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Ephemerality in adverbial subordinators: A corpus-based study of causal, conditional and concessive conjunctions in Middle and Modern English

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TESE DE DOUTORAMENTO

EPHEMERALITY IN ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF CAUSAL, CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE CONJUNCTIONS IN MIDDLE AND MODERN ENGLISH

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope and aims of the dissertation

According to *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED)[1] *ephemeral*, a relative rare word itself, is used to describe that something is in existence for a short time only. This dissertation provides a study of the development of a set of adverbial subordinators described in the literature as being ephemeral in nature. The concept of ephemerality in adverbial subordination was raised by Kortmann (1997: 301), who defines as ephemeral those connectives which originate in Late Middle English (hereafter LME) and Early Modern English (hereafter EModE) and did not survive much beyond that time or became restricted in use in later stages. This feature is characteristic of many of the subordinators belonging to the causal, conditional and concessive domains, i.e. the so-called CCC relations.

The main aim of the dissertation is to assess the degree of ephemerality among a set of selected adverbial subordinators in the three semantic domains and determine the motivations for such feature as well as describe their behaviour diachronically. Furthermore, the results from the analysis of the ephemeral subordinators are compared with those obtained for the prototypical connectives of the three aforementioned relations, namely *because* for causals, *if* for conditionals and *although* and *though* for concessive clauses.

[1] OED Online, s.v. *ephemeral*, retrieved on April 28, 2022 from http://www.oed.com.

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Given the nature of ephemeral subordinators, the analysis carried out in this dissertation is mainly qualitative, and will allow to redefine and better understand the concept of ephemerality in relation to adverbial subordinators. In doing so, the following research questions will be answered:

1. To what extent are the LME and EModE periods the nest for new, ephemeral adverbial subordinators?

2. Do the three adverbial relations welcome newcomers to the set in the same way?

3. Do the adverbial clauses introduced by those ephemeral adverbial subordinators behave similarly to those introduced by the prototypical adverbial conjunctions regarding internal factors, for example the use of the pleonastic *that* or the position of the subordinate clause in relation to its main clause?

4. How does text-type influence the development of those ephemeral subordinators?

These research questions will be answered in the different chapters of this dissertation, whose outline is given in the next section.

1.2 Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured in two clearly differentiated parts. The first one is devoted to the literature review on adverbial subordination and adverbial subordinators in Present Day English (PDE) and diachronically (Chapters 2 and Chapter 3, respectively). The second part is, in turn, concerned with the analysis of the three sets of CCC adverbial subordinators selected (Chapters 5 and Chapter 6).

Chapter 2 opens with a theoretical discussion of adverbial clauses and adverbial subordinators in PDE. Section 2.1 considers the two major devices used to link clauses, namely coordination and subordination, and the different subordinating conjunctions (cf. Section 2.2). Sections 2.3 and Section 2.4 offer a general overview of adverbial subordination and adverbial subordinators. Within adverbial subordination, special

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emphasis is given to the CCC relations: causal, conditional and concession (cf. Section 2.5 and its subsections).

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to describe the three main historical periods of the English language covered in this PhD dissertation (ME, EModE and LModE) in relation to adverbial clauses and adverbial subordinators (cf. Section 3.1 and Section 3.2). Therefore, the phenomenon of ephemeral subordinators is framed. The chapter closes with three sections which cover the three semantic relations, causal (Section 3.3), conditional (Section 3.4) and concessive (Section 3.5), diachronically. These sections serve as a convenient link to the corpus-based study provided in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology used. Given that the dissertation explores ephemeral subordinators from a corpus-based perspective, this chapter describes the corpora used in the study (the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* and the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*), as well as the tools used to retrieve the examples and how the data is stored to be analysed, paying attention to the different variables considered. Additionally, the statistical methods used in the analysis are described and justified.

The aim of Chapter 5 is to examine closely the concept of ephemerality, a term which, as mentioned in Section 1.1 above, describes a phenomenon which affects adverbial subordinators, particularly those in the domains of causality, condition and concession. Therefore, the chapter contains a subsection for each of these three semantic relations, each of which includes the subordinators considered to be ephemeral in the literature, taking as a starting point the list provided by Kortmann (1997). The information in Kortmann's (1997) monograph is contrasted with that found in other works such as the following: the volumes of the *Cambridge History of the English Language* for the three periods at issue, i.e. ME (1066-1476), EModE (1476-1776) and LModE (1776-1997); Görlach's (1993) EModE grammar and Visser's (1963-1973) monumental history of English syntax. On the grounds of the information gathered from these reference works and the premises established for the selection, the set of causal, conditional and concessive adverbial subordinators was established. Additional information on each of the connectives selected

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is supplemented with information from the OED and the MED, particular emphasis being given to the first and last attestations of the subordinators provided in those historical dictionaries.

The actual corpus-based study is presented in Chapter 6, which is divided into three main sections, one for each of the CCC relations, i.e. Section 6.1 for causal clauses, Section 6.2 for conditionals and Section 6.3 for concessive structures. The analysis carried out for the three relations mirrors each other; hence the three sections have the following structure: (i) the diachronic evolution of the adverbial subordinators selected for each semantic relation; (ii) the use of the pleonastic *that* and of correlatives, a feature commonly associated with ephemeral subordinators; (iii) the position of the subordinate clause with respect to the main clause; (iv) text-types in which those adverbial connectives appear; and (v) the comparison of the ephemeral subordinators with the canonical adverbial subordinators for each of the clausal relations at issue. The chapter closes with a section (Section 6.4) devoted to the contrast of the three relations under consideration, highlighting the main differences among them regarding the variables that have been studied for each of them individually.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the different parts of this piece of research and the main conclusions drawn from the analysis, and suggests further lines for future research.

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2. ON SUBORDINATION AND SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

2.1. Two major devices to link clauses: Coordination and subordination

This section is devoted to the definition of the two most conspicuous devices to link clauses, namely coordination and subordination. For this purpose, the major descriptive grammars of English (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002) will be taken as a starting point and will be supplemented with other references.

When dealing with multiple sentences, i.e. those which contain more than one clause, coordination and subordination are the two major linking devices to join clauses. The two major types of multiple sentences are the compound sentence and the complex sentence.

Compound sentences consist of "two or more coordinated main clauses which provide classic instances of a paratactic relationship" (Quirk et al. 1985: 987) (cf. also Biber et al. 1999: 80-85; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 66). An example of this relation is given in (2.1): [2]

(2.1) *[She wants to go with them]*, ***but*** *[she can't afford it]*.

In turn, a complex sentence is like a simple sentence in that it consists of only one main clause, but "unlike a simple sentence it has one or more subordinate clauses functioning as an element of the sentence" (Quirk et al. 1985: 988). Consider in this

[2] Examples (2.1) to (2.23) have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 988-1048).

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respect example (2.2), in which *although I admire her reasoning* is the subordinate clause in the sentence and functions as an adverbial of the main clause *I reject her conclusions*.

(2.2) *[(**Although I admire her reasoning**) I reject her conclusions]*.

In addition to structural differences, coordination and subordination also differ semantically. As Quirk et al. (1985: 919) put it, one of the major differences between the two types of syntactic relations is that

> […] the information in a subordinate clause is often placed in the background with respect to the superordinate clause. Thus the syntactic inequality of subordination tends to bring with it a semantic inequality which is realized by syntactic hierarchization, as well as by position.

Furthermore, it must be noted that a clause may enter into more than one syntactic relationship, so that it may be subordinate to one clause and superordinate to another, as shown in (2.3):

(2.3) *He predicted [**that he would discover the tiny particle**] [[**when he conducted his next experiment**]]*.

Here, *that he would discover the tiny particle* is subordinate to the main clause *He predicted*, but superordinate to the temporal clause *when he conducted his next experiment*. The device of subordination, therefore, enables the construction of a multiple hierarchy of clauses, one within the other, sometimes resulting in extremely involved sentences (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 989). Furthermore, when subordination and coordination are interrelated, a greater degree of complexity is added to the sentence. In such cases, each main clause may include one or more subordinate clauses, and these subordinate clauses may, in turn, include subordinate clauses as well. Consider in this respect example (2.4).

(2.4) *I think **that your new position demands sensitive judgements** and I would hope **that you will mature as the years go by**.*

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In this example, two complex clauses *I think that your new position demands sensitive judgements* and *I would hope that you will mature as the years go by*, both consisting of a main and a subordinate clause, are coordinated by means of the conjunction *and*, thus forming a compound sentence.

A subordinate clause may function not only as a clausal element of a superordinate clause, but also as a constituent of a phrase, for example, as a relative clause postmodifying a head noun, as in (2.5).

(2.5) *The school* ***which my children attend*** *is within a walking distance.*

Here, the relative clause *which my children attend* modifies the head noun *school* specifying which school is being referred to. Such noun phrases containing a subordinate clause are considered to be complex, but sentences with a complex noun phrase are not said to be complex sentences.

2.2. Subordination and subordinating conjunctions

The term subordination basically describes those cases where a main clause has one or more subordinate clauses functioning as an element of the sentence (cf. Section 2.1). The relation is asymmetrical, as the subordinate clause is a constituent of the sentence as a whole.

Quirk et al. (1985: 991) describe a subordinate clause as follows: "a subordinate clause is a part of its superordinate clause, functioning as one of its elements". Thus, clauses and phrases realizing the same function can be matched. Consider (2.6a) and (2.6b).

(2.6a) *We noticed* ***that they were nervous***.

(2.6b) *We noticed* ***their nervousness***.

Here we have two verb phrases containing a direct object realized by a subordinate clause in (2.6a) and by a noun phrase in (2.6b).

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In the same vein, Lehmann (1988: 182) defines subordination as follows:

> A grammatical relation R connecting syntagms X and Y is a relation of *dependency* if X occupies a grammatical slot of Y or vice versa. In a dependency relation, Y *depends* on X if X determines the grammatical category of the complex and thus its external relations. […] *Embedding* is the dependency of a subordinate syntagm.

Both Quirk et al.'s and Lehmann's definitions provide an impressionistic description of what subordination entails since subordination is a very complex area of the grammar of English. How we express two ideas conjointly has always attracted the interest of a great number of specialists, not only of linguists, but also of typologists and of philosophers. There is a good number of collective volumes and monographs which deal with how clauses are linked, particularly from a cross-linguistic perspective. Consider, among others, the collective volumes *Clause Linking and Clause Hierarchy: Syntax and Pragmatics* (2010), edited by Brill, and *'Subordination' versus 'Coordination' in Sentence and Text. A Cross-linguistic Perspective* (2008), edited by Fabricius-Hansen and Wiebke, as well as Cristofaro's (2003) monograph *Subordination*, which provides a comprehensive functional account of connections in all subordination types. Recently, the volume *Subordination in English* (2018), edited by Seoane, Acuña-Fariña and Palacios-Martínez, highlights the fact that subordination has never stayed put and sheds light on the "dynamic essence of the system" (2018: 3).

Regarding the potential syntactic functions that subordinate clauses can fulfill, four major categories of subordinate clauses are distinguished by Quirk et al. (1985: 1047-1048): nominal, adverbial, relative and comparative clauses.

(i) Nominal clauses, which function similarly to noun phrases, i.e. as subjects (2.7), objects (2.8) and (2.9), predicative complements (2.10) and (2.11) and prepositional complements (2.12):

(2.7) ***That we need a larger computer*** *has become obvious.*

(2.8) *He doesn't know* ***whether to send a gift****.*

(2.9) *You can tell* ***whoever is waiting*** *that I'll be back in ten minutes.*

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(2.10) ***Few of the immigrants retained*** *the customs that they had brought with them.*

(2.11) *We are* ***happy to see you***.

(2.12) *It depends* ***on what we decide***.

(ii) Adverbial clauses, which function mainly as adjuncts or disjuncts. These two types tend to differ semantically in that "adjuncts denote circumstances of the situation in the matrix clause, whereas disjuncts comment on the style or form of what is said in the matrix clause (style disjuncts) or on its content (content or attitudinal disjuncts)" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1070).

Example (2.13a) provides an adjunct clause introduced by *if*, while (2.13b) shows a disjunct clause introduced by *unless*.

(2.13a) *They'll send it to you* ***if you ask them politely***.

(2.13b) *I'll get lost* ***unless I can find my compass***.

Thus, disjuncts are peripheral to the clause to which they are attached. They are like adverbs in those functions, but in their potentiality for being more explicit, they are more often like prepositional phrases:

(2.14a) *We left* ***after the speeches ended***.

(2.14b) *We left* ***after the end of the speeches***.

(2.14c) *We left* ***afterwards***.

In the examples under (2.14), (2.14c) gives the more general meaning, whereas (2.14a), featuring a subordinate clause and (2.14b), containing a prepositional phrase, offers more detailed and explicit information.

(iii) Relative clauses, which generally function either as restrictive (2.15) or as non-restrictive (2.16) modifiers of noun phrases.

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(2.15) *We went to <u>the restaurant</u>* ***which is quite far from the hotel****.*

(2.16) *Have you seen <u>her new house</u>,* ***which she bought last year****?*

Moreover, relative clauses are parallel to attributive adjectives:

(2.17) *A man* ***who is lonely*** *= a lonely man.*

(iv) Comparative clauses, which resemble adjectives and adverbs in their modifying functions:

(2.18) *He's not as clever a man* ***as I thought****.*

Subordination is generally marked by some kind of signal in the subordinate clause. This signal may be of various kinds (Quirk et al. 1985: 997):

i. The clause is initiated by a subordinating conjunction:

(2.19) ***Though*** *the workers were unhappy with some aspects of the proposed new contract, they overwhelmingly voted in favour of it.*

ii. The clause is initiated by a *wh*-element:

(2.20) *I remember* ***what*** *a good time I had at your party.*

iii. Initial elements in the clause are inverted:

(2.21) ***Had I been*** *less forthright, I would have acquired more support.*

iv. The presence of certain verbal forms in finite clauses is determined by the type of subordinate clause. For instance, *as soon as*, *after*, *before*, *when*, *as*, *if* and *once* are usually followed by the present simple rather than by the auxiliary *will*, as example (2.22) shows.

(2.22) ***As soon as*** *he arrives, the band will play the National Anthem.*

v. The verbal element in the clause is non-finite, as in (2.23).

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(2.23) ***Denying any interest in politics****, she claimed that she wished to continue in forensic medicine.*

Given that the focus of this doctoral dissertation is on causal, conditional and concessive clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction, in what follows I concentrate on those finite clauses introduced by a subordinator, that is, morphemes which mark adverbial clauses for their semantic relationship with the main clause (Kortmann 2010: 842), while the rest of the possibilities listed above are disregarded.

