […]

(252) Forþonþe se canon us segd: gif he ofslagen bið on folces gefeohte oþþe for sumere ceaste, þæt man nateshwon ne mot him mæssian fore ne him fore gebiddan, ac bebyrian swaþeah. **Nu secgað sume preostas**, þæt Petrus hæfde sweord, þaþa he of asloh þæs forscyldigan eare, þæs iudeiscan þeowan, swaswa we rædað be þam. **Ac** we secgað to soþan, þæt se soðfæsta hælend, ne þa þe him folgodon, ne ferdon gewæpnode, ne mid nanum wige. (HC, Coaelet3: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now some priests say** that Peter had a sword, with which he cut off the ears of the wicked, […] **But** we truly say, that the true lord, does not fight with […] anyone.

In this context, *nu* introduces a subtopic (i.e. an opinion) which can be contrasted to other subsections of the narrative, or to other represented opinions. The idea that the metacomment, of which *nu* is a prominent element, introduces a contrast between different subsections of a larger discourse unit is stressed by the use of *ac* (i.e. *but*) in example (252). The sentence in which the new subtopic is announced (*Nu secgað…*) is succeeded by a sentence which is introduced by the contrastive element *ac*. In this sense, the co-occurrence between the presentation of one point of view on the one hand (*Nu secgað sume preostas…*), and a following contrastive subsection or opinion (*Ac we secgað…*) highlights the fact that *now* can be used to put forward specific topics and contrast them with alternative ones. A similar contrast can be seen in example (253). *Nu* introduces a subsection within a broader narrative frame that is subsequently compared to and contrasted with a subtopic that presents an alternative point of view (*Nu cweðað sume men…ac…*, i.e. *Now some men say that…but…*).

(253) He bið swa awend, swa swa heo hine atent. **Nu cweðað sume me**n þe ðis gescead ne cunnon þæt se mona hine wende be ðan ðe hit werian sceall on ðam monðe, **ac** hine ne went næfre naðor, ne weder ne unweder, of ðam ðe his gecynde is. Men magon swa ðeah þa ðe fyrwite beoð cepan be his bleo & be ðære sunnan, oððe þæs roder (HC, Cotempo: 950-1050)

Translation: […] **Now some men** who do not know this difference **say** that the moon turns because it will be good(?) weather that month, but it never turns anywhere, neither in good weather nor bad weather […] away from its natural place of origin. […]

We could see these context therefore as initial steps in the development of more subjective text-structuring uses, through which a speaker can posit a particular point of view, and create contexts in which other opinions can be placed in alignment or in disalignment to the opinion of the speaker. This transitional aspect is discussed in greater detail from section 18.5.3. onwards.

18.5.2. *Now you will hear…*: Involvement of the hearer in topical progression

Imperative forms and verbs of hearing

Of the 56 Old English contexts in which *nu* functions as an element in a topical metacomment or "verbal collocation" (definition see section 18.4.), 3 tokens co-occur with an imperative verb form, through which the speaker addresses the hearer, or with an adhortative verb form (e.g. *Now let's…*) in which the addressee is encourages to "follow" the speaker in the change to a new topic. *Now* is placed in medial position in the majority of adhortative contexts in the *Helsinki Corpus*, as in example (254).

(254) **Uton nu** on Englisc ymbe þys be dæle **wurdlian**. (HC, Cobyrhtf: 950-1050)

Translation: **Let us now in part talk about this** in English.

With *now* in utterance-initial position, adhortative meanings are therefore scarce and the examples below ((255) and (256)) are chosen as the clearest Old English examples of an imperative or instructive context. Both illustrations may give an indication of the initial involvement of the addressee in the topical progression of discourse. The first example is taken from an Old English riddle. In example (256), the phrase *Nu (þonne, if)…sege me þinne naman* addresses the hearer and urges him/her to give a specific response.

(255) **Nu me þisses gieddes ondsware ywe**, se hine on mede wordum secgan hu se wudu hatte. (HC, Coriddle: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now reveal this riddle's answer to me**, (he) who dares to say in words how this wood is called.

(256) Ða eode þæt mæden to Apollonio and mid forwandigendre spræce cwæð: ðeah ðu stille sy and unrot, þeah ic þine æðelborennesse on ðe geseo. **Nu þonne gif ðe to hefig ne þince, sege me**

þinne naman and þin gelymp arece me. Ða cwæð Apollonius: Gif ðu for neode axsast æfter minum naman, ic secge þe ic hine forleas on sæ. (HC, Coapollo: 950-1050)

Translation: then the maiden went to Apollonius and spoke with an honouring voice: though you are quiet and sad, yet I see your nobility in you. **Now then**, if you don't consider it too difficult, [then] **tell me your name** and tell me what happened to you.

Apart from these contexts, in which the hearer is addressed and encouraged to look forward to an upcoming topic, our Old English data show a second context in which the collocating verb itself has reference to the "textual influence" of the addressee. Apart from with prototypical verbs of speaking such as *specan* and *secgan* among others, *nu* frequently collocates with verbs of hearing (e.g. *hyran*, *gehyran*) in the Old English layers of the *Helsinki Corpus*. In 11 out of 56 tokens, the start of a new topic or the end of a previous subsection of discourse is indicated by means of a verbal collocation which contains a verb of hearing. The focus of the topical progression is, in other words, reversed in the sense that the emphasis is not put on the intentions of the speaker (with regard to the organisation of discourse), but on the hearer as a receiver of information. The verbs of hearing appear with a modal (*now you may hear*; cp. example (257)), in a present (perfect) or in a past tense (examples (258) and (259)). In the first example below ((257), the phrase *Nu ðu miht gehyran*, i.e. *Now you may hear…* introduces a new subsection in a larger textual unit. The perspective of this phrase is one of reception because it is the speaker who announces to the hearer what her or she can expect from the upcoming part of discourse.

(257) Hwæðre me þær dryhtnes þegnas, freondas gefrunon, ond gyredon me golde ond seolfre. **Nu ðu miht gehyran**, hæleð min se leofa, þæt ic bealuwara weorc gebiden hæbbe, sarra sorga. (HC, Codream: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now you may hear**, my beloved hero, that/how I have endured the work of criminals, grievous pains.

In examples (258) and (259), the reference is to a past tense, viz. to the textual units that have preceded in the narrative. The phrases *Now you have heard* or *Now (before) we heard that…* illustrate the speaker's attempt to recapitulate what has been said in the preceding part of discourse. These phrases explicitly address the hearer and allow him or her to be involved in the topical progression of the narrative. Also mark that the phrase *Nu ge habbað gehyred…* in example (258) is followed by a verbal topic-introducing phrase (*Nu willæ we eow secgan…*), which shows that the closing-off of a previous topic can be combined with the introduction of new one, from different perspectives (viz. from the point of view of the speaker or the

addressee). In (259) the verb of hearing is combined with a verb of communication (*nu we gehyrdon secgan*). The phrase is preceded by a direct address to the hearer (*Broðor mine,…*).

(258) ðæt teoðe bebod is: Non concupisces ullam rem proximi tui; Ne gewilna ðu oðres mannes æhta. Hyt bið riht, þæt gehwa hæbbe þæt, þæt he sylf begitt, butan he his geunne oþrum menn sylf willes, dincg oþþe he hit forgange. **Nu ge habbað gehyred be þam healican tyn bebodum. Nu willæ we eow secgan sceortlice** eac swilce be þam eahta heafodleahtrum, ðe ða unwaran menn fordeð and witodlice besencað on ða ecan witu. (HC, Coaelet3: 950-1050)

Translation: **Now you have heard about the noble ten commandments. Now we also want to tell you briefly** about the eight deadly sins in a like manner, […]

(259) toðon hie ðam Halgan Gaste onfengon on heora sefan & þone eorðlican egsan forsawon, & he him forgeaf eces lifes hyht. **Broðor mine**, **nu we gehyrdon secgan þa weorðunga þyses ondweardan dæges**, & eac þa gife þe ðam halgan apostolum seald wæs on ðysne ondweardan dæg. (HC, Coblick: 950-1050)

Translation: **My brothers, now we have heard** the story (lit. now we heard **narrate**…) **of the glory of these present days**, […]

The co-occurrence of *nu* with verbs of hearing was mentioned by Fries (1994), who noted that the collocation invites addressees to listen to what follows (also cp. Brinton 1996: 13). Not only in the Old English period, but also in the Middle English and Early Modern English periods of our data, *now* occurs with verbs of hearing with a past or future topical reference. By means of a verbal collocation with a past topical reference, the speaker summarises a preceding part of discourse – which creates a sense of involvement for the addressee or makes sure that he or she is, in that respect, on the same level of understanding as the speaker. Alternatively, the speaker may tell the hearer what to expect in an upcoming (sub)topic (e.g. *Now you shall hear of…*; *Now wee shall heare what maner of wryting is contayned in thys booke*; *Now listen and I shall informe thee…*).

In the Old English data of the *Helsinki Corpus*, *nu/now* appears as a structuring element in narratives and in discourse. In a stage where the temporal meaning of *nu* is still transparent, the adverbial can be used to build cohesion between different steps or (sub)topics within a larger narrative frame, to indicate text deixis or to announce topic shifts. Finell stresses that "[t]opic changers are speaker- and hearer-oriented, as well as discourse-oriented" (1992: 729) and therefore "facilitate the communication by drawing attention to the way in which the speaker wants to organize his/her discourse" (ibid.). The role of the speaker in the creation of discourse structure lies in his or her ability to decide exactly how utterances are connected, which topics are highlighted and how topics and subtopics are organised. The topical progression of discourse is therefore to a large extent guided by subjective factors. In

the Old English use of *now* as an explicit marker of topic changes, the subjective influence of the speaker is reflected in a number of aspects. "Topical metacomments" are an explicit means by which the speaker can announce upcoming topic breaks. The high frequency of first person subject forms used in the context of these verbal metacomments primarily indicates the importance of the speaker's perspective in the topical organisation of discourse. In addition, in one third of these instances a hearer is explicitly addressed and is therefore involved in the progression of the narrative. The value of "first- and second-person pronouns" in combination with verbs of speaking and text-deictic expressions was also noted by Brinton (1996: 13), who suggested that this "points to an interactive function for these forms".

As a second point, the explicit announcement of an upcoming topic not only primarily indicates the speaker's intention, but also warns the hearer about upcoming topic changes. The wish to make the addressee involved is strengthened when the metacomment appears in an adhortative or imperative form (e.g. *Now let's speak of…*), or with a verb of hearing (e.g. *Now you will hear a discussion of…*).

Direct reported speech

An additional point which marks the value of text-structuring as well as attitudinal meanings is the fact that, in the Old English period of the *Helsinki Corpus*, 38 utterance-initial tokens of *now/nu* occur in the context of direct reported speech (cp. Table 71). Tokens of *now* that serve as introductions for quotations were categorised as a specific category in the "verbal collocation" division.

As is illustrated in examples (260), (261) and (262), the context of direct reported speech does not necessarily affect the pragmatic level of the adverb. The meaning of *nu* in (260) is propositional and has a temporal reference.

(260) Ymb ða hwilendlican tida sanctus Paulus spræc, **ða he cuæð**: **Nu is hiersumnesse tima** & nu sint hælnesse dagas. (HC, Cocura: 850-950)

In (261) the deictic reference of *nu (ic ongite)*, i.e. *now (I understand)* is based on what has been said in the previous speaker turn. The point in time which the speaker indicates as the moment of "understanding" is connected to (and engendered by) the information given by the interlocutor. The temporal meaning of the adverb is therefore complemented by an aspect that can broadly be considered textual.

(261) Þonne ne bið hit þeah þæt hehste good ne þa selestan gesælða; forðæm hi ne bioð ece. **Þa andswarode ic & cwæð**: **Nu ic ongite** genog sweotole þæt ða selestan gesælða ne sint on þisse weorulde. Þa cwæð he: Ne þearf nan mon on ðys andweardan life spyrian æfter þæm soðum gesælðum, […]. (HC, Coboeth: 850-950)

Translation: Then is it not them who are the highest good nor the noblest felicities; because they are not eternal. Then I answered and said: **Now I** sufficiently clearly **understand** that the highest felicities are not of this world. Then he said: […]

The use of *nu* in example (262) marks a shift from a descriptive part of discourse (*Ða gesceop Adam…*) to an evaluation made by a certain speaker (*God…cwæð: Nu Adam can…*).

(262) Ða gesceop Adam naman his wife, Eua, ðæt is lif, for ðan ðe heo is ealra libbendra modor. God worhte eac Adame & his wife fellene reaf & gescrydde hi. **& cwæð**: **Nu Adam can yfel & god**, swa swa ure sum, ðe læs he astrecce his hand & nime eac swylce of lifes treowe & ete & libbe on ecnysse. (HC, Cootest: 950-1050)

Translation: […] God also made Adam and his wife, made clothes of (animal) skins and clothed them, **and spoke**: **Now Adam knows evil and good**, […]

As in example (261) above, *nu/now* co-occurs with a first person subject form in 16 of the 38 contexts of direct reported speech (Table 74). In one fourth of these cases (4/16, 11 on a total of 38 tokens) the speaker addresses the hearer, and in almost half of all 38 contexts, *now* introduces a subject form collocating with a mental verb, as in example (261) and in the following phrases ((263) and (264)).

(263) […] þetre to him eft ymwoende **cuoeð**: "**Nu ic uat soðlice** þætte […] (HC, Codurham: 950-1050)

Translation: […] Then Peter, turning round, **said** to him: "**Now I truly know** that […]

(264) Ða **cwædon** þa Iudeas: "**Nu we witon** þæt þu eart wod." (HC, Cowsgosp: 950-1050)

Translation: Then the Jews **said**: "**Now we know** that you are mad."

	OE *Nu* + quotation	+ Address form	+ Mental verb
I	16	4	10
You (sg.)	5	N.A.	3
We	2	---	2
You (pl.)	1	N.A.	1
Other	14	7	1
Total Quotations	**38**	**11/38**	**17/38**

Table 74: *Now* **co-occurring in quotations (HC): Subject forms, address forms and collocations with mental verbs: Actual figures**

Although both temporal and textual meanings can be found for *now* when the marker is introduced by a frame of direct reported speech, we could say that the use of direct reported speech in either context has a subjective effect, because the quotational frame allows the deixis of the temporal adverb (or of the textual deictic form) to be connected to the point of view of the speaker. The use of *now* has been called "ego-centered" by Schiffrin (1987: 245). She states that

> "temporal *now* locates an utterance in a ego-centered space, i.e. a space dominated by the producer, rather than the receiver, of an utterance. The marker *now* is also ego-centered: it focuses on what the speaker him/herself is about to say, rather than on what the hearer says."

Within the frame of direct reported speech, *now* can be used, for instance, to introduce a new speaker turn, a change of speaker (and perspective), or a change from description to evaluation. In general, this syntactic frame draws attention to the function of *now* as a means to mark textual boundaries and could as such be considered a "frame marker" (cp. Jucker 1997: 92; Svartvik 1980). Because both the semantic use of adverbial *now* and the text-structuring use of *now* as a discourse marker are inherently determined by a close connection to the speaker, the topic shifts or orientation shifts introduced by direct reported speech are essentially influenced by a subjective perspective – either by that of the speaker or of the narrator.

18.5.3. Interpersonal relevance in ideational progression

On a text-structuring level, *now* is said to have a "prospective function" (Aijmer 2002: 75). *Now* has a forward-looking character which marks the importance of an upcoming (sub)topic or part of discourse. While the textual progression through topics and subtopics is primarily determined by the point of view of the speaker, he or she can also demand the attention of the addressee in a number of ways. Aijmer describes discourse particles as elements that can "signal to the listener how to switch on and to switch off their attention in the discourse", depending on the "direction of the connection" between two topics (2002: 74). Because *now* marks the importance of an upcoming topic, the marker is labelled a "typical switch-on

signal". Already in the Old English period of our corpus data, the hearer is involved in the progression of discourse, as well as in the "progression of ideas" that forms its basis.

The attention of the addressee can be called in different ways. As discussed in section 18.4., the speaker can comment on the progression of discourse by means of a "verbal collocation" or topical metacomment, and in that manner indicate an upcoming topic or close off a previous one. These topic shifts can be indicated from the perspective of the hearer by means of comments in which *now* co-occurs with a verb of hearing, as in example (265).

(265) […] he syððan wæs sanctus Paulus be naman haten, ond him nænig wæs ælærendra oðer betera under swegles hleo syðþan æfre, […]. **Nu ðu meaht gehyran**, hæleð min se leofa, hu arfæst is ealles wealdend, þeah we æbylgð wið hine oft gewyrcen, synna wunde, gif we sona eft þara bealudæda bote gefremmaþ ond þæs unrihtes eft geswicaþ. (HC, Cocynew: 950-1050)

Translation: Since that time he was called saint Paul, and no other man was a better teacher of God's law under the protection of the heavens ever after, […]. **Now you may/might hear**, my much-beloved hero, how merciful the ruler of everything is, […]

The use of this kind of co-occurrence primarily allows the speaker to highlight the information that comes next. We can assume that the upcoming subsection of discourse that is emphasised will also be the one which the speaker him/herself finds important enough to draw attention to. Apart from its primarily subjective basis, *now* can therefore also explicitly guide the attention of the hearer to the upcoming part of information, as in example (265). The phrase introduced by *nu* (*Nu ðu meaht gehyran*) is followed by a direct address (*hæleð min se leofa*; i.e. *my much-beloved hero*). The combination of the textual deictic *now* and the direct form of address gives the utterance an intersubjective relevance, and helps to bring the hearer to the same level of understanding as the speaker.

A topical progression – which is directed by the speaker and extended to the addressee – can be connected to a *progression of ideas*. The succession of (sub)topics can correlated with a succession of ideas or points of view. As such, a speaker can build a narrative or an argumentation by organising different subsections of discourse and highlighting specific steps within that argumentation. The following examples ((266)-(269)) show that the participation of the addressee is also important from the perspective of an *ideational* progression. In (266), the phrase *nu ic wolde þæt þu leornodest hu…* illustrates connects the announcement of a new topic (viz. *…hu þu mihtest becuman…*) to the speaker's wish to involve the addressee in the topical progression. The transition to the new part of discourse is related to the level of understanding of the addressee. The meaning of utterance-initial *nu* can be classified as temporal, but the deictic sense of the adverb is based on what has been said in the preceding

part(s) of speech. As such, this use of *now* ties in with the meaning "under the present circumstances; in view of what has happened" (OED, *now*, adv. I.1.b) found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. More specifically, we could paraphrase the use of *now* in example (266) as "at this point in the narrative". The adverb therefore not only introduces a new part of speech but also indicates a transition to a new perspective.

(266) […] þa cwæð ic: Ic eom genog wel geþafa þæs þe þu sægst. Ða cwæð he: Nu ðu þonne wast hwæt ða leasan gesælða sint & hwæt þa soþan gesælða sint, **nu ic wolde þæt þu leornodest hu þu mihtest becuman to þam soþum gesælðum.** (HC, Coboeth: 850-950)

Translation: Now you know what the lesser felicities are and what the true felicities are, **now I would like you to learn** how you might attain these true felicities.

In example (266) above and in examples (267), (268) and (269) below, *now/nu* is used in the same semantic sense, which helps to direct both speaker and addressee forward to upcoming (sub)topics. More importantly, in all three examples the speaker makes reference to the hearer's level of knowing or understanding.

(267) þær wæs wop wera wide gehyred, earmlic ylda gedræg. Þa þær an ongann, feasceaft hæleð, folc gadorigean, hean, hygegeomor, heofende spræc: **Nu ge magon sylfe soð gecnawan,** þæt we mid unrihte ellþeodigne on carcerne clommum belegdon, witebendum. (HC, Coandrea: 950-1050)

Translation: […] Then someone there, a helpless man, began to gather the people together, poor, dejected, in mournful speech: **Now you may yourself in truth know**, that we injustly chained strangers in prison fetters, in bonds of torture.

(268) Moyse sealde, swa hit soðfæste syðþan heoldon, modige magoþegnas, magas sine, godfyrhte guman, Iosua ond Tobias. **Nu ðu miht gecnawan** þæt þe cyning engla gefrætwode furður mycle giofum geardagum þonne eall gimma cynn. (HC, Coandrea: 950-1050)

Translation: […] Now you may know that the king of the angels further adorned thee greatly with gifts in days of yore, then with all kinds of precious stones.

(269) Ðære sunnan ryne is swiðe rum, forðan ðe heo is swiðe upp; & þæs monan ryne is nearo, forðan þe he yrnð ealra tungla nyðemyst, & þære eorðan gehendost. **Nu miht ðu understandan, þæt** læssan ymbgang hæfð se man þe gæð onbuton an hus, þonne se ðe ealle þa burh begæð. (HC, Cotempo: 950-1050)

Translation: The course of the sun is very wide, because she [= the sun] is high up; and the course of the moon is narrow, because he [= the moon] is the lowest of all planets, and the earth the most nearby. **Now you may/might understand, that** the man who goes around a house has less going about than he who goes round the entire town.

In the phrases *Nu ge magon…gecnawan* (267); *Nu ðu miht gecnawan* (268), or *Nu miht ðu understandan, þæt…* (269), the use of *nu/now* can be paraphrased as "at this point (in

discourse)" or "after this has been said" and illustrates the speaker's possibility to invite the hearer to follow a suggested path of reasoning.

18.5.4. Consideration as a factor in textual progression: *now then* in Old English

In the Old English layers of our corpus data, *now* can be used as a discourse-organising marker – either with or without the co-occurrence of an extended verbal phrase announcing a preceding or upcoming topic change. Particularly in contexts where *now* serves to support the development of a particular point, or in contexts where the speaker wants to be sure that the hearer follows the suggested topical and ideational progression of discourse, the speaker can apply *now* to highlight specific sections of text and to gain the attention of the addressee. When a stretch of discourse "branches" into topics and subtopics, this requires the speaker to organise the (sub)topics in such a way as supports the development of a personal argumentation or in a way that helps to bring across a subjective point of view. The topical development of a narrative also demands a level of mental structuring on the addressee's part, aside from that of the speaker. To this end, a speaker can apply *now* as a marker which not only highlights upcoming topics but necessarily also takes into account previously given information.

In order to explain this aspect of *now*, a distinction needs to be made with the meaning and uses of a marker such as *well*, for instance. Whereas *well* basically looks back to a preceding utterance and allows the speaker to use the consideration of what has been said as a founding point on which he or she can develop a personal point of view, the use of *now* is essentially oriented forward to what is still to come. An intrinsic element in the meaning of *now*, however, takes into account the steps that have preceded a particular point in discourse. In certain propositional uses, for instance, *now* can be paraphrased as "at this point (in discourse)" or "considering this" (cp. "in view of what has happened" (OED, *now*, adv. I.1.b)). In illustration (270), for example, this element of *recapitulation* forms a part of the meaning of *now*.

(270) Forðæm se ðe ymb þæt acsian wile, he sceal ærest witan hwæt sie sio anfealde foresceawung Godes, & hwæt wyrd sie, […] & hwæt monna freodom sie. **Nu ðu miht ongitan hu** hefig & hu earfoðe þis is eall to gerecanne; ac ic sceal […]. (HC, Coboeth: 850-950)

Translation: Because he who wants to ask about that, he shall first know what that superior contemplation of God is, and what Fate is, […] and what man's free will is. **Now you may understand how** important and how difficult it is to explain all this; but I shall […]

Used on a text-structuring level, *now* can equally indicate an element of *consideration* of previous discourse steps. A collocation through which this aspect is clearly expressed is *now then*. Aijmer mentions that *now* "occurred with weakened temporal meaning in the combination *now then* already in older English" (2002: 63). In the OED, *now then* is mentioned in the following two – semantically bleached – contexts.

a) "In sentences expressing a command or request, or in a question, giving any of various tones (exclaiming, reproving, soothing, etc.)". *Now then* is particularly used to introduce a command, or as a mild reproof. (OED, *now*, adv. II. 5a/b)

E.g. **Nu þonne** aris & gang on þa ceastre to Matheum þinum breþer, […]. (OED, Blickling Homilies 237)

Translation: **Now then** rise and go to the fortress to your brother Matthew.

b) "[used to introduce] an important or noteworthy point in an argument or proof, or in a series of statements". (OED, *now*, adv. II.6)

E.g. **Nu þonne**, nu is to ongietanne æt hu micelre scylde þa beoþ befangne. (OED, Ælfred, Gregory Pastoral Care (Hatton) xlix. 377)

Translation: **Now then**, now is (the time) to understand that […]

Now then occurs only once in the Old English period from the *Helsinki Corpus* (example (271)). However, the collocation is more frequently used in later periods of the development of *now* (see e.g. 18.6.2.). The use of *nu þonne* (i.e. *now then*) in illustration (271) introduces a new (sub)topic, which takes on the form of a command or request. The speaker entreats the addressee to tell her his name (*Nu þonne gif…sege me þinne naman*; i.e. *Now then, if…, [then] tell me your name*.).

(271) Ða eode þæt mæden to Apollonio and mid forwandigendre spræce cwæð: ðeah ðu stille sy and unrot, þeah ic þine æðelborennesse on ðe geseo. **Nu þonne gif** ðe to hefig ne þince, sege me þinne naman and þin gelymp arece me. Ða cwæð Apollonius: Gif ðu for neode axsast æfter minum naman, ic secge þe ic hine forleas on sæ. (HC, Coapollo: 950-1050)

Translation: Then the girl went to Appolonius and […] said: "Though you are still and sad, still/yet I see your nobility in you. **Now then, if** it does not seem too difficult for you, **tell me your name** and tell me about your misfortunes.

The combination of *now* with discourse marker *then* indicates a relationship between a preceding topic, a newly formulated topic, and an underlying subjective process of

consideration. The topic change involves an element of awareness on the part of the speaker, with regard to the contents of previous discourse steps. According to Bolinger, the collocation of *now* and *then* "marks a transition to something new resulting in a fresh look on a state of affairs" (in Aijmer 2002: 65). He states that "the *then* is the 'then' of consequence resulting from some intervening consideration that alters the view of things" (1989: 293). Consideration necessarily involves the awareness of preceding utterances. When a speaker introduces a new (sub)topic into the interactive frame, he or she will have to take into account what has been said in previous speaker turns. In the case of a monologue, this is necessary for establishing a well-founded point, but also when other interactants are involved the introduction of a new topic is likely to take into account preceding opinions, which will help to establish a good understanding with the addressee.

The Old English use of *now* (Old English *nu*) as a marker of interclausal and interpersonal relationships originates in discourse contexts where a speaker applies the deictic sense of *now* to the topical progression of a narrative. In co-occurrence with a verb of speaking, *now* is used to signal the upcoming shift to a new topic or a new (sub)section within a larger narrative frame. In this text-structuring function, *now* can still be classified as a deictic element with a propositional meaning. These early contexts already illustrate a subjective influence, in the sense that it is the speaker who decides on the topical organisation of the narrative. References to the hearer are frequently made, and illustrate the speaker's guidance of the addressee through the topical progression of text.

Now displays a semantically bleached meaning in the collocation *now then* or OE *nu þonne*. The co-occurrence of *now* and *then* is the first instance in which *now* illustrates a connection between a text-structuring function and the development of a personal argumentation. In this function, *now* not only signals a change to a new (sub)topic or a new perspective, but also illustrates the speaker's awareness of a relationship with preceding parts of discourse.

In the Middle English corpus material, the text-structuring function of *now* is used in a wider variety of discourse contexts. In addition, the textual meanings of *now* are increasingly influenced by speaker-based motivations, resulting in a pragmatic correlation between textual and interpersonal meanings.

18.6. Middle English changes in semantic-pragmatic meaning

18.6.1. Topic-structuring functions in the Middle English period

For the analysis of Middle English meanings of *now* (i.e. 1050-1500) data are used from the *Helsinki Corpus* and from the earliest layers in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, which contains data from 1417 onwards. Our corpus data show that the text-structuring meanings of *now* have taken on more varied forms by the Middle English period. The textual use of *now* has evolved from Old English contexts in which the marker is embedded in "verbally extended topic changers" (Finell 1992: 732) which indicate upcoming topic shifts, to structural contexts in which *now* introduces new (sub)topics in less explicit ways. In the Middle English layers of our corpus data, *now* takes on functions that are still transparently related to the temporal meaning of *now*, but that increasingly adopt pragmatic meanings when used to mark textual boundaries and (inter)personal perspectives.

Verbal collocations

The Middle English data from the CEECS and HC consist of 55 and 609 utterance-initial tokens of *now* respectively. In the CEECS (Table 75), only one of these 55 tokens can be situated in the frame of a verbal collocation (i.e. example (272); definition see section 18.4.).

A (1400-1500)	2.8 (1)	-	97.2 (35)	100.0 (36)
AB (------------)	-	-	100.0 (19)	100.0 (19)

Table 75: Verbal collocations in the CEECS: Middle English: Percentages (and actual figures)

The example from the CEECS illustrates a temporal use of *now* that co-occurs with a declarative verbal form (*And now…[they] say…*). The phrase establishes a temporal comparison with the preceding sentence. On a text-structuring level, this example does not signal a topic change, but the temporal comparison does indicate a shift in perspective.

 (272) […] and sayth that the Letter that she had from hym was wrytten the xxvj. day of the last moneth, wherein by his wryting he had as great trust that the King here shuld be Emperor as ever he had. **And now [Monsieur] le Bastard and they of the Counsell here say** yt is a good torne for the King here, and a great weale for his realme that he is not Emperor, for they say yf he had been it shuld have putt hym to an infante busyness […]. (CEECS, Origina: 1418-1529)

Translation: […] **And now [Monsieur] le Bastard and they of the Counsel here say** it is a good turn for the king here, and a great benefit that he is not emperor, […]

The low frequency of verbal collocations in the CEECS can be explained by the question of **genre**. Phrases in which topic changes are explicitly announced (e.g. *and now I will say…*) are expected to occur more frequently in narratives. The CEECS contains letters and is therefore not likely to show high frequency numbers of topical metacomments which contain the explicit use of a verb of speaking.

The frequency numbers of topical metacomments are higher in the Middle English data from the *Helsinki Corpus*. The frequencies for verbal collocations and contexts of direct reported speech in the Middle English period of the HC are given below in Table 76. The numbers are presented per chronological period. The percentages are highest in the early Middle English period (i.e. 26.8% (11/41) and 21.6% (24/111) between 1050 and 1250). Although the Middle English corpus data contain a higher actual number of tokens (103 verbal collocations) than in the Old English period (56 verbal collocations), the figures indicate that, in terms of relative percentages, the Old English period actually contains more "verbally extended" verbal phrases that introduce an upcoming topic change than the Middle English period (i.e. 103/609 vs. 56/296).

1050 -1150	**26.8** (11)	-	73.2 (30)	100.0 (41)
1150 -1250	**21.6** (24)	-	78.4 (87)	100.0 (111)
1250 -1350	14.8 (16)	3.7 (4)	81.5 (88)	100.0 (108)
1350 -1420	15.4 (22)	4.2 (6)	80.4 (115)	100.0 (143)
1420 -1500	14.6 (30)	3.4 (7)	82.0 (169)	100.0 (206)
Total	**(103)**	**(17)**	**(489)**	**(609)**

Table 76: Verbal collocations in the HC: Middle English: Percentages (and actual figures)

The verbal collocations in the HC take on the same form as the one that is most frequently seen in the Old English periods of our data. As in the Old English corpus material, the majority of Middle English phrases in which *now* co-occurs with a verb of speaking and introduces a topic change collocates with a first person subject form. The figures in Table 77 show that the majority of tokens, i.e. 41 out of 103 tokens, are taken up by singular or plural first person subjects. For the second person subject form (i.e. *you* – either singular or plural), this is a total of 40 out of 103 tokens.

	I	You (sg.)	(S)He/It	We	You (pl.)	They	Rest	Total Verbal Collocation
1050 -1150	2	---	3	2	2	2	---	11
1150 -1250	7	6	4	3	3	1	---	24
1250 -1350	1	5	---	---	8	1	1	16
1350 -1420	13	3	---	---	4	2	---	22
1420 -1500	8	8	6	5	1	1	1	30
Total	31	22	13	10	18	7	2	103

Table 77: Collocations of *now* with verbal collocations in Middle English: Subject forms (HC)

The fact that a first person perspective is most frequently used in the explicit introduction of topic changes indicates that it is the speaker who decides how the narrative is structured and subdivided into (sub)topics.

Similar to the Old English data, the phrases announcing topic changes are found in a number of different verbal forms. An overview and comparison is given in Table 78. While the Middle English tokens less frequently co-occur with a "simple" declarative verbal form and an adhortative or imperative form, compared to the Old English data, the later ME period shows a larger percentage of verbs of hearing. The differences between these forms of appearance, however, can be seen as purely structural, because all forms have in common that they explicitly indicate a topical progression, with an additional interpersonal relevance.

	Old English	Middle English
Intention	17.9 (10)	18.4 (19)
Adhortative (*now let's…*); Imperative	5.4 (3)	2.9 (3)
Declarative	57.1 (32)	49.6 (51)
Verbs of hearing	19.6 (11)	29.1 (30)
Total	100.0 (56)	100.0 (103)

Table 78: Overview verbal collocations: Types of context in Middle English data (HC): Actual figures

Topic changing phrases which contain a verb of speaking and indicate the speaker's intention, as in (273), serve to foreground an upcoming topic from the perspective and direction of the

speaker, while metacomments that entail an adhortative or imperative suggestion, as in (274), also include the addressee to a larger extent.

(273) And also ȝif the bawme be fyn it schall falle to the botme of the vessell as þough it were quyk syluer, For the fyn bawme is more heuy twyes þan is the bawme þat is sophisticat & countrefeted. **Now I haue spoken of bawme & now also I schall speke of another thing** þat is beȝonde Babyloyne aboue the Flode of Nile toward the desert betwene Affrik & Egypt […] (HC, Cmmandev: 1350-1420)

Translation: Now have I spoken of balsam and now also I shall speak of another thing […]

(274) "Latte hym go," seyde sir Uwayne, "for whan we com to the courte we shall wete." Than had they much sorow to gete their horsis agayne. **Now leve we there and speke we of sir Launcelot** that rode a grete whyle in a depe foreste. And as he rode he sawe a blak brachette sekyng in maner as hit had bene in the feaute of an hurte dere. And therewith he rode aftir the brachette and he sawe lye on the grounde a large feaute of bloode. And than sir Launcelot rode faster, […] (HC, Cmmalory: 1420-1500)

Translation: […] **Now let us stop there and [let's] speak of Sir Lancelot** who rode a great while in a deep forest.

In each of the examples above ((273) and (274)), a topic is closed (*Now I have spoken of…*; *Now leve we there*) and a new one is introduced (*now also I schall speke of…*; *[Now] speke we of…*). A co-occurrence with verbs of hearing (e.g. *now you will hear…*; *Now you have heard…*; cp. example (275)) more clearly demands the attention of the addressee and brings him or her into the conversational frame as an interactant who is (or is expected to be) at the same level of understanding as the speaker.

(275) […] ac fore þe miracle þet hi seghe; was here beliaue þe more istrengþed. **Nu ye habbeþ iherd þe Miracle. [N]u ihereþ þe signefiance.** Þet water bitockned se euele xpisteneman. for al so þet water is natureliche schald and a kelþ alle þo þet hit drinkeþ; (HC, Cmkentse: 1250-1350)

Translation: Now you have heard (about) the miracle, now hear the significance.

In all three examples above ((273)-(275)), *now* is accompanied by a verb of speaking or a verb of hearing, and serves two topic-structuring functions. After a topic is closed off, a second metacomment guides both speaker and addressee to the introduction of a new topic. The co-occurrence with verbs of hearing in particular seems connected to the speaker's attempt to make the addressee involved in the narrative progression. Table 78 indicates a larger percentage for the combination of utterance-initial *now* with verbs of hearing in the Middle English corpus data. A possible explanation can be found in the type of texts in which these tokens occur. Of the 30 Middle English verbal combinations of this kind, one third (11/30) consists of religious treatises, and one third (11/30) of homilies. A last third consists

of different genres such as historical texts (2/30), mystery plays (2/30) or fictional texts (4/30). It seems logical that in text genres with an instructive nature, such as in religious treatises or sermons (or homilies), more attention will be paid to linguistic elements that can lead to a closer involvement of the addressee.

The combination of a verb of speaking with utterance-initial *now* can either be applied to close off a (sub)topic or to initiate a new one by bracketing off a wider part of discourse into different sections and by allowing the speaker to draw the attention of the addressee to specific parts of an ongoing discourse by explicitly referring to discourse boundaries. Although we can consider these "verbally extended" (cp. Finell 1992: 732) topical metacomments as early – explicit – stages in the evolution of *now* from a temporal adverbial to a multifunctional pragmatic marker, the structural frame in which these tokens of *now* occur can still be seen in present-day English use. Whether the use and function of *now* in these contexts can be classified as a – narrowly-defined – textual meaning is a different question. Explicit announcements of topic changes can be considered as text-structuring, but the propositional meaning of temporal *now* is still very clear in the use of phrases such as *Now I will tell you…* or *Now we have heard.…* In mapping the present-day functions of *now*, Schiffrin (1987) and Hasselgård (2006) among others frequently make reference to uses in which *now* has a dual function or in which the marker can not be unambiguously classified into one functional category, at least not without the help of prosody. Aijmer (2002) refers to the process of grammaticalisation to interpret this. Grammaticalisation can be seen as a cline or a "continuum from less grammaticalized to more grammaticalized" (Palander-Collin 1999: 49; Hopper and Traugott 1993: 95). Uses of *now* in early stages of the marker's development will therefore display a closer relationship between semantic and pragmatic meanings. Therefore, although we may not always be able to clearly disambiguate specific uses of *now* in early data, the overlap between propositional and pragmatic functions gives us a transitional context through which we can witness the development of different polysemies.

Foregrounding and creating contrast through subtopicalisation

The Old English and Middle English data from the *Helsinki Corpus* suggest that the development of textual meanings of *now* has been advanced by the use of verbal collocations (cp. section 18.4.), signalling topic changes. It is suggested that a Middle English evolution towards more varied text-structuring functions of *now* is not only influenced by these uses, but also through – and most likely in combination with – contexts in which *now* serves as a

marker of narrative time, or as an element in a temporal comparison. This suggestion is explained by means of the following illustrations.

The transitional context is actually illustrated the clearest by the following example, from a slightly later date in the *Helsinki Corpus* (276). The combination of utterance-initial *now* with a past tense indicates a point within narrative time, i.e. a deictic reference to a particular step within a narrative. This propositional use, however, has a close relation to discourse strategies in which *now* is used on a discourse-organising level, because the deictic reference (*Now on a sartayne daye*) also introduces a new subtopic within the larger frame of the narrative.

(276) […] I answeryd alwaye thus, "Here I ham, mr. kepar." "Good nyghte, than," sayed he; and so wold goo their wayes. **Now on a sartayne daye**, beynge merye, he browghte home with hym to see me dyveres honeste men of the towne; amonge home there was one that I never sawe before, nor he me, […]. (HC, Ceauto1: 1500-1570)

Example (277) is taken from the early Middle English period and also illustrates the use of *now/nu* as an indicator of narrative time. *Nu* (co-occurring with a past tense) indicates a point in time within the narrative (*Now [Mo[r]dred had two sons]*). This deictic element also gives the speaker the opportunity to foreground specific parts of the narrative, viz. the part of discourse introduced by *nu*. The temporal and text-structuring uses of *now* correlate in this example, seeing that the deictic reference to *narrative time* coincides with the function to develop a narrative further and to emphasise particular upcoming subtopics. In this particular example, *now* not only has a deictic (narrative) reference, but also introduces a new subtopic in which the focus lies on Mordred and his two sons.

(277) Costantin þus leouede on londe; & Bruttes hine lufede. [And] swiðe deore heom he wes. […] **Nu hæfuede Modred sunen tweie**. [An] main(e) swiðe stronge. [Hei] iseȝen hu hit ferde here; of Ar[ð]ure þan kaisere [and] hu heore fader wes of-slaȝe. (HC, Cmbrut1: 1150-1250)

Translation: Constantin thus lived in (that) land; and Brutus loved him. [And] he was very dear to him. **Now Mo(r)dred had two sons**. […]

In examples (278) to (281), *now* collocates with a verb of speaking (in present tense). In all four contexts, the deictic meaning of *now* has been transferred to the textual world, and the main function of *now* is to refer to a specific point within the topical progression of the text. More specifically, *now* (in collocation with the verb of speaking) initiates a new subtopic which represents a particular point of view.

(278) "Gif ic deale all ðat ic habbe for godes luue, and ȝiet on-uuen ðan ȝieu mine likame to barnin al to duste for godes luue, and ic hatie on-lepi mann, ðanne ne habbe ic naht kariteð, and swa ic habbe all forloren." **Nu seið sum mann:** "Scal ic luuiȝe ðane euele mann?" Hlest hwat se heiȝeste ðe seið: Điliges proximum sicut te ipsum, "Luue ðine nexte al swa ðe seluen, hwat manne swo he æure bie!" (HC, Cmvices1: 1150-1250)

Translation: If I share all I have for God's love, and […], then I have not taken heed, and so I have lost all. **Now a certain man says:** "Shall I love that depraved man?" […]

(279) […] he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on Denisce wisan. **Nu secgað sume** þa Denisce men on heora gedwylde þæt se Iouis wære þe hy þor hatað, Mercuries sunu, þe hi Oðon namiað, **ac** hi nabbað na riht, forðan þe we rædað on bocum, ge on hæþenum ge on Cristenum, þæt se hetula Iouis to soðan is Saturnes sunu. (HC, Cowulf4: 1050-1150)

Translation: He is called Oðon […]. **Now some of the Danish men say** in their heresy that it was Jupiter who was called Thor, the son of Mercury, whom they called Oðon, but they weren't right, because […] the cruel Jupiter is truly Saturn's son.

(280) Hy habbað eac nu ða mede heora modes clænnysse a butan ende on þam ecan life. **Nu cweðað oft preostas þæt Petrus hæfde wif.** Ful soð hy secgað, forþamþe he swa moste þa, on þære ealdan æ, ærþanþe he to Criste gebuge. **Ac** he forlet his wif and ealle woruldþing, syððan he to Criste beah, […]. (HC, Coaelet4: 1050-1150)

Translation: […] **Now priests often say that Peter had a wife.** They speak truly, because he was allowed to then, under the old law, before he converted to Christ. **But** he abandoned his wife and all worldly he things, since he converted to Christ.

(281) Nu þincð eow þis syllic to gehyrenne, forþanþe ge habbað eowre yrmðe swa on gewunan gebroht, swylce hit nan pleoh ne sy, þæt se preost libbe swaswa ceorl. **Nu cweðe ge, þæt** ge ne magon beon butan wimmannes þenungum. And hu mihtan þa halgan weras þa wunigan butan wife? **Ac** þa halgan fæderas, þe beforan us wæron, […] (HC, Coaelet4: 1050-1150)

Translation: […] **Now you say, that** you cannot be without the service of women. And how may the holy people live without wives? But the holy fathers, who were before us, […]

A phrase such as *Now some people say…* shows that the Middle English use of *now* has moved away from the propositional meaning that was still visible in topical metacomments containing an explicit verb of speaking and that the marker has adopted a meaning which is mainly textual. In these phrases, the narrator uses *now* to introduce the point of view of a – specified – speaker, as in *Nu seið sum mann:…*, *Nu secgað sume…*, *Nu cweðað oft preostas þæt…* or the address *Nu cweðe ge, þæt…*.

In these early examples we see that the points of view that are put forward also give the narrator or speaker the opportunity to contrast the presented perspective with other subtopics containing other points of view. In fact, in examples (279), (280) and (281) the contrast between a first presented subtopic and a following diverging point of view is emphasised through the use of *ac*, i.e. *but*. The result can be summarised by the structure "**Now [you] say x, but y**". In this syntactic frame, the subject form varies, and x and y are two

contrastive points of view that are represented in individual – contrastive – subtopics. The text-structuring use of *now* has the additional effect of drawing attention to the upcoming subtopic, in which the speaker acknowledges a specific point of view (x) which is consequently contrasted with a personal, opposing view (y).

Because some of the contexts in which *now* appears have quite similar features, the following sentences illustrate the distinction between three of the text-structuring uses of *now* occurring before 1500. Illustration (a) shows a context in which *now* is embedded in the context of a verbal collocation. The meaning of *now* is propositional, but can – in collocation with a verb of speaking – announce an upcoming topic change. Sentence (b) illustrates an indication in *narrative time*. *Now* co-occurs with a past tense and illustrates the speaker's subjective influence in the topical organisation of discourse. In both (a) and (b) the prosodic emphasis would be on the deictic form *now*. Example (c) illustrates the use just discussed. *Now* initiates a new subsection within a larger discourse unit without the explicit context of a topical metacomment, and presents a point of view that can be contrasted to others.

(a) *Now I will tell you about…*   Topical metacomment
                                 Propositional meaning + text-structuring use

(b) *Now some people said that…* Narrative time
                                 Propositional meaning + foregrounding use

(c) *Now some people say that…*   Textual meaning
                                 Introduces subtopic; point of view

(d) *Now some people…*   Textual meaning
                                 Introduces subtopic; point of view / other

The fourth sentence (d) shows a text-structuring use similar to illustration (c). However, in the fourth phrase *now* does not co-occur with a verb of speaking. The marker fulfils a clear textual use in this example, introducing a subsection of a larger discourse unit. The prosodic focus lies on the introduced subtopic rather than on the textual marker. This function is further elaborated on in the following discussion.

Introducing subtopics: Elaboration and listing

Already **before 1400** speakers have the possibility to use *now* on a textual level to signal topic changes, to foreground subordinate aspects of larger parts of discourse, or to mark different steps in an argumentation. From the latter half of the Middle English period (i.e. c. 1300-1500), the data from the HC and CEECS show that *now* less often appears with a topical metacomment. Instead, tokens of *now* are more frequently used in implicit text-structuring functions – as illustrated in examples (282), (283) and (284) below.

A first text-structuring function is shown in example (282), in which *now* introduces a transition from a main topic to an elaborating subtopic, in an ongoing topical progression of discourse. The subtopic (*Now how this myghty prynce…*) specifies a particular section of the main topic, i.e. the subtopic elaborates on how exactly an earlier mentioned event was accomplished.

(282) I shal geue it to you. as I promysid to Moyses my seruaunt. It folowyth soone after[;] Noo man shall mow resyst thy power in all thy lyfe. [B]e thou herof comfortid. & take strengthe vnto the. **Now how this myghty prynce executyd the hyghe co[m]maundement of god** in helpynge the people & sauyng [the] same by the grete power geuen vnto hym of god **[the] sayd story of Josue paynly doth declare.** (HC, Cmfitzja: 1420-1500)

Translation: […] No man shall be able to resist your power in your entire life. Be assured of this and take strength unto yourself. **Now how this mighty prince executed the high commandment of God** in helping the people and saving the same by the great power given unto him by God, **the said story of Josue does fully(?) declare**.

In examples (283) and (284), *now* equally introduces a new subtopic. However, the difference with the preceding example lies in the fact that the subtopic introduced in the two examples below forms part of a larger list of related subtopics. In (283) the new subtopic, introduced by *now*, forms an elaboration or specification of the encompassing main topic. After an introductive part on the characteristics of the sin Pride – which can be seen as the main topic of this section, *now* is applied as a text-structuring element, indicating the transition to two upcoming subparts, i.e. two subdivisions of Pride (*Now been ther two maneres of Pride*).

(283) […] yet is it venial synne; and deedly synne whan the love of any thyng weyeth in the herte of man as muchel as the love of God, or moore. **Now been ther two maneres of Pride:** that oon of hem is withinne the herte of man, and that oother is withoute. Of whiche, soothly, thise forseyde thynges, and mo than I have seyd, apertenen to Pride that is in the herte of man; and that othere speces of Pride been withoute. […] (HC, Cmctpros: 1350-1420)

Translation: […] yet is it a minor sin; and a deadly sin when the love of anything weighs as much as the love of God, or more, in the heart of man. **Now Pride has two dwelling places**

(lit. there are two dwelling places of Pride): one of them is within the heart of man, and the other is outside (lit. without) [the heart of man].

In illustration (284), *now* is inserted at a point where a main topic (*and thenne began the lyne of bysshops…*) branches into a list of subtopics. *Now* introduces the first point on the list, i.e. *the fyrste of thyse greate […] bysshops*, and in doing so helps to organise the different subtopics and connects them to the main topic.

(284)   **And thenne began the lyne of bysshops** in rulynge of the people. whiche contynuelly enduryd vnto Cristis te[m]porall natiuyte[.] This declaryth the Mayster of the storyes who so lyste to se it. **Now the fyrste of thyse** greate preestis or Bysshops hauynge rule of the people **was** […] (HC, cmfitzja: 1420-1500)

Translation: And then began the lineage of bishops […]. **Now the first of these** great priests or bishops […] **was** […]

These two functions of *now*, to introduce an elaborating subtopic or to indicate the start of a list of different steps in an argumentation, are clearly textual, and illustrate that the use of *now* allows the speaker to structure different narrative levels, for instance according to their hierarchy of importance in the story.

By the Middle English period, the use of *now* has developed text-structuring functions that can be combined and considered on different levels.

(a)   From the Old English period onwards, *now* can serve as a textual element when a **topic is announced, either explicitly** (in collocation with verbs of speaking) **or implicitly**.

(b)   With a greater focus on the involvement of the addressee, *now* also appears in contexts where the **hearer is addressed directly** by the speaker and in which he or she is **warned about an upcoming coherence break** (e.g. *Now you will hear…*), or is given information on the progression or structuring of the ongoing discourse (e.g. *Now we have heard…*).

(c)   In utterance-initial position, *now* can be used with a higher level of **pragmatic** meaning. In this function, *now* can introduce subtopics, connect subtopics, and present elaborations of the main topic. The marker is no longer embedded in a "verbally extended" phrase which explicitly comments on the progression of text.

These different levels on which the transition to a new (sub)topic – and the related influence of speaker and addressee – can be introduced are combined in the following illustration. Whereas the second (*nu ic eou habbe…iseid*) and third occurrences of *now* (*nu scule ȝe under understonden*) in example (285) co-occur with a verb of speaking and represent the speaker's comments on the topical progression. Whereas the first of these tokens refers back to a preceding part of discourse, the second one illustrates how the speaker relates the progression of text (and the upcoming topic) to the hearer's expected level of understanding. In contrast, the sentence-initial use of *now* (*Nu leoue broðre*) has a higher pragmatic significance than the other two occurrences of *now* in this example. The token is followed by an address form (*leoue broðre*) and serves to introduce the new topic, and to direct the attention of the addressee to the speaker's upcoming utterance.

(285) **Nu** leoue broðre **nu ic eou habbe þet godspel iseid** anfaldeliche **nu scule ȝe understonden** twafaldeliche þet hit bi-tacnet. (HC, Cmlambet: 1150-1250)

Translation: Now dear brothers/brethren, now that I have explained the gospel in simple terms, now you shall/should understand what it means in two ways.

Whereas the use of topical metacomments indicates an explicit reference to the topical progression of discourse, the sentence-initial use of *now* in the example above places a greater emphasis on the "author" of the topical organisation. The deictic sense of *now* does not as transparently refer to a point within the progression of text. Rather, *now* has adopted a heightened pragmatic meaning which not just indicates a deictic point within an ongoing part of discourse, but creates a context in which the topical progression is made relevant for both speaker and addressee.

Introducing a command or request

According to the OED, one of the uses in which the temporal meaning of *now* is semantically weakened occurs in

"sentences expressing a command or request, or in a question, giving any of various tones (exclaiming, reproving, soothing, etc.). [These can be] used without [a] verb, or with [a] verb implied. (OED, *now*, adv. II. 5a)

Contexts in which *now* introduces a command or imperative form do not necessarily adopt a pragmatic meaning. Depending on the context, this use can still indicate propositional

elements of meaning, with an emphasis on a deictic sense of "present time". In many contexts, however, the combination of *now* with an imperative form will result in a semantically bleached meaning (also see imperative forms in ME), due to the combination of a deictic element with a verbal form which indicates immediacy or urgency. These clear pragmatic uses (illustrating a subjective use or indicating a shift in orientation) are illustrated and discussed in greater detail in later sections. In the two examples below, i.e. (286) and (287), the imperative form is also preceded by a semantically bleached, but in these cases text-structuring use of *now*. In (286), the utterance-initial use of *now* is followed by a form of address (*Nu, lieue friend*). The subtopic that is introduced contains an imperative form (*ȝielde þe godd!*). The meaning of *now* can in this context be seen as a textual marker, announcing an upcoming conclusion. This conclusion is grounded in the speaker's personal perspective, in the sense that it forms a concluding point in a broader argumentation – directed by the narrator.

(286) **Nv, lieue friend,** ðu ðe me, senfulle saule, aweihtest of deaðe, ðurh godes grace wissedest and warnedest wel te donne, - **ȝielde þe godd! -** and lardest ðat ic scolde bien icnawe of mine sennes, nu ðu hafst iherd mine bemone þat ich am swa swiðe forȝelt [.] (HC, Cmvices1: 1150-1250)

Translation: **Now, dear friend**, you who awoke me, sinful soul, from death, […] – [who] instructed and advised me to do well through God's grace – **reward yourself well!** – and […]

The speaker utters an instruction or piece of advice to the addressee. As such, the part of discourse introduced by *now* is directly addressed to the hearer and, in addition, founded on the speaker's point of view.

Both in examples (285) and (286) above, the speaker's instruction, warning, suggestion or request towards the addressee is what helps to form the aspect of subjectivity. *Now* has a text-structuring function which introduces – and highlights – the upcoming subtopic. The subtopic itself is formed by the imperative or instructive part of the speaker's utterance.

In example (287), the imperative subsection of the utterance (*Nv mine leoue sustren…haldeð feor…*) forms a concluding subtopic within a larger narrative frame. *Now* is similarly followed by a form of address (*Nv mine leoue sustren*).

(287) Vnwreon hit to ham seoluen þeo þe hit to limpeð. & hulien hit to oþre [þat] is a muche þeaw. nawt to þeo þe hit schulden smeallen & heatien [þat] fulðe. **Nv mine leoue sustren from al uuel speche** [þat] is þus þreouald. Idel. ful. & attri; **haldeð feor ower eare.** Me seið up on ancren [þat] euch meast haueð an ald cwene to feden hire earen. (HC, Cmancre: 1150-1250)

Translation: (Lit.) Now, my dear sisters, from all evil speech (that is threefold […]) keep your ears far away.

While *now* helps to call the attention of the addressee, the instruction (i.e. the subtopic containing an imperative form) represents the speaker's subjective point of view. In this sense, the topical progression correlates with an ideational progression. In fact, we can see that, on a textual level, *now* introduces a subtopic – which represents a conclusion that is based on what has been said in the preceding parts of discourse. Between the initiating part of the utterance (i.e. *now* followed by a direct address (*Nv mine leoue sustren*)) and the concluding subsection (formed by an instruction (*[from al uuel speche…] haldeð feor ower eare*), the speaker has added a reference to what has been said in preceding (sub)topics (*from al uuel speche […]*). The example is taken from a text (i.e. the Ancrene Wisse) which is in itself subdivided into different "lessons". The speaker's admonition refers back to one particular subsection of the text when he mentions that *al uuel speche* is "threefold". This reference – which offers a summary of preceding parts of the text – can be seen as a basis on which the speaker's conclusion/instruction is built. In addition, however, we can consider this textual progression from an ideational point of view. The speaker's instruction to the addressee(s), which forms a concluding section in a larger succession of topics and subtopics, is not only formally connected to preceding subsections, but can also be seen as the result of the speaker's *consideration* of the contents of those subsections. The speaker can therefore posit an opinion (i.e. a suggestion towards the addressee) resulting from an argumentation which he or she has "constructed" in a preceding succession of topics and subtopic. The aspect of consideration also has reference to the addressee. In order to guide the addressee through the succession of (sub)topics, the speaker can refer back to the main topic or to preceding (sub)topics in order to recapitulate or summarise what has been said in the argumentation leading up to this concluding part.

18.6.2. *Now then, if…*: *Now* as a marker of result and consideration

In some of the contexts mentioned before, the meaning of utterance-initial *now* can be connected to the resultive meaning of *now (that)* as it is used in causal contexts. This meaning goes back to the Old English period, in which *nu* (i.e. *now*) functions as connective with temporal roots, and is "the main temporal adverb to be used as a causal connective in [Old English]" (Traugott 1992: 254). Although the temporal meaning of *now* remains the most

frequent one up until the this day, some Old English examples already indicate a purely causal meaning in the use of *now*. Traugott gives the example below ((288)) to illustrate this.

(288) Untwylice   þu   lyhst þæt ðu God sy. nu ðu   nast   manna geþohtas
        Without-doubt thou liest that thou God art. now thou not-knowest of-men thoughts

<div align="right">(AECHom I, 26 378.6)</div>

        Certainly you lie saying that you are God, since you do not know men's thoughts. (Translation
        in original)

The example shows that *nu/now* "indicates a given cause" and can be paraphrased as "now, seeing that…". The use of *nu* "indicates that the state of affairs in the causal clause still continues at the time of the main clause" (Traugott 1992: 254f.). Not only in many Old English examples, but also in Middle English occurrences, a temporal core can still be seen in the causal use of *now (that)*. In fact, this causal use is said to be directly derived from the temporal meaning of *now*, more particularly from the sense "at this starting point in time" (Traugott 1992: 255). Two Middle English conjunctions, i.e. **now (that)**, which is derived from Old English *nu*, and **siþ/sin (that)** (i.e. *since*), which is derived from OE *siþþan*, are similar in the sense that both conjunctions indicate that "the activity expressed in the subclause is prior to that of the main clause" and can therefore both be used "as causals to convey information already known" (Fischer 1992: 437). A similar sense can be found in a use of the Dutch cognate of *now*, i.e. *nu*. In a subclause such as *Nu we dat weten, (kunnen we beslissen)*, i.e. *Now we know that(, we can decide)*, the use of *now* indicates a similar resultive meaning on which the information of the main clause is founded. Further cross-linguistic research on the functional developments of *now* and its Dutch semantic cognates could provide more details with regard to similarities and differences in the respective evolutions.