Whereas Quirk et al.'s (1985) and Biber et al.'s (1999) grammars opt for a traditional definition of the term subordinator, in Huddleston and Pullum et al.'s (2002) terminology most of the traditional subordinating conjunctions are considered prepositions. Thus, in this grammar (2002: 599-600), the category of prepositions is considerably broader than that used in traditional grammars of English. In their view, the only difference between a 'preposition' and a 'subordinating conjunction' is the kind of complementation they take: while 'prepositions' take noun phrase complements, 'subordinating conjunctions' take declarative content clause complements. Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 600) argue that this only difference concerning complementation does not justify having a separate word class for traditional subordinating conjunctions. Examples under (2.24) and (2.25) below illustrate the complementation that *remember* and *after* can take:[3]

NP COMPLEMENT	DECLARATIVE COMPLEMENT
(2.24a) *I **remember** the accident.*	(2.25b) *I **remember** you promised to help.*
(2.24a) *They left **after** the accident.*	(2.25b) *He left **after** you promised to help.*

In the examples under (2.24), *remember* is a verb irrespective of the category of its complement, a noun phrase (2.24a) or a clause (2.24b). However, traditional grammars assign a different category to the word a*fter* depending on the complementation it takes. Therefore, *after* would be classified as a preposition in example (2.24a) in traditional

[3] Examples (2.24) and (2.25) have been taken from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 600).

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grammar, while in (2.97b), where it takes a clausal complement, it would be considered a 'subordinating conjunction'. On the contrary, Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 600) include *after* in both examples in the prepositional category, as well as all of the subordinating conjunctions of traditional grammar, with just three exceptions:

i. *Whether*, as in (2.26):

(2.26) *I wonder* ***whether he saw her***.

ii. Those occurrences of *if* that are equivalent to *whether*, shown in (2.27):

(2.27) *Ask him* ***if he minds***.

iii. *That* when it introduces a subordinate clause; consider (2.28) below:

(2.28) ***That he must be guilty*** *is obvious to everyone.*

In this doctoral dissertation, I have opted for the traditional definition of subordinating conjunction, following the grammars of Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999).

Concerning their form, Quirk et al. (1985: 998) classify subordinators into three categories: (i) simple subordinators, i.e. those consisting of a single word, (ii) complex subordinators, which despite being formed by multiple words, behave as a unit, and (iii) subordinators which combine two markers of subordination, one being a subordinator. A few illustrative examples of each type from Quirk et al. (1985: 997-1000) follow here:

- Simple subordinators: *after*, *although*, *as*, *because*, *before*, *directly* (informal, especially in British English), *lest* (especially American English), *like* (informal, especially in American English), *once*, *since*, *that*, *though*, *till*, *unless*, *until*, *when*(*ever*), *where*(*ever*), *whereas*, *whereupon*, *while*, *whilst* (a minority alternative to *while*, especially in British English).

- Complex subordinators: *but that*, *in that*, *in order that*, *in the event that*, *such that*, *assuming* (*that*), *considering* (*that*), *excepting* (*that*), *so* (*that*), *according as*, *as far*

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as, as long as, as soon as, as if, as though, in case, given (*that*), *provided*/*providing* (*that*), *supposing* (*that*), *except* (*that*), *for all* (*that*).

- Correlative subordinators: *as…so, the…the, whether*/*if…or, if…then/in that case*, etc.

The formal distinction between simple and complex subordinators appears to be purely orthographic on some occasions, as some of the simple subordinators listed above can be internally (morphologically and/or etymologically) complex, e.g. *because* < *by* (*the*) *cause*; *although* < *all though*.

2.3. Adverbial subordination

Since adverbial subordination is the main concern of the present research, in the remainder of this chapter I look at this subordination type in greater detail. First, I provide a semantic classification for this type of subordination and, second, I examine the syntactic functions that subordinate adverbial clauses may realize.

Several semantic classifications have been proposed for adverbial subordination, among them the one by Thompson and Longacre (1985). I consider Thompson and Longacre's categorization a very clear one, since adverbial subordinate clauses are catalogued according to their adverbial relation with the main clause. Thus, the relation can be "elementary" or "primary", on the one hand, and "logical", on the other.

i. "Elementary" or "primary" adverbial relations (place, time and manner) can typically be expressed by monomorphemic, non-anaphoric adverbs and be questioned by simple interrogative pronouns (see examples below in (2.29)).[4] The corresponding adverbial clauses can generally be paraphrased by relative clauses (see examples below in (2.30)):

(2.29a) *He came* ***yesterday****.* *– When?*

[4] Examples under (2.29) and (2.30) have been taken from König (1991: 190).

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(2.29b) *He sat **there**.* *– Where?*

(2.29c) *He ran **fast**.* *– How?*

(2.30a) *He arrived **when** (= at the time at which) **Peter left**.*

(2.30b) *He lost the money **where** (= at the place at which) **he had stopped to buy something**.*

ii. "Logical" relations (causal, concessive, conditional, instrumental, purposive, etc.), by contrast, cannot be expressed by simple adverbs and in most of the cases a specific interrogative pronoun to question them does not exist. Moreover, these relations cannot be paraphrased by relative clauses. In addition, expressions for elementary adverbial relations may give rise to those denoting logical relations, but not vice versa. This may explain why they are acquired later in the process of language acquisition.

A similar classification for adverbial subordinate clauses was adopted by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007). In their cross-linguistic approach to adverbial subordinate clauses, they classify them into twelve basic types. These are the following:

i. Clauses substitutable for a single word: time, location and manner.
ii. Clauses not substitutable for a single word: purpose, reason, circumstantial, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolutive.

Broadly speaking, the distinction between (i) and (ii) lies in the fact that languages have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs expressing the time, location and manner relationships, while for those relations in group (ii) such counterparts do not exist.

Alternative semantic classifications for adverbial clauses have been proposed in the literature. One of this is that provided by Hengeveld (1998: 349), who suggests a classification based on the entity type designated by the adverbial clause. Table 2.1 below shows the entity types considered by Hengeveld (1998: 345):

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Entity type	Description	Evaluation
Zero order	Property or relation	Applicability
First order	Individual	Existence
Second order	State of affairs	Reality
Third order	Propositional content	Truth
Fourth order	Speech act	Informativeness

Table 2.1: Hengeveld's (1998) classification of adverbial clauses based on the entity type they design

It must be noted, however, that in Hengeveld's view the entity parameter is not enough for the classification of adverbial clauses, as there are clauses that, although different in their form, fit in the same order and with dependent time reference. This is the case, for instance, of simultaneity clauses and purpose clauses. In view of this, Hengeveld (1998: 357ff) introduces a new parameter, namely factuality. Consequently, he proposes the following classification:

i. Factual: cause ('because'), simultaneousness ('when/while'), anteriority ('after'), reason ('because'), concession ('although') and explanation ('for').

ii. Non-factual: potential circumstance ('in case'), purpose ('so that'), condition and unreal circumstance ('as if').

As regards the standard grammars of the English language (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999 and Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002), they do not follow in their account of adverbial clauses any of the semantic classifications presented so far in this section. Nevertheless, these grammars list most of the semantic adverbial clauses identified in Thompson and Longacre's (1985) and Hengeveld's (1998) accounts. Quirk et al.'s (1985:

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1080-1118) list includes the following: time relationships (time before, same time, time after), contingency, place, condition, concession, contrast, exception, reason, purpose, preference and proportion. In turn, Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 680-785) mention manner, location, time, cause and result, reason, concession and condition, while Biber et al. (1999: 818-820) list time, place, manner, contingency of reason, contingency of condition and proportion.

Concerning their syntactic function, adverbial clauses function mainly as adjuncts and disjuncts (cf. Section 2.2. above) (Quirk et al. 1985: 1068). The syntactic differences between these two functions of adverbial subordinate clauses are enumerated below following Quirk et al.'s (1985: 1071) criteria. Consider the source examples in (2.31) and the syntactic differences attested in the instances under (2.32) to (2.35):[5]

(2.31a) *He likes them* ***because they are always helpful***.

(2.31b) *He likes them,* ***since they are always helpful***.

i. Only the adjunct clause can be the focus of a cleft sentence.

(2.32a) ***It's because they are always helpful*** *that he likes them.*

(2.32b) *****It's since they are always helpful*** *that he likes them.*

ii. Only the adjunct clause can be the focus of a variant of the pseudo-cleft sentence.

(2.33a) *The reason he likes them is* ***because they are always helpful***.

(2.33b) **The reason he likes them is* ***since they are always helpful***.

iii. Only the adjunct clause can be the focus of a question, as we can test with alternative interrogation.

(2.34a) *Does he like them* ***because they are always helpful or because they never complain?***

[5] Examples (2.31) to (2.35) have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1071).

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(2.34b) **Does he like them* ***since they are always helpful or since they never complain?***

iv. Only the adjunct clause can be the focus of negation, as we can test with alternative negation.

(2.35a) *He didn't like them* ***because they are always helpful but because they never complain***.

(2.35b) **He didn't like them* ***since they are always helpful but since they never complain***.

Moreover, Quirk et al. (1985: 1074-1075) differentiate between predication and sentence adjuncts. The former can be further subdivided into obligatory and optional. Predication adjunct clauses are normally positioned finally. Those that are obligatory resemble direct objects and subject complements, since they may provide complementation for verbs such as *be* in a structure of the type Subject-Verb-Adjunct (see example (2.36)): [6]

(2.36) *Your coat is* ***where you left it****.*

Optional predication adjuncts, on the one hand, relate solely or predominantly to the verb complementation rather than to the matrix clause as a whole (Quirk et al. 1985: 1075). The most common are position adjuncts (2.37):

(2.37) *I found the book* ***where you said it would be***. ['The book was where you said it would be']

Finally, sentence adjunct clauses are not dependent on the predication and their place in the clause is not fixed, as shown in the examples under (2.38). In (2.38a) the adjunct clause is in initial position, but it could also be placed in final position, as shown in (2.38b).

(2.38a) ***Before I could sit down****, she offered me a cup of tea.*

[6] Examples (2.36) to (2.38) have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985:1074-1075).

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(2.38b) *She offered me a cup of tea,* ***before I could sit down****.*

In describing the syntactic function of adverbial subordinate clauses, it seems also in order to consider the verb phrase in such clauses, as well as their position in the sentence. In what follows, a description of the main tendencies is provided.

Verb phrases in subordinate clauses frequently follow the rules for main clauses as regards tense, aspect and mood. However, there are cases where the form of the verb phrase is determined by the particular type of subordinate clause at issue. Quirk et al. (1985: 1008-1020) provide the meanings associated to different verb forms in subordinate clauses, which are the present tense, the hypothetical past and past perfective, the present and past subjunctive.

The simple present is commonly used in certain types of adverbial clauses to express future meaning. See example (2.39) below:

(2.39) ***If he arrives****, the band will play the National Anthem.*

In this example, the matrix clause refers to the future and although the present simple is used in the subordinate clause, it also refers to the future. This is the case not only with the conditional subordinator *if*, but also with temporal and conditional-concessive subordinators such as *when*, *after*, *before*, *as*, *as soon as* or *once*. In addition, clauses of similarity (see example (2.40)) and proportion (see example (2.41)) may also have the simple present to express future meaning.

(2.40) *Next time I'll do* ***as he says****.*

(2.41) ***The harder you exercise****, the better you'll feel.*

The modal *will* is also used in adverbial clauses, particularly in *if* conditional clauses. Nevertheless, the choice between the present simple and a verb phrase with the modal entails a difference in meaning: whereas the simple present refers to an assumed future actual situation, the modal verb phrase refers to the assumed predictability of a situation. Therefore, *will* is commonly used in the following cases:

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i. where the modal has a volitional meaning.

(2.42) ***If he will pay****, I'll go with him.*

ii. where the modal expresses timeless and habitual prediction.

(2.43) ***If drugs will cure him****, this drug should do the job*.

iii. where the modal expresses the present predictability of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a future situation.

(2.44a) ***If you won't arrive before six****, I can't meet you*.

In example (2.44a), the modal can be replaced by the present (consider example (2.44b)), but if so, the implication is different: while here the implication is that the situation is likely to happen, (2.44a) yields an implausible situation.

(2.44b) ***If you don't arrive before six****, I can't meet you*.

Regarding the hypothetical past and the past perfective, Quirk et al. (1985: 1010-1012) associate them with conditional subordinate clauses. Verbs in hypothetical conditional clauses are backshifted, the past tense form being used for present and future time reference and the past perfective form for past time reference. In the matrix clause, the auxiliary *would* is commonly found. Examples (2.45) to (2.47) show the past tense with present time reference (2.45), with future time reference (2.46) and the past perfective with past time reference (2.47):

(2.45) *If she* ***tried*** *harder next time, she would pass the examination.*

(2.46) *If they* ***were*** *alive, they would be moving around.*

(2.47) *If they* ***had invited*** *him to the party, he would have attended.*

As regards the present and past subjunctive, Quirk et al. (1985: 1012-1014) indicate that they are very occasionally found in formal style and particularly in conditional and concessive subordinate clauses. Consider examples (2.48) and (2.49) below, respectively:

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(2.48) *If any person **be found** guilty, he shall have the right of appeal.*

(2.49) *Though he **be** the President himself, he shall hear us.*

Furthermore, the use of the subjunctive is geographically marked, since in American English the present subjunctive occurs more frequently than in British English, where it is found chiefly in formal style.

Finally, the past (or *were*-) subjunctive is mainly used in hypothetical conditional clauses in formal style and it is only distinguished in the first and third person singular forms of *be*. Consider example (2.50) below:

(2.50) *If she **were** here, she would speak on my behalf.*

2.4. Adverbial subordinators

Adverbial subordinators, traditionally called subordinating conjunctions, constitute a category difficult to define. Kortmann (1997: 56-71) gives three main reasons for such a difficulty:

i. The subordination-coordination continuum: it is not always clear what a subordinate clause is and sometimes it is defined, directly or indirectly, by means of the presence of an adverbial subordinator. Thus, there is some danger of circularity. Consider, for example, the following definition by Jacobson (1964: 21):

> Adverbial clauses are introduced by a subordinator, i.e. a subordinating conjunctional or some other functional [sic] which can introduce a subordinate clause. It is true that many adverbials, e.g. *briefly*, *honestly*, *being a stranger*, can be turned into clauses […], but they are not introduced by a subordinator and are accordingly classified not as clauses but as adverbs or adverbial phrases.