       The temporal meaning of adverbial *now* can equally be connected to the progression of a text. By the Middle English period, we find contexts in which the temporal meaning of *now* has been transferred to the "world of text". The deictic sense of *now* can be shifted to a textual use, in which *now* specifies a particular point within an ongoing text. In a textual use, *now* can introduce a new subsection of a discourse unit, or connect two utterances, and in doing so convey a deictic sense of "textual" time. This means that the temporal (resultive) sense of *now* can be applied to a textual progression, and can signify the meaning "in view of what has happened" (OED, *now*, adv. AI.1b) or "now that this has been said". The introduction of a

new piece of information, introduced by *now*, can in this sense have a deictic significance which is based on the information that has been given in preceding utterances.

Also in the organisation of successive discourse topics, the meaning of *now* can be used to indicate a deictic aspect of result and consideration within a textual sequence. This section aims to discuss the relevance of collocations of *now* with elements that have a temporal basis as a means to indicate textual progression.

Now then in Middle English data

As stated in the preceding sections, the introduction of a new topic can be based on the knowledge or awareness of preceding (sub)topics. *Now* can be used to introduce a new subsection of a text and simultaneously illustrate that this transition is connected to preceding sections, for instance by presenting a conclusion, an elaboration, or by adding a summarising reference to what has been said in preceding parts of discourse. The textual progression of (sub)topics is necessarily connected to an underlying ideational progression. A collocation in which this ideational aspect is clearly incorporated is *now then* (cp. earlier section 10.5.2.; cp. with *well then* in section 10.5 and 20.1.). In comparison to the Old English period of our corpus data, *now then* appears more frequently in Middle English use. Table 79 illustrates the figures of the different historical periods in the HC. The largest numbers are shown in the Middle English and Early Modern English periods. Table 80 shows frequencies from the CED, which provides data from the Early Modern English period onwards (1550-1760). The data from the CEECS contain only one collocation of *now* and *then*, in the Early Modern English period. The category showing data from the Modern English period is added for completeness. Generally, we have considered this last period of the HC to be a part of the Early Modern English period.

	Now then	Total utterance-initial tokens *now*
OE	1	362
ME	12	609
EModE	4	384
ModE (1650-1760)	---	125
Total	17	1480

Table 79: Occurrences of *now then* in the HC per historical period: Actual figures

	Now then	Total utterance-initial tokens *now*
OE	---	---
ME	---	---
EModE	1	548
ModE	3	481
Total	4	1029

Table 80: Occurrences of *now then* in the CED per historical period: Actual figures

The Middle English data from the Helsinki Corpus contain 13 tokens in which *now* collocates with *then*. As discussed in section 18.5.4., *now then* "marks a transition to something new resulting in a fresh look on a state of affairs" (Bolinger 1989: 293 in Aijmer 2002: 65). When *now then* is used to introduce a new (sub)topic, the collocation is said to present a "new" perspective which results "from some intervening consideration that alters the view of things" (Bolinger 1989: 293). A brief comparison of *well then* and *now then* in terms of meaning is given in section (20.1.).

From the 13 Middle English tokens in the HC that contain the collocation, *now then* is followed by an imperative or instructive form in 6 cases (e.g. examples (289)-(291)).

(289) **Nu þenne** seli meiden. **Gef** þe is weole leof; **nim þe** him to lauerð. Ðæt wealdeð al þæt is & wes & eauer schal iwurðen. (HC, Cmhali: 1150-1250)

Translation: **Now then** blessed maiden. **If** prosperity is dear to you; [then] **take** him as [your] lord. [He] who reigns over all that is and was and ever shall be.

(290) [L]adlich þing is hit wat crist hwen me makeð I tune man of ancre ahte. **Nu þenne ʒef** eani mot nedlunge habben hit; **loki þ[a]t hit** namon ne eili ne ne hearmi[,] ne þ[a]t hire þoht ne beo nawiht þron ifestnet. (HC, Cmancre: 1150-1250)

Translation: Now then, if any[one] must needs have it, see to it that it doesn't trouble or harm anyone […]

(291) […] þou him sselt loue, worþssipe, and reuerence, drede, seruice and boʒsamnesse. **Nou þench þanne huanne** þou zayst þi pater noster[,] **þet** þou by him a guod zone and trewe[,] yef þou wylt þet he þe by guod uader. (HC, Cmayenbi: 1250-1350)

Translation: **Now then (be)think, when** you say your pater noster, **that** you be a good and loyal son, if you want him to be a good father.

The three examples above all illustrate contexts in which *now then* initiates a successive step in an argumentation. In all three cases, *now then* is used by the speaker to

introduce a piece of advice or a conclusion that forms a conclusion of a larger discourse unit. In illustration (289), for example, is taken from a text that praises the virtues of virginity. In the part of discourse preceding the sentences presented here, the text discusses certain elements of a life devoted to God. The part of discourse introduced by *nu þenne* initially calls the attention of the addressee (*Nu þenne seli meiden*), and is followed by an imperative. The OED mentions two contexts in which *now then* occurs (cp. 18.5.4.). One of these is a context in which *now then* introduces a "command, or [a] mild reproof" (OED, *now*, adv. II. 5a/b). In the three examples above, the imperative forms following the utterance-initial use of *now then* not only illustrate a new point within the argumentation, but also form a conclusion to the speaker's personal argumentation – that was presented to the addressee in the preceding parts of discourse. This brings us to the second sense in which *now then* is said to occur (according to the OED), i.e. as a means to introduce "an important or noteworthy point in an argument or proof, or in a series of statements" (OED, *now*, adv. II. 6). *Now then* can in all three examples above be paraphrased as "if we consider this to be true, then…". The combination of the deictic element *now*, which is essentially forward-looking to an upcoming topic, and the marker *then*, which "focuses on how the speaker's talk succeeds either his/her own talk, or the other's talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 261) creates a collocation that can be used when the speaker wants to look at a particular situation and draw conclusions from what has been said before. These conclusions can then be transferred to the hearer, for instance in the form of a conclusion or an instruction. The meaning of *now* in this collocation is less propositional than in temporal, adverbial uses. *Now then* combines text-structuring aspects with elements of consideration and awareness of preceding (sub)topics.

Consideration in structural terms

The consideration of preceding steps in a main argumentation is not only implicitly embedded in the meaning of *now then*, it can also be made explicit in a structural manner. In examples (289)-(291) above, *now then* is followed by a subclause, introduced by *if*, *whether*, *though*, *when* or *since*. The structure of the entire phrase can be presented as follows:

"*now then + if/when/since* [...] + new subtopic".

The subclauses introduced by these conjunctions can present a specific condition, a ground for further inference, or a hypothetical or suggested situation. These references can then serve

as a basis for drawing further conclusions or as a ground on which the speaker can build a further argumentation or perspective. In examples (289) and (290) above, the collocation *now then* is initially followed by a subclause which makes reference to the contents of preceding steps in the narrative. After this subclause, a new step in the narrative is introduced. The structural form of the phrases *Gef þe is weole leof, nim þe him to lauerð* (289) and *ʒef eani mot…loki þat…* (290) can be broadly paraphrased as follows.

"if the situation (just described) occurs or is true, then… + subtopic or imperative/instructive".

From this perspective, the imperative can form a conclusion based on preceding steps in an ongoing narrative, and can additionally correlate with an ideational progression, i.e. the speaker's and addressee's understanding of the successive steps.

The manner in which the main clause (introduced by *now then*) and subclause (introduced by for instance *if* or *since*) are connected, creates a resultive effect precisely because elements such as *now*, *then*, *when* or *since* have a temporal basis. In example (292) below for instance, *now then* is followed by a subclause introduced by *since*. Both *now (that)* and *since (that)* have been discussed as temporal conjunctions which can additionally appear with a causal meaning because they both indicate "a given cause" and can be paraphrased as "now, seeing that…" (Traugott 1992: 254f.). *Since* can be used to "convey information already known" (Fischer 1992: 437). The subclause introduced by *since* in illustration (292) therefore presents a backgrounded piece of information, which is situated prior to the moment of speaking of the main clause. As such, the subclause refers to an underlying source of information on which a new subtopic is built.

(292) […] yf that a wyght wolde ryden for cause of hele, he ne desireth not so mochel the moevyng to ryden, as the effect of his hele. **Now thanne, syn** that alle thynges ben required for the grace of good, thei ne ben not desired of alle folk more than the same good. But we han grauntide that blisfulnesse is that thing for whiche that alle thise othere thinges ben desired.(HC, Cmboeth: 1350-1420)

Translation: […] if a man wants to ride for the sake of health, he desires not so much the motion of riding, as the attainment of his recovery. Now then, considering that all things are required for the sake of goodness, […]

It should be noted that *now then* can also be used without this type of conditional subclause. The context in example (293) for instance opens with the first speaker's claim that he is trustworthy and that *in [him] [there] shal be no lak*. In answer to this claim, the second speaker responds with an accepting sentence, introduced by *now thanne*. The sentence can be

paraphrased as "if (what you have just said) is true, then… + next step in argumentation". The collocation *now then* conveys an implicit sense of consideration from the part of the speaker in this context, and indicates that the hearer's claim is taken into account before moving on to the next discourse stage.

(293) This shaltou swere on thy professioun, Withouten fraude or cavillacioun. "I swere it," quod this frere, "by my feith!" And therwithal his hand in his he leith, "Lo, heer my feith; in me shal be no lak." "**Now thanne**, put in thyn hand doun by my bak," Seyde this man, "and grope wel bihynde. Bynethe my buttok there shaltow fynde A thyng that I have hyd in pryvetee." (HC, Cmctvers: 1350-1420)

Translation: […] "I swear it", this friar said, "by my faith!" […] "**Now then**, put your hand in, down by my back, "said this man, "and feel well at the rear end.

The interaction of narrative progression with clauses and subclauses entails a number of structural possibilities, which are summarised as follows. The first option places *now* at the start of a causal subclause, followed by a main clause (a). In the second and third options, *now* or *now then* is placed in utterance-initial position, creating a resultive (or text-structuring) meaning. In structure (c), *now (then)* is additionally followed by a subclause initiated by *if*, or by an other conjunction.

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a) **[*Now* [causal] + Subclause]**   **+ Main Clause**

     E.g. […] [n]u ic eou habbe þet godspel iseid anfaldeliche, nu scule ȝe understonden […] (example (285))

b) ***Now* (*then*) [Resultive]**   **+ Main Clause**

     E.g. Now thanne, put in thyn hand doun by my bak, […]. (example (293))

c) ***Now* (*then*) [Resultive / text-structuring] +**   **[*if* + Subclause]**   **+ Main Clause**

     E.g. Now then, […] Gef þe is weole leof; nim þe him to lauerð. (example (289))

     E.g. Now, if you were a man that had any learning, you should see, that contraries cannot be in the same subiect. (example (295)).

Table 81, Table 82 and Table 83 below gives an overview of the details of these different structural frames. Table 81 illustrates the number of occurrences of *now then* in the different historical periods of the *Helsinki Corpus*, and the frequencies of subclauses following the use of *now*, that are introduced by conjunctions such as *if*, *whether*, *though* or *since*. Finally, the

overview shows whether *now* introduces an imperative or instructive form. In Table 82 and Table 83 a similar overview is given for the frequencies in the CED and CEECS respectively.

Period	Total	Tokens	*Now then*	+ conjunction	Imperative/instructive
OE	**1**	1	√	*if*	√
ME 1	**4**	2	√	*if*	√
		2	√	X	√
ME 2	**2**	1	√	X	√
		1	√	X	X
ME 3	**7**	1	√	*when…*	√
		1	√	*since*	X
		4	√	X	X
		1	X	*since*	√
EModE	**25**	2	√	X	√ *(~ see; ~ let me see)*
		2	√	X	X
		5	X	*when…*	X
		4	X	*if*	√
		6	X	*if*	X
		1	X	*since*	√
		1	X	implied *if*	X
		1	X	*forasmuch as…*	X
		1	X (*~~…then ~*)	*for because…*	*X (but address!)*
		2	X	*although…yet*	X
ModE	**10**	2	X	*while*	√
		1	X	*whereas if*	X
		1	X	*when…*	X
		1	X	*unless*	X
		3	X	*though…(yet)*	X
		1	X	*if*	X
		1	X	*forasmuch as*	X
TOTAL	**49**	49	17	37	17

Table 81: Frequencies of *now then*, subclauses introduced by a conjunction, and/or a subsequent imperative form in the HC: Actual figures per period

Period	Total	Tokens	*Now then*	+ conjunction	Imperative/instructive
		1	X	*when*	X
1550-1600	4	2	X	*if*	X
		1	X	*if*	√
		1	√	X	X
		1	X	*since*	√
1600-1650	10	2	X	*if*	√
		6	X	*if*	X
		2	√	X	X
		1	X	*since*	X
1650-1700	14	1	X	*whereas*	X
		3	X	*when*	X
		7	X	*if*	X
		1	√	X	X
1700-1760	2	1	X	*when*	X
	30	30	4	26	4

Table 82: Frequencies of *now then*, subclauses introduced by a conjunction, and/or a subsequent imperative form in the CED: Actual figures per period

Period	Total	Tokens	*Now then*	+ conjunction	Imperative/instructive
A	-	-	-	-	-
AB	-	-	-	-	-
		1	√	X	X
B	5	1	X	*since*	X
		1	X	*whether*	X
		2	X	*though*	X
BC	1	1	X	*if*	√
C	6	1	X	*when*	√
		1	X	*if*	√
		2	X	*if*	X

1	X	*since*	X	
1	X	*whether*	X	
12	12	1	11	3

Table 83: Frequencies of *now then*, subclauses introduced by a conjunction, and/or a subsequent imperative form in the CEECS: Actual figures per period

The three tables above illustrate that from the Middle English period onwards, the data from the HC, CED and CEECS display an increasing number of uses in which *now* is followed by a subclause introduced by *if*, *whether*, *though* or *since*, or by a temporal subclause starting with *when* (e.g. *Now, when they were come to [...], the keeper was commanded to [...]*). The summarising tables for the HC (Table 84), the CED (Table 85) and the CEECS (Table 86) below show that the majority of tokens of *now then* occurs in the Middle English period from the Helsinki Corpus. *Now then* occurs less frequently in the CED and CEECS. Across the different chronological layers of the *Helsinki Corpus* (Table 84), *now then* occurs 17 times (versus only four times in the CED and once in the CEECS).

The data from Table 81 and Table 84 illustrate that the combination of *now then* with subclauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction is increasingly less frequent, and that in later periods *now then* more frequently occurs without such a subclause (example (294)).

(294) Mr. Jeff.: And you did not see him from the Monday before, till that Sunday?
Mr. Mow.: No, no.
Mr. Jeff.: **Now then, I ask you, where was** that place that he met with you**?**
Mr. Mow.: At Wentbridge. (CED, d4tcolle: 1681)

This evolution is reflected in the data from the CED and CEECS. A further evolution, however, shows that – especially from the Early Modern English period onwards – larger numbers can be seen for the co-occurrence of *now* as a text-structuring marker on its own (i.e. without the additional use of *then*) with this type of subclause in later periods of the three corpora (example (295)).

(295) […] I say your speach is rash and foolish, for they that be earnest against witches, be earnest against the deuil, […] **Now, if you were** a man that had any learning, **you should see**, that contraries cannot be in the same subiect, at one instant, in the same part, and in the same respect: how then can a man hate the deuill, defie the deuill and his workes, and yet follow him at one time? (HC, Cehand2a: 1570-1640)

Table 84 indicates that the Early Modern English (1500-1650) and Modern English periods (1650-1710) of the HC contain higher numbers of tokens in which *now* is used without an

additional collocation with *then*, and in which the marker is followed by a conjunction. Again, these results are reflected in the data from the two other corpora (Table 85; Table 86).

	OE	ME	EModE	ModE	**Total**
Now then + conj.	1	4	-	-	**5**
Now then – conj.	-	8	4	-	**12**
Now + conj.	-	1	21	10	**32**
Total	1	13	25	10	**49**

Table 84: Combinations of *now (then)* with or without following conjunctions: HC (Actual figures)

	EModE 1550-1600	EModE 1600-1650	ModE 1650-1700	ModE 1700-1760	**Total**
Now then + conj.	-	-	-	-	**-**
Now then – conj.	-	1	2	1	**4**
Now + conj.	4	9	12	1	**26**
Total	4	10	14	2	**30**

Table 85: Combinations of *now (then)* with or without following conjunctions: CED (Actual figures)

	(A) ME 1400-1500	(AB) -----	(B) EModE 1500-1600	(BC) -----	(C) EModE / ModE 1600-1681	**Total**
Now then + conj.	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Now then – conj.	-	-	1	-	-	**1**
Now + conj.	-	-	4	1	6	**11**
Total	0	0	5	1	6	**12**

Table 86: Combinations of *now (then)* with or without following conjunctions: CEECS (Actual figures)

The earliest – and only – Middle English example from the CEECS in which *now* has a clear pragmatic meaning is shown in example (296). The example illustrates a context in which *now* does not collocate with *then*, and where the marker has a semantically bleached meaning and fulfils a dual function. *Now* introduces a new subsection of discourse, and also

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makes reference to a particular suggestion, with which the addressee can choose to align or disalign his/her actions with.

(296) **Now**, **and** my good lady wold of hir great gentlenes and noble mynd send a token, as is within wrytten, I cold never deserve yt to hir […] (CEECS, plumpton: 1461-1550)

Translation: **Now, if** my good lady would send a token of her great gentleness and noble mind, as is written within, I could never deserve [that] from her.

Now has a bleached semantic meaning in this context, and is followed by a subclause (introduced by *and*, i.e. *if*) which presents one specific option or perspective, from the point of view of the speaker.

An overview of the conjunctions that are used in collocation with *now* or with *now then* are given in Table 87 (HC), Table 88 (CED) and Table 89 (CEECS). While *if* is the most commonly used conjunction in collocation with *now (then)* in all three corpora, the data from the HC (Table 87) show that from the Early Modern English period onwards, *now* is increasingly followed by concessive or contrastive subclauses introduced by conjunctions such as *while*, *whereas* or *although*.

	if	since	when…	forasmuch as	for because	while	although	Whereas (if)	Total
OE	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
ME	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
EModE	11	1	5	1	1	-	2	-	21
ModE	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	4
Total	**14**	**3**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**31**

Table 87: Subordinating conjunctions used in subclauses co-occurring with *now*: Actual figures per period (HC)

The data from the CED (Table 88) only give us figures from the Early Modern English period onwards, and shows that the conjunction *if* is the most frequent one in these data. The material from the CEECS (Table 89), which contains data from the late Middle English period onwards, contains only a small number of occurrences.

	if	since	when…	although	Whereas (if)	Total

1550-1600	3	-	1	-	-	4
1600-1650	8	1	-	-	-	9
1650-1700	7	1	3	-	1	12
1700-1760	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	**18**	**2**	**5**	**-**	**1**	**26**

Table 88: Subordinating conjunctions used in subclauses co-occurring with *now*: Actual figures per period (CED)

	if	since	when…	whether	(al)though	Whereas (if)	Total
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AB	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B		1	-	1	2	-	4
BC	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
C	3	1	1	1	-	-	6
Total	4	2	1	2	2	-	11

Table 89: Subordinating conjunctions used in subclauses co-occurring with *now*: Actual figures per period (CEECS)

The pragmatic and interpersonal value of these concessive or contrastive occurrences collocating with *now* in the *Helsinki Corpus* is discussed in greater detail in section 18.7.2., which deals with the Early Modern English changes in the semantic-pragmatic development of *now*.

18.6.3. Progression of ideas: intersubjective implications

When *now* is used to connect different utterances to form one coherent stretch of discourse, or to organise different steps in a narrative into a structured sequence of events, the textual progression always also entails a "progression of ideas" (Schiffrin 1987: 237) which affects the relationship between speaker and addressee. Schiffrin states that

> "discourse time emerges only because a speaker is presenting utterances in a certain order: utterances have no independent property which leads to a particular linear order." (Schiffrin 1987: 262)

It is the speaker who decides how the different subtopics in a narrative will be structured, and a text-structuring marker such as *now* can function as a means to highlight specific subtopics or steps in an argumentation. A narrative will therefore be structured in such a way that the point of view or argumentation of the speaker is supported, and that the hearer is persuaded to follow the textual progression and to take over the speaker's perspective. From the data we have seen up till now, it is clear that the use of *now* as a temporal adverb can be transferred to the world of discourse, but that both in propositional and in pragmatic uses, the close relationship to the deictic source of *now* causes the emphasis to be on the authority of the speaker.

Nevertheless, the addressee, i.e. the recipient of the speaker's presentation of ideas, will be influenced by the manner in which the speaker's thoughts and perspectives are represented through text. As a temporal adverb, *now* indicates that something is assumed to be true at the time of speaking. As a discourse connective, *now* can signal that something is true because of what has been said in preceding utterances. The manner in which topics and subtopics are presented therefore becomes essential when the speaker wants to provide a convincing argumentation.

In our historical data, the Middle English period is the stage in which *now* adopts semantically bleached meanings and becomes used as a textual marker that introduces new (sub)topics which are either explicitly introduced through a topical metacomments including a verb of speaking, or that are founded on the speaker's reference to preceding (sub)topics. In the Early Modern English period, which starts after 1500 and runs until about 1650, the speaker's evaluation becomes more prominent when new information is presented to the addressee. These shifts towards increased (inter)subjectivity are discussed in the next section.

Subjective shift in orientation: Imperative forms in Middle English

Apart from indicating changes in topical structure (e.g. section 18.6.1.), *now* can also be used to signal changes from descriptive parts of a narrative to either evaluative sections, from a declarative to an interrogative mood, or from a declarative to an imperative mood (cp. Schiffrin 1987). The majority of evaluative and interrogative shifts can be found from the Early Modern English period onwards (see further section 18.7.2.), and the few Middle English examples of *now* that serve a pragmatic function in such a context are therefore discussed in combination with the Early Modern English uses.

The appearance of an imperative form does not necessarily entail the use of a pragmatic meaning. Depending on context, *now* can introduce an imperative and display a propositional, text-structuring or pragmatic meaning. In the Middle English periods of the HC and CEECS, contexts can be found in which *now* serves to introduce a shift in orientation, from a declarative to an imperative form. In these contexts, *now* tends to convey a heightened level of subjectivity and has a direct influence on the relationship between speaker and addressee. This is discussed by means of the following examples.

Whereas no imperative forms collocating with *now* were found in the Middle English data from the CEECS, the same period in the *Helsinki Corpus* contains 62 contexts in which *now* introduces a shift to an imperative mood. An overview of the different genres in which these contexts occur (and a comparison with imperatives in earlier and later periods) is given below in Table 90. In the Middle English occurrences, the most frequent genre is that of religious treatises. The imperative forms used in these texts tend to have a corresponding instructive use. In the Early Modern English period, it can be noted that the imperatives in 5 out of 6 tokens found in the genre of trial proceedings contain a verb of speaking (e.g. *Now tell me,…*). In the genre of homilies, the imperative verb forms most frequently contain a verb of hearing – which reflects the fact that these texts were written to be spoken to a religious crowd.

	OE	ME	EModE
Bible	2	1	3
Biography, auto-	---	---	1
Biography, lives	---	2	---
Drama, comedies	---	---	4
Drama, mystery plays	---	**13**	---
Educational treatises	---	---	1
Fiction	---	8	**5**
Handbooks, other	---	---	2
History	---	2	---
Homilies	1	6	---
Homilies; Philosophy	---	1	---
Philosophy	---	2	4
Proceedings, trials	---	---	**6**

Religious treatises	---	**14**	---
Riddles	1	---	---
Romances	---	12	---
Rules	1	1	---
Science, other	---	---	2
Sermons	---	---	3
Text type undefined (OE verse)	**8**	---	---
Travelogue	---	---	2
TOTAL	**13**	**62**	**33**

Table 90: Co-occurrence of *now* with following imperative form: Genres

The included contexts contain a range of meanings. *Now* has a clear propositional meaning, for instance in example (297). A similar propositional meaning, but with an additional text-structuring sense can for instance be found in contexts where the imperative forms a conclusion to the narrator's personal argumentation, as in example (298) (also see section 18.6.1.).

(297) And **now goþ** and do what ʒow gode likes. (HC, Cmbrut3: 1350-1420)

> Translation: And **now go** and do what seems appropriate to you.

(298) **Nou þench þanne huanne** þou zayst þi pater noster[,] **þet** þou by him a guod zone and trewe[,] […] (HC, Cmayenbi: 1250-1350)

> Translation: **Now then (be)think, when** you say your pater noster, **that** you be a good and loyal son, […]

The interpretation of these examples and corresponding propositional, textual or pragmatic meanings largely depends on context.

In example (299), *now* precedes an imperative form, but can still illustrates a transparently temporal meaning. The combination with the imperative, however, adds a sense of urgency or immediacy to the request of the speaker. A similar shade of meaning can be seen in phrases such as *Now go and…* or *now look*, in which the deictic meaning of *now* is still visible but has been complemented by a subjective sense of immediacy.

(299) […] ic eam befangan eal swa spearwe on nette and eall swa fisc on hoce and eal swa hra mid rape. **Nu help þu me, leofa drihten**, gehelp þu me. (HC, Comarga 1050-1150)

> Translation: **Now help me, dear lord,** […]

In the following illustration, *now* introduces an imperative form, i.e. *(now) look*, which is directed towards the addressee. The temporal meaning of *now* can also still be seen in this example, and can be paraphrased as "at this point (in time)". As an additional layer of meaning, *now look* also introduces a new subsection within the narrative (*Now looke upon thise herbes…. They wexen…*).

(300) **Now looke** upon thise herbes and thise trees. They wexen first in suche places as ben covenable to hem, in whiche places thei mowen nat sone deye ne dryen, as longe as hir nature mai defenden hem. (HC, Cmboeth: 1350-1420)

Translation: **Now look at** these herbs and these trees. They first grow in places that are suitable to them, […]

Examples (301) to (303) are co-occurrences of *now* and imperatives which more clearly indicate interpersonal meanings, combined with a text-structuring function. The imperative verb forms, following the utterance-initial use of *now*, consist of mental verbs such as *hear*, *listen* or *understand*. In this combination, *now* can indicate that the speaker involves the hearer into the conversation or the narrative progression. In addition, the co-occurrence of the imperative with *now* marks the start of an upcoming subtopic (*Nu ihiereth wet signefieth…*; *Now listneþ of…*; *Nou onderstand wel hou…*), as a new part within a larger succession of (sub)topics.

(301) And be þet hi offrede Mirre, þet is biter þing, signefieth þet hi hedde beliaue þet he was diadlich[…]. **Nu ihiereth** wet signefieth þet Gold. (HC, Cmkentse: 1250-1350)

Translation: And with that they offered myrrh, which […] signifies that they […]. **Now listen to** the significance of Gold.

(302) He þere was a litel while. **Nou listneþ** of a queynt gyle. (HC, Cmalisau: 1250-1350)

Translation: He was there a little while. **Now listen** to (i.e. hear about) a deceitful trick.

(303) Oure lhord zayþ ine his spelle to his deciples: "þe regne of god: is nou wyþ-inne you." **Nou onderstand we**l hou þet may by. (HC, Cmayenbi: 1250-1350)

Translation: In his sermon our lord says to his disciples: "The kingdom of god is now within you. (Lit.) **Now understand well** how that may be.

Finally, a single illustration of the speaker's affective involvement with the addressee is shown in example (304). *Now tak good heede* combines an utterance-initial use of *now* with an imperative and announces a new subtopic in which a preceding topic is further elaborated

on. In this use, *now* conveys a sense of concern or interest, and in addition guides the addressee through the speaker's succession of subtopics.

(304) And God seyd in þe gospel: […] alle þynges þat ȝe woolde þat men dede to ȝouȝ, do ȝe to hem aȝenward: and þis is benificience. **Now tak good heede, suster**, how þise two parteyneþ to þe. (HC, Cmaelr3: 1350-1420)

Translation: And God said in the gospel: […] all things that you want men to do unto you, do [those] to them: and this is beneficience. **Now take good heed, sister**, how these two pertain to you.

The further development of *now* as a means to indicate (inter)subjective meanings and shifts in orientation is discussed in section 18.7.2.

18.7. Textual and interpersonal functions of *now* in Early Modern English

18.7.1. *Now* as indicator of topic-changes

The text-structuring meanings of *now* that were established in earlier periods continue to be used after 1500. However, the ways in which the use of *now* can allow a speaker to signal upcoming topic changes become slightly more diverse.

Verbal collocations: Explicit and implicit

As indicated earlier in section 18.5.1., the frequencies of verbal collocations (definition see section 18.4.), through which the speaker can explicitly announce upcoming topic changes, are highest in the earliest stages of the evolution of *now*, viz. in the Old English and early Middle English periods. In the *Helsinki Corpus*, the period between 950 and 1250 displays the highest numbers of occurrence (see Table 68 (HC), Table 69 (CED) and Table 70 (CEECS) in section 18.4.). In the CED and CEECS, the numbers for verbal collocations are relatively lower than in the HC. In the CED (repeated in Table 91), the highest percentages are found in the first half of the Early Modern English period – though this figures does not show an extensive difference with figures from subsequent periods – and in the last period of the CED, viz. the period between 1700 and 1760.

CED	Verbal Collocation	(Quotation)	None	Total Initial
1550-1600	**7.5** (19)	8.3 (21)	84.2 (213)	100.0 (253)
1600-1650	6.4 (19)	7.8 (23)	85.8 (253)	100.0 (295)
1650-1700	5.7 (19)	5.7 (19)	88.6 (294)	100.0 (332)
1700-1760	**8.7** (13)	**8.1** (12)	83.2 (124)	100.0 (149)
Total	**(70)**	**(75)**	**(884)**	**(1029)**

Table 91: Verbal collocations in the CED: percentages (and actual figures) per historical period

Example (305) is taken from the Early Modern English period of the CED. The example is not a clear illustration of a verbal collocation, but shows a context in which a transition between propositional and pragmatic meanings can be seen. In the phrase *now you talke of deceit*, *now* can be classified as a conjunction, indicating a causal meaning. The phrase can be paraphrased as "Now (that) you have said this" or "Now that you bring up this topic" and is

followed by the speaker's announcement of an upcoming topic which is connected to the previous one (*Now […] I must tell you your owne [deceit] too*). The semantic meaning of *now* is applied as a deictic element within the frame of a topic-introducing metacomment. The propositional meaning of *now* serves a text-structuring function, specifying a certain point within the ongoing succession of (sub)topics. In addition, the phrase *now you talke of deceit…* serves as a starting point for the introduction of a new – related – subtopic in which the speaker contrasts the preceding utterance (i.e. the claim of his interlocutor) with his own personal perspective. The reference to the addressee's utterance (*now you talke of deceit…*) is used as a stepping stone on which the subsequent part of discourse (i.e. a rebuttal of the accusation) is built.

(305) Upright: […] you have onely a respect to your private gaine Master Pattent, you got sweetly for the time they lasted.
Pattent: By your favour Master Vpright, **now you talke of deceit** in Trading, **I must tell you your owne too**: did you never vent Calves Leather for Neate, and oftentimes for Spanish to some ignorant Customers: […]. (CED, d3hotj: 1640)

The data from the CEECS shows that the largest number of verbal collocations is situated in the Early Modern English (11.6%) and Modern English (13.9%) periods (repeated in Table 92). An aspect that can be taken into account is the influence of the writer. The period between 1500 and 1600 in the CEECS contains 11 uses of *now* which function as "verbally extended topic changers" (cp. Finell 1992: 732; also see section 18.4.), of which 8 occur in the same text (*Leycester*). In the period between 1600 and 1700, 12 of the 16 tokens are found in the *Cornwall* text. The idea that the idiosyncracies of the writer have increased the number of verbal collocations should therefore be considered.

CEECS	Verbal Collocation	(Quotation)	None	Total Initial
A (1400-1500)	2.8 (1)	-	97.2 (35)	100.0 (36)
AB (------------)	-	-	100.0 (19)	100.0 (19)
B (1500-1600)	11.6 (11)	3.1 (3)	85.3 (81)	100.0 (95)
BC (------------)	12.5 (2)	-	87.5 (14)	100.0 (16)
C (1600-1700)	13.9 (16)	-	86.1 (99)	100.0 (115)
Total	**(30)**	**(3)**	**(248)**	**(281)**

Table 92: Verbal collocations in the CEECS: percentages (and actual figures) per historical period

The category of verbal collocations was initially divided (see section 18.4.) into a group containing a verb of speaking (e.g. *Now I will tell you…*) and one without such a verb but with a description of the upcoming topic shift (e.g. *Now we will move on to the next topic…*). Of the 30 verbal collocations in the CEECS, 15 tokens co-occur with a verb of speaking. The other half fits into the second group, in which the speaker's intent to change topic is described without a verb of speaking. The contexts placed into this latter group, as illustrated by example (306), convey a different shade of meaning and put a greater emphasis on the separate subsections within a narrative.

(306) […] but I wryte not this to move your lordship to do more than I knowe you will of your self consider what is mete, and what you may doo. **Now,** my lord, **I will leave this long preface, and come to some matters in my former letters**. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

In comparison to the data from the CEECS, the division of verbal collocations in the other two corpora shows a large majority of tokens co-occurring *with* verbs of speaking (199 out of 225 tokens in the HC; 62 out of 70 tokens in the CED) against a much smaller percentage of tokens in which the speaker indicates the structure of the narrative without the use of a communicative verb (26 out of 225 tokens in the HC; 8 tokens out of 70 in the CED). One possible explanation for the results in the CEECS lies in the fact that the letter genre can be considered as text-based. Whereas other genres in the historical corpora used for this thesis represent written genres that were intended to be spoken (e.g. sermons; plays; witness depositions), letters are essentially written, though addressed to a particular hearer/reader. Aijmer states that *now* "is characteristic of speech rather than of writing" (2002: 70) and that "[s]tructures like *I begin now*, *let me tell you now* with the same discourse function as *now* alone may be more frequent in writing and in formal, planned discourse modes" (Schiffrin 1987: 263 in Aijmer 2002: 70). An overview of the text genres in which the verbal collocations and quotations from the *Helsinki Corpus* and *Corpus of English Dialogues* occur is provided in the Appendix 6. The results indicate that whereas quotations occur most frequently in (Prose) fiction (13/71 in the HC, 64/75 in the CED), the verbal collocations are most frequent in drama comedy, trials and handbooks (other than language teaching) in the CED, and in trials, religious treatises and homilies in the HC. The results therefore indicate an inclination for verbal collocations to appear in "planned" discourse (e.g. homilies, religious treatises, handbooks). Apart from these main genres, *now* is also frequently used – in co-occurrence with a verb of speaking – in trial proceedings, which can be seen as written-down versions of spoken discourse. To a lesser extent, verbal collocations also appear in dialogues

of drama comedies, in which the combination of *now* with a verb of speaking is used to announce a topic shift to an addressee – rather than to a hearer or reader. This genre therefore shows a different – less strictly "planned" – shade of meaning compared to genres such as homilies, sermons and handbook texts.

According to Schiffrin, examples such as the one below (307) illustrate "the fuzziness between adverb and marker in actual use" (1987: 263).

(307) […] I will undertake it. Well, **now I will returne a litle backe again, to tell you** what followed since my former conference with the states. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

This type of context, in which *now* has a semantic meaning but a text-structuring use, first appears in the Old English period and is still used to this day. The historical data indicate that the use of metacomments to introduce topic changes and to structure upcoming sections of a narrative in a manner that is explicit to both speaker and addressee can be seen as an initial step in the further semantic-pragmatic evolution of *now*. Other text-organising and (inter)subjective functions which have derived from this initial verbally extended use can also be found in the Early Modern English period of our historical data. The following section gives a short overview of textual meanings that occur in the EModE period and that have developed out of meanings which originate in earlier historical periods.

Now for…: introducing elaborating subtopics

The examples below ((308) and (309)) illustrate contexts in which *now* introduces a new part of discourse, a transition between two subtopics or the closing-off of a preceding subtopic. Phrases such as *Now for the matter of…*, *Now for…*, *Now over to…* or *Now further…* indicate the transition to a new discourse topic, without the use of a metacomment. *Now* is used in this kind of context from the Middle English period onwards, and are still used in later periods to indicate a topic break. In the phrases below, the speaker explicitly warns the addressee that a new topic will be introduced. In examples (308) and (309), the implication of a verb of speaking is still there. The phrases introduced by *now* can be paraphrased as "Now [we will talk about] the matter of…" or "Now [concerning] our hus-wifes direction, [we can say/advise that]…".

(308) Duke.:   This I deny not.
      Serj.:   Francis Bishop was a Traitor
      Duke.:   I knew him not.
      Serj.:   **Now for the matter of taking the Tower**.

Duke.:   I deny it.   (CED, d1tnorfo: publ. 1730; speech event 1571)

(309) […] and from the breeds of these Countries generally doe proceed the breeds of all other, howsoeuer dispersed ouer the whole Kingdome. **Now for our hus-wifes direction**, shee shall choose her dairie from any of their best breeds before named, according as her opinion and delight shall gouerne her. (HC, Cehand2b: 1570-1640)

Introducing elaborating subtopics

Two manners in which *now* can introduce a new (sub)topic also originate in the Middle English period. *Now* can indicate a shift to an elaborating subtopic, and secondly introduce a specific subsection within a larger list. These two textual functions are further developed in the EModE period.

In the context of example (310) below, reference is made to a *parson*. At a certain point within the topical progression, *now* is used to introduce a new subtopic in which the speaker refers back to *this parson*. One element in the narrative is in this manner emphasised, forming the onset of a new elaborating subtopic. The new topic is mentioned immediately after the utterance-initial position of *now*, which puts the focus of the new sentence on the new topic.

(310) He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the locke, and went their way so farre ere it was daye, that **the parson** coulde neuer haue any vnderstanding more of them. **Now this parson**, sorowfully slumbering that night betwene feare and hope, thought it was but folly to make two sorrowes of one; […] (HC, Cefict1b: 1500-1570)

This text-structuring use of *now* can direct the orientation of discourse, i.e. the topical development as well as the ideational progression of speaker and addressee, towards the specification of one subsection of the main narrative. Additional illustrations can be seen in examples (311) and (312). In the first of these two examples, *now* marks the transition from a description of a series of events, to one specific action undertaken by the addressee. In the context of a trial, which this example is taken from, *now* can be seen as an element in an argumentation presented by the speaker. The phrase *now in this discontentment* refers back to what has been said in the preceding description, and can in addition be seen as the start of a concluding segment within the larger textual frame. It is the introduced phrase (*[Now in this discontentment] you gave him the book*) which the addressee then responds to.

(311) Attorney: After the King came within twelve Miles of London, Cobham never came to see him; and intended to travel without seeing the Queen and the Prince. **Now in this Discontentment you gave him the Book**, and he gave it his Brother.

Raleigh: I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember a little before that time I received a Challenge from Sir Amias Preston, and for that I did intend to answer it, I resolved to leave my Estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose Papers, amongst which was this Book. (HC, Cetri2b: 1570-1640)

In example (312), *now* marks the transition between one main topic into a subtopic (*Nowe ther were too Bachelors of Arte*) which, in turn, consists of two subparts (*the one of them was…the other was…*).

(312) Thes too confederated together to goe to Oxford, and did soe, and ther they became both pore scollers, the on which was Thomas Ridear in Corpus Christie College, and Symon in Magdalen Colledge. And every day he wente to the free scolle for a tyme, […]. **Nowe ther were too Bachelors of Arte** that were too of his chife benefactors; **the one of them was** Sir Thornbury, that after was bishope of Limerike, and he was of Magdalen College; **the other was Sir Pinckney** his cossine of St. Mary Halle. Thes too […] (HC, Ceauto2: 1570-1640)

In the following example (313), a description of a group of people (*they ware pirates*) is split up into two subgroups. *Now* marks the start of a transition from the main topic to two connected subtopics. Depending on prosodic features, we could interpret this use of *now* as an element in a temporal comparison. A contrast can be seen between the preceding part of discourse (*it was shewid…*) and the phrase introduced by *now*.

(313) He required also pardon and releasment of emprisonment for ceirtein Frenchmen taken on the sea cost. It was shewid him they ware pirates; **Now some of them** shuld by justice be punished, **some** by clemency pardoned; and with this dispach he departed. (HC, Cediar1b: 1500-1570)

Finally, in example (314), the part of discourse preceding *now* gives a description of a book by Galen, in which different kinds of wine are listed and described. After this section has been closed off (*thus farre Galen*), the speaker moves away from the described book and shifts to the perspective of his own writings, explaining why they may be of interest to the English readers.

(314) […] and gently binding are not only not noysome vnto the head, but oft times take awaye light head aches which come of humors gathered togither in the stomache, thus farre Galen. **Nowe some men that reade this booke**, acknowledging the[m]selues to be my scholers, **peradue[n]ture would learne of me** bicause I teach English men in this English booke, what kindes of wines that are brought into England, are of this sort. (HC, Cehand1b: 1500-1570)

The use of *now* in this last example not only introduces a shift to one particular subordinate aspect related to the main topic, but also entails an element of contrast between the main topic (on Galen and his book) and the subtopic (on the benefits for English men).

Now as an organiser of listed steps in an argumentation

Within the larger frame of an ongoing narrative, *now* can be used to introduce different steps in an argumentation or successive points in a list of described actions or ideas. In descriptive lists, *now* "occurs in […] discourse in which a subordinate unit is to be interpreted in relation to a larger structure" (Schiffrin 1987: 237). In example (315), the transition to a second part within a larger structure of successive subsections is explicitly indicated by the speaker.

(315) […] he shall abyde in the vnyuersall chyrche for euer. […] And he shall in euery doute teche vs the trouthe. **Thus moche for the fyrst. Now for the seconde** where I sayd that the pope […] is the heed of the vnyuersall chyrche of christ. (Ceserm1a: 1500-1570)

Schiffrin states that the speaker's use of *now* to "mark the information which will add to a prior collection of items" (1987: 237) in synchronic use has a dual function:

"not only is the next potential item in a list marked, but so too, is the need to maintain focus on **the speaker** for provision of that next item." (1987: 237-238; bold in original).

In this sense, *now* serves as a means to connect different sections of one ongoing part of discourse, directed by a single speaker. As such, the speaker has greater control over how different subtopics are organised, and to what extent they lead to a conclusion or form part of a personal argumentation. Schiffrin notes that

"[the] repeated use of *now* is a resource with which a speaker can emphasize the sequential nature of a discourse whose cumulative nature is important for the establishment of a particular point." (1987: 238)

By using *now* to highlight different steps in a list or in an ongoing argumentation, the marker "emphasizes the progression of particular units in discourse time" (ibid.). According to Schiffrin, this may help to explain why certain points within a list of items are marked with *now*, while others are introduced by connectives such as *and* or *but*.

In example (316), *now* appears also appears as a structuring device, indicating specific stages in a numbered list. The context of the example is a murder trial, and the illustration starts when the accused Earl of Somerset defends himself against the accusation that the murder happened with a poisonous powder that was in his possession. In the successive speaker turn, a description is given of the "three powders" which the accused received from a third party (*you had three…The first…; the second…; and the third…*). Following this first section, a

contrast is made with a fourth powder. This part of the argumentation is introduced by *now*, which sets this section apart from the other listed points (*Now a fourth…was that that made him so sick*).

(316) Earl of Somerset: And for that which Payton alledges about the Powder which I sent, and made Sir Thomas Overbury so sick; that Powder I sent was one of them which I receiv'd from Sir Robert Killegrew.
Serj. Crew.: But this, my Lord, **was none of the Powders** you receiv'd from Sir Robert Killegrew, for **you had three** from him: **The first** was lost; **the second** you sent him by Rawlins; and **the third** your self took at Buly: **Now a fourth**, which was sent by Davis, **was that that made him so sick**, and gave him so many Stools; and that was Poison, and sent three Weeks after that that Rawlins carried. (CED, d2tcarr: publ. 1730; speech event 1616)

Apart from introducing a subsection within a structured list, *now* is inserted at a strategic point within the text. The use of *now* marks a clear contrast between the first three successive points in a list, and the final and fourth part (which is introduced by *now*). Not only does *now* serve as a text-structuring marker which creates a contrast with the preceding points and, in doing so, places an emphasis on the fourth point on the list – *now* also introduces a subtopic which is connected to the preceding subtopics in the larger topical structure. The subtopic initiated by *now* can, in addition, be considered crucial for the speaker's argumentation that is being developed here, because it is the fourth – contrasted – subtopic which eventually serves as the foundation of the accusation.

By the Early Modern English period, the text-structuring functions of *now* which started to develop in the Middle English period have diversified and can mark the speaker's intention to introduce a new (sub)topic – either explicitly or implicitly – to move from a main topic to an elaborating subtopic or to a set of connected subtopics that form part of a list. In doing so, *now* can be used to highlight specific sections in an ongoing argumentation, and thus support the speaker's establishment of a particular point. In indicating the transition to a specific (sub)topic, *now* can also emphasise a contrast with preceding subsections. From an interpersonal perspective, the manner in which speakers use *now* as a means to structure the topical progression of a narrative also influences the way in which points of view are presented. In our corpus data from the Early Modern English period, *now* becomes increasingly applied in contexts where the speaker wants to put forward a personal evaluation or where different perspectives are contrasted.

Contrast through subtopicalisation

The text-structuring function of *now*, in which the marker signals the transition from a main topical unit to a subtopic, or from one subtopic to another, has by the Early Modern English period evolved towards a function with multiple uses. *Now* can introduce upcoming subtopics, announce the speaker's intention with regard to upcoming topic changes, guide the addressee through the topical progression by referring to the break with a preceding topic, introduce elaborating subtopics or establish a new topic that is based on knowledge presented in preceding parts of discourse.

Schiffrin states that "*[n]ow* introduces an element of contrast when there is a main topic branching into subtopics" (Schiffrin 1987: 230). When a main topic shifts to a subtopic, or when *now* introduces a transition between two subtopics, the newly introduced subsection of discourse can present an explicit or implicit contrast to other subtopics. In example (317), for instance, *now* marks a transition to one specific subtopic. The preceding part of discourse describes the actions of a group of people. The subtopic introduced by *now* foregrounds and elaborates on one subgroup. This subtopic entails a contrast between *those that did so* and the remainder of the group.

(317) The Neighbours also came out to see him run, and as he ran, some mocked, others threatned; and some cried after him to return: **Now among those that did so**, there were two that were resolved to fetch him back by force: The name of the one was Obstinate, and the name of the other Pliable. (HC, d3fbunya: 1678)

According to Schiffrin, a contrast or comparison between topics can also be implicit, when there is a "tacit agreement that the topic being spoken about is disputable" (Schiffrin 1987: 233) (cp. example (318).

(318) […] **Now my husband believes** in eh marrying in his own religion. And he tried to stress it with the boys. (Schiffrin 1987: 235)

Finally, Schiffrin mentions that certain uses of *now* can introduce "implicit comparisons" because they are "presented as personal opinions" (1987: 233). One of her examples (319) shows an occurrence in which *now* introduces the personal view of the speaker (*Now to me,…*).

(319) He was giving a spelling test.

Now to me, if you're inviting parents t'come observe, y'don't give a spelling test! (Schiffrin 1987: 236)

Schiffrin states that, whether the presentation of an opinion "initiate[s] and actual disagreement" or not, when the speaker does present a personal view on things, this "implicates uncertainty over the facts about which the opinion is held", because "opinions are inherently disputable". When presenting a personal opinion creates a disagreement between different interlocutors, this "make[s] the comparison between 'my view' and 'another's view' more overt" (1987: 236).

Contrastive subsections > contrastive opinions

On a textual level, the function of *now* as a "stepping-stone to a new topic, new argument or new stage in a narrative" (Aijmer 2002: 70) in itself entails a contrast between (known) backgrounded information, and (new) foregrounded steps within a narrative. In the preceding sections a discussion of *now* as an element in textual progression showed that the presentation of a new subtopic, introduced by *now*, can be based on information presented in the preceding parts of discourse, or on information shared by speaker and addressee.

In the Early Modern English periods of the historical corpus data, *now* appears in contexts where the marker introduces a new subtopic that represents a personal opinion. Examples (320), (321) and (322) illustrate a semantically bleached meaning of *now* which functions as a means to introduce the speaker's subjective view.

(320) a Gentlewoman shee is of wondrous good wealth, whom grisly death hath bereft of a kinde husband, making her a Widow ere shee had been halfe a yeare a wife […]: **Now sir, this is the worst**, by the reason that she doubtes her selfe to bee with child, she hath vowed not to marrie these xii. moneths: […] Now sir George, if you thinke her a fit wife for you, ride to her, woo her, winne her, and wed her. (HC, Cefict2b: 1570-1640)

(321) All-wit: Verily you are an Asse forsooth, I must fit all these times, or there's no Musicke, (Enter two Gossips.) Here comes a friendly and familier payer, **now I like these Wenches well**. (HC, Ceplay2b: 1570-1640)

(322) […] my complexion is so blacke, that I shall carry but an ill fauoured countenance vnder a hood. "**Now without doubt**", quoth her Gossip, "**you are to blame to say so:** beshrew my heart if I speake it to flatter; you are a very faire and well fauored young woman as any is in Newbery". (CED, d2fdelon: 1596-97? speech event/1619 publication date)

When *now* is used to introduce a personal evaluation or point of view, this is typically done

"before an utterance in which the speaker modifies or qualif[ies] his ideas or opinions in relation to the opinions expressed by the other party (and occasionally in comparison with what he has earlier believed himself)" (Aijmer 1988: 20).

In contexts where *now* precedes or introduces an evaluative voice, an awareness of alternative voices seems implied. In the two illustrations below ((323) and (324)), the contrast between the foregrounded subtopic – which represents the speaker's point of view – and an implied alternative is supported by a reference to the general topic or to an option with which the speaker can align or disalign his own perspective. The phrases *concerning what you write to me…* and *if that wod bring him home…* represent the speaker's reference to the main topic. The opinion which is subsequently presented (*I am of your opinion that…*) shows that the speaker aligns his view with that of the addressee.

(323) **Now, concerning** what you write to me by Tom Talbot, **I am of your opinion that** I must be advised by these ministers heere. (CEECS, Charles: 1634-1678)

In example (324), *now* is followed by a subclause introduced by *if*, and by a personal perspective (*alas! I fear it will note [bring him home]*). The subclause indicates one particular option or hypothesis (*if that wod bring him home*) and is subsequently countered by the speaker's evaluative assessment (*but, alas! I fear…*).

(324) **Now, if** that wod bring him home, it weare noe matter; **but, alas! I fear it will note** […] (CEECS, Cornwall: 1613-1644)

Now has a clear pragmatic meaning in these examples, and functions as a means to introduce a new part of discourse which represents the speaker's subjective point of view. The fact that an additional subclause can announce the topic of the evaluation, or present a specific perspective with which the speaker's opinion can agree or disagree, signifies that, on an interpersonal level, this utterance-initial use of *now* can be used to announce an upcoming evaluation, or an upcoming contrast between the speaker's point of view and that of the addressee.

Contrastive and concessive evaluations

The presentation of a personal view itself establishes a possible contrast with other opinions. When *now* fulfils a pragmatic function as an introduction to a personal evaluation, the marker can introduce a subjective point of view which places the speaker's stance either in agreement

or in disagreement with an alternative opinion or with the perspective of an addressee. In the examples below ((325)-(328), the subclauses placed in between the utterance-initial, pragmatic use of *now* and the evaluative subtopic presented by the speaker illustrates an awareness of alternative options. The subtopics introduced by *now* in the following examples do not all illustrate an *evaluation* in the narrow sense, but can represent the speaker's presentation of a personal point of view. In the first example (325), for instance, the new subsection in the narrative, introduced by *now*, is a promise to the addressee (*Now,…I will remembre…*). Before this part of discourse is presented, the speaker adds a negative element (*though I can gyve yow no…*), which is then contrasted (*yet I will…*) in the new subtopic. In illustration (326), *now* is immediately followed by a subclause which foregrounds a specific option for the addressee (*Now, whether you ther conceave styll…*). In the subsequent part of discourse, introduced by the contrastive conjunction *but*, the speaker further discusses one of the addressee's options.

(325) **Now, my good lord, though** I can gyve yow no answer to many thynges, for lack of her majesties good disposition, **yet** I will remembre the matters conteaned in your lordships lettres, and wryte somewhat therof, in another paper her included […] (CEECS, leyceste: 1585-1586)

(326) And, **no doubtes**, yf hir majesty wyll goe to the chardge but for ij yeres, she may as assuredly stablysh these countreys as she shall please, […]. **Now, whether you** ther conceave styll as you have done, that these countreys be of consequence for hir majesties safty and servyce, to be kept at hir devotyon, I must leave to yourselves; **but yf** you be, than doth now your opportunytye well serve you, both to move hir majestye and […] (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

Examples (327) and (328) also illustrate a pragmatic use of *now* in which the marker announces an upcoming change in speaker stance. In (327), the speaker's acknowledgement of a certain suggestion (*Now sure it was Bushoplike done of h*im) is contrasted in the subsequent question (*but what…*). Finally, in (328) *now* is followed by a subclause which represents or acknowledges a specific option (*Now though…*). The following phrase (yet I doubt not) illustrates a personal evaluation which contrasts the given option. We can mark that the use of *I doubt not* additionally strengthens the speaker's assessment.

(327) You would thinke I deale hardlie with you, if I should vse any of you so.
    Woman.: **Now sure it was** Bushoplike done of him if he did so. **But** what warrant I pray you had my Lord to make them crouch in this maner as you speake of? (CED, d2hochur: 1601)

(328) **Now though** quick Lime be the powder that this direction makes choice of, **yet I doubt not**, but that there may be much more convenient ones found out […]. (HC, Cescie3a: 1640-1710)

A marker such as *now* can be used pragmatically to introduce a subtopic in which the speaker considers a specific option, hypothesis or point of view and and in doing so aligns or disaligns him/herself with alternative options. When now introduces a reference to a previous or alternative point of view, to a statement presented by an interlocutor or to a specific line of thought, this serves not only to acknowledge different perspectives, but also forms a suitable basis on which the speaker can build a subjective, personal assessment or a possibly opposing point of view.

Subjective assessments: Expressions of certainty

From the late Middle English period onwards and especially in the Early Modern English period, *now* is used in contexts where the marker illustrates an advanced level of semantic loss, and where the aspect of speaker evaluation becomes more prominent. When *now* introduces a new subtopic, which correlates with a personal assessment, the speaker's subjective stance can be additionally supported by expressions of certainty or exclamative oaths. These expressions include epistemic phrases such as *now truly*, *assuredly*, *forsooth* or *now without doubt* (examples (329) to (332)), exclamations or oaths such as *now by my tr(o)uth*, *now be great god*, *Now by my faythe/Now in faith*, or *now by Saint Anne* (examples (333) and (334)), and reassuring phrases oriented towards the addressee such as *now trust me truly* or *I assure you* (examples (335) and (336)).

(329) "Wher þan," seist þou, "schal I be? Nogwhere, by þi tale!" **Now trewly þou seist wel**; (HC, Cmcloud: 1350-1420)

Translation: "Where then", you say, "shall I be? Nowhere, by your tale!" Now truly, you say [it] well/correctly.

(330) **Now truly**, quoth an old gentilman to a yong feloe, **ye ar far to blame to mislyke your aunt** for she may do you pleasure and I wold God I had such an aunt. (HC, Cediar2a: 1570-1640)

(331) **Now without doubt** (quoth her Gossip) you are to blame to say so […] (HC, Cefict2b: 1570-1640)

(332) **Now assuredly**, this Prince may welbe called the Deputie of God, **but** sythens the Iudges are so vpright in Iustice, than what say you to the Counsellers and other ministers of the law? (CED, d1honich: 1579)

(333) **Now by my truth**[, sayd the other,] **it were a shame for him if hee should not**: for though I say it before your face, though he had little with you, yet you were worthy to bee as good a mans wife as his. (HC, Cefict2b: 1570-1640)

(334) (Enter Brabo)

Brabo: Wheres mistris Mary, neuer a post here, A bar of Iron gainst which to trie my sword? **Now by my beard** a daintie peece of steele. (CED, d2cheywo: 1602)

(335) **Now trust me truly**, I am of opinion you will become it singular well. (HC, Cefict2b: 1570-1640)

(336) […] have sent him a Passe to goe beyond Sease; **Now though** I could doe no lesse than this, […], **yet I asseure you**, that I am most confident that this great error of his (which, indeed, hath given me more greefe then any misfortune since this damnable Rebellion) hath no waise proceeded from his change of affection to me or my Cause; (CEECS, Origina3: 1580 – 1665)

These co-occurrences of *now* with expressions that indicate the speaker's level of certainty – often before presenting a personal assessment – give additional validity to the speaker's evaluative assertion. A detailed overview of these occurrences per corpus is provided in Appendix 5. Apart from the fact that the introduction of personal evaluations or points of view shows that *now* conveys a heightened level of subjectivity, these uses also have a direct effect on the addressee. When the speaker uses *now* to announce a shift in speaker orientation, i.e. a change in the "stance which the speaker is taking toward what is being said" (Schiffrin 1987: 240), then the perspective of the hearer will also be influenced by this shift. As mentioned in section 16.3.2., the shift in the speaker's assessment of information will also "propose changes in the hearer's relation to that same information" (Schiffrin 1987: 244). Subjectivity therefore engenders intersubjectivity, seeing that a shift to evaluation invites the hearer to adopt the stance presented by the speaker and "thereby [to] align (or disalign) [himself/herself]" (Schiffrin 1987: 244) with the speaker's subjective assessment.

When a subjective opinion is introduced by phrases such as *Now do I believe…* (337) or *Now I doubt not…* (338), this signals that the speaker is aware of alternative opinions.

(337) No, my Charmer, said he, Amoranda, and only Amoranda commands my heart; I own no Mistress but her, nor will I ever wear any other Fetters, than those she puts me on. **Now do I most stedfastly believe**, said she, that you have said as much, a thousand times, to the very Lady, whose Letter you have in your Pocket […]. (CED, d5fdavys: 1724/1725publ.)