In this definition, Jacobson makes the presence of an adverbial subordinator the necessary and sufficient condition for a clause to qualify as an adverbial clause. In turn, other

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scholars (see, for example, Thompson (1984: 88)) do not go as far as Jacobson and they consider subordinators as "indicators of formal dependency".

ii. Multi-level category continua: adverbial subordinators are syntactically polyfunctional. Figure 2.1 below shows a sketch of the crosscutting of continua involving adverbial subordinators proposed by Kortmann (1997: 59), which graphically represents the syntactic polyfunctionality which characterizes adverbial subordinators, one of the three major categories of subordinators together with complementizers and relativizers:

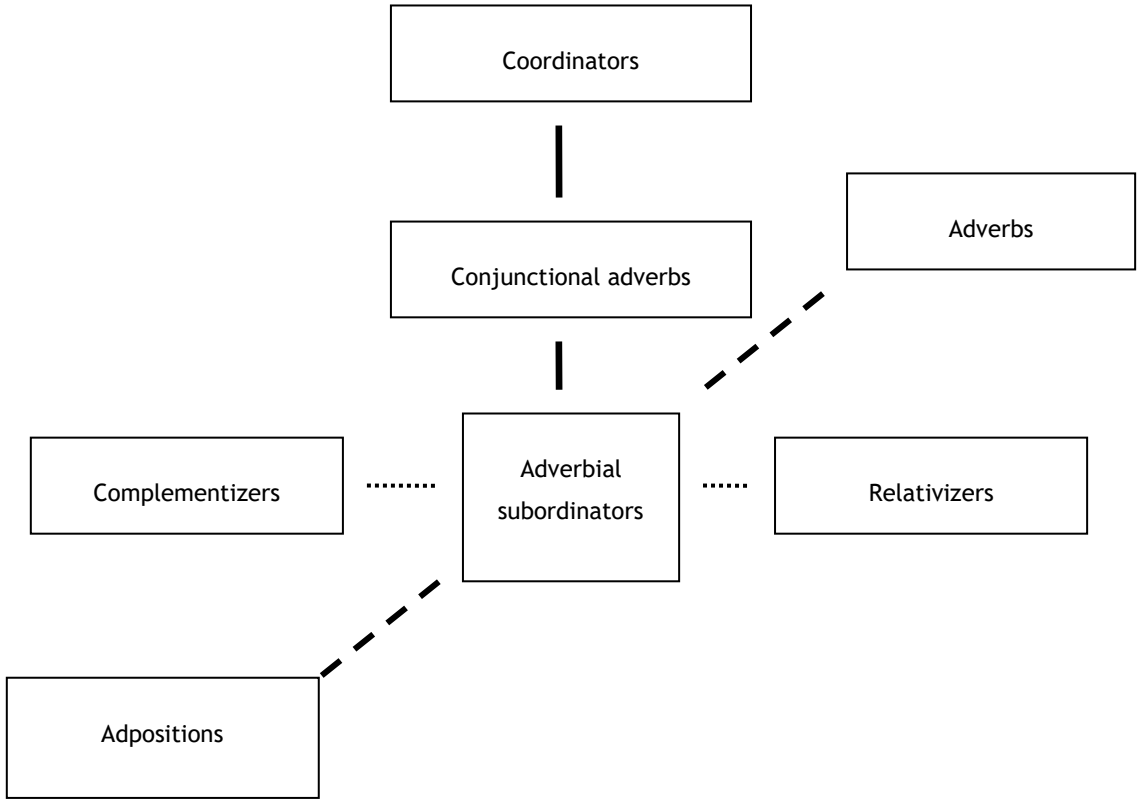

Figure 2.1: Category continua involving adverbial subordination

Shopen (2007) also considers subordinators to be a multi-level category regarding their function. He provides in essence the same three categories given by Kortmann: complementizers, relative subordinators and adverbial subordinators. Longacre (2007: 374) broadly assigns the following functions to subordinators: complementizers introduce embedded clauses that function as arguments, whereas relative subordinators introduce

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subordinate clauses that function as modifiers (mostly of nouns) and adverbial subordinators introduce subordinate clauses that function as adverbials (adjuncts).

Besides the polyfunctionality of adverbial subordinators, Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) classify adverbial subordinators regarding their lexical meaning into two categories:

- grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning (e.g. *to*, as in *to buy beer*);
- grammatical morphemes with lexical content (e.g. *before*, *when*, *if*).

iii. Position: subordinators cannot be said to introduce the clauses over which they operate. This might be valid for English, but not for a cross-linguistic definition of adverbial subordinators. Kortmann (1997: 69) notes that there are some languages, such as Udmurt (Finnic) or Ossetic (Indo-Iranian), which place adverbial subordinators in final position.

Nordstrom (2010: 102) proposes a different classification. He suggests the neutral term 'general subordinator' for subordinators without rich lexical content, as opposed to adverbial (specific) subordinators. The general subordinator meaning depends on the clause it heads, whereas the adverbial subordinator denotes under what circumstances the matrix event takes place, e.g., temporality, causal or conditional circumstances.

After this overview, it becomes clear that defining a subordinator entails many difficulties due to the heterogeneous nature of the category, both from the point of view of a single language and even more from a cross-linguistic perspective. In what follows, I provide some defining criteria for "ideal" adverbial subordinators, following Kortmann (1997: 71-77):

i. They are uninflected free forms.

ii. They can operate over a finite subordinate clause.

iii. They do not fulfil a syntactic function in the clause over which they operate.

iv. They assume a (nonflexible) position at the margin of the clause over which they operate.

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v. They do not belong to a marked register.

In the present study, I rely chiefly on the criteria for subordinator status presented in Kortmann (1997: 71-77) to distinguish subordinators from other structures with a potentially subordinating function.

In addition, Kortmann (1997: 78) establishes six classes of adverbial subordinators on the basis of their formal complexity. They consist of:

i. A single monosyllabic morpheme: *as*, *since*…

ii. A single polysyllabic morpheme: *after*…

iii. More than one morpheme, but still one word: *whereas*…

iv. More than one word, i.e. phrasal, conjunctions like *as long as*, *as soon as*….

v. Adverbial subordinators which are discontinuous, especially for those with an obligatory correlative in the matrix clause: *the…the*…

vi. Adverbial subordinators forming patterns, like the English *wh-ever* series.

As seen here, the list provided by Kortmann is more exhaustive than the one given in Section 2.2 by Quirk et al. (1985: 997-1000), which distinguished between simple, complex and correlative subordinators.

In what follows, I provide examples of adverbial subordinators for the main semantic categories of adverbial clauses. Quirk et al.'s (1985) grammar is taken here as the main reference for convenience:

- Time: *after*, *as*, *before*, *once*, *since*, *till*, *until*, *when*, *whenever*, *while*, *whilst* <esp. BrE>, *now* (*that*), *as long as*, *so long as*, *as soon as*, *immediately* <informal, esp. BrE>, *directly* <informal, esp. BrE>.

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- Contingency: *when*, *whenever*, *once*, *where*, *wherever*, *if*. The subordinators may be paraphrased by prepositional phrases such as 'in cases when' or 'in circumstances where'.

- Place: mainly *where* or *wherever*.

- Condition: *if*, *unless*, *as long as*, *so long as*, *assuming* (*that*), *given* (*that*) <formal>, *in case*, *in the event that*, *just so* (*that*) <informal>, *on condition* (*that*), *provided* (*that*), *providing* (*that*), *supposing* (*that*).

- Concession: The chief subordinator is *although* or its more informal variant *though*. Other subordinators are: *if*, *even if*, *even though*, *when*, *whereas* <formal>, *while* and *whilst* <esp. BrE>.

- Contrast: *whereas*, *while* and *whilst*.

- Exception: *but that* <formal>, *except* (*that*), *save that* <formal>.

- Reason: *because* and *since* (the most commonly used), *as*, *for*.

- Purpose: *in order to* <formal>, *so as to*, *so that*, *so*, *in order to*.

- Preference: *rather than*, *sooner than*.

- Proportion: *as*, with or without correlative *so* <formal>, *the… the*.

This list of subordinators from Quirk et al. (1985: 1078-1118) is not exhaustive and different authors include subordinators other than those provided above. This suggests, not surprisingly, that adverbial subordinators are not a stable category and that there is some fluctuation among the different semantic categories and even within each of the categories. For instance, Quirk et al. (1985) do not include in their enumeration of subordinators those that are considered by other authors in the literature as archaic or with a considerably restricted use, such as *albeit*, which is considered by Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 736) in the list of concessive subordinators. Quirk et al. (1985) do not include it in their

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catalogue, as it has a restricted use, both in syntax and in register: *albeit* takes only verbless clauses as complements and it is confined to formal style.

In addition, the list given by Quirk et al. (1985) already shows that there are some subordinators that can introduce more than one adverbial relation. That is the case of *as*, for example, which is an adverbial subordinator mainly for three different relations: time (2.51), reason (2.52) and proportion (2.53).[7]

(2.51) ***As I drove away****, I saw them waving goodbye.*

(2.52) ***As you're in charge****, where are the files on the new project?*

(2.53) ***As he grew disheartened****, his work deteriorated.*

Nevertheless, *as* is also used to mark concession in exceptional cases and particularly in British English. An illustrative example of its concessive use is given in (2.54) below:

(2.54) ***As widespread as the effects may be****, the Midwest still bears the brunt of the recession.*

In Section 2.5 I offer a more in-depth study of the 'instability' shown by adverbial subordinators, particularly those marking causal, conditional and concessive adverbial relations. This phenomenon is not exclusive of Present Day English, as it has also been attested in previous stages of the language. The aim of this study is to examine the fluctuations in the inventory of adverbial subordinators diachronically, particularly in Early Modern English, as well as in the preceding and following periods, i.e. Middle English and Late Modern English and Present Day English. The examination of previous stages of the language will give us clues to predict what may happen to the list of adverbial connectives provided above, since I will discuss some of the reasons that have contributed to the elaboration of the inventories of adverbial subordinators through time.

[7] Examples (2.51) to (2.53) have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1078, 1098. 1104, 1111).

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2.5. CCC relations: Causal, conditional and concessive clauses

The present research focuses on three adverbial relations, namely causals, conditionals and concessives. The selection of these three relations has not been an arbitrary one, but is justified on the grounds that these three categories have been widely reported in the literature to have strong semantic affinities and show a parallel development. In fact, they are commonly grouped together as a set and known as the CCC relations.

The close connection that exists between the three relations under study has led some scholars to suggest that they may be derived notions among them. König (1986) puts forth the interaction of concessives and conditionals and proposes a new adverbial relation, namely concessive conditionals, which represent a further elaboration of (simple) conditionals. In fact, it is common to mark concessive conditionals by adding the scalar particle *even* to a conditional clause, thus yielding the structure 'even if *p, q*'. However, the interpretation of concessive conditionals is strongly context-dependent. Therefore, this category of concessive conditionals may not be always formally distinguishable (cf. König 1986 for further details).

The question whether there is a superior relation which encompasses the three types under discussion has also been tackled in philosophy and logic, and descriptive grammars are also aware of such interrelations. Though admitting that the three adverbial relations are connected, in my opinion, they deserve to be studied separately, assuming that they constitute a family of related constructions. In fact, these three relations, together with temporals, constitute the semantic space of adverbial relations in Kortmann's (1997) typology. The specific types of relatedness can be summarized as follows (cf. Kortmann 1997: 197ff):

a. Causal constructions presuppose conditionals.
b. Conditionals can be elaborated, enriched to concessive conditionals.
c. Concessive conditionals may change into concessive.

In this section, I provide a descriptive account of these three relations, taking into consideration their semantic meanings and how those meanings are expressed and related

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with other meanings. Nevertheless, special emphasis is given to the subordinators that commonly mark those relations, as well as other formal features, such as modality (indicative vs. subjunctive) and tense (past, present, future), among others, that characterize the relations under discussion.

2.5.1. Causal clauses

Typologically, causality can be considered as the 'hard core' of the adverbial semantic relationships between clauses, as it is the type of relation which presents the highest level of lexicalization. No wonder, therefore, that causality has been analysed extensively in various subfields of cognitive science (cf. Meyer 2000; Sowa 2000). Furthermore, syntactically and semantically causals are also of great interest for linguists, given their central position and how they are tightly interwoven with other relations.

The linguistic structure of causal clauses has recently awakened interest since it has been proved that causals are more structurally independent of the associated main clause than other types of adverbial clauses and are claimed to be placed at the borderline between subordination and coordination.[8]

Semantically, causal clauses are sometimes understood as the propositional schema '*p* because *q*'. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg. Not only are they connected with conditionals and temporal clauses (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985; Couper-Kuhlen and Kortmann 2000), but causals also consist of a subsystem of intercausal relations, such as cause/reason, degree, purpose and result (see Kortmann 1997: 197). Out of these four relations, cause/reason is the one which is more difficult to be semantically distinguished. Nevertheless, we commonly associate the term 'cause' with external causality (consider

[8] See Diessel and Hetterle (2011) for a cross-linguistic view of how causals are a universal semantic relation and for an account of their lower degree of integration in the sentence.

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example (2.55) below), while the term 'reason' captures internal causality, i.e. motivation; see example (2.56).[9]

(2.55) *The flowers are growing so well* ***because I sprayed them***. ['The cause for the flowers growing so well is that I sprayed them.']

(2.56) *She watered the flowers* ***because they were dry***. ['The reason that she watered the flowers was that they were dry.

In addition, cognitive linguists propose three different types of causals, i.e. content, epistemic and speech act causals. These are rephrased by Traugott (1992) as follows: based on external reality (see example (2.57)), internal, that is, based on the speaker's world of reasoning (see example (2.58)), and rhetorical, based on the discourse situation (see example (2.59)).

(2.57) *She drove home* ***because she wanted to arrive before midnight***.

(2.58) *They must be at home* ***because the lights are on***.

(2.59) *What are you doing tonight,* ***because there's a good movie on***.

The dichotomy cause/reason is found in the major descriptive grammars of the English language, namely Quirk et al. (1985: 1103-1107), Biber et al. (1999: 839-849) and Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 725-734). The term 'cause' is only used in Huddleston and Pullum et al.'s grammar, covering three subtypes, namely reason, purpose and result. In addition, Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002) consider that the difference among the potential meanings lies on which of the situations is presented as superordinate and which as subordinate. However, the other two grammars use the term 'reason' as the superordinate term, while 'cause' is a subtype of this adverbial relation, and they classify purpose as an individual adverbial meaning.

In what follows, I provide an account of how causal clauses are coded linguistically, taking the aforementioned grammars as the point of departure.

[9] Examples (2.55) and (2.56) have been taken form Quirk et al. (1985: 1101-1102).

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Causals clauses are usually recognized because they can be questioned by *why* or *what .... for*? However, both questions can also elicit a purpose answer. Consider example (2.60) below, from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 726), and the potential answers (2.61a) and (2.61b), which represent purpose and reason, respectively.

(2.60) *Why did you get up so early? / What did you get up so early for?*

(2.61a) *(I got up early) in order to do some gardening while it was still cold.*

(2.61b) *(I got up early) because I couldn't sleep.*

Therefore, the questioning of *why?* or *what... for?* is not a safe measure to clearly identify causal clauses, so that there might always be a potentially different interpretation.

Regarding causal subordinators, the most common ones are *because* and *since*, according to Quirk et al. (1985: 1104). Similarly, Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 730) define *because* as the most versatile and central reason adjunct. In turn, Biber et al. (1999: 842-843) do also recognize *because*, and the shorter form *cos*, as the prototypical causal subordinator. However, the number of subordinators which can also be used to mark this circumstantial relation is larger and differs greatly from grammar to grammar.