(338) […] your lordship wold advance some horssmen to Sluse and Ostend to spoyle the countreys about Bruuges and Gant, which also wold make them revolt. **Now, my lord, I dowt not but** Mr. secretory doth at lardg acqueynt yow with the discovery of the late traytorooss conspyracies, […] (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585-1586)

These introductory phrases can be seen as a basis for a further, contrasting argumentation. By explicitly focusing attention on a point of view or an opinion, a contrast is created with – explicit or implicit – alternative perspectives. When met with a similar point of view, these phrases can indicate an alignment between the perspectives of speaker and addressee and create a sense of common ground. When contrasted with an alternative point of view, these

phrases can serve as a *disclaimer*, which means that "the speaker signals that his view is not to be aligned with that of others" (Aijmer 2002: 92).

Grammaticalised changes in speaker stance: interrogative mood

Changes in orientation can consist of transitions from a narrative to an evaluative mood, or can alternatively denote *grammaticalised* changes from a declarative to an interrogative or imperative mood. Example (339) is an illustration from Schiffrin's synchronic data which shows a context in which *now* signals a shift from a declarative utterance (*They're using…*) to a question (*Now can you understand…?*). According to Schiffrin, the interrogative sentence has an interpersonal component in that it "checks on [the] hearers' understanding" (1987: 240).

 (339) They're using socialism t'fight capitalism. **Now** can you understand that? (Schiffrin 1987: 240)

Now is most frequently used as an element indicating transitions to an interrogative mood from the Early Modern English period onwards. The illustration below ((340) shows an early example from the Middle English period in the *Helsinki Corpus*. The context illustrates a transitional stage, in the sense that now connects the preceding parts of discourse with a new part in an ongoing narrative (*Now, if (that) we should speak of…*). The new subtopic takes on the form of a question *(…where is such as fadur now…?)*

 (340) Where is þe gret douocion of Seynt Barnard […], þe wiche wrote full wondirfull myracles, […] **Now ȝiff þat we shuld speke of** holines in prelacie, **where is suche a fadur now** as was Seynt Basile, bishop of Cesare in Capodocia**?** (HC, Cmroyal: 1420-1500)

 Translation: Where is the great devotion of Saint Bernard, who wrote utterly marvelous miracle stories […]. **Now if/Now that we are talking of piety** in the prelacy, **where are such fathers now** as Saint Basil was, bishop of Cesare in Capadocia**?**

Examples (341) to (343) are taken from the Early Modern English period. In each of these illustrations, *now* is used as a connective element that marks the transition between the preceding parts of discourse and a new subsection in the main narrative. In (341), *now* signals a shift from a narrative description of events to a question directed at the addressee within the narrative.

 (341) […] he placed M. Peter in [the] middle of the roome, & set the candle-stick with the candle burning in it vpon his head: "**Now M. Peter**", sayd hee, "**do you see this candle**", "why no"

[quod] M. peter "how should I see it? is it possible for a man to see the crowne of his head?" "you cannot see it then", [quod] Smug, "no, I cannot see it", sayd hee. (CED, d2fbrewe: 1631)

In illustration (342), the marker introduces an interrogative sentence with a rhetorical character. Although the question is addressed at the hearer, the answer can be infered from the actions that have just taken place in the narrative.

(342) […] you must do me one courtesie, it must be done instantly.
Hostess: I will do it, Mr. Piscator, and with all the speed I can.
Piscator: **Now Sir, has not my Hostess made hast?** and does not the fish look lovely?
Venator: Both, upon my word, Sir, and therefore let's say grace and fall to eating of it. (HC, Cehand3a: 1640-1710)

Examples (343) and (344) both contain two occurrences of *now*. Seeing that it is unlikely for two adverbial tokens of *now* to co-occur (Aijmer 2002: 61), only one token can be considered a temporal adverb. In the first example below, the pragmatic use is that which marks the transition to an interrogative part of discourse, i.e. *Now you whore…(where is your devil now)*.

(343) […] tooke his hammer from his side (still seeing his owne sweet shaddow in the glasse, which he tooke to be the Deuill) strooke at it, and with one blow clattered the glasse all in peices. "**Now you whore**", sayd hee, "**where is your deuill now?** I thinke I haue mauld him yfaith: bring your Deuills to me dost thou? […]" "Alasse sweet Smug", quoth she, seing him so very much mooued, "be patient I preethe sweet chucke […]. (CED, d2fbrewe: 1631)

In example (344), the meaning of *now* in the phrase *Now, where's my sister*? equally indicates a pragmatic meaning, illustrating a shift from a descriptive part of the narrative to a question. In the same example, a contrast can be seen with a text-structuring meaning of *now*. The use of *now* in the phrase *Now to my sister* specifies a point within the narrative succession of (sub)topics. While this use is mainly textual, announcing an upcoming subtopic, the second use of *now* in the illustration has a meaning that conveys a greater level of semantic loss and has a more pragmatic effect on the relationship between speaker and addressee.

(344) You shall command me Sir: Now to my Sister. **Now, where's my Sister?** (CED, d3ctb: 1647)

In all but one of the examples given above, this pragmatic use of *now* is followed by a direct form of address (e.g. *Now Sir*; *Now you whore*; *Now boy*). The grammaticalised shift from a narrative description of events, or from a declarative mood to a question addressed to the addressee does not only indicate the speaker's wish to direct the progression of discourse and to obtain information. The shift, introduced by *now*, also has implications for the addressee. Schiffrin describes this interpersonal correlation as follows.

"[A] change from a declarative to an interrogative sentence moves the hearer from a relatively passive position of listening to the speaker's assertion of information, to a more active participation in which he or she is requested to confirm, or at least acknowledge, the prior assertion. Thus […], a change in speaker orientation simultaneously proposes a change in speaker/hearer footing." (Schiffrin 1987: 244).

Grammaticalised changes in speaker stance: imperative mood

Apart from marking shifts to evaluative assessments and shifts to interrogative moods, *now* can be used pragmatically to signal transitions from a declarative or narrative part of discourse to a subsection with an imperative mood (cp. sections 18.6.1. and 18.6.2. for the co-occurrence of *now* with imperative forms in Middle English). Table 93 gives an overview of tokens of *now* that are followed by an imperative verb form. With 95 out of a total number of 1118 utterance-initial tokens of *now* (i.e. 8.5%), the co-occurrence with an imperative is most frequent in the *Helsinki corpus*. The actual figures in the EModE and ModE periods of the CED give a total of 73 tokens (i.e. 7.1 % (73/1029 utterance-initial tokens of *now*)). The CEECS shows the lowest frequency with only 5 tokens between 1417 and 1681 (on 281 utterance-initial tokens, i.e. 1.8%).

	HC	CEECS	CED
ME (1050-1500)	62	---	N.A.
EModE (1500-1650)	23	---	41
ModE (1650-1760)	10	5	32
Total	**95/1118**	**5/281**	**73/1029**

Table 93: *Now* + imperatives: Actual figures per corpus

Both Aijmer (2002) and Hasselgård (2006) refer to the pragmatic use of *now* as an indicator of affective intensity in contexts where *now* co-occurs with imperatives. Aijmer refers to phrases such as *now let me see*, *now look* or *now wait* to illustrate uses in which *now* creates a sense of liveliness, an involvement with the addressee, or where *now* illustrates a wish to gain control over the discourse floor. *Now let me see*, for instance, indicates that the speaker thinks out loud about the organisation of discourse, and may introduce a change in orientation or indicate a certain *pushiness* on the speaker's part (cp. Polanyi and Scha 1983:

265). Hasselgård states that the co-occurrence of *now* with imperative forms (in 20 out of 55 cases in her synchronic data) can also indicate a continuative function (2006: 11). The combination can "signal a stage in a series of actions". She emphasises that "[t]he temporal meaning [is] not completely absent [because] the requested action is [obviously] meant to take place immediately" (2006: 11). An interpersonal function of *now*, when the marker co-occurs with imperatives, is the fact that the combination draws the attention of the addressee to the upcoming part of discourse and can therefore be seen as an "attention-getter [rather] than a topic-changer". Aijmer adds that *now* can therefore serve as an "affective intensifier" (2002: 95)[17], seeing that the marker illustrates "the speaker's involvement with the hearer" in these contexts (2002: 93).

From the Early Modern English period onwards, the data from the HC and CED provide a number of contexts in which *now* has a semantically bleached meaning and introduces imperative forms that convey a sense of involvement between speaker and addressee. As in the early forms in the Middle English period, the combination of *now* with an imperative in the period between 1500 and 1760 can be considered on a number of different levels of meaning.

Examples from the Middle English period illustrate that the subjective co-occurrences of *now* with imperatives originate in a propositional, temporal context. The illustrations below ((347) to (345)) give examples of contexts in which the deictic use of *now* is combined with an imperative, and in which the combination of a text deictic – signifying "at this point in time" – with an imperative results in an initial sense of immediacy or urgency. Hasselgård's statement that the temporal meaning of *now* remains transparent in synchronic imperative phrases such as *Now keep your mouth shut* (2006: 11), because the deictic meaning is transferred to a sense of immediacy, is in line with the use of imperative *now* in the examples below. We can note that some of the verbs which are used in these illustrations (e.g. *come, make […] things ready*; *let me go hence*; *go in God's name!*) already hold a sense of pressure or movement.

(345) Fleurimond: Yes Mother.
Lady: **Now goe in Gods name**, whome I pray (CED, d2hferon 1605)

(346) Then Christian smiled, and said, I think verily I know the meaning of this. **Now, said Christian, let me go hence**: Nay stay (said the Interpreter,) till I have shewed thee a little more, and after that thou shalt go on thy way. (CED, d3fbunya: 1678)

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[17] Aijmer does not use the term "intensifier" to refer to an indication of degree, i.e. to an element illustrating an increase in intensity. Rather, the term "emphasiser (cp. Quirk et al. 1985: 7.33; 8.8) which denotes a subset of the category of intensifiers could be seen as a more specific term for her findings on *now*.

(347) (Enter Medley, Sowrwit and Lord Dapper)
Medley: **Now**, my Lord, for my modern Apollo: **Come**, make all things ready, and draw the Scene as soon as you can. (CED, d5cfield: 1737 speech event; 1744 publication date)

(348) Ranger: What a lucky Dog I am! I never made a Gentleman a Cuckold before. **Now, Impudence, assist me.** (CED, d5choadl: 1747)

In the following two illustrations ((349) and (350)), *now* introduces two imperative verbs of speaking (i.e. *Now tell me*; *now heare me speak*). Also in these contexts, the deictic meaning of *now* as a temporal element is still visible. The combinations of *now* with *tell me* and *heare me (speak)* not only draw the attention of the addressee to the speaker's wish, but secondly also have reference to the progression of discourse. Through the use of these phrases, the speaker urges the hearer to participate in the ongoing interaction and to contribute to the creation of common ground.

(349) Mrs. Sullen: So, -- she's breeding already -- come Child up with it -- hem a little -- so -- **Now tell me**, don't you like the Gentleman that we saw at Church just now? (CED, d4cfarqu: 1707)

(350) Young Arthur: Gentleme[n], welcome all, **now heare me speak**; (CED, d2cheywo: 1602)

In order to successfully bring across his or her point of view, the speaker not only needs to focus on how the succession of topics and subtopics is organised, but also on the addressee's understanding of the textual progression. In examples (351) to (354), *now* introduces a new step in the ongoing discourse on the textual level, and is additionally combined with a mental verb in imperative form. *But now loo(k)* in (351) serves as an attention-getting phrase, and focuses the attention of the addressee on the upcoming utterance.

(351) Why saydest thou that she was thy sister, and causedest me to take hyr to my wyfe? **But now loo**, there is the wife, take hir [and] be walkynge. (HC, Ceotest1: 1500-1570)

In (352) and (353), *now pray consider* and *now suppose* similarly call the addressee's attention to the upcoming subsection of discourse, i.e. to a particular option (*when my Affair…*) and a following question (*…how are your sure that…?*) in (352), and to the consideration of one specific line of thought (*Now suppose…should conform: if…*) in (353).

(352) Now **pray consider, Sir,** when my Affair with Lucinda comes, as it soon must, to an open Rupture, how are you sure that Cimberton's Fortune may not then tempt her Father too, to hear his Proposals? (CED, d5csteel: 1723)

(353) **Now suppose** the D. should conform: if this Bill had pass'd, it had nothing availed him; (CED, d3hoyarr: 1679)

In both cases, the addressee is encouraged to consider the upcoming parts of discourse as presented by the speaker. The address of the hearer and the speaker's reference to the hearer's expected consideration therefore not only has an intersubjective value, but also benefits the speaker's presentation of a subjective argumentation.

In the final example (354), the co-occurrence of *now (then)* with an imperative (*let me see*) places the hearer's attention on the upcoming question. The combined phrase serves as an introduction for a shift in orientation.

 (354) And if any person be vnkynde vnto thee, wylt thou not rebuke him fully, and lay it vnto his reproofe to make him ashamed thereof? I am suer that thou wylt. **Now then let me see**, wher is thy shame? (HC, Ceserm1a: 1500-1570)

The address of the hearer implies a "change in 'footing'", i.e. a shift from the perspective of the speaker to attention to the addressee (cp. Goffman 1981; Aijmer 2002: 93). This change in orientation can be seen as a shift on the interpersonal level (i.e. a shift in perspective) rather than on a textual level (i.e. as a topic shift) (Aijmer 2002: 93).

The co-occurrence of *now* with an imperative form can function on different levels of meaning. The co-occurrence can be used on a textual level to draw attention to an upcoming subtopic, which also implies that *now* (+ imperative) serves as an attention-getting device on an interpersonal level. In addition, when the speaker makes the hearer involved in the textual and ideational progression of discourse, this creates a source of common ground on which following subsections of an ongoing discourse can be built.

Although some contexts in the material from the HC, CEECS and CED illustrate a subjective or intersubjective use of *now*, the temporal meaning of *now* remains visible in the majority of contexts. Exceptions can be seen in phrases such as *Now trust me truly* (18.7.2.) which can introduce a new section of a narrative but are also directed at the addressee and create a feeling of confidence (from the speaker's part) and reassurance (of the hearer), which is probably connected to the semantic content of the co-occurring verb (*trust*). Even in contexts with an intersubjective meaning, the "semantic prosody" of the imperatives co-occurring with *now* does not exclusively indicate a positive meaning of reassurance, for instance. Semantic prosody can be paraphrased as a "connotational colouring" (Partington 1998: 68) or as the typical co-occurrence of a word "with other words that belong to a particular semantic set" (Hunston and Francis 2000: 137). The connotation can be negative, or positive as in the case of *trust me truly*. In general, the imperatives collocating with *now* do not indicate a tendency towards positive or negative attitudinal colourings. Table 94 gives an

overview of the semantic field types of the co-occurring imperative forms in the three corpora. Separate categories are added for verbs of hearing and verbs indicating a listening process, because these form a distinct category in the corpus material.

	Mental	Activity	Communication	Verbs of hearing / listening	Existence	Aspect	Total
HC	28	40	14	9	4	---	95
CEECS	3	---	2	---	---	---	5
CED	15	36	15	1	4	2	73

Table 94: *Now* **+ imperative: Overview semantic fields of verb form**

A more detailed overview of verbs in the three main semantic field groups is provided in Appendix 5. The overview illustrates that certain verbs occur in the data of more than one corpus, such as the verbs that form the collocations *now let me see*, *now trust me truly*, *now go*, *now come*, *now tell me* or *now listen*. Many of these co-occurrences indicate an interpersonal aspect referring to the progression of narrative, for instance, referring to the speaker's or addressee's process of understanding, or indicate a sense of immediacy (also cp. subjective shifts in orientation towards imperative forms in ME: 18.6.3.).

19. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between propositional meanings and pragmatic meanings of *now* remains a very close one throughout the marker's historical evolution (a schematic overview is provided at the end of this section). In its form as a temporal adverb, the main significance of *now* is that of "reference to present time". The most basic relationship expressed by *now* is therefore the deictic relationship between the time of speaking and the time that is represented in the utterance.

This relationship is extended when *now* is used in its propositional sense to indicate that the speaker takes into account given information ("under the present circumstances; in view of what has happened"), or when the deictic sense of *now* refers to a point within an ongoing narrative (cp. "over or during the period under discussion"). In addition, temporal *now* can be used to indicate that the speaker already looks forward to a new point within an ongoing narrative. The phrase *Now I will talk about…*, for instance, can be paraphrased as *next (I will talk about…)*. In this use, the deictic sense of *now* still indicates a propositional closeness to present time. The ambiguity of *now* as a pragmatic marker, or as an "emergent particle" (Aijmer 2002: 58) partly lies in the fact that propositional as well as clearly textual meanings of *now* can be used to indicate textual structure or subjective personal perspectives. The propositional meaning of *now* can be combined with a past tense to indicate a point within an ongoing narrative. This use of *narrative time* indicates the speaker's subjective influence in the organisation of discourse and represents a context in which propositional meanings serve text-structuring and subjective purposes.

The contexts in which temporal meanings initially transition into elements with a text-structuring function consist of a combination of a deictic use of *now* with a verb of speaking such as *speak*, *say* or *tell*, and in the majority of cases with a first person subject form. Phrases such as *and now I will tell you*, *now we will talk about…* or *now you will hear me talk about…* illustrate the speaker's intention to initiate a new topic or subtopic, or to elaborate on a preceding (main) topic in a new subsection of an ongoing narrative. These transitional contexts appear as early as the Old English period, and illustrate a metaphorical transition from deictic meanings of *now* to meanings that are relevant to the construction of the textual world (cp. Hopper and Traugott 2003).

This pattern, in which *now* is embedded in a topical metacomment, is used until the Modern English period. After 1500, i.e. from the Middle English and Early Modern English periods

onwards, the explicit indications of the speaker's intention to shift to a new (sub)topic are complemented by the occurrence of topic-changing contexts in which this intention is implied. In addition, *now* adopts a more diverse range of text-structuring functions from the Middle English period onwards. The introduction of a new (sub)topic by means of the co-occurrence of *now* with a verb of speaking (e.g. *Now some people say…*) can in some cases signal that the opinion of a specific speaker will be foregrounded in the upcoming topic. In addition, *now* is applied as a means to introduce subtopics that elaborate on preceding (sub)topics, to introduce topics that specify specific preceding subsections of the main topic, or to initiate subtopics that form a point within a longer list.

The text-structuring uses of *now* reveal the influence of the speaker's perspective on the textual progression in various respects. According to Schiffrin, deictic – temporal – uses of *now* and text-structuring pragmatic functions of *now* share a number of core properties. In both meanings, *now* is closely connected to the speaker. As an initiator of new subsections of a larger part of discourse, the use of *now* enables a speaker to organise the ongoing subtopicalisation of a text according to his or her perspective. The use of *now* also foregrounds the upcoming information, and can in this respect be used to highlight specific sections of the text. Because it is the speaker who decides how a succession of (sub)topics is structured, and how a message is presented to an addressee, a topical progression of discourse can essentially be considered *subjective*. As such, the textual function of *now* is also used to emphasise specific subtopics and in this manner to support a personal argumentation or point of view. This *ego-centredness* (cp. Schiffrin 1987: 245) is a reflection of the propositional sense of *now*, which is deictic and therefore closely linked to "the speaker's space and time" (Schiffrin 1987: 228).

When *now* is used on a textual level to announce a shift to a new (sub)topic, the marker signals that the upcoming – foregrounded – information is deemed important by the speaker. When the subtopic contains a subjective opinion or an evaluation, this will naturally be a perspective which the speaker wants the hearer to adopt. The textual progression, in which *now* serves a structuring role, therefore has a subjective undercurrent.

When the speaker organises text as a means to support a specific point of view, he or she has the opportunity to combine textual with ideational meanings. The presentation of a new (sub)topic will frequently be based on knowledge that has been offered in a preceding part of discourse. In propositional uses of *now*, which are found throughout the historical evolution of *now* in the historical corpus data, *now* can refer to a specific point within the succession of subtopics, and can be paraphrased as "after this has been said" or "now that you know this". A

new subtopic is therefore not only related to a preceding topic, but is also based on a subjective process of consideration. The correlation between a textual progression, supported by the use of *now*, and an underlying mental progression is exemplified in the collocation *now then*. The co-occurrence of *now* and *then* forms a combination with a semantically bleached meaning, which first appears in the Old English period. The collocation indicates a mental aspect in the structuring use of *now*. *Now then* signals an element of consideration on the speaker's part, and is used in utterance-initial position to introduce a "new perspective" on things. This new look on things is subsequently presented in the newly introduced subtopic.

The speaker's presentation of a new subtopic or a personal point of view also entails the creation of contrast. When a new topic or perspective is presented, this necessarily implies a contrast with other subtopics or other opinions. In the Middle English period, the presentation of a personal point of view or a new subtopic is therefore frequently followed by a subclause which refers to alternative options. These subclauses are introduced by conjunctions such as *if*, *since* or *while*, and increasingly form the basis on which a new, subjective point of view can be posited. After 1500, the subclauses that co-occur with pragmatic uses of utterance-initial *now* frequently indicate an element of contrast or of concession.

Although the main orientation in discourse-organisation lies in the hands of the speaker, the topical progression – introduced by *now* – and the correlating points of view that are supported by the succession of (sub)topics also influences the perspective of the addressee. Attention is paid to the hearer already in the Old English period of the historical corpus data. The shift to a new (sub)topic is explicitly communicated to the hearer in phrases such as *And now I will tell you* or *now you will hear*. Specifically when the use of *now* is accompanied by an imperative or adhortative verb form (e.g. *Now let's talk about…*), the hearer's attention is drawn to the upcoming subtopic and a sense of common understanding is created between speaker and addressee.

In addition, the addressee is not only guided through a textual progression of subtopics, but also through the correlating process of understanding, on which the presentation of a new subtopic is frequently based. Phrases such as *Now you must understand* indicate a connection between the speaker's organisation of a personal argumentation and the correlating understanding of the hearer. The text-structuring function of *now* can therefore not be disconnected from the marker's subjective orientation and its interpersonal relevance. The influence of the speaker and the attention paid to the addressee are present from the Old

English period onwards. In this early English period, the subjective influence and intersubjective orientation are both connected to the explicit introduction of new (sub)topics. From the Middle English period onwards, the aspects of consideration that underlie the textual progression of discourse are inherently present in the (inter)personal functions of *now*, which affect the points of view of speaker and addressee in less explicit but pragmatically valuable ways. Figure 9 gives a schematic overview of the semantic-pragmatic evolution of *now*, based on the results in this thesis.

	PROPOSITIONAL	TEXTUAL	(INTER)PERSONAL	
OE	**TEMPORAL ADVERB**: ▪ reference to present time ▪ deictic relationship speaking time ~ time expressed in utterance **CONJUNCTION** ▪ *now (that)…,…* ▪ temporal + causal/resultive relationship **NARRATIVE TIME** ▪ *now* + past tense ▪ Speaker's subjective influence in discourse organisation	**TEXTUAL PROGRESSION** ▪ Deictics > textual progression: *Now I will tell you…* ▪ announcement of topic change ▪ *Now that this has been said…,* / "under the given circumstances" + new subtopic	**SPEAKER**: ▪ Organise topical progression ▪ Draw attention to upcoming part of discourse ▪ Support personal argumentation ▪ Semantic bleaching: ***Now then,…***	**ADDRESSEE** ▪ Attention called to upcoming subtopic ▪ encouraged to adopt speaker's point of view ▪ guided through topical progression

ME		**Textual progression** ⟹ **Mental progression**
		 Consideration
		
		 ▪ *Now [I will tell you]*: Implicit verb of speaking
		
		 ▪ Textual functions: more diverse *Now* + (sub)topic: - elaboration
		             - specification
		             - listing
		
		 ▪ Subtopicalisation > contrast
			▪ Based on received information: Presentation of new subtopic
			
			 ▪ Subtopicalisation > contrast between points of view	

EModE			▪ *Now* + evaluation *Now* + shift in orientation (?/!) **= emphasise personal assessment**	

Figure 9: Schematic overview of evolution of *now*: shift from propositional to pragmatic meanings

PART IV: *WELL* AND *NOW*

20. *WELL NOW…*: CORRELATION OF THE TWO MARKERS

> "Well now to my tale", quoth Goodcoll.
>
> (Edward Sharpham - Discouerie of the Knights)

20.1 Co-occurrences of *well* and *now*

Temporal adverb *now* and manner adverb *well* display different propositional meanings, and fulfil specific pragmatic functions which reflect the individual characteristics of the separate elements. However, *well* and *now* do share specific pragmatic functions in certain contexts, and show several similarities in their respective historical evolutions towards multifunctional pragmatic markers. Before we discuss the similarities and differences of the diachronic developments of *well* and *now* in section 20, a closer look is taken at how prosodic features support the individual propositional and pragmatic meanings of each marker. Secondly, we will turn to a discussion of the contexts in the historical corpus data in which the two markers co-occur. These co-occurrences will tell us more about correlations between semantic-pragmatic properties of *well* and *now*, and give us a deeper insight into their respective contexts of use.

20.2 Prosody and pausing

Both for *now* and *well*, prosodic features can help to distinguish between propositional and pragmatic meanings. Horne et al. (2001) and Hirschberg and Litman (1993) found that pragmatic uses of *now* in their material usually constitute a separate tone unit, and frequently occur in utterance-initial position at the onset of a prosodic phrase (Aijmer 2002: 59), in contrast to uses of *now* with a propositional meaning. Two sentences presented by Fraser (1990: 388) contrast the use of *now* as a separate tone unit (a) with a context where it is not (b). In sentence (a), *now* is followed by a comma and functions as a pragmatic marker.

a) John left. *Now*, Mary was really frightened.
b) John left. Now Mary was really frightened.

While temporal, sentential instances of *now* are usually stressed, the discourse use of *now* is more often deaccentuated (Horne et al. 2001: 1064). In contrast, the pragmatic use of *well* is more frequently stressed in synchronic material (70%) in comparison to *now* (34%) (Altenberg 1987: 136; Aijmer 2002: 66). *Now* and *well* do share the prosodic tendency to be set apart from the rest of the utterance. In respectively 41.3% and 53.8% of the examples examined by Hirschberg and Litman (1993: 512; 516), *now* and *well* form a phrase on their own. In 28% of the examples, *well* and *now* co-occur and form a separate prosodic phrase. Percentages vary between different studies (e.g. Svartvik 1980; Altenberg 1987) because of focuses on different text genres.

The fact that both markers, when fulfilling discourse functions, generally appear in utterance-initial position and form a separate prosodic phrase correlates with their pragmatic use as connectors between different utterances. Although *well* and *now* are connected to the rest of the utterance they appear in, both markers can be interpreted in a larger textual frame that goes beyond sentence level. In utterance-initial position, *now* and *well* impose constraints on the interpretation of the new utterance, and help the interactants to interpret the relationship between the new and the preceding part of discourse.

In synchronic studies, and as supported by the historical research in this thesis, the pragmatic use of *now* basically draws attention to an upcoming topic. In contrast, *well* can more easily be classified as a *response* marker, granting acknowledgement of the preceding speaker turn. The prosodic features of *now* and *well* support these functional findings. The fact that the unstressed or *reduced* variant of *now* is associated with a discourse function can be related to the suggestion by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 268) that

> [if *now*] is reduced, it means the opening of a new stage in the communication; this may be a new incident in the story, a new point in the argument, a new role or attitude being taken on by the speaker, and so on.

Reduced stress places the emphasis on an upcoming stage in the ongoing discourse. In this sense, the prosodic features of the pragmatic use of *now* support the main textual function of *now*, through which the marker initiates a new narrative subsection, as well as the related interpersonal function, through which *now* introduces a new point of view to the addressee. In contrast, the fact that *well* is more frequently stressed than is the case with *now* may reflect the functional finding that *now* is more suitable to signal a new (sub)topic.

With respect to the occurrence of pauses, Aijmer found that in most cases (92.2%) *now* is preceded and/or followed by a silent pause (2002: 67). When comparing a number of

pragmatic markers, such as *well*, *anyway*, *oh* and *now*, Stenström (1990) states that the highest number of pauses is found with the use of *now* (and *anyway*), i.e. in 89% of all examples, and that of the examined markers *well* actually has the lowest proportion of pauses (34%). The presence or absence of pauses can be interpreted on a corresponding functional level. The occurrence of a pause that precedes or follows a certain element can signal a textual boundary, and thus the end or start of a new topic. In this sense, the high percentage of examples in which *now* is preceded or followed by a pause correlates with the main discourse function of *now*, in which the marker signals upcoming parts of discourse or topic changes.

We must keep in mind that although prosodic features can give indications with respect to correlating functions and meanings, prosody is not an absolute factor in the distinction between different uses and in the determination of meaning. Bronzwaer (1975), for instance, states that temporal uses of *now* as well as "transitional conjuncts" can initiate "a sequence of narrative". He finds that

> […] *now* articulates a 'sequence of narrative', or episode. We have noted many cases in which the deictic time adverb *now* may be said to have precisely this function; there are also a large number of cases where the transitional conjunct *now* plays this role. (1975: 63)

As we have seen in the discussion of *now* from a historical perspective, the temporal use that indicates a point within *narrative time* (section 16.1.) is one of the contexts in which *now* has a propositional meaning but indicates textual boundaries. According to Aijmer (2002), the *fuzziness* between propositional and pragmatic meanings of *now*, and between prosodic features that correlate with these meanings, can be brought back to the fact that "*now* is polysemous and has developed its pragmatic functions as the result of grammaticalisation". While this is less the case with the evolution of *well*, the close connection between temporal and discourse functions of *now* can be explained by the fact that the processes of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification which have influenced the development of *now* as a polysemous element have not yet advanced to the same degree as in the case of *well*.

20.3 Text types of *well* and *now*

Although the relationship between propositional meanings of *well* and *now* and discourse meanings of the two markers is not straight-forward because the adverbial meaning has been lost or has at least been semantically bleached in the majority of pragmatic uses, we can find reflections of semantic meanings in the pragmatic meanings of *well* and *now*. For *now*, this transparency is clearer than for *well* due to the level of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification.

In the case of *now*, temporal as well as pragmatic uses of *now* are said to be deictic and *ego-centred* (Schiffrin 1987: 245). On a textual level, the deictic aspects of the temporal adverb are in a sense transferred to deictic indications within the progression of text. For *well*, the sense of positive acceptance found in the propositional use of *well* is reflected in pragmatic uses, in which semantically bleached meanings of acknowledgement grant acceptance of a preceding speaker turn. These specific features and functions of *well* and *now* influence the type of texts in which the markers typically occur. Having looked at correlations between discourse uses of *well* and *now* and text types in which the markers most frequently occur, Aijmer (2002: 69) found that *now* shows the largest frequencies of occurrence in formal texts which "contain more structure" (ibid.). In this type of texts, *now* is ideally placed as a marker that marks boundaries and initiates new subsections within an ongoing narrative. In contrast, *well* is more frequently used "on informal occasions, particularly after an introduction" (Carlson 1984: 52). Because *well* more typically indicates acceptance or the acknowledgement of a preceding speaker turn, the marker is more frequently used in texts that come across as "informal, improvised, or colloquial as it suggests that the speaker is not really beginning from the beginning but [is] already responding to his audience or to his own implicit deliberations" (ibid.). This is confirmed in our historical corpus data. The tables below (Table 95 and Table 96) illustrate the frequency numbers of *well* and *now* in the HC (which contains both monologues and dialogues), in the CED (which only contains dialogic texts) and in the CEECS (which contains letters – which are considered a specific case because they are essentially monologic but are addressed to a reader). A full overview of the monologic and dialogic genres in which the pragmatic uses of *well* and *now* appear is provided in Appendix 6. First, a few things need to be noted about the table on figures of *now*. The genre classification for *now* posed a problem, in the sense that in the present study no clear distinctive categories have been made for propositional, textual, or pragmatic meanings of *now* due to frequent overlap between propositional and text-structuring meanings. In order

to make the dialogic/monologic genre distinction, a subgroup of utterance-initial uses of *now* has been selected, from which clear temporal meanings have been subtracted. Because of this, the resulting subgroup gives a relatively clearer representation of pragmatic uses of *now*. In the HC, this subgroup contains 872 tokens of the total number of utterance-initial tokens of *now* (1480). For the CED, this is 522 out of 1029 utterance-initial tokens. It should be taken into account that this selection may still contain overlapping meanings. The results indicate that *well* occurs much more frequently in dialogue than in monologue, in the combined data of the three corpora, this means that 881 tokens of *well* occur in dialogue against a mere 28 in monologue. In contrast, *now* occurs more frequently in monologue, but the difference is not very great. In the material of the CED, no comparison can be made between monologues and dialogues – but if we compare the results of dialogic *now* and dialogic *well*, the corpus indicates a lower figure for the pragmatic use of *now*.

Well	HC	CED	CEECS	Total
Monologue	14	N. A.	14	28
Dialogue	105	776	N. A.	**881**
Total	119	776	14	909

Table 95: Distribution of monologic and dialogic text genres for pragmatic uses of *well*: Actual figures

Now	HC	CED	CEECS	Total
Monologue	542	N. A.	281	**823**
Dialogue	287	522	N. A.	809
Combination[18]	43	---	---	43
Total	872	522	281	1675

Table 96: Distribution of monologic and dialogic text genres for pragmatic uses of *now*: Actual figures

In addition, the type of monologic texts in which *now* occurs (see Appendix 6) more frequently indicate a more rigid structure – such as in the case of law texts, educational treatises or prefaces.

    Now is – both in its adverbial and in its pragmatic use – a typical marker of speaker orientation. The types of text in which *now* typically occurs reflect this: Bäcklund (1989) and

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[18] A few text types contain texts which have an active narrator who directs the progression of text according to his perspective. These texts are therefore basically monologic. However, they do contain frequent references to a hearer or reader, which is why they were placed into a separate category.

Stenström (1990) found that *now* appears twice as frequent in monologues as *well* does (Bäcklund 1989: 31; 37; Stenström 1990: 149), which "indicates that an important function of *now* is to show the connection between utterances of the same speaker" (Aijmer 2002: 70). In contrast, *well* was found to be three times as frequent as other *initiators* such as *now*, *however* or *anyway* in dialogue. The frequency of *now* in monologues ties in with the marker's orientation towards the speaker. In addition, in contexts of interviews, for instance, *now* is said to be used by the interviewer rather than by an interviewee (Aijmer 2002: 69), which illustrates that *now* is mainly a means to indicate and control a personal organisation of a stretch of text. The fact that *now* indicates that the authority of the text-organisation lies in the hands of the speaker can also cause "speakers [to] consciously avoid *now* because it sounds pompous or hectoring in a conversation between equals" (Aijmer 2002: 68n.). On the other hand, *well* is essentially a marker of dialogic conversation. The element of acceptance or acknowledgement which is inherent in propositional and pragmatic uses of *well* implies a response to the interlocutor as well as a reception of information.

As pragmatic markers, both *well* and *now* predominantly occur in spoken discourse than in writing (Brinton 1996; Östman 1982; Quirk et al. 1985: 1113). However, *now* is also said to appear in fiction when used to "articulate narrative structure", which reflects the marker's topic-structuring function.

20.4. Lexical collocates in synchronic research

In her synchronic research based on data from the London-Lund-Corpus, Aijmer (2002) stresses the similarities between pragmatic uses of *now* and *well*. She states that *well* and *now* "are both used to change the topic and to mark transitions to a subtopic" (2002: 71). However, despite the fact that the markers can both be used at the opening of a conversation, this distributional similarity does not suffice to say that they are interchangeable in terms of function or use. Whereas *now* mainly serves to emphasise and to look forward to upcoming topics, *well* is used in contexts – predominantly dialogues – where the marker looks back and marks a transition from the preceding utterance to an upcoming one. The two markers complement each other with respect to the *direction* in which they signal a topic change. The most basic distinction between *well* and *now* lies in the fact that "*now* is oriented to the upcoming topic [which] distinguish[es] *now* from *well*" (Aijmer 2002: 64; cp. Quirk et al. 1985: 638)".

Well and *now* frequently collocate in synchronic material: Aijmer finds 53 occurrences of *well now* in the material from the London-Lund-Corpus (Aijmer 2002: 71). A closer look at combinations of *well* and *now* in historical data can show in which manner the two markers interact in propositional and/or pragmatic co-occurrences, and can give additional information on how the semantic origins of *well* and *now* have influenced and shaped the markers' later evolution towards element with multiple textual and interpersonal functions.

20.5. Historical co-occurrences of *well* and *now*

The distinction between propositional and pragmatic meanings of a discourse element can more easily be made in case of a co-occurrence with an other marker. For instance, collocations such as *now then* or *now look* enable the use of *now* to be classified as pragmatic, and a co-occurrence of *well* with *now* (e.g. *well now*) establishes a pragmatic use for both elements.

According to Finell (1992: 732), *well* and *now* occur as topic changers as early as the end of the 9th century. According to our research, *well* appears in its present form as a marker of acceptance from the early Middle English period onwards. *Now* has text-structuring meanings already in the Old English period. The historical data from the HC, CEECS and CED contain a total of 24 occurrences of *well now* (Table 97), and one occurrence of *now well*. The co-occurrence is most frequently found in the CED, which contains 21 tokens. Although there are very few early examples of *well now*, the following discussion briefly discusses possible propositional and pragmatic implications of the collocation.

	HC	CEECS	CED	Total
OE	---	N.A.	N.A.	---
ME	[1 (*now well*)]	---	N.A.	1
EModE	---	2	10	13
ModE	2	---	10	12
Total	3	2	20	25

Table 97: Occurrences of *well now* in the three corpora, according to historical periods: Actual figures

The combination of two elements which respectively look backward to the preceding speaker turn – through a sense of acceptance – and look forward to the introduction of a new subtopic

results in a collocation which unites two complementary meanings. In the historical corpus data, *well now* first appears in the Early Modern English period (i.e. after 1500).

Example (355) below illustrates an early co-occurrence of two propositional uses of *well* and *now*. *Well* is used adverbially with a communicative verb (*Well said wench*) and indicates the speaker's approval of a preceding speaker turn. The meaning of the adverb is clearly semantic and can be considered the propositional precursor for later pragmatic meanings of *well*. The meaning of *now* is also propositional, and indicates a deictic reference to a point within the ongoing discourse. *Now* entails a sense of result which indicates a connection with the preceding part of discourse. In other words, the semantic meaning of *now* entails an awareness of the situation at hand (cp. "considering this; if this is true…").

 (355) (A head comes vp full of golde, she combes it into her lap.)
     Zelan: Oh see Corebus I haue combd a great deale of golde into my lap, and a great deale of corne.
     Corebus: **Well said wench, now** we shall haue iust enough, God send vs coiners to coine our golde: but come shall we go home sweet heart? (CED, d1cpeele: 1595)

More pragmatically evolved meanings of *well* appear in examples (356), (357) and (358). In these illustrations, *well* indicates agreement and can be paraphrased as "that is very well". The instances *(very) well,…* and *well (it is true);…* illustrate the speaker's acceptance of the truth or the validity of the preceding speaker turn. In addition, these occurrences of *well* also signal the closing-off of the preceding part of discourse and already imply that there is room for a change in topic or a shift in perspective, initiated by the speaker. The subsequent use of *now* complements this sense of *well*, in introducing a shift to a new (sub)topic. In example (356), *now* marks a shift in orientation from a concluding part of discourse in declarative form (*Very well, it is talke enough*) to a new part of discourse in imperative form (*Now eate*).

 (356) I am glad of it: you wil learne [the] better the true and liuely pronounciation and phrase of the frenche tongue. **Very well**, it is talke enough: **Now eate**, and make good cheere: […]. (CED, d1hfdesa: 1573)

In (357) and (358) the sense of acceptance indicated by *well* is followed by a contrastive use of *now*. The two occurrences of (*Well, […],) but now* shows that *now* forms an element in a temporal comparison, creating a contrast between the acceptance of the preceding part of discourse and an upcoming subsection which represents a personal point of view. In example (357), *but now* introduces a change in perspective and allows the speaker to move on to a new topic (*but now…let vs returne to…*). In (358), *but now forsooth* introduces a personal

evaluation expressed by the speaker. The change in perspective redirects the course of discourse back to an original topic.

(357) Pattent: […] I should hope to returne with more security.
Vpright: **Well, but now** we have been in Amsterdam, New England, and Magoll; **let vs returne** to old England againe (CED, d3hotj: 1640)

(358) Mistris New-come: […]And all this hurly-burly is for no other purpose but to stop the greedy mouth of this Leviathan, or Land-whale, Christmas.
Mistris Custome: **Well, 'tis true; but now forsooth** Christmas must be cryed downe, Reformation must be cryed up; if they were weighed in a ballance, then I know Christmas would goe downe without crying (CED, d3mwomen: 1648)

In the historical evolution of *now*, the initial transition from semantic meanings to text-structuring uses is embedded in topical metacomments which contain a deictic element (i.e. *now*) and a verb of speaking (e.g. *say*, *tell*), and which explicitly convey the speaker's intention to move on to a new subsection of the text. This utterance-initial use of *now* is visible in examples (359) and (360). The phrases *now we will say* and n*ow I will returne…to tell you…* indicate the speaker's shift to a new section in the narrative. In example (359), the utterance is placed in a frame of direct reported speech. *Well* can therefore be classified as a frame-marker in this example. In this textual function, *well* marks a boundary between the preceding section of text and the upcoming one. The textual functions of *well* and *now* are combined to introduce a new narrative subsection and to signal to the addressee that a new perspective will be presented. In example (360), *well* marks off the end of the preceding speaker turn with a sense of acceptance, and is complemented by an explicit introduction of the next (i.e. elaborating) part of the conversation, introduced by *now (will I returne to tell you…).*

(359) […] and referred to me what I thought of the strength and force of theis countreys."
"**Well, now we will say**, and make your lordship know," **say they**, "the people bearing the love wee see they doe to her majestie, if she had taken the sovereignty over us, she should have had monethly 300,000 florens […]. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585 - 1586)

(360) I will undertake it. **Well, now I will returne** a litle backe again, **to tell you** what followed since my former conference with the states. (CEECS, Leyceste: 1585 - 1586)

In illustration (361), *well* again functions as a frame marker (*Well now to my tale, quoth Goodcoll*) and marks the speaker's acceptance of the preceding utterance. The use of *now (to my tale)* signals the transition to a new topic and in doing so entails the promise of a new perspective. The combination of *well* with *now* therefore additionally gives an added sense of

considered alteration to the meaning of *well* in this context. The marker not only signals acceptance but also draws the interlocutor's attention to the speaker's upcoming utterance.

(361) And thus hauing discharged the house we went foorth together. **Well now to my tale**, **quoth Goodcoll**. (Goodcoll recounts a story about a man who bailed his friend by giving the name and address of a rich neighbour). (CED, d1fsharp: 1597)

Synchronic studies on the functions of *well* and *now* (Schiffrin 1987; Jucker 1997; Aijmer 2002 among others) agree that the two markers basically indicate opposite discourse orientations. *Now* has a forward-looking discourse function whereas *well* tends to signify acceptance of a preceding speaker turn. However, as discourse initiators, both *well* and *now* have ties with preceding as well as upcoming parts of discourse. Although *now* mainly draws attention to a new part of discourse, this new (sub)topic can generally still be related to the main topic (e.g. in case of an elaboration or specification) or to related subtopics (e.g. entailing an explicit or implicit contrast between points of view). With respect to *well*, for instance, Quirk et al. (1985: 634n.) state that *well* "typically prefaces a part of discourse which, though having perhaps something in common with what has gone before", the marker also "introduces a difference of some sort". This is in line with the historical findings from the HC, CEECS and CED, in which *well* illustrates a sense of contrast between the preceding – acknowledged – part of a conversation and the speaker's point of view presented in the new utterance from the Early Modern English period onwards. In utterance-initial position, markers which initiate a new part of discourse need, according to Quirk et al., the *convention* of an "implication [of] some continuity with what might have gone before", as illustrated in examples (362) and (363).

(362) You didn't feel so good yesterday; *well*, how are you this morning? (Quirk et al. 1985: 633)

(363) Thank you for welcoming me here; *now* the subject of my talk is… (Quirk et al. 1985: 634)

In utterance-initial position, *well* and *now* function as connectors between preceding and upcoming utterances. It can therefore be suggested that both markers contain a combination of aspects of continuity and contrast, with different emphases.

Quirk et al. (1985) state that "[i]tems like *well*, *oh*, *ah* have conventional values in discourse that are related to subjuncts, disjuncts, and conjuncts" (1985: 634n.). The *conventional values* which Quirk et al. speak of have reference to the idea that speaker and addressee will assume that there is some sort of continuity between the new utterance and the preceding context. The relationship between discourse functions of *well* and *now* and their

respective connections to adverbial source meanings can help to explain this element of continuity. The semantic use of *well*, for instance, i.e. that of *well* as a manner adverb or an adjective indicating a positive standard, has a subjective core in the sense that its use is based on the speaker's value judgement. Although the semantic meaning of *well* becomes bleached in the marker's later uses, the subjectivity found in propositional meanings remains inherent – and becomes stronger – in pragmatic functions of *well*. The sense of acknowledgement remains transparent, but *well* adopts more subjective meanings which can then serve as a basis for further pragmatic developments and personal points of view. The subjective aspect of consideration, which we suggest is visible in pragmatic uses of *well* and which connects the speaker's presentation of a response to the preceding utterance, can also be seen in certain occurrences of *well now* in which one or both of the elements have a clear pragmatic meaning. In example (364), *well* marks the acceptance of the preceding utterance and additionally implies a sense of consideration from the speaker's part. The deliberation of the accepted information forms a further basis for the transition to the following part of discourse.

(364) Xantip: I promise you, I like your speech passing well. **Well, now I wish** in my heart, that I, and all other women in the world, were of your minde: (CED, d2hosnaw: 1610)

Punctuation can form a factor in the interpretation of discourse meanings. *Well now*, for instance, will have a different shade of meaning in comparison to *well, now…*, in which both elements are separated by a comma. It can be suggested that the latter is more likely to indicate a combination of the two individual meanings (e.g. acceptance, followed by a deictic transition to a new topic), while the collocation *well now* indicates an additional pragmatic sense of subjective consideration (see discussion and examples below). As illustration (365) shows, the co-occurrence of the exclamative *well!* with *now* places the emphasis on the speaker's emotive reaction. The example clearly shows a subjective meaning in the use of *well*. The exclamative tone of the marker indicates the speaker's sense of surprise (cp. Schourup 2001: 1030), and as such displays the speaker's state of mind at the moment of utterance.

(365) I know not why, but he really grows more and more ill-natur'd.
Clarinda: **Well! Now** do I heartily wish my Affairs were in his Power a little, that I might have a few Difficulties to surmount. (CED, d5choadl: 1747)

The meaning of the co-occurrence changes when both elements fulfil a more pragmatic function. In example (366), *well now* signifies an acknowledgement of the preceding utterance, and additionally prepares the floor for a shift to the next subtopic. The new subtopic

represents a resolution posited by the speaker (*we had as good make an end…*). We can say that this evaluative resolution is introduced by a co-occurrence of *well* and *now* in which both elements have pragmatic meanings.

(366) Katy: Cannot you meet me in the fields when I am milking my Kine.
       John: I will, that's well thought on.
       Katy: **Well now**, we had as good make an end since we have begun, what shall we make a money dinner or not, that would help us well. (CED, d4hokate: 1685)

The suggestion can therefore be made that the collocation combines the two subjective aspects of *well* and *now*, and as such contains an element of *consideration* with a dual reference. The speaker's mental process results in the reception of the acknowledged utterance, which then forms the basis for a shift to a new part of discourse. Secondly, this new part of discourse is founded on a conclusion, drawn on the basis of information from the preceding part of discourse. In Early Modern English and later contexts in which *well now* appears, the collocation frequently introduces a concluding evaluation, or a change in orientation. In (367), *well now* introduces a shift from a declarative part of discourse *(…I shall never trouble you again…)* to the expression of a wish, i.e. *goodbye* (originally derived from an expression in a subjunctive mood; i.e. *God be with you* (OED, *good-bye* 1a.) to the addressee, whereas in example (368) the collocation initiates a shift in orientation from a declarative to an interrogative mood, directed towards the addressee.

(367) Katy: I pitty your journey home, but I shall never trouble you again for such another, **well now John** good buy to you, remember all things, order your matter wisely, and not forget to send me word, for I shall long to hear, […]. (CED, d4hokate: 1685)

(368) (Exit singing.)
       ARABELLA.: Ha, ha; there's a Spirit for you! -- **Well now, what do you stare at? --** You cou'd not well desire more -- O, fie, fie, -- don't sigh, and bite your Fingers; (CED, d5cgarri: 1757)

Grammaticalised shifts in orientation can be introduced by a single use of *now* as well. The difference with the examples above most likely lies in the fact that *well now* indicates an added sense of responsiveness. This means that the additional use of *well* has a greater relevance in dialogues, in which the marker can be attributed with a responsive function, or in monologues where the speaker sizes up one of his or her own preceding utterances.

Finally, the context of illustration (369) is taken from a trial and illustrates how a certain Mrs. Page is questioned. *Well now go on* is followed by an imperative, and signals a sense of urgency in the speaker's request, encouraging the addressee to continue her story. This type of context is frequently seen in the use of *now*. The difference in this context is

found in the conversational character of the interrogation. *Well* adds an aspect of acceptance or acknowledgement of the preceding speaker turn. The co-occurrence with *now* then urges the addressee to continue.

(369) Mrs. Page: They that stand in that Street, can see who goeth down to Mr. Mountford's House, and who goeth up Surry-Street.
    Mr. Attorney General: **Well now go on**.
    Mrs. Page: Whilst I was desiring Mrs. Mountford to send away to her Husband, I […] (CED, d4tmohun: 1692 speech event; 1693 publication date)

When *well now* is used to introduce a shift to a personal evaluation or a shift in orientation, the collocation can in pragmatic contexts be placed in comparison with previously discussed collocations including *well th*en (10.5.2.) and *now then* (18.5.4.; 18.6.2.). The use of *well then* was said to indicate that the speaker's *receipt of information* has led to a mental action, i.e. a transition to an action based on that information. On the other hand, the meaning of *now then* also entails a subjective process of consideration on the speaker's part, resulting in an *altered view on things*.

An interesting cross-linguistic collocation which is used in similar contexts as *now then* can be found in the use of *welnu dan* in Dutch. This collocation contains the Dutch cognates of *well*, *now* as well as *then*. Cross-linguistic research on *well* (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003) has shown that the Dutch counterpart of *now* (i.e. *nu*; *nou*) has developed similar discourse functions as English *well* has. Further historical and/or cross-linguistic research research with respect to the evolutions and meanings of *now then*, *well then* and Dutch *wel(nu) dan / (wel)nu dan* could provide additional perspectives on the diachronic development and functional diversity of *well* and *now*.

In the majority of these 24 occurrences of *well now*, i.e. 13 out of 24 collocations, either one or both of the two elements are still clearly propositional. Although certain examples are still ambiguous, 4 out of 24 tokens include two propositional uses, while 9 out of 24 include propositional tokens of either *well* or *now*. In contexts where *well* and *now* form a clear collocation and have a pragmatic function, the combination of an element which marks acknowledgement and the *reception* of information, with an element which signals the speaker's wish to introduce a new point in discourse creates a co-occurrence of subjective aspects which results in in an interactive indication that the preceding utterance is accepted and that a new topic will be introduced. Even though the differences between the two markers can be brought back to their respective semantic source meanings, the collocation amounts to more than the sum of the two parts, in the sense that the subjectivity present in both elements

seems to be somewhat strengthened, and greater emphasis is put on the subjective perspective and thought process of the speaker.

PART V: CONCLUSIONS

21. CONCLUSIONS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

21.1 Outline

This chapter will offer a comparison of the respective historical evolutions of *well* and *now* as multifunctional discourse elements. Relevant similarities and differences between the two developments are discussed and placed in a broader frame of processes of grammaticalisation and (inter)subjectification. The conclusions and theoretical implications are divided into a number of sections, which each deal with a basic research question in this thesis. The question to what extent the process of grammaticalisation has influenced the respective developments of *well* and *now* is discussed first, followed by conclusions regarding processes of subjectification and intersubjectification, and the hypothesis of unidirectionality. The concept of a core meaning is dealt with next, followed by a section suggesting a number of theoretical implications.

21.2. Grammaticalisation and semantic-pragmatic relationships

The historical process of grammaticalisation offers an explanation for the complex relationship between one particular linguistic form and its various functions. From a synchronic perspective, this can explain the connection between a propositional form with different co-existing propositional and pragmatic meanings, while from a historical perspective, grammaticalisation can help to interpret the development and functional diversification of multiple pragmatic meanings out of one propositional element. Grammaticalisation is composed of a number of clines, according to which a "recruited" propositional element is said to transform into a form with semantically weakened meanings which can be applied to fulfil increasingly pragmatic and speaker-related functions. The propositional element is predicted to move from concrete to abstract meanings, and to gain increased scope and syntactic freedom while at the same time the element's position with respect to other sentence elements becomes more restricted. Not all of these clines apply to all pragmatic evolutions; the respective developments of *well* and *now* illustrate that the degree to which a process of grammaticalisation affects the semantic-pragmatic evolution of a discourse

element can differ, and that grammaticalisation should be seen as a *continuum* rather than a static question of grammaticalised or not grammaticalised.

The semantic-pragmatic evolution of *well* originates in the Old English period. Although a different form from the present-day use, Old English *wella* or *wel la* first appears as an interpersonal exclamative form which demands the attention of the addressee and strengthens the speaker's emotive assessment. *Wella* is translated either as a signal of enthusiasm or approval (e.g. *bravo!*; *well done*) or as a marker of disappointment or negative assessment (e.g. *alas*). The two seemingly opposite meanings are connected through contexts of translation in Latin. *Wella* also indicates elaboration (i.e. *well then*), in the sense that the marker can be applied to draw the hearer's attention to sections of text that are deemed important by the speaker and need to be emphasised. Although we suggest that *wella* is connected to the Middle English use of the form *well*, the latter form initially developed out of the propositional use of *well* as an adjective or an adverb of manner. The inherently subjective aspect in these propositional uses of *well* can be seen as the main basis the marker's further functional diversification. The semantic use of *well* reflects the speaker's positive value judgement about an action, fact or utterance, and more clearly illustrates a positive acknowledgement of the preceding utterance when placed in utterance-initial position. The Middle English period shows a correlation between newly-developing text-structuring meanings of *well* and subjective elements of acknowledgement and (the now obsolete sense of) agreement. The positive sense of acknowledgement, which is apparent in the utterance-initial use of *well*, similarly indicates a textual boundary with the preceding speaker turn. The acceptance of the interlocutor's utterance clears the floor for the presentation of a new part of discourse or a new point of view which may indicate agreement with the interlocutor, but may also propose a slight modification of what the addressee has uttered. The Middle English context of direct reported speech in which *well* generally appears supports the textual function of *well* but also emphasises the fact that it is the *speaker* who grants acknowledgement and in doing so gives a value judgement.

In contexts where speaker and addressee have diverging points of view, *well* signals the speaker's *reception* of the interlocutor's information rather than a mere acknowledgement. In interactive contexts, *well* therefore also suggests a mental process which forms the basis for a further continuation of discourse. This shows the addressee that the speaker has thought his response through. Secondly, the positive sense of acceptance which is still vaguely transparent in clear pragmatic uses of *well* indicates the speaker's acknowledgement of his or her interlocutor's claim, even if the speaker does not agree with its validity. As such, *well*

serves as a buffer against face-loss and allows the speaker to develop a personal point of view without completely denying the perspective of the addressee.

By the Early Modern English period, the propositional use of *well* has developed additional pragmatic meanings which are semantically bleached but are still connected to a propositional origin, in the sense that they convey a similar sense of positive consideration which is fittingly used when speaker and addressee are looking for a source of common understanding. In the Early Modern English periods of the historical corpus data, *well* is more frequently used in the context of a personal narrative, where the marker signals the transition from a factual description to a subjective evaluation, for instance. In specific contexts (e.g. trial proceedings), *well* is used to introduce a shift in orientation, introducing a question or request. The marker gains a context-dependent meaning of urgency in these uses, signalling an expectation for continuation. The transitional use of *well* manages to draw the interlocutors' attention to the upcoming or evaluative parts of discourse, and as such to the subjective part of discourse. Because *well* is frequently followed by a vocative or direct address, the hearer is also involved in the conversation.

Apart from its use as a pragmatic marker, *well* frequently occurs in sentential position, in collocation with mental verbs (e.g. *know*; *understand*) and modal auxiliaries (e.g. *may*). In these co-occurrences, the adverbial use of *well* can be applied to serve emphatic or intensifying meanings which indicate degree rather than manner. In line with the suggestion by Scheibman (2002) that the most frequent collocations are those that express speaker point of view, the combination of *well* with a mental verb such as *to know* and with an interactive subject form is frequently used in the historical corpus material to form an expression which is applied in contexts where speaker and addressee are not found on the same level of understanding. In a phrase such as *as you/I well know*, the meaning of *well* has moved away from its propositional, referential meaning and has adopted an intensifying sense which can be used to give additional strength to a subjective assessment. *Well* serves an intensifying function when reference is made to the level of understanding of the addressee, or when the speaker wants to stress the validity of his own assessment. The speaker's stance is strengthened when he or she emphasises the probability that the addressee possesses the same level of knowing. The added use of *well* in these expressions implies a contrast between the perspectives of speaker and addressee. At the same time, the marker helps to establish a context in which the speaker's subjective positioning is strengthened and the interlocutors can be brought to the same level of understanding.

In the phrase *as you well know*, the position of *well* in relation to the other elements in the phrase has become more fixed in the expressions historical evolution. The phrase itself gains more positional freedom: A comparison with data from the BNC and ARCHER illustrates that this particular expression increasingly appears as a parenthetical remark which is not limited to one specific position on sentence-level.

The co-occurrence of *well* with modal auxiliary *may* first appears in the Old English period, in which the combination of the two elements still carries the meanings of the two independent parts. In the historical corpus material, the combination follows an evolution towards a collocation in which *well* has a a delexicalised meaning and a greater syntactic dependency on the modal verb head, i.e. *may*. The position of *well* in this modal collocation shows a tendency to precede the auxiliary in the Old English data. In this position, *well* can take on an intensifying or epistemic meaning (cp. *indeed* or *certainly*). In contrast, the expression in which *well* is placed between the modal auxiliary *may* and the full verb seems fixed by the late Middle English period. In the collocational tie *may well*, *well* has adopted a modal meaning which can be applied to refer to the probability of a situation or to make epistemic predictions with regard to the level of knowledge of the addressee. *Well* functions as an additional strengthening – epistemic – element in contexts where the common ground between speaker and addressee needs to be reestablished. In this collocation, *well* illustrates an advanced level of grammaticalisation in terms of position, delexicalisation and pragmatic significance.