Table 2.2 below provides the lists of causal adverbial subordinators included in the three standard grammars of English.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1104-1006)	Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 731)	Biber et al. (1999: 842-844)
as *as long as* ***because / 'cause*** *because of the fact that* *by virtue of the fact that* *due to the fact that* ***for*** *in (the) light of the fact that* *inasmuch as* *in case* *in that* *in view of the fact that* *on account of the fact that* *owing to the fact that* *seeing (that)* ***since*** *while*	***as*** ***because*** ***for*** *inasmuch as* *seeing* ***since***	***as*** ***because/cos*** ***for*** *in that* ***since*** *with*

Table 2.2: Causal adverbial subordinators in different grammars of English

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Table 2.2 shows that the most exhaustive list is that offered by Quirk et al. (1985: 1104-1106). However, it is worth noting that all the subordinators followed by *the fact that* are considered stylistically clumsy due to their length. In addition, there are subordinators that are more commonly used in British English or in American English, as is the case of *on account of the fact that*, which is more frequent in American English, or marked as to register, i.e. more prone to be used in formal registers, as is the case of the subordinators *inasmuch as* or *for*, or in informal registers, such as the shorter versions of *because*. Nevertheless, *because* and the more informal variants *'cause* and *cos* are members in the three lists and are considered in the three grammars as the most versatile causal subordinators. Other causal subordinators occurring in the three grammars are *as*, *for* and *since*.

It is worth noting that some of these causal subordinators have an underlying meaning, combining reason/cause with a secondary meaning or implication, for instance, contingency, time or point of view, among others. In example (2.62) below, the use of *in case* is 'because it may happen that it rains', thus showing a combination of reason and contingency.

(2.62) *Take your umbrella* ***in case*** *it rains.*

When the choice is *while*, there is a merger of time and reason, as in (2.63):

(2.63) ***While*** *you're in the kitchen, bring me another drink.*

In example (2.64), the formal causal connector *in that* combines reason with point of view. Quirk et al. (1985: 1105) paraphrase this sentence as follows: 'The evidence is invalid in this respect: it was obtained through illegal means.'

(2.64) *The evidence is invalid* ***in that*** *it was obtained through illegal means.*

Causality can also be expressed without an overt subordinator, particularly in the combined meaning cause-time. See examples (2.65) and (2.66).

(2.65) ***Knowing their tastes****, she was able to bring a gift that they would like.*

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(2.66) ***Assured of your support****, he would not compromise.*

The intimate connection of causals with time results in some sort of ambiguity. Indeed, there are some subordinators, such as *as* and *since*, which are normally employed to mark temporals but can also be used to mark causal relations, and there are some occasions where the interpretation is not straightforward. Consider the following example:

(2.67) ***As he was standing near the door****, he could hear the conversation in the kitchen.*

This sentence can be interpreted in two ways: either as 'the reason of hearing the conversation was because he was standing near the door' or as 'it was while he was there, not intentionally, that he heard the conversation'.

2.5.2. Conditional clauses

Conditionals are traditionally described as the mathematical relation 'if *p* then *q*'. However, they are undoubtedly a heterogeneous group, with a higher degree of complexity than may appear from the proposed logical relation. In fact, we encounter examples which significantly deviate from the aforementioned basic logical notion. Take, for example, the so-called isolated *if*- clauses,[10] as (2.68) below, which exemplifies a polite request said by a doctor in the examination phase of a general practice consultation.

(2.68) *Okay* ***if you'd like to get dressed now****.*

Conditionals can also express wishes, as in example (2.69) below:

(2.69) ***If I'd somewhere to go****, some friend's room.*

[10] Further information on isolated *if*-clauses, also called insubordinated *if*-clauses, can be found in Kaltenböck (2016) and in the doctoral dissertation by Mato-Míguez (2016) entitled *The expression of directive meaning: A corpus-based study on the variation between insubordinated if-clauses, imperatives and conditionals in contemporary spoken British and American English.*

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Examples (2.68) and (2.69) demonstrate how conditionals have evolved and acquired different meanings and uses over time (cf. Stirling 1998 for further details).

Given the richness of the conditional adverbial relation, over the last decades conditionals have been the topic of extended investigation (see König 1986; Trauggot, ter Meulen, Reilly and Ferguson 1986; Sweetser 1990: ch. 5; Athanasiadou and Dirven 1997; Dancygier 1998; Gauker 2005; Kratzer 2012; Edler 2019, among others). In addition, conditionals are listed as part of the inventory of subordinate clauses by all the standard grammars of English (Quirk et al. (1985: 1088-1103); Biber et al. (1999: 839-853); Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 738-765)). Furthermore, they belong to the group of logical relations (cf. Section 2.3) proposed by Thompson and Longacre (1985) and to the non-factual category (cf. Section 2.3) suggested by Hengeveld (1998).

Conditionality is not external to other adverbial relations. Indeed, as was the case for causals, conditionals may overlap in meaning with concessive and contrast clauses. Moreover, conditional, concessive and contrast clauses share subordinators and also conjuncts with the relations of time and place, as shown in Table 2.3 below, from Quirk et al. (1985: 1088).

	Subordinators	Conjuncts
conditional	*as long as, in the event that*	*then, in that case*
concessive	*whereas, while*	*besides, yet*
contrastive	*whereas, while*	*on the other hand, instead*

Table 2.3: Overlap of semantic roles of conditionals, concessive and contrastive subordinators and conjuncts with time and place (from Quirk et al. (1985: 1088)

Conditionals are characterized by having two well differentiated parts, namely the conditional clause or protasis and the main clause or apodosis. They are usually classified into different types and subtypes according to the meaning they convey. Since the aim of this dissertation is not to provide an in-depth classification of conditionals in terms of their

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meaning, but rather on how they are expressed linguistically, in particular the role of the subordinators used for this circumstantial relation, in what follows I briefly summarize the types discussed in the reference grammars of English.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1088-1989) propose two major groups of conditionals: direct and indirect.

- Direct: the situation in the matrix clause is directly contingent on that of the conditional clause. See example (2.70):[11]
  (2.70) ***If you put the baby down****, she'll scream.*

  Direct conditionals may be either open or hypothetical:
  - Open conditions are neutral, i.e. they do not commit to the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the condition. Consider example (2.71):
    (2.71) ***If Collin is in London****, he is undoubtedly staying at the Hilton.*

    The sentence does not resolve if Collin is in London or if he is staying at the Hilton; both questions are not resolved.

  - Hypothetical condition: in this case the speaker conveys the idea that the condition is not fulfilled. This non-fulfilment can be in the present, in the past or in the future. Consider the examples under (2.72), (2.73) and (2.74) below, which exemplify hypothetical situations in the past, the present and the future, respectively:
    (2.72) ***If he changed his opinions****, he'd be a more likeable person.*
    (2.73) *They would be here with us* ***if they had the time****.*
    (2.74) ***If you had listened to me****, you wouldn't have made so many mistakes.*

  Note that open and hypothetical conditions are distinguished grammatically, that is, the verbs in hypothetical conditions are backshifted.

[11] Examples (2.70) to (2.77) have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1091-1092).

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- Indirect: The condition depends on the implicit speech act of the utterance. Among indirect conditionals, we find polite expressions such as *if I may say so*, *if I may interrupt*, metalinguistic comments, such as the one in example (2.75) below, or uncertainty about the extralinguistic knowledge required for a correct interpretation of the utterance (2.76).

  (2.75) *His style is florid, **if that's the right word**.* ['I'm not sure that florid is the right word']

  (2.76) *I met your girlfriend Caroline last night, **if Caroline is your girlfriend**.*

In example (2.76) the hedge is on the speaker's side. It is also possible to have a hedge on the speaker's side, conveying irony, as in (2.77) below:

(2.77) *Einstein's theory of gravitation is based on mathematical concept, **if you've not forgotten already**.*

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 739-755) classify conditionals into open and remote:

- Open conditionals: They are conditionals which satisfy schematically the construction 'if *p* (then) *q*' and this logical notion involves the following components:
  i. Invariant meaning: the truth values of *p* and *q* are related in such a way as to exclude the combination where *p* is true and *q* is false.
  ii. Consequence implicature: *q* is a consequence of *p*.
  iii. Only-if implicature: if not-*p*, then not-*q*.
  iv. Don't-know implicature: the speaker doesn't know whether *p* and *q* are true or false.
- Remote conditionals: They are those in which the condition could be satisfied in a world which is potentially different from the actual world.

In (2.78) and (2.79) we have an example of an open conditional and of its remote counterpart, respectively.

(2.78) ***If he bought it at that price**, he got a bargain.*

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(2.79) ***If he had bought it at that price****, he would have got a bargain.*

Table 2.4 below provides the lists of conditional subordinators from the three standard grammars of English.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1089)	Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 746-758)	Biber et al. (1999: 842-844)
as/so long as	***as/so long as***	***as long as***
assuming (that)	*assuming*	***if***
given (that)	*even if*	***in case***
if	***if***	***in the event that***
in case	*if only*	*lest*
in the event that	***in case***	***on condition that***
just so (that)	***in the event***	*once*
on condition (that)	***on condition***	***provided (that)***
provided (that)	*only if*	***unless***
providing (that)	***provided***	*whenever*
supposing (that)	*supposing*	*wherever*
unless	***unless****/if not*	*whether*

Table 2.4: Conditional adverbial subordinators in the standard grammars of English

As shown here, the three grammars provide a similar number of subordinators and *as long as, if, in case, in the event, on condition, provided* and *unless* are present in the three lists, but the inventory of conditional adverbial subordinators differs from one to the other. It is important to highlight that Biber et al. (1999: 842-844) consider *if* and *unless* as pure conditional subordinators and the rest as part of the set they call 'condition and contingency'. Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 746-758) include, in addition to *if*, also its combination with *only* and *even*, the resulting subordinators having a different

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entailment. Consider example (2.80), its entailment in (2.81a) and the implicature in (2.81b):[12]

(2.80) *I'm going to the party* ***even if*** *Kim is going too.*
(2.81a) *I'm going to the party* ***if*** *Kim is going.*
(2.81b) *I'm going to the party.*

Despite the large number of subordinators listed, Biber et al. (1999: 841) state that condition and reason are the two semantic categories with the least diversity in commonly used subordinators. Thus, *because* dominates the category of reason, although other options are available as well (cf. Section 2.5.1 above), whereas *if* predominates in conditional clauses.

Conditionals can also be marked by means of a subject-operator inversion, particularly in conditional clauses with *had*, as in (2.82), *were*, as shown in (2.83), and *should*, as in (2.84):[13]

(2.82) ***Had I known****, I would have written before.*
(2.83) ***Were she in charge****, she would do things differently.*
(2.84) ***Should she be interested****, I'll phone her.*

Moreover, some coordinating and juxtaposed constructions are also open to a conditional interpretation. Illustrative examples are given in (2.85) and (2.86) below.[14]

(2.85) *Say that again* ***and*** *you're fired.*
(2.86) ***Either*** *you agree to my terms* ***or*** *the deal is off.*

[12] Example (2.80) and (2.81a) and (2.81b) have been taken from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 747).

[13] Examples (2.82) to (2.84) have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1094).

[14] Examples (2.85) and (2.86) have been taken from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 759).

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In addition, conditional clauses are specially modality-coloured, in particular those introduced by the subordinator *if*, as Nordström's (2010) typological research shows. A recent work by Gabrielatos (2019) proves that conditionals and modality are highly related by means of quantitative measures. His analysis also reveals that *if*-conditionals are particularly more connected to modality.

2.5.3. Concessive clauses

Of all the types of adverbial clauses, concessives are probably the most difficult to define, both formally and semantically. Although we may quickly associate concessivity with the logical pattern 'although *p*, *q*', the literature on the topic suggests that this adverbial relation is not always marked by a subordinator and frequently subordinators from other semantic relations have a concessive implication. In fact, historically, we witness how concessives are highly connected with conditionals.

Concessives are listed as part of the inventory of subordinate clauses by all three major grammars of English (Quirk et al. 1985: 1097-1102; Biber et al. 1999: 839-851; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 734-738). Furthermore, they belong to the group of logical relations (cf. Section 2.3) proposed by Thompson and Longacre (1991) and to the factual category (cf. Section 2.3) suggested by Hengeveld (1998). However, they have a number of features that differentiate them from other types of adverbial clauses. These differences are summarized by König (1994: 679) as follows:[15]

i. In contrast to most other types of adverbial clauses, there is not a concessive interrogative pronoun analogous to *when* (time), *why* (reason) or *how* (manner).

ii. Concessives cannot be the focus of a focusing adjunct like *only*, *even*, *just* or *especially*, among many others, in contrast to causal constructions. Consider examples (2.87a) and (2.87b):

[15] Examples (2.87) to (2.90) from König (1994: 679).

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(2.87a) *Only because it was raining…*

(2.87b) **Only although it was raining...*

iii. Concessives cannot occur as focus in cleft sentences. Consider example (2.88) below:

(2.88) **It was although it was raining that…*

iv. Concessives cannot be the focus of a polar interrogative. See example (2.89):

(2.89) *?Was he harassed although he was a boxer?*

In what follows a definition of concessive clauses is provided. Among the various definitions of concessive relations that I have consulted, I consider that given by Quirk et al. (1985: 1098) to be the most explicit one. Quirk et al.'s (1985: 1098) definition reads as follows:

> Concessive clauses indicate that the situation in the matrix clause is contrary to expectation in the light of what is said in the concessive clause. In consequence of the mutuality, it is often purely a matter of choice which clause is made subordinate.

Consider in this respect the examples below:

(2.90a*) No goals were scored,* ***although it was an exciting game*****.**

(2.90b) *It was an exciting game,* ***although no goals were scored*****.**

In turn, Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 734) provide the following three main features of concessive meaning:

i. The subordinate clause is entailed.

ii. The truth of the subordinate clause might lead one to expect that the superordinate clause would be false.

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iii. In fact, the truth of the subordinate clause does not detract from the truth of the superordinate clause.

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 734-735) illustrate these features by means of the following source example:

(2.91) *Sonia doesn't speak French* ***although she grew up in Paris***.

Here the subordinate clause, *although she grew up in Paris*, might well lead us to think that she speaks French, as this is the language spoken by most of the inhabitants of that city. However, she does not speak French.

Moreover, the subordinate clause and the superordinate clause can be switched:

(2.91a) *Sonia grew up in Paris,* ***although she doesn't speak French***.

The difference between the two sentences is primarily a matter of information packaging: since the head will have more prominence, speakers therefore choose which of the two clauses is going to be made more relevant.

In addition, the two clauses can be juxtaposed as main clauses with a concessive adverb, such as *nevertheless* or *nonetheless*, introducing the second clause and the concessive meaning is maintained. Consider the examples under (2.92):

(2.92a) *Sonia doesn't speak French;* ***nevertheless****, she grew up in Paris*.

(2.92b) *Sonia grew up in Paris;* ***nonetheless****, she doesn't speak French*.

As regards the syntactic features of concessives, in what follows I focus on their realizations, mainly on the subordinators that introduce adverbial subordinate clauses of this type.

The inventory of concessive adjuncts, in Huddleston and Pullum et al.'s (2002: 735-736) terms, or of subordinators, in the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985: 1098) and of Biber et al. (1999: 838), differs to a considerable extent from grammar to grammar. Table 2.5 below shows the concessive subordinators listed in the three grammars:

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Quirk et al. (1985: 1097-1198)	Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 736)	Biber et al. (1999: 838)
although *even if* *even though* *even when* ***though*** *whereas* *while* *whilst*	*albeit* ***although*** *despite* *for* *in spite* *nevertheless* *nonetheless* *notwithstanding* *still* ***though*** *yet*	***although*** *even though* ***though*** *whereas* *while* *whilst*

Table 2.5: Concessive adverbial subordinators in the major grammars of English

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 736) include in their list of concessive adjuncts adverbs which can combine the connective function with others, that is, what they label as 'impure connectives'. In the case of concessives these are *nevertheless*, *nonetheless*, *still*, *though* and *yet*. Take example (2.93), from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 776), as an illustration.