The historical evolution of *now* poses more problems in terms of distinction of meanings and functional diversification. The propositional meaning of *now*, i.e. as a deictic adverb indicating temporal relationships, can in itself be used to indicate textual relationships or emphasise subsections of an ongoing narrative. In addition, clear pragmatic uses of *now* generally hold a transparent temporal core. The close relationship between propositional and pragmatic meanings of *now* can be attributed to the process of grammaticalisation, which has influenced certain features of the marker's use but which has not advanced to the same degree as is the case with *well*.

A relevant context in which the propositional use of *now* is applied to indicate textual functions as well as subjective meanings is found in the speaker's reference to *narrative time*. The combination of *now* with a past tense can be applied to emphasise parts of a narrative, to make a story more lively and to bring to depicted events closer to the hearer. Narrative time makes use of a propositional meaning of *now* but also illustrates the speaker's subjective role in the structuring of narrative.

The original context in which temporal meanings of *now* evolve into clear text-structuring meanings can first be seen in the Old English period, where *now* is used utterance-initially to emphasise the start of a new subunit within a narrative. These early uses form explicit announcements of an upcoming topic-change, and are introduced by the speaker through a combination of a deictic form (*nu*, i.e. *now*) with a communicative verb (e.g. *Now I will talk about…*). These explicit references to the textual progression of a narrative create a context in which *now* is fittingly applied to draw the hearer's attention to important parts of the ongoing narrative, to points of view of speakers other than the narrator and to the structure of the text. The collocation of *now* with verbs of speaking is still used in present-day English, but new meanings have additionally developed from this initial transitional context. The implication of a verb of speaking is still present in textual uses where *now* introduces elaborations or specifications of preceding topics without the co-occurrence of a verbally extended topic indication. These new text-structuring functions, in which *now* introduces an elaboration or a listed point within a larger textual unit, have developed from the Middle English period onwards. In these uses, the temporal meaning of *now* has delexicalised but still shows a connection with the deictic strength of adverbial *now*. Just as the propositional use of *now* indicates a directness by referring to a simultaneity with the time of speaking, these textual uses of *now* illustrate a deictic sense of immediacy when the propositional use is translated in a text-structuring use which places an emphasis on the upcoming topic.

In synchronic use, the central meaning of pragmatic *now* is said to indicate a movement forward to the upcoming topic. This is not only applicable to the textual progression, for which *now* can serve topic-introducing functions, but also to a progression with respect to perspective. An initial semantic use of *now* through which the adverb supports the introduction of a new perspective is found in contexts where *now* forms an element in a temporal comparison. When *now* co-occurs with a conjunction in phrases such as *but now* or *and now*, the semantic use of *now* can indicate an initial step in a change in perspective. The earliest occurrence of *now* with a semantically bleached, clearly subjective meaning appears from the Old English period onwards in the use of the expression *now then*. The collocation *now then* introduces a new topic on a textual level but also indicates a process of consideration. *Now then* therefore not only indicates a transition to an upcoming subsection of text, but also a shift to a new perspective.

From the Middle English period onwards, *now* is frequently used in this dual sense. The marker can be used to mark and to emphasise textual boundaries, and to foreground (inter)personal perspectives. On a textual level, *now* frequently initiates an upcoming

subtopicalisation, either explicitly (i.e. co-occurring with a topical metacomment including a verb of speaking) or implicitly. The foregrounding of one specific subtopic naturally implies a contrast with other subtopics. Similarly, when *now* is used to introduce the presentation of a personal point of view or opinion, this will contrast with other – possibly contrasting – perspectives that are either explicitly mentioned or implicitly understood. In addition to its central meaning as a forward-looking pragmatic marker, *now* also signals that the speaker takes into account preceding utterances and uses those as a basis for further topicalisation.

The connection between propositional meanings of *now* and textual meanings which indicate a relationship between an upcoming topic and preceding topics is influenced by an element of *causality*. When placed in initial position, the deictic meaning of *now*, which indicates a point in time, can be applied to indicate a deictic stage within a broader textual frame. *Now* creates a causal or resultive connection between the new topic and preceding utterances when the temporal element has a meaning which can be paraphrased as *considering this* or *taking into account (what has just been said)*.

In the Middle English period, the use of *now* is frequently composed of a correlation between textual and (inter)personal meanings. As a topic-introducer, *now* becomes increasingly used to introduce a personal view or evaluation. As said earlier, the presentation of a subjective perspective necessarily implies a contrast with other views. In certain contexts in the corpus data, reference is therefore made to alternative options or to previously given information, before a new subtopic or a new perspective is offered to the addressee. These references can take on the form of subclauses introduced by conjunctions such as *if*, *when* or *although*, and increasingly indicate an element of contrast between what the speaker is about to say and the part of discourse preceding the new utterance.

After 1500, *now* conveys a clear subjective meaning when used to introduce grammaticalised changes in orientation, for instance from a declarative to an interrogative or an imperative mood. Although these uses draw the attention of the addressee to the speaker's utterance, now remains a mainly subjective marker. In the Early Modern English period, in contexts where *now* conveys an (inter)subjective sense of evaluation and introduces contrasts between alternative points of view, the marker illustrates an advanced level of pragmaticalisation and (inter)subjectification compared to the semantic use of adverbial *now*. Despite this, the deictic aspect of *now* remains transparent in the marker's further development as a polysemous text-structuring and subjective marker of upcoming perspectives.

The semantic-pragmatic evolutions of both *well* and *now* illustrate a relationship between the markers' respective propositional adverbial meanings and various pragmatic functions. The delexicalisation of *now* has advanced to a lesser degree as *well* has in certain pragmatic, epistemic contexts but both markers share a traceable connection to their original source meanings as adverbs of time and manner respectively. The most prominent influence of the process of grammaticalisation on the historical evolution of the two markers lies in the movement towards meanings with increased subjectivity. The influence of processes of (inter)subjectification is discussed in greater detail in section 21.3. below). Both *well* and *now* are increasingly used to convey meanings that derive from the speaker's point of view and that guide the addressee in his or her interpretation of the utterance. The semantic-pragmatic evolutions of both markers originates in propositional senses that are generally placed in sentential position but gain interpersonal and text-related relevance when moved to utterance-initial position. Correlating with their development towards pragmatic markers, the initial position of *well* and *now* therefore forms part of their pragmatic character and is the markers' fixed place of occurrence. Through their position at the start of an utterance, the scope of *well* and *now* widens from a sentence-internal perspective to a broader sentential scope.

21.3. Hypotheses of unidirectionality and (inter)subjectification

The historical evolutions of pragmatic markers are said to move from propositional, concrete elements to increasingly grammaticalised, abstract and pragmatic polysemies. Recent studies have put a greater emphasis on the hypothesised evolution towards subjectivity and intersubjectivity, which respectively imply a meaning change which is increasingly determined by the speaker's perspective and oriented towards the addressee. This evolution is hypothesised to be unidirectional, i.e. moving from propositional, to text-structuring meanings and/or to subsequent (inter)personal meanings. The suggestion that unidirectionality should be seen as a "hypothesis about a robust tendency" (Traugott 2001: 1) taking into account a number of related clines is clear from the semantic-pragmatic evolutions of *well* and *now*. The overview in Figure 10 and Figure 11 gives a simplified version of the functional diversification of the two markers, from their respective propositional meanings to textual and interpersonal meanings as pragmatic markers. We can state that the propositional meanings of *well* and *now* are initially transferred to contexts in which their individual semantic properties are transferred to the world of text. The evaluative aspect of adverbial *well*, which indicates that the speaker gives a positive value judgement when he or she "matches something against

a certain standard", is transferred to the connection between the preceding and upcoming utterance, and illustrates the speaker's positive assessment with regard to the contents of the preceding speaker turn. The ego-centred and deictic aspects of the propositional use of *now* (see e.g. 16.2. and 18.5.2.) is initially transferred to contexts in which the authority of the speaker and a deictic element of directness are applied to the progression of discourse. The original text-structuring uses of *now* can emphasise upcoming parts of discourse precisely because of the transparency of these propositional aspects. In correlation with textual meanings and in contexts that derive from text-structuring uses, both markers develop clear subjective and intersubjective functions. The subjective uses of *well* and *now* share an element of consideration, which allows the speaker to connect a textual progression with (inter)personal aspects. Although clear subjective meanings only appear as derivations of these initial textual contexts, the data from the historical corpora suggests that subjective elements play a role in both historical developments even before or correlating with the transition to textual functions. In the evolution of *well*, we found additional uses in which the manner adverb takes on an intensifying meaning – in collocation with mental verbs – or an epistemic meaning in collocation with modal auxiliary *may*. Also in these two contexts, the added use of *well* illustrates a positive element of belief in the speaker's assessment, and plays an important role in the speaker's intersubjective positioning and in his or her creation of common understanding with the addressee.

WELL

PROPOSITIONAL Manner adverb/adjective	→	→ TEXTUAL Textual frame; Indicator of agreement, acceptance

→ INTERPERSONAL

Consideration

Signal of upcoming modification or personal evaluation

→ COLLOCATION: **You know well > As you well know**

Intensifying meaning > epistemic effect

Strengthen intersubjective positioning of speaker

Establish common ground with addressee

→ COLLOCATION: **(As) you may well know;**

That may well be

delexicalisation; dependency on modal verb head

increased modality / subjectivity

Figure 10: Functional diversification of *well*: simplified depiction

NOW

PROPOSITIONAL Temporal adverb	→	→ TEXTUAL Deictics applied to textual progression: Indicator of textual boundaries

		→ INTERPERSONAL Direct textual structure; support argumentation Introduce personal evaluation/contrast with other subtopics or opinions
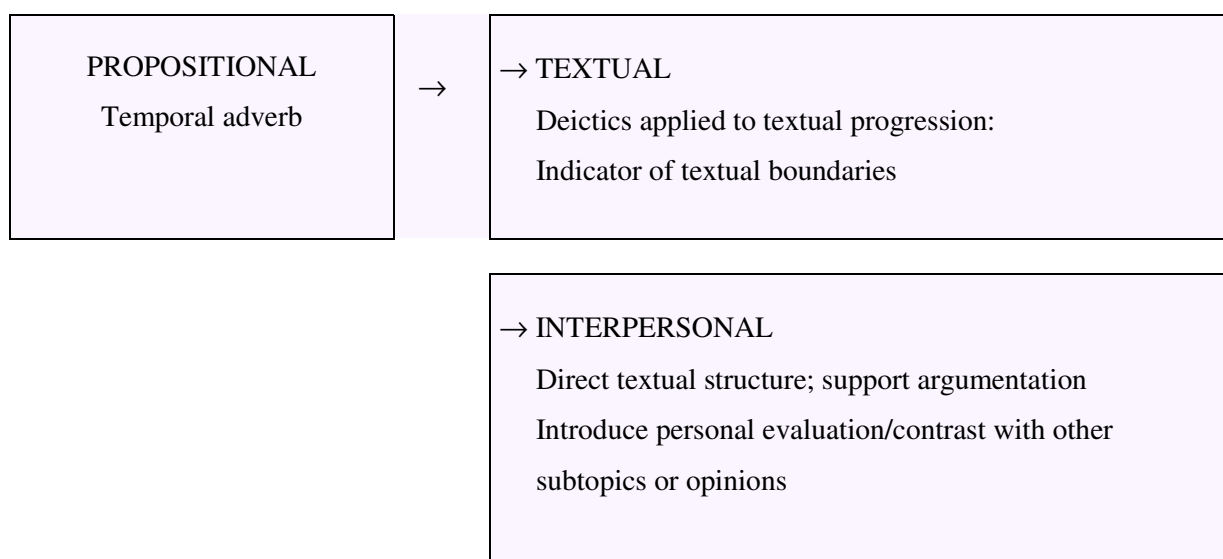
Figure 11: Functional diversification of *now*: simplified depiction

Although the functional diversification of *well* and *now* largely supports the hypothesis of unidirectionality, according to which propositional elements evolve from semantic to increasingly speaker-related, expressive meanings, we can raise the question how strict the distinction is between subjective and intersubjective uses. According to Traugott (1995b), subjectivity is a broad concept which can be found in various degrees of intensity. It "concerns degrees of grounding in the perspective of the speaker from a cognitive point of view" (Traugott 1995b: 32). Subjectivity is considered the "development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude to what is said" (Traugott 1995b: 32). Temporal deictics, explicit markers of speaker attitude and attitudes to the relationship of successive parts of discourse are considered clear indications of subjectivity (Traugott and Dasher 2001: 23). Not only the attitude towards the content but also how that content is expressed forms a part of the subjective process. Subjectivity calls for an *active* speaker, who expresses his wish to communicate a certain attitude to the addressee. In this sense, intersubjectivity is necessarily influenced by subjectivity. When a speaker wants to communicate the relevance of a particular point of view to an addressee, this includes the hearer into the discourse frame but "ultimately depends […] on the speaker" (Traugott 1995b: 46). Traugott and Dasher summarise the correlation between speaker and addressee by stating that

"Subjectivity is a prerequisite to intersubjectivity, inasmuch as the SP/W's attitude toward

AD/R is a function of the perspective of SP/W" (Traugott and Dasher: 22).

This correlation can similarly be found in the semantic-pragmatic diversification of *well* and *now*. Figure 12 and Figure 13 illustrate how certain relevant subjective elements in the polysemous use of *well* and *now* have an effect on the speaker's intersubjective relationship with the addressee. When the underlying sense of *well* as a marker of positive evaluation is applied to the connection of different utterances, the speaker can use *well* to acknowledge the preceding speaker turn. The combination of a positive core with a subjective element of consideration, both present in the pragmatic use of *well* (Figure 12) allows the speaker to posit a possibly diverging view without risking face-loss for the addressee. The utterance-initial position of *well* also signals that it the speaker is about to say something, which in turn gives him or her the needed time to present a personal utterance. In using *well*, the speaker becomes a *respondent*, who builds a new perspective (which can be an agreement, a modification or a contestation of the preceding utterance) on the information that has been given to him or her in the preceding part of discourse. The sense of acknowledgement that is given before a new utterance is presented also allows the speaker to create a sense of common ground with the addressee – because this signals that the addressee's claim is not completely disregarded, even though the speaker may present a divergent view. In the contexts where *well* collocates with mental verbs or with modal auxiliaries, *well* is applied as an intensifying or epistemic element which helps to create common ground when the expectations of speaker and addressee are different.

PROPOSITIONAL *WELL*

Positive value judgement

SUBJECTIVE

- acknowledgement; basis for development of personal view
- active consideration of preceding turn:
- in mental or modal collocations: xxxx

INTERSUBJECTIVE

- attention to addressee's face
- creation of common understanding
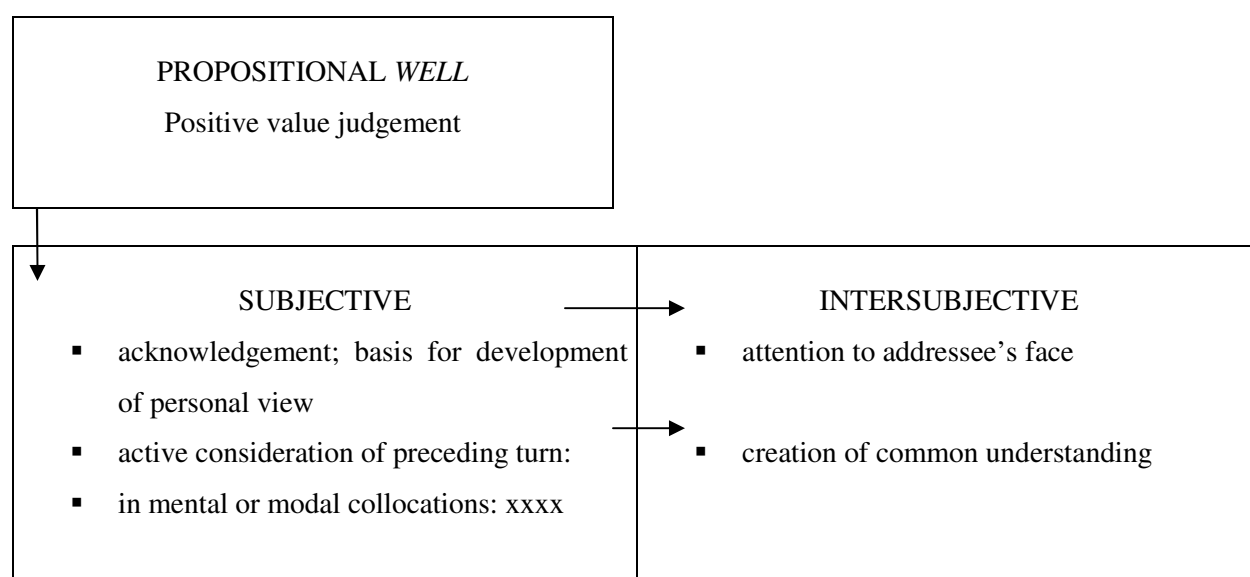
Figure 12: Correlation between subjective and intersubjective meanings of *well*

According to Traugott and Dasher (2001: 22f.), deictics (e.g. personal pronouns such as *I* and *you*) and temporal deictics (e.g. *now*) are inherently subjective, because they are necessarily grounded in the point of view of the speaker. This means that the propositional use of *now* as a temporal adverb already holds a subjective core, of which the deictic value can be applied to the topical progression of a text (Figure 13). In the semantic-pragmatic evolution of *now*, attention is already given to the hearer in certain text-structuring contexts in the Old English period. Phrases such as *Now you will understand that...* not only indicate the speaker's authority in the organisation of discourse but also illustrate that the speaker wants to guide the hearer through the textual progression of (sub)topics. On a textual level, the use of *now* warns the hearer that the speaker is about to present a new subtopic – which still shows a connection to the preceding parts of discourse. In addition, *now* is also used to emphasise specific units in a larger frame of discourse in order to support the speaker's creation of a personal argumentation. The order in which different subtopics are connected and presented to the addressee therefore reflects a subjective strategy and illustrates the speaker's aim to guide the addressee through a "progression of ideas" and to encourage the hearer to adopt the viewpoint presented by the speaker.
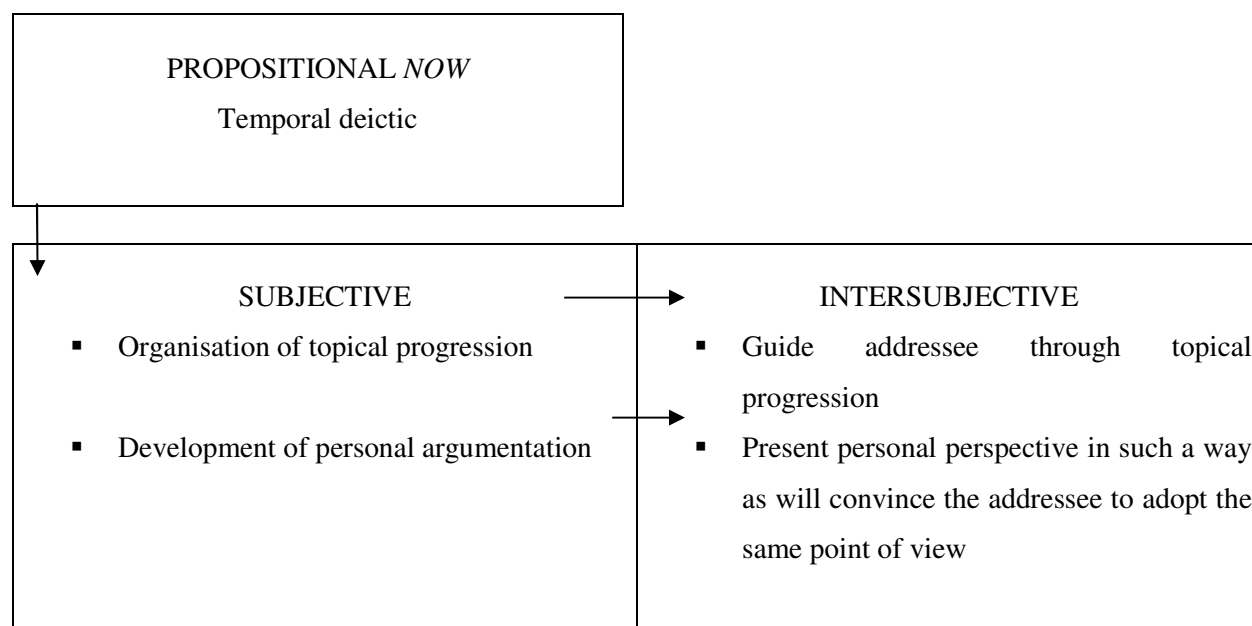
Figure 13: Correlation between subjective and intersubjective meanings of *now*

Rather than indicating a movement from propositional, via textual, to subjective and consequently intersubjective meanings, the historical evolutions of *well* and *now* present a more complex diversification. Especially from the Middle English period onwards, when both

markers has developed meanings that are more clearly based in the speaker's point of view, the functions which *well* and *now* fulfil display a correlation between text-structuring and (inter)personal aspects. Although either textual or interpersonal functions may dominate in particular uses, subjective elements are present already in the earliest text-structuring uses of both markers.

The element of "consideration", which is inherent in the pragmatic functions of both *well* and *now*, allows the speaker to present a new utterance that is based on the awareness of previously given information. This subjective element not only affects the mental progression underlying a succession of subtopics (for *now*) or of speaker turns (for *well*), but also correlates with the presentation of new parts of text. While this shared aspect of consideration is inherently embedded in the thought process of the speaker, the process is in most pragmatic uses applied to the benefit of the addressee and his or her relationship with the speaker.

21.4. Restrictions on interpretation: Suggestions for a core meaning

Previous studies have approached the concept of a core meaning from various angles. The functional diversity of a pragmatic element can be seen as a collection of semantic polysemies (e.g. Schwenter and Traugott 2000 for *in fact*), whereas some studies prefer the concept of a single semantic core meaning with a number of functions determined through different (pragmatic) contexts.

The study of the historical diversification of *well* and *now* illustrates that a connection can be made between the markers' respective semantic meanings and subsequent pragmatic meanings which have developed through different historical stages of functional split. For *well*, we can take into account additional polysemies which have originated through functional split in intensifying and (epistemic) modal contexts. When considering the possibility of a *core meaning* (cp. Altenberg and Granger 2002; Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006), we can therefore suggest an interpretation in which the original propositional meaning of a particular lexical element is included, as are non-propositional meanings which originate through processes of grammaticalisation and pragmaticalisation. This perspective is supported by a polysemous approach in which various contexts and their correlating meanings are connected under an encompassing central meaning. As suggested by Hansen (1998), historical research offers new perspectives on how new polysemies in historical evolutions have influenced synchronic multifunctionality. In our approach,

propositional and pragmatic meanings can be seen as contextual derivations of one single form.

The unitary approach suggested by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003) discusses the core meaning of *well* from the point of view of a "modified minimalist meaning" (Aijmer 2002: 21) (also see section 4.1.). This suggests that a central meaning can be found for one individual marker, to which different contextual functions are related through a perspective of polysemy. This approach takes into account propositional meanings (e.g. that of adverbial meanings of *well*) as well as contextual pragmatic meanings, and is applicable to our findings because it takes into account overlapping meanings and transitional contexts between propositional and pragmatic meanings in the evolution of a single marker, and sets out from a semantic delineation which takes into account a variety of functions.

The results from our historical research confirm that the propositional meaning of *well* as an adjective or as an adverb of manner is historically connected to later pragmatic meanings – which initially indicate text-structuring functions but already hold a subjective core which is further developed from the Middle English period onwards. This connection is not always transparent in the synchronic multifunctionality of *well*, but is made clear by a study of the marker's functional diversification.

The semantic sense of propositional *well*, which indicates that something is "matched against a certain standard" is not straightforwardly transferred to textual and interpersonal functions. Jucker suggested that interpersonal meanings of *well* need not derive directly from propositional meanings, but can instead also develop out of earlier text-structuring meanings. Although our results confirm this, it can also be suggested that pragmatic meanings (i.e. textual and interpersonal) and propositional meanings share a particular subjective aspect, which indicates the speaker's positive value judgement.

The evaluative meaning of the semantic use of *well* is transformed into a pragmatic means to signal interpersonal agreement and acknowledge the validity of a possibly divergent claim when placed in utterance-initial position. As such, *well* is not only used in utterance-initial position as a pragmatic marker, but – as supported by the data of the HC, CEECS and CED – is also used as a marker of intensification or epistemicity in verbal and modal collocations, as a signal that the speaker is aware of the fact that he or she may not see or does not see eye to eye with the addressee. The semantic-pragmatic development of *well* can in this respect be interpreted according to White's (2003) theory of *engagement*, in which discourse contexts are seen as "heteroglossically diverse" (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 280). This means that discourse contexts can be perceived as influenced by various voices and

diverse points of view. The role taken up by pragmatic markers is to present the speaker's personal points of view and place those in alignment or in disalignment with the expectations or perspectives of the interlocutor. Similarly, in intensifying or epistemic modal contexts (e.g. *as you well know*; *that may well be*) intersubjective uses of a pragmatic element can strengthen the speaker's personal assessment and create a context in which an attempt is made to place the (diverging) views of speaker and addressee in alignment. The manner in which *well* has developed from propositional to (inter)subjective functions in this perspective illustrates that speaker and addressee are aware of their differing points of view, but that they are attempting to bridge the gap and create a source of common understanding. In other words, the pragmatic use of *well* supports the speaker's wish to "acknowledge, to engage with or to align" his or her view with those of the addressee (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003). In line with this approach, Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen suggested the notion of *positive appraisal* (2003: 1130) as the core meaning of *well*. This central meaning ties in with the suggested core function, which expresses

> "the speaker's heteroglossic stance, signalling awareness of heterogeneity, and more specifically counterexpectation. However, it can be used for many different rhetorical ends, including contexts where no approval or acceptance is involved, but where the situation is assessed by the speaker as problematical and the possibility of choosing between divergent positions needs to be negotiated." (2003: 1130)

The different functions that have developed in various stages of the historical evolution of *well* support this central function of *well*, both in contexts where *well* is used on a text-structuring level as in interpersonal contexts in which the marker functions as a means to posit a personal view without risking face-loss for the addressee. Although *well* is said to "[accommodate] the utterance to the context, in particular the hearer's expectations" (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003: 1128), our data suggest that *well* mainly remains a marker of subjective assessment, of which the use is essentially determined by a "deliberation in the speaker's mind" (cp. Johansson 2006: 135). It is this subjective element which can in different forms be seen in the range from semantic source meanings to intersubjective functions of *well*.

The question whether semantic and pragmatic meanings can be considered part of one encompassing polysemous unit is particularly applicable to the historical evolution of *now*. The distinction between propositional and pragmatic functions in synchronic use of *now* is in many contexts hard to make, or rather, we can say that the historical diversification of *now* shows that the marker's temporal and text-deictic uses are very closely connected. The

functional development illustrates that semantic, text-structuring or (inter)personal meanings can be used for similar functions in specific transitional contexts. It is therefore suggested that the textual and (inter)subjective functions which have emerged from the deictic use of *well* as an adverb of time be considered part of the same polysemous framework. Although the delineation of semantic and pragmatic functions is necessary with the eye on discourse interpretation and for tracing historical paths of development, we can see the various semantic-pragmatic contexts as derivations of an encompassing core meaning.

The deictic aspects of the marker's propositional use as a temporal adverb have a shaping force for pragmatic functions that have derived from the original temporal source. The deictic strength of *now* has reference to three central factors.

a) **Authority of the speaker**:

The deictic core of adverbial *now* is essentially based in the point of view of the **speaker**. In text-structuring functions of *now*, this aspect is transferred to textual deictics, where the speaker has the authority to organise discourse according to his or her point of view, or to support a personal argumentation. Finally, as an (inter)personal marker, *now* has a similar deictic significance, in the sense that – although a sense of common understanding with the hearer is also envisioned – the shifts in orientation and topical shifts in discourse serve to draw attention to the speaker's subjective assessment or to his or her personal point of view.

b) **Propulsive strength**

As a deictic marker, *now* indicates a sense of directness or immediacy which is, on a semantic level, visible in the relationship between the speaker and the time of speaking. On a textual level, this aspect is used in a discourse context to shift attention to the upcoming (sub)topic and push the narrative forward. In addition, this allows the speaker to emphasise specific parts of discourse. In clearly subjective meanings that appear from the Early Modern English period onwards, the deictic core of the pragmatic use of *now* illustrates a sense of immediacy or urgency in imperative constructions, and focuses the hearer's attention on the speaker's personal assessment in upcoming parts of discourse.

c) *Now* as a marker of deictic relationships

As part of its central meaning, *now* indicates deictic relationships, either on a semantic level with respect to concrete temporal relationships, or on a text-structuring level, where *now* inter-clausally connects preceding and upcoming (i.e. specifying or elaborating) parts of discourse, and where the temporal relationship indicated by the marker's propositional use is applied to the topical progression of text. On an interpersonal, expressive level, *now* can be used to indicate a relationship between what has been said and how the speaker evaluates this. As such, *now* signals that the attention should be focused on the relationship between preceding parts of discourse and an upcoming, personal assessment.