(2.93) ***Although*** *he affects a gruff exterior in many instances,* ***nevertheless*** *he is fundamentally a man of warm heart and gentle disposition*.

In this case, *nevertheless* has a reinforcing role since the relation between the main and the subordinate clause is already marked by *although*.

Table 2.5 shows that, once the so-called 'impure connectives' are excluded from the count, the most exhaustive list of the three is that offered by Quirk et al. (1985: 1098). Moreover, there is a common denominator in the three lists: *although* and the more informal *though* are considered in the three grammars as the most versatile concessive subordinators.

Concessive clauses are semantically connected with other relations. Indeed, as has previously been mentioned, concessives are considered to be a derived notion from conditionals and related with other syntactic structures, such as coordination. In what

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follows, I enumerate the most remarkable connections which have been identified with concessives:

i. Conditionals: This adverbial relation is closely related to concessives. As König (1985: 270) puts it: "The assumption that concessives derive from conditionals, notably from concessive (irrelevance) conditionals, can be based on the formal similarity exhibited by connectives in the two constructions [… in addition to] historical and synchronic facts".

The three main historical and synchronic facts that closely relate conditionals and concessives are the following:

i. There is sufficient semantic similarity between irrelevant conditionals (2.94) and concessive clauses to make the assumption of a common origin and a later split.

(2.94) *It's funny, it's good, and it's a parody, if a little blunt.*

On the one hand, concessives presuppose a mismatch between the facts entailed in the two clauses. On the other hand, irrelevance conditionals assume that "there is a conflict between one condition of the series denoted by the antecedent and the situation described in the consequent" (König 1985: 270-271).

ii. It is claimed by König (1985: 270) that in the earliest stages of the language (OE and ME) conditionals and concessives were not clearly distinguished. It is not till ModE when conditionals and concessive constructions began to be clearly differentiated. However, the former can still be used nowadays in the sense of the latter under certain contextual conditions. Consider the following example:

(2.95) *He looked at me kindly, **if** somewhat sceptically*.

iii. It has been attested that irrelevance conditions provide a constant source for the development of concessive clauses. In English, *regardless* and *anyway*, clearly markers of irrelevance (concessive) conditionals, have developed a concessive use (König 1985: 272). Consider example (2.96):

(2.96) *He went out for walks, **regardless** of the weather*.

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ii. Coordination with *but*: The contrast expressed in concessives is significantly similar to that expressed in a coordinating construction with *but*. Consider the examples below, from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 737). (2.97a) and (2.97b) are illustrations of subordination, while (2.98) is an example of coordination:

(2.97a)=(2.91) *Sonia doesn't speak French* ***although she grew up in Paris***.

(2.97b) ***Although she grew up in Paris****, Sonia doesn't speak French*.

(2.98) *Sonia grew up in Paris* ***but*** *she doesn't speak French*.

It is worthy of attention that *but*-coordinations involving contrastive negation do not have counterparts with *although*. Consider (2.99) and (2.100), from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 737).

(2.99) *She doesn't sit and mope* ***but*** *makes the best of the situation.*

(2.100) **Although she doesn't sit and mope, she makes the best of the situation.*

iii. Concessives are linked with three related constructions, particularly with some prototypical subordinators from those constructions: *whereas* (contrast), *while/whilst* (duration) and *when* (time). These subordinators are not always interchangeable felicitously by a prototypical concessive one. However, there are some contexts where this is possible. Consider examples (2.101) and (2.102), from Quirk et al. (1985: 1099), and (2.103), from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 737):

(2.101) ***Whereas*** *it would be naïve to maintain that inflation is no longer of concern, all the economic indicators suggest that the money supply can now be safely increased.*

(2.102) ***While*** *he has many friends, Peter is often lonely.*

(2.103) *He gave me a beer* ***when*** *what I'd asked for was a shandy.*

The foregoing overview of causal, conditional and concessive subordinate clauses proves that the three types of relations are intimately related, in particular conditionals and

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concessives. Therefore, it seems in order to study the three of them together. In addition, the most common way of marking CCC adverbial clauses is by means of a subordinator, though not exclusively, as shown in Section 2.2. Chapter 3 is devoted to a historical overview of causal, conditional and concessive subordination and their respective subordinators.

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3. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: CAUSAL, CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE SUBORDINATION AND SUBORDINATORS

This chapter provides a historical overview of adverbial subordination and of the adverbial subordinators from the three selected domains: cause, condition and concession. Since the main aim of this dissertation is to throw some light on those subordinators that originated in the LME and EModE periods but whose history was short or whose use became restricted in later stages, I consider that the diachronic outline offered in this chapter contributes to a better understanding of this phenomenon.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. Section 3.1 gives some preliminary notes on adverbial subordination, while Section 3.2 is devoted to the inventory of adverbial subordinators in the history of the English language. The remaining sections (Section 3.3, Section 3.4 and Section 3.5) deal with the diachronic development of the three types of adverbial clauses under study in this dissertation, i.e. cause, condition and concession, and their respective subordinators.

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3.1 Some notes on adverbial subordination

In OE the borderline parataxis and hypotaxis was rather vague and overall paratactic devices were more common than subordination (cf. e.g. Mitchell 1985; Traugott 1992; Molencki 2017).

As regards the markers of both types of clause-combining, coordination and subordination, there was not a well defined set of connectives for each of them and some of the conjunctions were used to mark both coordination and subordination. As a consequence, it was not always easy to disambiguate hypotaxis and parataxis. For example, *forþæn*/ *forþon* (*þe*) was a common conjunction which introduced both subordinate clauses of reason and coordinate clauses of explanation. Consider example (3.1),[16] taken from Molencki (2017: 121).

(3.1) ***for þan þe*** *þa iudeas ehton þone hælend for* ***þan þe*** *he dyde þas þing on restedaige* (Jn [WSCp] 5.16)

Additionally, *þe*, the multifunctional subordinating particle which was commonly attached in OE to complex prepositional phrases functioning as conjunctions, such as *forþæn*/ *forþon* (*þe*), was also frequently used in coordinate clauses. Rissanen (2007: 189) claims that in the case of adverbial subordinators, *þe* came to be more frequently attached to the adverbial subordinators in the course of the OE period due to "the growing activity of reading Latin texts and translating them into Old English", which led speakers/writers to be more aware of the hierarchy between clauses. Additionally, the appended *þe* was reported to be more commonly found in prepositional phrases, though not exclusively. Thus, in Late OE we witness an increase of this combination, not only with complex prepositional conjunctions, but also with simple conjunctions.

In OE, it was common to find correlative elements in the main clause, sometimes as a way to mark in a clear way the distinction between the main clause and the subordinate clause. However, this was not always the case. As Molencki (2017: 122) argues, on many

[16] The modern version of this example provided by Molencki is: "The Jews persecuted the Saviour because he did those things on the Sabbath day".

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occasions the adverb was identical to the subordinator (*þa... þa..., forþon...forþon...*). Therefore, the rank of the clauses was not easily identified, as in example (3.2)[17] below, quoted from Molencki (2017: 122).

(3.2) ***þider ðe*** *Stephanus forestop ...* ***þider*** *folgode Paulus*. (ÆHom. i.202.116)

The disambiguating process in those cases in which the correlative coincides with the subordinator was occasionally facilitated by the use of the aforementioned particle *þe.* In the case of concessive and conditional adverbial clauses, the process of disambiguation was easier, given that the correlative element did not resemble the adverbial subordinator. Consider (3.3):[18]

(3.3) ***gif*** *þu wistest hwæt þe tiweard is* ***þonne*** *weope þu.* (ÆHom. i.412.67)

Another factor which made the distinction between coordination and subordination at this early stage of the language difficult was punctuation. Molencki (2017: 117) argues that in OE punctuation was not used to mark syntactic units, but to mark pauses for breath.

ME, which covers approximately from 1100 to 1500, was a period of great change. Its beginning roughly coincides with the Norman Conquest of 1066, while its end roughly corresponds to the first book printed in England (1476). Both events, though different in nature, have implications for the status of the language. OE was replaced by Latin for literary and documentary manuscripts and French became the language of literary culture. Nevertheless, English remained the speech of the majority of the population, although its functions were restricted.

[17] The translation of this example provided by the author is: "Where Stephen stepped... Paul followed him".

[18] From Molencki (2017: 123), who provides the following translation for this example: "If you knew what is to come to you, then you would keep with me".

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As regards subordination, it is in ME when we witness a steady movement from parataxis to hypotaxis. Such movement is highly associated with increasing literacy in the vernacular as well as the influence of Latin and French.[19]

The fixation of word order facilitated the process. In contrast to OE, which typically showed verb-second order in main clauses and verb-final order in sub-clauses, word order in ME was no longer different in main and subordinate clauses, although there were instances, particularly in the early texts of the period, where word order still played a role. By way of illustration, consider (3.4)[20] below:

(3.4) *And **so** hi were in þo ssiþe, **so a-ros a great tempest of winde***. (Ken. Serm. (Ld) 32.14-15) ['and when they were in the boat, a big storm got up']

In this example, apart from an inversion of the subject and the verb in the main clause but not in the subordinate clause, we observe the use of a correlative construction, *so... so*, characteristic of ME. Other correlative constructions included *þa... þa, þonne ... þonne*, 'then... when' and *swa ... swa* 'so... so'. These constructions were recurrently used in the early part of the period to mark the conjunctival function of the item, as was the case in OE (cf. example (3.2) above). Progressively, correlation lost momentum, so that the correlative adverb was often dropped or one of the two conjunctives was replaced by another item different in form, which allowed a more straightforward identification of the subordinate clause.

Additionally, in ME we witness a specialization of the markers of subordination. Fischer (1992) argues that ME developed towards "more clarity and greater explicitness in the system of complex clauses" (Fischer 1992: 287) given that, for instance, in Chaucer texts, *tho* (<OE *þa*) no longer functioned as a conjunction, only as an adverb. Likewise, in those cases in which a given word could still function as an adverb as well as a

[19] However, such change is not straightforward (see, for further details, Smith 2012: 435-450).

[20] Example (3.4) is taken from Fischer (1992: 286).

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conjunction, as, for example, *though*/ *þeih*/ *þah*, Chaucer opted for using *though* almost exclusively as a conjunction.

With the aim of differentiating adverbs from adverbial subordinators and having a more transparent system where subordinators and adverbs became distinct, Kivimaa (1966: 248) dates in the 13th century a tendency which consists of the addition of *that* to all kinds of adverbial conjunctions.[21] Such a phenomenon may have developed either from the *þe* appended to subordinators in OE (see above) or from the *þæt* used as a subordinator in non-relative clauses and exceptionally in some conjunctive phrases in which *þe* was normally used, notably *to þon þæt* and *for þæm þæt*. In the same vein, Rissanen (1997: 374) maintains that the need of the optional *that* in ME was due to three main reasons: (i) the collapse of OE subordinators, given that prepositional conjunctions such as *for þan þe* became grammaticalized by the end of the period and their second and third elements tended to weaken and disappear; (ii) the increase in the number and variety of the types of subordination; and (iii) the fixation of the word order with verb-final word order no longer being a marker of subordination.[22]

The tendency towards the increased use of hypotactic constructions witnessed in ME continued in EModE and gained greater force, as EModE is a "crucial period of transition between the still largely synthetic language form in ME and the new analytic and standardized English language we know today" (Seoane 2012: 634). Finite subordinate adverbial clauses in EModE clearly illustrate the tendency of the period, i.e. a tendency towards experimentation and establishment. In ME and in EModE the use of subordination was expanded, and so did the number of subordinators available. Thus, EModE featured a more extensive inventory of subordinators than PDE, although a large number of them were ephemeral in nature. Interestingly, some subordinators were used for the first (and, in

[21] Instances of appended *þæt* were occasionally found in the Late OE period, although *þe* was by far the more common choice.

[22] Further details on the impact of word order fixation on subordination, i.e. the loss of the OE distinction of V2 for the main clause vs. V-final for the subordinate clause can be found in Stockwell and Minkova (1997); Seoane (2006; 2017).

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several cases, last) time as adverbial subordinators at this stage. These are referred as 'ephemeral subordinators', the focus of this doctoral dissertation.

Some subordinators had one central meaning, but they also had other peripheral meanings. As an illustration, *when*, whose core meaning is temporal, had concessive and conditional secondary meanings, as shown in examples (3.5) and (3.6):[23]

(3.5) *What thing should I have beene* ***when*** *I had beene swel'd.* (Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* III,i)

(3.6) *Dost thou coniure for wenches, that yu calst for such store,* ***when*** *one is one too many?* (Shakespeare *Comedy of Erros* III,i)

Appended *that* to adverbial subordinators was not as frequent as in ME. However, its disappearance was "not certainly completed by the end of the EModE period" (Beal 1988: 53). Indeed, the sequence adverbial subordinator + *that* was particularly frequent among the set of 'ephemeral subordinators' which originated at this time.

In EModE, the use of correlative elements in the main clause followed by an adverbial clause was also common. For example, the correlatives *so* or *then* were frequently used in conditional constructions, as in example (3.7):[24]

(3.7) *if the Brayne be let, al other members be let: and* ***if*** *the Brayne be wel,* ***then*** *al other members of the body be the better disposed.* ([HC] More *Richard III* 42)

LModE comprises between 1700 and the early 20th century. This period has not received as much scholarly attention as the two previous ones because at this time, generally speaking, the language had already undergone most of the syntactic changes which differentiate PDE from OE. Traditionally, stages following the EModE period have been seen as quite homogeneous. However, variation is a fact, despite the eagerness of the

[23] Examples (3.5) to (3.7) are quoted from Rissanen (1999: 311).

[24] Sometimes those correlative elements were used due to rhythm or emphasis (Rissanen 1999: 310).

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moment towards 'normalization' through dictionaries and grammar books that were published from the 18th century onwards.

Especially in the early part of LModE, some substantive syntactic changes took place, among them the emergence of the progressive passive and the grammaticalization of the *get* passive construction. In addition, it was a period when a wide variety of changes which had started in earlier stages witnessed completion and variants in several syntactic domains were regulated. Aarts et al. (2012) enumerate the consolidation of the progressive, the decline of the *be*-perfect, the regulation of the periphrastic *do*, changes in the complementation system, in particular the replacement of the *to*-infinitive by *–ing* complements, and the regulation of the distribution of the different relativizers. All in all, this period encapsulates a good number of changes that perfectly set this time as a period in its own right.