Within a framework of heteroglossia and intersubjective positioning (White 2003), *now* functions as a deictic marker which places the main emphasis on the personal assessment of the speaker, but at the same time recognises an inherent contrast with possibly disagreeing voices. When *now* is used to posit a new subtopic or present a personal evaluation, the explicit or implied contrast with other subtopics or opinions forms an intrinsic factor in the speaker's interactional awareness.

The multifunctionality of *well* and *now* displays a complex correlation between propositional source meanings and various pragmatic meanings which have developed in different historical stages of functional split. The individual features of the markers' respective semantic sources influence their further semantic-pragmatic evolution to a great extent, creating a set of polysemies in which each contextual meaning has its specific relationship to a central sense. An interpersonal aspect of consideration is shared by both *well* and *now*. Particularly in contexts of interpersonal argumentation, both markers can be used to signal the speaker's awareness of the fact that his or her point of view is not aligned with that of the addressee. *Well* and *now* therefore signal the need for a common ground of understanding between speaker and addressee, and in doing so fulfil essential functions as markers of intersubjective positioning.

21.5. Suggestions for further research

The present study has aimed to trace the semantic-pragmatic development of *well* and *now*, from propositional adverbs to discourse elements with increasingly textual, subjective and intersubjective functions. The results revealed that the respective historical evolutions displayed similarities as well as differences, which could be traced back to the specific features of *well* and *now* as propositional elements. In cross-linguistic research on *well* (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003) and *now* (Hasselgård 2006; Johansson 2006) various functions of the two markers were proven to be synchronically related to semantic cognates in other languages. For well, this type of research was performed in comparison to Swedish and Dutch. For *now*, the two studies mentioned focused on a comparison between English *now* and Norwegian *nå*. Although functional similarities were found for both *well* and *now*, different languages proved to show differences in meaning, function, and/or collocational elements. Interestingly, Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen's (2003) study on *well*, in which functional similarities between languages were traced by means of translation patterns, indicated that functional similarities can be found between the use of English *well* and the Dutch semantic cognate of *now*, i.e. *nu/nou*. The findings from the present study suggest that further comparisons can be made between *well (then)*, *now (then)* and the Dutch forms *wel(nu)*, *nu* and *welnu dan*. It is also suggested that English *well* and Dutch *nou* have undergone similar stages of development in their respective historical evolutions. Further cross-linguistic and/or historical research along these lines could provide

a) further insights in the functional diversification of pragmatic markers (e.g. *well* and *now*) and their semantic cognates in contrasting Germanic languages,
b) a more thorough understanding of cross-linguistic (synchronic and diachronic) relationships between connected pragmatic markers such as *well* and *now*, as well as
c) the delineation of a more complete functional map, in which various similarities and differences between related markers are included and in which functional polysemies can be connected.

In addition to the suggested cross-linguistic historical research of functions of *well* and *now* and of their semantic cognates in other Germanic languages, an interesting source for further research can be found in the historical study of semantic counterparts of one individual marker. English *well* and French *bien*, for instance, fulfil similar functions in specific

synchronic contexts. Other adverbs that may have developed along similar lines can be found in the use of Spanish adverbs *bién* or *así* (Delbecque 1994) or in the marker's Dutch cognates *goed* or *wel*. Similar cross-linguistic historical research could also be valid for the functional development of *now*, in order to trace possible connections with the marker's Dutch cognates *nu* or *nou*, or with its French counterpart *maintenant*. Further research on these subjects can provide a more thorough understanding of the functional diversification of individual markers, of the semantic-pragmatic relation between historical developments and synchronic polysemies, and of possibly predictable paths of development and similarities in meaning across language boundaries.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
AD/R	Addressee/reader
adv.	adverb
BNC	*British National Corpus*
CED	*Corpus of English Dialogues*
CEECS	*Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)*
DM	Discourse marker
E	Final/End position
eM	End Medial position
EModE	Early Modern English
HC	*Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*
I	Initial position
iE	Initial End position
iM	Initial Medial position
IPAdv	Sentential Adverb
M	Medial position
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary
ModE	Modern English
MP	Modal Particle
N.A.	Not applicable
OA	[Modifier (to adjective/adverb/Prepositional Phrase)]
OC	[Comment]
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OI	[Indefinite]
OIS	[Intensifier]
OV	[Verb]
OWN	[Well-nigh]
PA	Predicative Adjective
PDE	Present-day English

PM	Pragmatic marker
PP	Prepositional Phrase
SP/W	Speaker/writer
VAdj	Verbal Adjective
VAdv	Verbal Adverb
VC	Verbal Collocation

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

I. Word count: different subperiods in the *Helsinki Corpus*

Subperiod		Word count	%
Old English			
I	-850	2 190	0.5
II	850-950	92 050	22.3
III	950-1050	251 630	60.9
IV	1050-1150	67 380	16.3
Subtotal		**413 250**	**100.0**
Middle English			
I	1150-1250	113 010	18.6
II	1250-1350	97 480	16.0
III	1350-1420	184 230	30.3
IV	1420-1500	213 850	35.1
Subtotal		**608 570**	**100.0**
Early Modern English			
I	1500-1570	190 160	34.5
II	1570-1640	189 800	34.5
III	1640-1710	171 040	31.0
Subtotal		**551 000**	**100.0**
TOTAL		**1572820**	

Taken from the manual of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*,
<http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/HC> (last accessed 17/09/2007)

II. Word count: different subperiods (and genres) in the *Corpus of English Dialogues*

CED	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1550-1600	19940	42080	47590	24750	16410	39380	10000	**200150**
1600-1650	36510	54360	56150	49530	17620	57100	12260	**283530**
1650-1700	120910	55960	67460	43410	36330	71450	3710	**399230**
1700-1750	83560	17400	57870	39840	4030	41290	0	**243990**
1750-1760	24740	3140	9520	4720	0	14670	0	**56790**
	285660	**172940**	**238590**	**162250**	**74390**	**223890**	**25970**	**1183690**

Word count: different subperiods of the Corpus of English Dialogues (per genre)

Genres:
1. Trials
2. Witness Depositions
3. Drama Comedy
4. Didactic Works: Other (than Language Teaching)
5. Didactic Works: Language Teaching

6. Prose Fiction
7. Miscellaneous

Taken from Kytö, M. and T. Walker (2006), *Guide to A Corpus of English Dialogues* 1560-1760, Uppsala Universitet.

III. Word count: different texts and subperiods in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)*

Text collection	Period	Word count
CEECS1	**1418-1638**	**246055**
Original 1	1418-1529	23176
Stonor	1424-1483	38006
Marchall	1440-1476	4834
Shillingford	1447-1448	13527
Plumpton	1461-1550	36530
Rerum	1483-1509	5915
Original 2	1520-1586	16879
Hutton	1566-1638	25319
Leycester	1585-1586	67786
Royal 1	1585-1596	14083
CEECS2	**1580-1680**	**204030**
Original 3	1580-1665	9948
Henslowe	1600-1610	551
Royal 2	1612-1614	227
Cornwallis	1613-1644	61603
Cosin	1617-1669	37853
Harley	1625-1666	24915
WeSa	1632-1642	4320
Charles	1634-1678	2964
Wharton	1642	8068
Hamilton	1648-1650	1091
Jones	1651-1660	33877
Basire	1651-1666	7068
Tixall	1656-1680	11545
CEECS	**1418-1680**	**450085**

Taken from the manual of the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)*, <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/ceecs> (last accessed 17/09/2007)

APPENDIX 2

1. *Helsinki Corpus*

Abbreviated name	Full name	Genre	Period
Ceauto1	Mowntayne, The autobiography	Biography, autobiography	EModE I (1500-1570)
Ceauto2	Forman, The autobiography	Biography, autobiography	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cebio1	Roper, William, The lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore	Biography, other	EModE I (1500-1570)
Cediar1b	Edward VI, The diary of Edward VI	Diaries	EModE I (1500-1570)
Cediar2a	Madox, An Elizabethan in 1582: The diary ...	Diaries	EModE II (1570-1640)
Ceeduc2b	Bacon, The twoo bookes ... Advancement of learning	Educational treatises	EModE II (1570-1640)
Ceeduc3a	Locke, Directions concerning education	Educational treatises	EModE III (1640-1710)
Cefict1b	Harman, A caveat … for commen cursetors	Fiction	EModE I (1500-1570)
Cefict2b	Deloney, Jack of Newbury	Fiction	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cehand1b	Turner, A new boke of ... all wines	Handbooks, other	EModE I (1500-1570)
Cehand2a	Gifford, A Dialogue concerning witches	Handbooks, other	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cehand2b	Markham, Countrey Contentments	Handbooks, other	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cehand3a	Walton, The compleat Angler	Handbooks, other	EModE III (1640-1710)
Centest2	The new testament (authorized version)	Bible	EModE II (1570-1640)
Ceoffic1	Howard, Tunstall; A letter by the lords; Wolsey; Henry VIII; Bedyll; Cromwell (Thomas); More (Letter(s), original letters)	Letters, non-private	EModE I (1500-1570)
Ceotest1	The old testament (Tyndale)	Bible	EModE I (1500-1570)
Ceplay1a	Udall, Roister Doister	Drama, comedies	EModE I (1500-1570)
Ceplay2a	Shakespeare, The merry wives of Windsor	Drama, comedies	EModE II (1570-1640)
Ceplay2b	Middleton, A chaste maid in Cheapside	Drama, comedies	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cepriv3	Haddock (Richard, Sr; Richard, Jr; Nicholas); Strype; Oxinden (Henry; Elizabeth); Hatton (Charles; Frances; Alice; Anne; Elizabeth); Pinney (Jane; John); Henry (Philip)	Letters, private	EModE III (1640-1710)
Cescie1b	Record, The path-way ... of geometrie	Science, other	EModE I (1500-1570)
Cescie3a	Hooke, Micrographia	Science, other	EModE III (1640-1710)

Ceserm1a	Fisher, Sermons by John Fisher	Sermons	EModE I (1500-1570)
Ceserm1b	Latimer, Sermon on the ploughers; Seven sermons before Edward VI	Sermons	EModE I (1500-1570)
Ceserm2a	Hooker, Two sermons upon part of S. Judes epistle	Sermons	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cetrav2a	Taylor (John), The pennyles pilgrimage	Travelogue	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cetrav3b	Fryer, A new account of East India	Travelogue	EModE III (1640-1710)
Cetri1	The trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton	Proceedings, trials	EModE I (1500-1570)
Cetri2a	The trial of the Earl of Essex	Proceedings, trials	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cetri2b	The trial of Sir Walter Raleigh	Proceedings, trials	EModE II (1570-1640)
Cetri3a	The trial of Titus Oates	Proceedings, trials	EModE III (1640-1710)
Cetri3b	The trial of Lady Alice Lisle	Proceedings, trials	EModE III (1640-1710)
Cmaelr3	Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum (MS Vernon)	Rules	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmalisau	Kyng Alisaunder	Romances	ME II (1250-1350)
Cmancre	Ancrene wisse	Religious treatises	ME I (1150-1250)
Cmayenbi	Dan Michel, Ayenbite of Inwyt	Religious treatises	ME II (1250-1350)
Cmboeth	Chaucer, Boethius	Philosophy	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmbrut1	Layamon	History	ME I (1150-1250)
Cmbrut3	The brut or the chronicles of England	History	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmcapser	Capgrave, Capgrave's Sermon	Sermons	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmchauli	The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac	Science, medicine	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmcloud	The cloud of unknowing	Religious treatises	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmctpros	Chaucer, The tale of Melibee	Philosophy; Fiction	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmctvers	Chaucer, The general prologue to the Canterbury Tales; The wife of Bath's prologue; The summoner's tale; The merchant's tale	Fiction	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmdocu3	Usk, Appeal(s); Petitions (M3); Returns;	Documents	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmfitzja	Fitzjames, Sermo die lune	Sermons	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmhali	Hali meidhad	Religious treatises	ME I (1150-1250)
Cmhavelo	Havelok	Romances	ME II (1250-1350)
Cmhilton	Hilton, … Eight chapters on perfection	Religious treatises	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmhorses	A Late Middle English Treatise on horses	Handbooks, medicine	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmkempe	Kempe, The book of Margery Kempe	Religious treatises	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmkentse	Kentish sermons	Homilies	ME II (1250-1350)

Cmlambet	Lambeth homilies	Homilies	ME I (1150-1250)
Cmmalory	Malory, Morte darthur	Romances	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmmandev	Mandeville's travels	Travelogue	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmnorhom	The Northern Homily Cycle (The expanded version)	Homilies	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmoffic3	Henry V, Letters (An anthology; A book of London English); Letter(s), London	Letters, non-private	ME III (1350-1420)
Cmorm	Orm, The Ormulum	Homilies	ME I (1150-1250)
Cmpoemh	Historical Poems (in MS Harley 2253)	History	ME II (1250-1350)
Cmpriv	Shillingford (letters); Paston (Clement; Margaret; John); Mull; Stonor; Betson; Cely (George; Richard (the younger))	Letters, private	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmroyal	Middle English Sermons ... MS. Royal	Sermons	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmseleg	The life of St. Edmund (The Early South-English Legendary)	Biography, lives	ME II (1250-1350)
Cmtownel	The Wakefield pageants in the Towneley cycle	Drama, mystery plays	ME IV (1420-1500)
Cmvices1	Vices and virtues	Religious treatises	ME I (1150-1250)
Cmyork	The York plays	Drama, mystery plays	ME IV (1420-1500)
Coaelet3	Aelfric's first and second letters	Religious treatises	OE III (950-1050)
Coaelet4	Aelfric's letter to Sigeweard; Wulfsige	Religious treatises	OE IV (1050-1150)
Coaelhom	Aelfric's catholic homilies (II)	Homilies	OE III (950-1050)
Coaelive	Aelfric's lives of saints	Biography, lives	OE III (950-1050)
Coandrea	Andreas	Text type undefined (OE verse)	OE III (950-1050)
Coapollo	The Old English Apollonius of Tyre	Fiction	OE III (950-1050)
Coblick	The Blickling homilies	Homilies	OE III (950-1050)
Coboeth	Alfred's Boethius	Philosophy	OE II (850-950)
Cobyrhtf	Byrhtferth's manual	Science, astronomy	OE III (950-1050)
Cocura	Alfred's Cura Pastoralis	Religious treatises	OE II (850-950)
Cocynew	Fates of apostles; Elene; Juliana	Text type undefined (OE verse)	OE III (950-1050)
Codream	The dream of the rood	Text type undefined (OE verse)	OE III (950-1050)
Codurham	The Durham ritual	Rules	OE III (950-1050)
Cogregd3	Gregory the great, Dialogues (MS H)	Biography, lives	OE III (950-1050)
Comarga	A Passion of St Margaret	Biography, lives	OE IV (1050-1150)
Cometboe	The meters of Boethius	Text type undefined (OE verse)	OE III (950-1050)

Cootest	The old testament	Bible	OE III (950-1050)
Coparips	The Paris Psalter	Bible	OE III (950-1050)
Coriddle	Riddles	Text type undefined (OE verse)	OE III (950-1050)
Cotempo	Aelfric's De Temporibus Anni	Science, astronomy	OE III (950-1050)
cowsgosp	West-Saxon gospels	Bible	OE III (950-1050)
Cowulf4	Wulfstan's homilies (O3/4)	Homilies	OE IV (1050-1150)

2. *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (Sampler)*

Abbreviated name	Full name	Period
Charles	Sample 1: Five letters of King Charles II. Sample 2: Letters of the Council to Sir Thomas Lake, relating to the proceedings of Sir Edward Coke at Oatlands.	1634-1678
Cosin	The correspondence of John Cosin, D.D. Lord Bishop of Durham: together with other papers illustrative of his life and times.	1617-1669
Cornwall	The private correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis.	1613-1644
Harley	Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley, wife of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath.	1625-1666
Hutton	The correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York. With a selection from the letters, etc. of Sir Timothy Hutton, Knt., his son; and Matthew Hutton, Esq., his grandson.	1566-1638
Leyceste(r)	Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his government of the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586.	1585-1586
Marchall	Letters from the Marchall correspondence.	1440-1476
Origina1	Original letters, illustrative of English History; including numerous royal letters: from autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other collections. Vol I. 2nd edition.	1418-1529
Origina3	Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters: from autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other collections. Vol III. 2nd edition.	1580-1665
Plumpton	Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV. Richard III. Henry VII. and Henry VIII.	1461-1550
Shillingford	Letters and papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447-50.	1447-1448
Stonor	Sample 1: The Stonor letters and papers, 1290–1483. Vols. I–II. Sample 2: Supplementary Stonor letters and papers (1314-1482).	1424-1483

Wesa	Sample 1: Four letters of Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, with a poem on his illness. Sample 2: Papers relating to the delinquency of Lord Savile, 1642-1646.	1632-1642

3. *Corpus of English Dialogues*

Abbreviated name	Full name	Genre	Speech event / First print[19]	Publication date
d1cchapm	An Humerous Dayes Myrth (George Chapman)	Drama Comedy	1599	1599
d1fcoble	The Cobler of Caunterburie (Anonymous)	Prose Fiction	1590	1590
d1fgasco	Sundrie Flowres (George Gascoigne)	Prose Fiction	1573	1573
d1fsharp	Discouerie of the Knights (Edward Sharpham)	Prose Fiction	1597	1597
d1ftales	Merie Tales (Anonymous)	Prose Fiction	1567	1567
d1hogiff	Dialogve Concerning Witches	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)[20]	/	1593
d1honich	Lady Called Listra, and a Pilgrim (Thomas Nicholas)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1579
d1hoob	Questions of Profitable… (O.B.)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1594
d1tnorfo	Trial of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk	Trials	1571	1730
d2cjonso	Bartholmew Fayre (Ben Jonson)	Drama Comedy	1631	1631
d2cheywo	How a Man May Chuse (Thomas Heywood)	Drama Comedy	1602	1602
d2cshake	The Merry Wives of Windsor (William Shakespeare)	Drama Comedy	1602	1623
d2fbrewe	Deuill of Edmonton (Thomas Brewer)	Prose Fiction	1631	1631
d2fdelon	Iack of Newberie (thomas Deloney)	Prose Fiction	1596-97?	1619
d2hferon	The French Garden (Peter Erondell)	Didactic Works: L. T.	/	1605
d2hfwodr	The Marrow of the French Tongve (John Wodroephe)	Didactic Works: L. T.	/	1625
d2hochur	Concerning Churching of Women (Anynomous)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1601
d2tcarr	Trial of Robert Carr	Trials	1616	1730
d2thighc	High Commission	Trials	1632	1886
d2wpendl	Witches in the Covntie of Lancaster	Witness Depositions	1612	1613

[19] For the genres of Trials and Witness depositions, the date given here refers to that of the speech event in the record. For the genres of Drama comedy and Prose fiction, the date indicates the date of first printing.
[20] L.T. refers to Language Teaching

d2wralei	Arraignment…of Sr Walter Rawleigh	Witness Depositions	1603	1648
d3ctb	The Covntrie Girle (Anthony Brewer)	Drama Comedy	1647	1647
d3fbunya	Pilgrim's Progress (John Bunyan)	Prose Fiction	1678	1678
d3fnewes	The Sack-Full of Newes (Anonymous)	Prose Fiction	1673	1673
d3hfmaug	The True Advancement of the French (Claude Mauger)	Didactic Works: L. T.	/	1653
d3hotj	Vpright the Shoomaker (T.J.)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1640
d3hoyarr	Coffee-House Dialogue (Andrew Yarranton)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1679
d3tcharl	King Charls His Tryal	Trials	1648	1650
d3tcolem	Tryal of Edward Coleman	Trials	1678	1678
d3tgbh	Tryals of Robert Green [etc.]	Trials	1678/9	1679
d4cfarqu	The Beaux Stratagem (George Farquhar)	Drama Comedy	1707	1707
d4ckilli	Chit-Chat (Thomas Killigrew)	Drama Comedy	1719	1719
d4cmanle	The Lost Lover (Mary Manley)	Drama Comedy	1696	1696
d4foldis	The Female Gallant (Alexander Oldis)	Prose Fiction	1692	1692
d4hfboye	The Compleat French-Master (Abel Boyer)	Didactic Works: L. T.	/	1694
d4hoep	Piper and Captain (E.P.)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1680
d4holuci	English Lucian (Anonymous)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1703
d4homemb	Member of Parliament (Anonymous)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1703
d4tcolle	Tryal … of Stephen Colledge	Trials	1681	1681
d5cfield	The Historical Register (Henry Fielding)	Drama Comedy	1737	1744
d5choadl	The Suspicious Husband (Benjamin Hoadly)	Drama Comedy	1747	1747
d5cmille	The Mother-in-Law (James Miller)	Drama Comedy	1734	1734
d5csteel	The Conscious Lovers (Richard Steele)	Drama Comedy	1723	1723
d5fdavys	The Reform'd Coquet	Prose Fiction	1724	1725
d5fdefoe	Moll Flanders (Daniel Defoe)	Prose Fiction	1722	1722
d5fhaywo	Betsy Thoughtless (Eliza Haywood)	Prose Fiction	1751	1751
d5flenno	The Female Quixote (Charlotte Lennox)	Prose Fiction	1752	1752
d5hobapt	Baptist and a Churchman (Anonymous)	Didactic Works: Other (than L. T.)	/	1737

APPENDIX 3

Top 30 of most frequent verbs collocating with *well* in the historical data

HC		CEECS		CED	
know	280	know	73	know	186
do	100	do	61	do	110
understand	52	greet	47	say	69
see	50	understand	19	like	52
say	48	love	17	speak	48
love	39	remember	15	love	39
like	28	like	13	remember	31
greet	26	come	9	understand	26
beat	15	deserve	9	think	19
look	15	serve	8	use	13
remember	15	wish	8	make	12
hear	13	perceive	7	come	11
perceive	13	conceive	6	meet	11
read	12	hope	6	wish	11
stamp[21]	12	take[22]	6	sleep	10
show	11	see	5	look	9
think	11	think ~ (of)	5	mark	9
hold (e.g. an oath)	10	use	5	play	9
keep, hold (= protect)	10	handle	4	reward	9
believe	9	say	4	see	9
trust	9	persuade	4	answer	8
wellen (i.e. to boil)	9	please	4	consider	7
help	8	agree/avow	3	dress	7
liken[23]	8	consider/mean	3	mean	7
laeran	8	acquit	3	agree	6
cleanse	7	deal (with)	3	dance	6
feed	7	look (unto)	3	learn	6
seeth	7	pay/perform	3	please	6
sing	7	prove	3	pronounce	6
speak	7	provide (for)	3	sing	6

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[21] The verb *to stamp* is frequently used in the context of medicine-making (e.g. which require mixing or "stamping" together of ingredients). This verb only occurs in the *Helsinki Corpus* text "The 'Liber de diversis medicinis' in the Thornton MS".

[22] The verb *to take* is classified as a mental verb in these six cases, as in for instance *to take something well*.

[23] *like(n* is a form used in the Old English and Middle English periods, with the meaning "to please (to someone)", e.g. in "Petrus cwæð, **wel me licað** þæs þu sægst." (HC, Cogregd3: 950-1050), i.e. "Petrus says**,** the things you say **please me well.**"

APPENDIX 4

Full overview of collocations *now* + conjunction

Context	Conjunction	HC	CEECS	CED	Total
Continuation / Result	And ~	148	74	124	**346**
	And so ~	1	3	---	**4**
	So that ~ (So) as ~	27	14	19	**60**
	Total	**176**	**91**	**143**	**410**
Contrast / Concession	But ~	94	42	86	**222**
	Yet ~ (Al)though ~ Whereas ~	3	8	4	**15**
	Notwithstanding ~ Howbeit ~	---	2	---	**2**
	Total	**97**	**52**	**90**	**239**
Reason	For ~ Because ~ Wherefore ~	40	13	13	**66**
	And therefore ~	---	1	4	**5**
	Total	**40**	**14**	**17**	**71**
Alternative option / Concession	~ if	10	4	18	**32**
	~ (al)though	4	---	---	**4**
	~ yet	2	---	---	**2**
	Total	**16**	**4**	**18**	**38**
Other	Now then(, if) Oh! Now then	15	1	4	**20**
	Well(,) now	1	2	13	**16**
	Now well	1	---	---	**1**
	Now, now	6	---	4	**10**
	Ah / O(h)(!)	---	---	7	**7**
	Total	**23**	**3**	**28**	**54**

APPENDIX 5

A) *Now* + imperative form: semantic verb types: **Mental verbs**

	HC	CEECS	CED
~ assure you	1	---	---
~ behold	6	1	---
~ (let me) see	2	---	3
~ (be) think then	2	---	---
look; lo!; look (that you…)	9	---	1
beware	1	---	---
mark	1	---	1
take good heed	1	---	---
[consider (description)]	2	---	4
understand	2	---	---
trust me truly	1	---	3
take (= interpret)	---	1	---
judge	---	1	1
remember	---	---	1
suppose	---	---	1
****	**28**	**3**	**15**

B) *Now* + imperative form: semantic verb types: **Verbs of communication; verbs of hearing / listening**

	HC	CEECS	CED
~ tell	6	1	8
~ say	---	---	2
~ give an account of	---	---	1
~ ask	---	1	2
~ speak	---	---	1
~ beshrew (= curse)	1	---	1
~ cease (your tale)	1	---	---
~ swear	1	---	---
~ hear	4	---	1
~ listen	5	---	---
other	5	---	---
****	**23**	**2**	**16**

C) *Now* + imperative form: semantic verb types: **Activity verbs**

	HC	CEECS	CED
~ assist (me)	---	---	2
~ come	2	---	3
~ go	5	---	7
~ bring us…	---	---	1
~ eat	1	---	1
~ get you to…	---	---	1
~ help (me)	3	---	---
~ give…	2	---	1
~ take…	3	---	1
other	24[24]	---	21
total	**40**	**---**	**36**

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[24]To a greater extent than the other verb field categories, the semantic field of activity verbs contains a large variety of different verbs, i.e. verbs that are context-specific and do not occur in more than one corpus. These verbs are brought together in the category "other".

APPENDIX 6

a) Dialogic texts in the HC and CED: occurrences of *well*

Dialogic texts *well*	CED	HC
Drama comedy	315	37
(Prose) Fiction	164	20
Didactic works: Other / Handbooks, other	108	9
Didactic works: Language Teaching	76	---
Trials	59	17
Witness proceedings	24	
Miscellaneous	30	---
Romances	---	8
Autobiography	---	7
Biography, other	---	5
Educational treatises	---	1
Travelogue	---	1
TOTAL	**776**	**105**

b) Monologic texts in the HC: occurrences of *well*

Monologic texts *well*	HC
Bible	6
Sermons	5
Diaries	1
Homilies	1
Undefined use (OE verse)	1
TOTAL	**14**

c) Dialogic texts in the HC and CED: occurrences of *now*

Dialogic texts *now*	CED	HC
Drama comedy	170	41
(Prose) Fiction	134	67
Trials	89	29
Witness proceedings	18	
Didactic works: Other / Handbooks, other	70	35
Didactic works: Language Teaching	33	---
Miscellaneous	8	---
Autobiography	---	---
Biography, other	---	---
Educational treatises	---	---
Romances	---	33
Travelogue	---	14
Drama, mystery plays	---	28

History	---	37
Handbooks, astronomy	---	2
Handbooks, medicine	---	1
TOTAL	**522 (/1029)**	**287 (/ 1480)**

d) Monologic (and combined) texts in the HC: occurrences of *now*

Monologic texts *now*	HC
Religious treatises	111
Text type undefined (OE verse)	99
Homilies	70
Bible	63
Sermons	40
Science, other	39
Biography, lives	31
Documents	13
Educational treatises	11
Science, astronomy	11
Biography, autobiography	10
Rules	10
Diaries	6
Letters, private	6
Riddles	6
Biography, other	5
Prefaces	4
Homilies; Philosophy	3
Law	3
Science, medicine	1
TOTAL	**542**

Combined texts *now*	HC
Philosophy	37
Philosophy; Fiction	6
TOTAL	**43**

APPENDIX 7

A) *Now*: Occurrence of verbal collocations and quotations in different corpus genres:
   Data from the HC and CED

HC	Verbal collocations	Quotations
Bible	9	12
Biography, auto-	---	1
Biography, lives	10	3
Biography, other	---	1
Diaries	1	2
Documents	7	---
Drama, comedies	8	---
Drama, mystery plays	5	---
Educational treatises	4	---
Fiction	16	**13**
Handbooks, astronomy	2	---
Handbooks, other	5	---
History	7	3
Homilies	**24**	---
Homilies; Philosophy	2	---
Letters, private	1	---
Philosophy	3	**15**
Philosophy; Fiction	1	---
Prefaces	2	---
Proceedings, trials	**17**	1
Religious treatises	**41**	4
Riddles	1	---
Romances	9	9
Rules	---	1
Science, astronomy	6	---
Science, medicine	1	---
Science, other	15	---
Sermons	13	---
Text type undefined (OE verse)	12	6
Travelogue	3	---
TOTAL	**225**	**71**

CED	Verbal Collocations	Quotations
Didactic works: Language teaching	1	---
Didactic works: Other than Language teaching	**16**	2
Drama comedy	**22**	---
Miscellaneous	1	---
Prose fiction	7	**64**
Trials	**22**	3
Witness proceedings	1	6
TOTAL	**70**	**75**