Regarding adverbial clauses in LModE, two main factors deserve our attention: on the one hand, the emergence of complex conjunctions with the form preposition + abstract noun (e.g. *despite the fact that*) and, on the other, the demise of compound conjunctions featuring an appended *that*, although there are some small residues of this combination in PDE. Quirk et al. (1985: 998) list the following complex subordinators in PDE followed by (optional) *that*:

Ending with *that*	*but that*, *in that*, *in order that*, *insofar that* <formal, rare>, *in the event that*, *save that* <literary>, *such that*
Ending with optional *that* (participle form)	*assuming* *considering* *excepting* *given* *granted/ granting* *provided/ providing* *seeing* *supposing* (*that*)
Ending with optional *that* (others)	*except* *for all* *now* *so* (*that*)

Table 3.1: Complex subordinators in PDE followed by *that* (Quirk et al. 1985: 998)

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Quirk et al. (1985: 999) claim that the optional *that* fulfils two purposes in PDE: on the one hand, it is a mark of formality and, on the other, adding *that* may avoid ambiguity in the adverbial clause.

3.2 The inventory of adverbial subordinators

For the study of adverbial subordinators, Kortmann's (1997) monograph is one of the major sources, one of the first works to provide a diachronic study on English adverbial subordinators. Kortmann (1997: 5) defines adverbial subordinators as free forms which specify some semantic interclausal (or circumstantial, adverbial) relation between the subordinate clause over which they operate and the modified main clause. In his typological study, Kortmann takes a global perspective using a "grammar-cum-dictionary method", that is, dictionaries and descriptive grammars from 49 languages, three extinct, namely Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English, and 46 living (Kortmann 1997: 53). The novelty of his study resides in the magnitude of the project, which involved more than 30 collaborators who rigorously collected, corrected, modified and added data on subordinators. Additionally, the perspective of preceding works, which were mostly descriptive, was rather narrow and sometimes even atomistic, as they are usually accounts of particular subsets of interclausal relations within a single period (Kortmann 1997: 291). By and large, Kortmann's study is a most valuable general account of the development of adverbial subordinators in English.

Adverbial subordinators are an intriguing word class. From a historical point of view, their inventory has undergone a series of changes over time and it is far from being stable nowadays. Figure 3.1 below[25] displays the size of the inventory of adverbial subordinators in OE (with data primarily dating from the 10th and early 11th centuries), ME (especially the 14th century and first half of the 15th century), EModE (16th and 17th centuries) and PDE. It must be noted that only "ideal" adverbial subordinators (cf. Section 2.4.) were taken into account.

[25] The graph is based on the figures provided by Kortmann (1997: 294).

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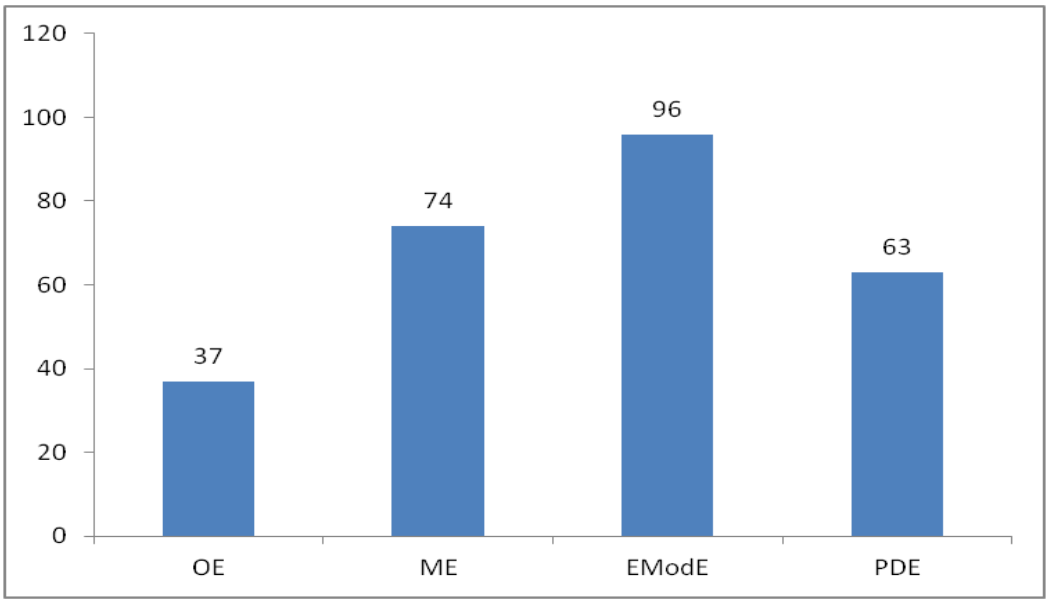

Figure 3.1: Size of the inventory of adverbial subordinators (based on Kortmann 1997: 294)

In the light of these data, Kortmann (1997: 294) draws two main preliminary conclusions: (i) ME was a key period in the development of the "modern-sized" inventory of adverbial subordinators and (ii) the inventory of adverbial subordinators has not been constantly enlarged in the course of the history of the language. In addition to a change in size, Kortmann (1997: 295) highlights the change in the "composition" of the inventory of adverbial subordinators over time, which includes the following major changes:

> [...] the morphological complexity of adverbial subordinators, their preferred categorical sources, the proportions of primary vs. non primary adverbial subordinators, the proportions of temporal vs. CCC subordinators, the proportions of monofunctional and polyfunctional subordinators.

Matti Rissanen, a pioneer in English historical corpus linguistics, has also published widely on subordinators, with works on their long history as well as corpus-based article-length studies on the history of different subordinators and connectives (Rissanen 1997; 2007; 2011). Rissanen (2010: 131) beautifully describes the history of the grammar and lexis of English, in general, and of subordinators, in particular, as a drama in five acts:

I: Creation (OE)

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II: Enrichment (ME)

III: Establishment (EModE)

IV: Specialization (LModE)

V: Where we are now

Such a description is in tune with Figure 3.1 above. This figure shows that ME is a fruitful period for adverbial subordinators, since at this stage their number doubles in comparison to the previous period, that is, enrichment. In the next stage, i.e. EModE, we witness a period of establishment and specialization, in Rissanen's words and Figure 3.1[26] shows a peak at that time. In the EModE period the proportion of subordinators reaches its peak. However, the massive expansion in the inventory of adverbial subordinators is characterized for the fact that many of the newcomers did not survive, being ephemeral in nature; some became extinct after this period and others became highly restricted in their uses. In fact, Kortmann (1997: 301) argues that 70% of the EModE period adverbial subordinators did not survive or were rarely documented after this period, whereas the proportion of obsolescence for the previous stage, i.e. ME, was roughly 20%.

Since the publication of Kortmann's (1997) monograph, the interest on adverbial subordinators, connectives or conjunctions has not ceased and his typological findings are recurrently quoted and contrasted. Since then, many linguists have approached this intriguing word class from various perspectives (see, among others, Risannen 2011; Lenker and Meurman-Solin 2007; Lenker 2010; Molencki 2012; Rudnicka 2019). A particular relevant work is Lenker's monograph *Argument and Rhetoric. Adverbial connectors in the history of English* (2010), an excellent long-diachrony survey of a group of connectors closely related to adverbial subordinators. In fact, Lenker uses Kortmann's results on the history of subordinators to contrast and compare them with those for adverbial connectors.

[26] Note that Kortmann (1997) does not establish a difference between EModE and LModE, as Rissanen (2010) does.

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In what follows, the main features which shape over time the word class of adverbial subordinators are outlined. In particular, emphasis is laid on (i) some considerations on adverbial subordinators across time; (ii) sources of adverbial subordinators; and (iii) their morphological complexity.

ME was the most influential period in the development of the inventory of adverbial subordinators. It was precisely at this time when the set of subordinators was enlarged significantly. In addition to high-frequency adverbial subordinators in PDE, including *after*, *as*, *as long as*, *as soon as*, *if*, *since*, *so*, *that*, *though*, and *while*, which are already attested in OE, some other adverbial conjunctions which are common nowadays were introduced at this stage: *although*, *because*, *before*, *until*, *when*, *where* as well as *the… the*. ME was a period of innovation, as roughly 75% of the adverbial subordinators at this stage had no predecessors or were not used in this function in OE. In spite of the fact that the borrowing of adverbial subordinators witnessed at this period was massive, many more than in any other stage of the English language proved to be resistant to obsolescence, as more than half of them made their way into PDE (Kortmann 1997: 301).

ME has also been seen as a key period in the development of adverbial subordinators. In fact, it is at this stage when English developed special-purpose adverbial subordinators. The following figures below from Kortmann (1997: 311) show the proportion of primary subordinators over time and it is noteworthy that it remained stable since the 14th /15th century up to the present day: OE: 0; ME: 10; EModE: 14 and PDE: 9.

Concerning the categories that constitute the principal source for adverbial subordinators in the course of history, Kortmann (1997: 306-313) mentions the following:

i. In OE, adverbs and demonstratives were the most important categories from which subordinators were formed. As regards demonstratives, most of them involved case-marked forms of the demonstrative *se* (masculine singular), i.e. the genitive (*þæs*), the dative (*þæm*) and the instrumental (*þy*, *þon*).

ii. In ME, the main sources for adverbial subordinators were prepositions, nouns, verbs and complementizers.

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Table 3.2 illustrates the preferred categorical sources of adverbial subordinators in the history of English.

	Adverb	Demonstrative	Preposition	Noun	Verb	Complementizer
OE (37=100%)	37.8%	13.5%	10.08%	-	-	8.1%
ME (74= 100%)	20.3%	1.4%	17.6%	1.4%	-	5.4%
EModE (96= 100%)	14.3%	1.0%	18.4%	3.1%	4.2%	4.1%
PDE (63=100%)	22.2%	1.6%	17.5%	1.6%	1.6%	4.8%

Table 3.2: Preferred categorical sources of adverbial subordinators in the history of English (Adapted from Kortmann 1997: 306)

The major reason for more and more adverbial subordinators incorporating nouns and verbs in ME and, particularly, in EModE is French, and in some cases Latin, influence.[27] Rissanen (2007: 193; 2015: 101) maintains that most of the subordinators coined in ME were: (i) borrowings from Latin (L) and French (F) and, marginally, from Old Norse (ON), as shown in Table 3.3 and (ii) verb- and noun-based. Interestingly, most of these newcomers belong to Kortmann's (1997) CCC group (cause, condition, concession).

Temporal	*before*, *till* (ON), *until* (ON)
Causal	*because* (F)
Conditional	*in case* (F), *supposing* (F), *provided* (F)
Exception	*outtaken* (cf. Latin *excepto*), *except* (Latin/F), *save* (F), *unless* (<*on less than*/*that*); cf. F *à moins que*)
Other relations	*according as* (F), *notwithstanding* (cf. Latin/F *non obstant*[*e*])

Table 3.3: The most common adverbial subordinators emerging in ME and their donor languages (from Rissanen 2007: 103)

Concerning the new connectives based on nouns or verbs, remarkably the adverbial subordinators coined at this time were related to cognitive verbs, for example *considering*, *concerning*, *supposing* or *seeing*. The latter is the only one which is based on a native verb,

[27] Cf. Cougil Álvarez and González Cruz (2003) on the grammaticalization of *provided (that)* in EModE and Kahlas-Tarkka and Rissanen (2014) on verb-based adverbial connectives in ME.

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see, but Rissanen (2010: 145) argues that analogy with *consider* played an important role in the establishment of *seeing* as a connective, although "it is doubtful whether [*seeing*] ever became fully grammaticalized" given that its frequency is too low in the HC (only five instances per 100,000 words). Consider examples (3.8) and (3.9) below as an illustration of *seeing* as a connective:[28]

(3.8) *And the Iewes marveylled saying: How knoweth he the scriptures,* ***seynge that*** *he this never learned? Iesus answered them, and sayde: My doctrine is not myne: but his that sent me*. (1534 Tyndale, *Gosp. of St. John* 7 TYNDNEW HC)

(3.9) *Then was it by the Lorde Chauncelor thereunto awneswered, that* ***seinge*** *all the Bysshoppes, Vniuersities and best learned of this Realm had to this acte agreed, It was muche mervayled that he alone against them all would so stiffly stick therat*. (1556 Roper 94, ROPER HC)

This urge to add new subordinators to the language is related to the intensive activity of translation, mainly from Latin and French in the 15th century, coinciding with the re-establishment of English as the language of statutes and other official documents. Therefore, Latin and French were good models for the creation and adoption of new subordinators. Rissanen (2007: 194) proposes the following pattern of development for those borrowed subordinators:

1. The loan-word (noun, adjective or verb) offering the basis for the connective to appear in EME.

2. The grammaticalized connective develops in the course of the 14th century along with the increasing strength of the position of English in various written contexts. This process can be supported by a corresponding grammaticalized form in the source language.

[28] Examples (3.8) and (3.9) are taken from Rissanen (2010: 145). Note that in these instances, *seeing* appears in combination with the pleonastic *that* (3.8) and without it (3.9). The absence of *that* is an indication of the further grammaticalization of *seeing*.

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3. The grammaticalized form is established and used in new syntactic contexts in the 15th and 16th centuries. The pattern of development is, in most cases, from prepositional and adverbial to subordinate use.

As regards the morphological complexity of adverbial subordinators, no significant changes have been identified in the one-word to multi-word ratios over time, as Table 3.4, adapted from Kortmann (1997: 303), shows:

	One-word	Multi-word	Monomorphemic One word	Polymorphemic One-word
OE (37=100%)	21 (56.8%)	16 (43.2%)	17 (46.0%)	4 (10.8%)
ME (74= 100%)	42 (56.8%)	32 (43.2%)	26 (36.1%)	16 (21.6%)
EModE (96= 100%)	54 (56.2%)	42 (43.8%)	25 (26.1%)	29 (30.2%)
PDE (63=100%)	37 (58.7%)	26 (41.3%)	18 (28.6%)	19 (30.2%)

Table 3.4: Changes in the morphological complexity of adverbial subordinators in the history of English (Adapted from Kortmann 1997: 303)

The figures in Table 3.4 show that in all stages of the history of English one-word subordinators slightly outnumber multi-word ones. For instance, the semantic adverbial relations of condition and concession were marked in OE by the simple conjunctions *gif* and *þeah*.[29] Consider examples (3.10)[30] and (3.11)[31] below:

(3.10) ***gif*** *þu huning to dest þæt deah* (Lch II 2.11.5)

[29] In OE, *þeah* could also be used in a pure conditional sense (cf. König 1985).

[30] Example (3.10) is taken from Molencki (2017: 122). The modern version of this example provided by the author is: "If you add honey, it is good".

[31] From König (1985: 9), who gives the following translation for this example: "Therefore I do not want to kill him with the sword, although I could do it". Note that in this instance *for þan* is not functioning as a causal conjunction.

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(3.11) *For þan ic hine sweorode swebban nelle,, ...* ***þeah*** *ice al maege* (*Beowolf,* 679)

As regards the proportions of monomorphemic and polymorphemic one-word subordinators, the data shows that historically, there is a very clear tendency for adverbial subordinators to be polymorphemic from ME onwards. In fact, in EModE and PDE polymorphemic one-word subordinators slightly outnumber monomorphemic ones. However, Kortmann (1997: 304) argues that it is not possible to identify a single factor which could account for this development.

Over one third of all PDE adverbial subordinators which were introduced in OE, ME or EModE underwent some semantic change in their development. The two adverbial subordinators whose meaning changed more dramatically in the course of the history of English were *as* and *so*. By way of illustration, in what follows I summarize the semantic development of *as* over time. As stated by Kortmann (1997: 317), the story of *as* is characterized by an enormous expansion of the range of interclausal relations it came to express in post-OE times. In OE *eal(l)swa* was restricted to the expression of modal relations, especially similarity and comparison, but most likely manner and also comment/accord. In ME, the domain of OE *swa* was covered by *as*, which came to be used as a resultative subordinator, as shown in (3.12):[32]

(3.12) *Yet would the fyr as faire lye and brenne* ***as*** *twenty thousand men mighte it beholde*. (Chaucer, *CT Wife of Bath's Tale*, Eitle 1914: 100)

In EModE its semantic extension continued to expand, *as* developing into a marker of cause (as in example (3.13) below) and of degree, although the latter was not productive.

(3.13) *I warrant you we will play our part,* ***as*** *he shall think by out true diligence he is no less than what we say he is*. (Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew,* Franz 1939: 454)

[32] Examples (3.12) to (3.15) are taken from Kortmann (1997: 318).

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In PDE, *as* has lost its resultative meaning and it can no longer be a marker of comparison (except for frozen expressions like *as it were*). Consider example (3.14) below:

(3.14) *What's he that knocks* ***as*** *he would beat down the gate?* (Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, Franz 1939: 464)

In PDE, *as* has recently acquired a concessive meaning, although marginal, as example (3.15) illustrates:

(3.15) *Naked* ***as*** *I was, I braved the storm*. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1098)

Kortmann (1997: 319) mentions that the most general tendency that can be identified in adverbial subordinators is that semantic changes involving condition, cause, concession, concessive condition, result and purpose relations seem to be unidirectional. Some instances of this general tendency are:

i. The development of causal markers from markers of anterior time. Consider *since*[33] and *now* (*that*). Example (3.16)[34] below illustrates the use of *now* (*that*) as a causal subordinator:

(3.16) *I am so sory,* ***now that*** *ye be light*; (*Complaint to his Purse* 3)

ii. The development of causal, conditional, contrastive or concessive markers from markers of simultaneity. An example is the development of PDE *while*:[35] simultaneity duration > concession, contrast.

iii. The development of contrastive-concessive *whereas* and EModE *where* from the locative markers they originally were. See example (3.17):

[33] Cf. Traugott and Dasher (2002: 36-37) and Hopper and Traugott (2003: 80-81) for details on the uses of *since*.

[34] Example (3.16) quoted from Fischer (1992: 347).

[35] Cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 90-91) and López-Couso (2017: 176-179) for details on the evolution of *while*.

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(3.17) *Purple in those dayes was for the wearyng of none but kynges & princes,* ***wher*** *now it is communely taken vp with euery sowter*. (1542 N. Udall tr. *Erasmus Apophthegmes* f. 62; OED s.v. *where*, adv. and conj. 12b)

In the remaining sections of this chapter, special emphasis is on causals, conditionals and concessives and on the subordinators that introduce these finite adverbial clauses in the three main historical periods considered in this dissertation, namely ME, EModE and LModE.

3.3 Causal adverbial clauses

Prototypical causal constructions in OE consist of a sub-clause introduced by a prepositional conjunction of the type *for* + demonstrative + optional particle *þe* and preceded or followed by a main clause. The most common subordinators are *for þæm* / *þom* / *þan* / *þon* / *þy* / *þi* (*þe*) (Traugott 1992: 252-253).

Fischer (1992: 345-347) points out that in ME the OE causal marker *for þæm* (*þe*) lost the deictic element *þæm*, thus making it possible for the causal marker *for* (*that*) to become a conjunction. Similarly, Molencki (2012: 125-131) maintains that *for* is a "chief exponent of the causal relationship" in early ME.[36] Consider example (3.18):[37]

(3.18) *Ðis gære for þe king Stephne ofer sæ to Normandi ther wes underfangen* ***forþi ðæt*** *hi uuenden ðæt he sculde ben alsuic alse the eom wes.* ***for*** *he hadde get his tresor*. <Chron E 1137>

[36] Rissanen (1998: 396) shows that the majority of the first ME occurrences of *for that* occur in two North East Midland texts: The *Ormulum* and *Trinity Homilies*. This may indicate that dialectal variation played a role in the development of *for* as a causal subordinator.

[37] Example (3.18) is taken from Molencki (2012: 127). The modernized version of this example provided by the author is: 'This year King Stephen went across the sea to Normandy and was welcomed there because they imagined he would be as his maternal uncle was, and he was still in possession of the royal treasury.'

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Note that in this example, there are two causal clauses juxtaposed. In such cases, it was common for the first one to be introduced by the full phrase *forþi ðæt* and for the second to show the reduced form *for*. Molencki (2012: 126) claims that "[t]his may have led to the later syntactic reinterpretation of just *for* as a sufficient exponent of subordination and this explain how the new causal conjunction may have originated".

In Late ME *because* became a new causal subordinator and it rapidly gained ground.[38] At first, it was found in conjunctive phrases of the type *by (the) cause that*, *for the cause that*, etc., but Fischer (1992: 346) maintains that already in Chaucer's time *by-cause (that)* was the most usual form. Consider example (3.19), quoted from Fischer (1992):

(3.19) *and it is drye & no thing fructuous* ***be cause þat*** *it hath no moisture...* (Mandev. (Tit) 26.23-4)

Rissanen (1998: 396-400) describes the origin of *because* as "the most dramatic ME innovation marking causal clauses". A French loan, which rapidly grammaticalized,[39] not surprisingly, in its first occurrences *because* is normally followed by *that*. The earliest instances date from the second half of the 14th century, as shown in (3.20):[40]

(3.20) *The widest of these 3 principle cercles is clepid* [=called] *the cercle of Capricorne,* ***by cause that*** *the heved* [=head] *of Capricorne turneth everno consentrik upon the seme cercle*. (Chaucer, Astrolabe [AST] 666)

[38] Cf. Uchida and Iyeiri (2017) on the comparison of the two causal conjunctions, *for* and *because*, in Caxton's *Paris and Vienne* and three French versions of the same texts. Their study proves the progressive expansion of *because* at the expense of *for*. Interestingly, and contrary to the widely extended view in the literature on the topic, these authors claim that a straightforward relation between *because* and the French noun *cause*, the verb *causer* or the complex conjunction *parce cause que* as sources for the new causal subordinator cannot be established, due to the fact that those forms (*cause*, *causer* and *parce cause que*) are non-existent in their French data.

[39] For a detailed account of the grammaticalization of the causal subordinator *because*, see Molencki (2012: 167-196).

[40] Examples (3.20) and (3.21) are taken from Rissanen (1998: 397).

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The earliest attestations of *because* without *that* occur in the early 15th century, which proves how rapid *because* became popular and grammaticalized as a causal subordinator, as shown in (3.21):

(3.21) *And **by cause** it is sayd þe berer of hem* [=them] *is by our enemys taken in to Crotey, we nenouelle* [= renew] *hem here at Trye þe Castell,* (Letter by Henry V [Henry5L] 83)

The rapid establishment of *because* as a causal subordinator is related to the fact that *for* gradually developed into a coordinating link and, therefore, a new subordinator to mark reason was needed (Risannen 1998: 397).

Other causal subordinators used at this period were the correlatives *for... for-thi/therefore*. See example (3.22) below:[41]

(3.22) *and **for** thow ne woost what is the eende of thynges, **forthy** demestow that...* (Bo. I, pr.6, 76-8)

Fischer also mentions the ME use of *that* as a causal subordinator, though not a core one, probably because of its heavy functional overload.[42] Its use as a causal subordinator may have its origin in OE *þæs (þe)*, which as a genitive indicated the source or cause. See example (3.23):

(3.23) *And ek so glad of **that** she was escaped;* (LGW 815)

In addition, some temporal conjunctions came to be used as causal subordinators in ME. One of these is *now* (*that*), which was mainly temporal but could also have a causal interpretation. See example (3.24) = (3.16):

(3.24) = (3.16) *I am so sory, **now that** ye be light;* (*Complaint to his Purse* 3)

[41] Examples (3.22) – (3.25) are taken from Fischer (1992: 345-347).

[42] In fact, this word has been described by Jespersen as "the maid of all work" (Jespersen (1909-1949), as cited in Fischer (1992: 346)).

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Sith or *sin* (<OE si*þþan*) was in early ME still exclusively a temporal conjunction, but its causal connotation spread very fast. It is remarkable that in Chaucer's works, *sin/sithen* is causal in about 75 per cent of cases, and *sith* in about 50 per cent. Consider example (3.25) below, which illustrates the causal use of *sin*:

(3.25) *What sholde I tellen hem, **syn** they been tolde?* (CT III. 56 [2: 56])

In EModE the prototypical causal subordinator *for* was rapidly replaced by *because*, which, as seen above, emerged in the 14th century and by the 16th century was very popular. However, in the EModE period there are still instances of *for* as a subordinator, in most of the cases followed by *that*. See example (3.26)[43] below.

(3.26) *King Edwardes lyne shoulde not any longer reigne vpon them, both **for that** thei had so farre gone, that it was now no surety to retreate, as **for that** they thought it for the weale vniversal to take that wai although they had not yet begonne it.* ([HC] More *Richard III* 79)

Rissanen (1999: 307) tested the frequency of *because* and *for* in the *Helsinki Corpus* and the ratio changes dramatically: 1:15 in texts dating from 1420-1500, in contrast to 1:3 in the timespan 1500-1640.

In addition to the replacement of the prototypical causal subordinator *for* by *because*, it was also in the EModE period when many newcomers were incorporated to the causal subset. This includes some less frequent subordinators, such as *for because* (3.27), *as* (3.28), *for why* and *in that*.[44] Causal clauses of given information were commonly introduced by *that*, *now* (*that*), *since* and *sith* (3.29).

[43] Examples (3.26), (3.28) and (3.29) are taken from Rissanen (1999: 306-307).

[44] For further details on subordinators showing accretion, such as *for why* or *for because*, see López-Couso (2019: 343-344) and Molencki (2012: 194-195), who offers a detailed account of *for because (that)*, which became popular in the 15th century. It is remarkable, that causal clauses introduced by this complex causal subordinator often contain the correlative *therefore*.

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(3.27) *They are much deceiued..**for because** the Stellion hath a rustie colour*. (1608, E. Topsell *Hist. Serpents* 276; OED s.v. *because*, adv., conj., and n., B 1a)

(3.28) *But when the king had abused her, anon her husband (**as** he was an honest man...) left her vp to him al together...* ([HC] More *Richard III* 55)

(3.29) *For **sith** almightie God the father woulde gyue hys moste dearely beloued sonne vnto suche an horrible death, ... thou mayest bee sure that he hateth sinne very much.* ([HC] Fisher 398)

As regards LModE, Denison (1998: 295-296) points out that *because* has already taken the lead as causal subordinator and the use of *for* has become even more restricted, occurring in formal contexts, as illustrated in (3.30). Note here the use of the pleonastic *that* in combination with the old prototypical causal subordinator *for*.

(3.30) *Her Husband said, he was sorry too –**for that** he thought you were a good kind of youn man*. (1813 H. Cowley, *The Town Before You*, in *Works*, (1813), III.iv II.377 [WWP])

In the same vein, Rissanen (1998: 399-400) lists the results of various corpus-based studies on the variation between *for* and *because* covering from the 18th century onwards. These studies confirm the increasing popularity of *because* at the cost of *for* and the establishment of *because* as the prototypical causal subordinator. Interestingly, Rissanen (1998: 400) shows that the overall ratio between *for* and *because* in PDE, based on the hundred-million-word *British National Corpus*, is roughly 15:85, which clearly demonstrates that the further establishment of *because* as a prototypical causal subordinator is a reality and that *for* functioning as a causal adverbial subordinator is more and more restricted.

Moreover, several causal conjunctions gained ground in LModE even if their use as causal adverbial subordinators dates back to the ME period (Denison 1998: 296). The subordinators *as* and *since* are examples of this tendency. Denison (1998: 296) argues that

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as acquired in EModE causal meaning (cf. Section 3.2 above). However, it was not until the LModE period when it came to be more frequently used as a causal subordinator.

On the contrary, LModE witnessed the loss of some other members of the set of causal subordinators, for example, *being* (*as*/*that*). The last quotation of this connective in the OED, as cited in Denison (1998: 296), is considered to be old-fashioned. This is given as (3.31) below:

(3.31) *With whom he himself had no delight in associating,* ***being that*** *he was addicted unto profane and scurrilous jests*. (1815 Scott, *Guy Mannering* ix [OED])

Another feature of the LModE period is the grammaticalization of various verbal –*ing* forms as conjunctions, among them *seeing* (*as/that*), which, similarly to *being* (*as*/*that*), lost ground over time and remains now only in informal use. Rissanen (2010: 143-145) claims that the loss of these connectives in LModE was due to the specialization and restriction that characterizes this period.

3.4 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional clauses are formally and semantically similar to concessives, since in both types of clauses there is a conditional relation between the main and the subordinate clause. As a matter of fact, conditionals and concessives are grouped and studied together in the *Cambridge History of the English Language* in the three periods under consideration.[45] Fischer (1992: 347) describes the intimate relation between conditional and concessive adverbial relations as follows:

> In conditional clauses the main clause depends on the condition expressed in the subclause. In the concessive clause, the condition has, as it were, taken effect already; the main clause, therefore, does not depend on it; rather, it contrasts with it.

[45] Sometimes, consecutive clauses are also part of this set, since they are also related in meaning.

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Given the similar nature of the two adverbial relations, it is not surprising that the subordinators heading these two types of subordinate clauses are often shared. For instance, in (3.32) *though*, the prototypical concessive subordinator in PDE, can be interpreted as conditional:

(3.32) *For **though** a man be falle in jalous rage, / Lat maken with this water his potage,/ And nevere shal he moore his wyf mystriste,...* (CT VI. 37-0 [9: 365-7])

If has always been the prototypical and the commonest conditional adverbial subordinator in the history of English. In ME, this conditional subordinator could occur with the pleonastic *that* (3.33)[46] and accompanied by a correlative element in the main clause such as *than(ne)*, *then(ne)*, *tho*, *algates*, *certes*, etc. or by *ever* to indicate time reference.

(3.33) *And **if that** evere ye shul ben a wyf, /Foryet nat Palamon,...* (CT I.2796-7 [1: 2792-3])

Other conditional subordinators in ME are *and*[47](3.34) or *and if* (3.35). The latter is an example of hypercharacterization, given that the meaning of *and* and of *if* on their own is that of condition, as shown in (3.35):[48]

(3.34) *And myȝte kisse þe kynge for cosyn, **an** she wolde*. (*c*1400 (*c*1378), W. Langland *Piers Plowman* (Laud 581) (1869) B. ii. l. 132; OED s.v. *an*, conj. and n., A2)

(3.35) *But **and yf** he woulde haue hythe he might haue ben here* (PPCME2, CMREYNAR; from Fodor 2010: 300)

[46] Example (3.32) and (3.33) are taken from Fischer (1992: 348).

[47] On the use of the conditional subordinator *and* in the history of English, see Klemola and Filppula (1992), Rissanen (1999: 281), Culpeper and Kytö (2000) and Fodor (2010).

[48] López-Couso (2019: 344) provides further examples of the hypercharacterized conditional subordinator *and if*.

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ME also witnessed the addition of conjunctive phrases to the set of conditional subordinators, such as *be so*, *if so be*/ *were that*, as shown in (3.36),[49] and (rare) *in cas that*.

(3.36) *For **if so were** I hadde swich myschaunce / That I in hire ne koude han nno plesaunce, / Thanne sholde I lede my lyf in avoutrye...* (CT IV.1433-5 [5: 189-91])

Conditionality in ME was not only expressed by means of the use of a conditional subordinator, but also by inverted word order (3.37). Furthermore, conditional meaning was also conveyed through an imperative, as in (3.38):[50]

(3.37) ***Were þer** a belle on hhire beiȝe* [=collar]*... /Men myȝe witen wher þei wente...* (PPl.B (Trin-C) Prol.165-6)

(3.38) ***Swere this**, and here I swere oure alliance*. (CT IV. 357 [8: 357])

Likewise, clauses introduced by generalizing or independent pronouns often entailed a conditional meaning. See example (3.39):

(3.39) *For **whoso** wolde senge a cattes skyn,/ **Thanne** wolde the cat wel dwellen in his in;* (CT III. 349-50 [2: 349-50])

As was the case in ME, conditionals and concessives were closely connected in EModE. Thus, *if*, the prototypical conditional subordinator, was usually found introducing concessive clauses and *though*, the prototypical concessive subordinator, also occurred in conditional clauses. See examples (3.40)[51] and (3.41) below, which feature *if* with concessive meaning and *though* conveying conditional meaning, respectively.

[49] Example (3.36) is taken from Fischer (1992: 348).

[50] Examples (3.37) - (3.39) from Fischer (1992: 349-350).

[51] Examples (3.40) – (3.44) and (3.46) are taken from Rissanen (1999: 308-310).

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(3.40) ***If*** *Spirites of their owne accorde woulde gladly tell vs many things: yet wee must not giue eare vunto them.* (1272 R. H. Tr. *Lauater's Of ghostes* 197 [OED s.v. *if* 4a])

(3.41) ***Though*** *a sprete or an angell hath apered to him, let vs not stryve against* (Tyndale *Acts of Apostles* 23.9)

In EModE, the conditional relationship could also be expressed by means of inversion (3.42) or the imperative (3.43) – (3.44), the latter being only sporadically found.

(3.42) ***Wist I*** *that it were trewe … I woulde well thynke, that… he hanged himselfe.* (More *Heresies* 327)

(3.43) ***Pursue*** *him quicklie, and he cannot scape.* (Marlowe *Edward II* II.iv)

(3.44) ***Live*** *godly, thou shalt die, though honour heaven, yet shall thy life be forcibly bereaven*. (Marlowe Ovid's *Elegies* 3 8 37)

Examples (3.43) and (3.44), quoted from Rissanen (1999: 309), are from the same author, Marlowe, which may indicate that the use of the imperative to convey conditional meaning may have been restricted to certain idiolects. Further research is certainly needed in this respect.

Apart from *if*, EModE also used other conditional links which are no longer available in standard PDE, including *so (that)*, *if case*, *without* and *and*. The latter was more frequent in ME (see above), but it also occurs in EModE as a conditional subordinator. In addition, it is in EModE when the clitic combination of the conjunction *and* and the pronoun *it* (*an't*) arises, as in (3.45).[52] It is commonly described as a colloquial feature, commonly favoured by dramatists.

(3.45) ***An't*** *be any way, it must be with valour*. (Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* III.ii; the Folio edition reads *and't*)

[52] Example (3.45) is taken from Rissanen (1999: 281).

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In case (that) as a conditional subordinator originated in ME and in EModE steadily gained ground.[53] Examples are also found of *if case*, which could be considered a shorter version of *if case be that*. See example (3.46) below:

(3.46) *This speak I (Lords) to let you vnderstand,* ***If case*** *some one of you would flye from vs, That there´s no hop'd- for mercy with the Brothers Yorke*. (Shakespeare 3 *Henry VI* V.iv)

Additionally, newcomers to the set of adverbial conditional subordinators in ME and EModE are characterized for incorporating the base form of the verb *be*. Formations of this kind include *be it so* (*that, as*), (*if*) *so be* (*that, as*) and *if case be* (*that*). Illustrative examples are given in (3.47), (3.48) and (3.49)[54] below.

(3.47) ***Be it so*** *the Corinthians had no suche contencions among them*. (1549, H. Latimer 2nd *Serm. before Kynges Maiestie 6th Serm*. sig. Ti; OED s.v. *be*, I3)

(3.48) *And* ***if so be that*** *thow my lady wynne..Thow mayst wel haue thy lady as for me*. (c1385, Chaucer CT.Kn.(Manly-Rickert); MED s.v. *if* (conj.) 1c).

(3.49) *But* ***if case be that*** *my londe crie against me*. (1535 Coverdale, Job 31, 38)

Conditional clauses in this period commonly show the correlative *so* (3.50) or *then* (3.51) in the main clause.[55] The use of *then* frequently responds to reasons of rhythm or emphasis.

[53] On the diachronic development and establishment of *in case*, see Rissanen (2003). On the use of the structures *if-then* and *in case/then* in EModE legal discourse, see Lehto (2012).

[54] Example (3.49) is quoted from Visser (1963-1973: 889), but given that the main clause is not provided, the example does not clearly illustrate the use of *if case be that* as a conditional subordinator. Remarkably, *if case be that* is listed in various works dealing with the EModE period, among others Visser 1963-1973; Häcker 1999; Kortmann 1999; Rissanen 1999. However, illustrative examples are not usually provided.

[55] Examples (3.50) and (3.51) are taken from Rissanen (1999: 310). The use of the correlative *then* in conditional constructions was also possible in ME, as example (3.39) illustrates.

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(3.50) ***If*** *thou believe not....,* ***so*** *is it impossible that...* (1536 Tindale Doct. *Treat*. 433 [OED s.v. *so* 12])

(3.51) ***if*** *the Brayne be let, al other members be let: and if the Brayne be wel,* ***then*** *al other members of the body be the better disposed*. ([HC] More *Richard III* 42)

3.5 Concessive adverbial clauses

Concessive adverbial clauses were typically introduced in OE by the conjunction *þeah* (*þe*) (Traugott 1992: 258), which survives in ME as *though*, also spelt *theigh*, the latter occurring mainly in early and southern texts (Rissanen 1999: 350). Additionally, *though* is commonly found in combination with adversative particles in the main clause, such as *yet* (3.52), *certes, nathelees*, etc.

(3. 52) ((IP-MAT (CONJ And)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(HVD had)
(DON done)
(NP-OB1 (QP (ADVR so) (Q many))
(NS myracles)
(PP (P before)
(NP (PRO them)))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(VBD beleved)
(NEG not)
(NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(PP (P on)
(NP (PRO him)))

In the 14th century we also find *although* and longer phrases such as *though so be that* and *al be it (so) that*. Consider examples (3.53) and (3.54) below:

(3.53) ((IP-MAT-SPE (CONJ And)
(PP (P **though**)

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(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ-1 *exp*)
(ADVP (ADV **so**))
(BED **were**)
(CP-THT-SPE-1 (C **that**)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO thou))
(HVD haddest)
(VBN slayn)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO hem)))
(NP-OB1 (NUMP (NUM two) (CONJ or) (NUM tree)))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(VBP dwellen)
(NP-SBJ-2 (EX ther))
(NP-2 (ADJR ynowe))
(IP-INF-PRP-SPE (IP-INF-PRP-SPE (TO to)
(VB wreken)
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ hir) (N deeth)))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(IP-INF-PRP-SPE (TO to)
(VB sle)
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ thy) (N persone)))))) (. .))
(ID CMCTMELI,228.C2.442))

(3.54) *And **al be it so that** it was greet peril to myne enemys to do me a vileynye in takynge vengeance upon me, yet tooken they noon heede of the peril, but fulfilleden hir wikked wyl and hir corage*. (HC, hm3.byb; from Blanco-García 2017)

The emergence of *although* is intimately related to the co-occurrence of *though* and *al* in concessive clauses. The use of *al* in such clauses conveyed emphasis, particularly when concessivity was expressed by means of inverted word order. Nevertheless, in early ME *al* on its own became a conjunction. See example (3.55) below, from Fischer (1992: 351).

(3.55) *... That of hem alle was ther noon yslayn, / **Al** were they soore yhurt,...* (*CT* I. 2708-9 [2: 2708-8])

Concession is characterized by being used more often than not with a purely intensifying function, as suggested by Fischer (1992: 351). Therefore, coordination (3.56)

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as well as temporal, relative and comparative clauses also expressed concessive meaning in ME.

(3.56) *and thou, Virgine wemmlees, / Baar of thy body –**and** dweltest mayden pure- / The Creatour of every creature*. (CT III. 491-2 [2: 491-2]; from Fischer 1992: 351)

In EModE, new concessive subordinators came to life. Particularly remarkable is the role played by the intensifying *all* in the formation of new concessive markers. We sometimes find *all* in combination with the prototypical concessive subordinator *though*, but this co-occurrence did not last long. However, as mentioned above, it paved the way for the origin of *although*. Other concessive subordinators with *all* originated in EModE, such as *albeit* (3.57), *for all (that)* (3.58) and *all if* (3.59).[56] The latter two subordinators could indicate concessivity, although not frequently.

(3.57) *I* [=ay]*, but his feare Would ne're be masqu'd, **all-be** his vices were*. (Johnson *Sejanus* IV 478)

(3.58) *How many of this Citie **for all that** they are Vsurers, yet would be counted honest men...* ([HC] Smith B2v)

(3.59) ***All if** I would, it were but shame.* (1514 Barclay *Cyt. & Uplandyshm*. 41 [OED s.v. *all* adv. C10b])

As was the case for conditional adverbial subordinators in ME and EModE (cf. Section 3.3), newcomers to the set of adverbial concessive markers are characterized for incorporating the base form of the verb *be*. EModE concessive subordinators of this kind are *albeit* (*that*)[57] and *howbeit* (*that*); see examples (3.64) and (3.65) below:

[56] Examples (3.57) – (3.59) and (3.62) are taken form Rissanen (1999: 310).

[57] For a detailed account on the origin and development of *albeit*, cf. Sorva (2006; 2007).

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(3.60) *Although Leonardo has got my Mistris, yet I'le have about with him,* ***albeit*** *he be a Senatours son in law*. (1663 W. Clark *Marciano* v. iv. 63; OED s.v. *albeit*, conj. 1b)

(3.61) *This conclusion serueth for makyng of quadrates and squires, beside many other commodities,* ***howebeit*** *it maye bee don more readylye by this conclusion that foloweth nexte*. (HC, he1.byb; from Blanco-García 2017)

Furthermore, it is in EModE when *notwithstanding* (*that*) started to be used as a subordinator to introduce concessive clauses, as shown in (3.62).

(3.62) *Milke,* ***notwithstanding that*** *it seemth to be wholly of one substance, yet it is compact, or made of severall substances*. (1584 Cogan Haven Health 176 [OED] s.v. *notwithstanding* C. conj.)

As already mentioned in Section 3.3, concessive clauses follow the pattern of conditional clauses and could be expressed by means of inversion (3.63)[58] or the imperative.

(3.63) *For how can that subject please his Liege Souerain, kepe he neuer so well his laws,* ***observe he*** *neuer so exactly his statutes, if with all this he acknowleadg him not for his Prince*. (Stapleton 5v)

In LModE, concessive clauses and the set of concessive subordinators do not show remarkable changes with respect to those summarized above for EModE. In the 19th century, we witness the specialization of the concessive subordinator *though*, whose conditional-concessive use became archaic. See in this respect example (3.64), from Denison (1998: 303):

(3.64) *And he had plenty of unsettled subjects to meditate upon,* ***though*** *he had been walking to the Land's end*. (*=And he had –and would have had –*

[58] Example (3.64) is taken from Rissanen (1999: 309).

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plenty... even if he had been walking...) (1855-7 Dickens, Little Dorit I.xvi.183)

As can be gathered from the information provided in this chapter, the history of causal, conditional and concessive adverbial clauses and their respective subordinators represents a fruitful field for research, since all through the history of English the sets of subordinators for these three adverbial relations have undergone various changes, not only as regards the number of the relevant connectives, but also concerning form and usage.

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4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 The research framework

The approach adopted in the present dissertation is usage-based, taking corpus material as the basis for the analysis of the ephemeral and non-ephemeral subordinators under study. Although corpora are therefore essential in this work, historical dictionaries (cf. 4.2.1) are also be used as sources of data. Given that ephemeral subordinators are rare and characterized by their low frequency and their short-lived nature, the investigation is inherently qualitative.

4.2 Sources of evidence

4.2.1 Dictionaries

This section provides a description of the two major historical dictionaries of the English language, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), two of the sources of evidence used in the present piece of research. As will be shown in Chapter 5, both dictionaries provide valuable information about the diachronic evolution of the forms under examination here, including the dates of the first and last attestations in their uses as subordinators, as well as their different spellings and functions over time.

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Both dictionaries are recurrently used in diachronic studies. However, using dictionary quotations as or in the guise of a corpus is rather controversial.[59] Among the drawbacks of such use we find the limited context that the dictionaries offer, since the quotations therein featured are rather short and clearly insufficient, including some metalinguistic examples, which do not contribute much to a diachronic analysis. Another weakness is the fact that the samples may lead to biased perceptions, due to the high percentage of quotations from certain authors, such as Shakespeare or Chaucer, and geographical areas, such as England. Even so, the advantages surpass the limitations. Therefore, both dictionaries provide invaluable material for linguistic analysis.

4.2.1.1 The OED

This masterpiece with more than 600,000 words, 3.5 million quotations and over 1,000 years of English is usually regarded as "the world's most comprehensive dictionary of the English language" (Hoffmann 2004b: 18). The project to create a dictionary which would record every English word from about 1000, showing its evolution in meanings, uses and spellings and also including quotations, originated in 1858. This titanic project, set up in different stages,[60] resulted in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, which originally consisted of ten large volumes and had over 15,000 pages. In 1933, a supplementary volume appeared, including additions and corrections. In 1989 a second edition in twenty volumes came out, followed by the CD-ROM version in 1992. This second edition is also available online, upon subscription.

As stated in the OED webpage (https://www.oed.com), the dictionary represents the accepted authority on the evolution of the English language from across the English-speaking world, being an unsurpassed guide to the meaning, history and pronunciation of a

[59] Cf. Fischer (1997), Hoffmann (2004), Mair (2004), Chao-Castro (2008), Allan (2012) and Rohdenburg (2013).

[60] For a detailed description of the different stages of the project, see Baugh and Cable (2002: 339-344).

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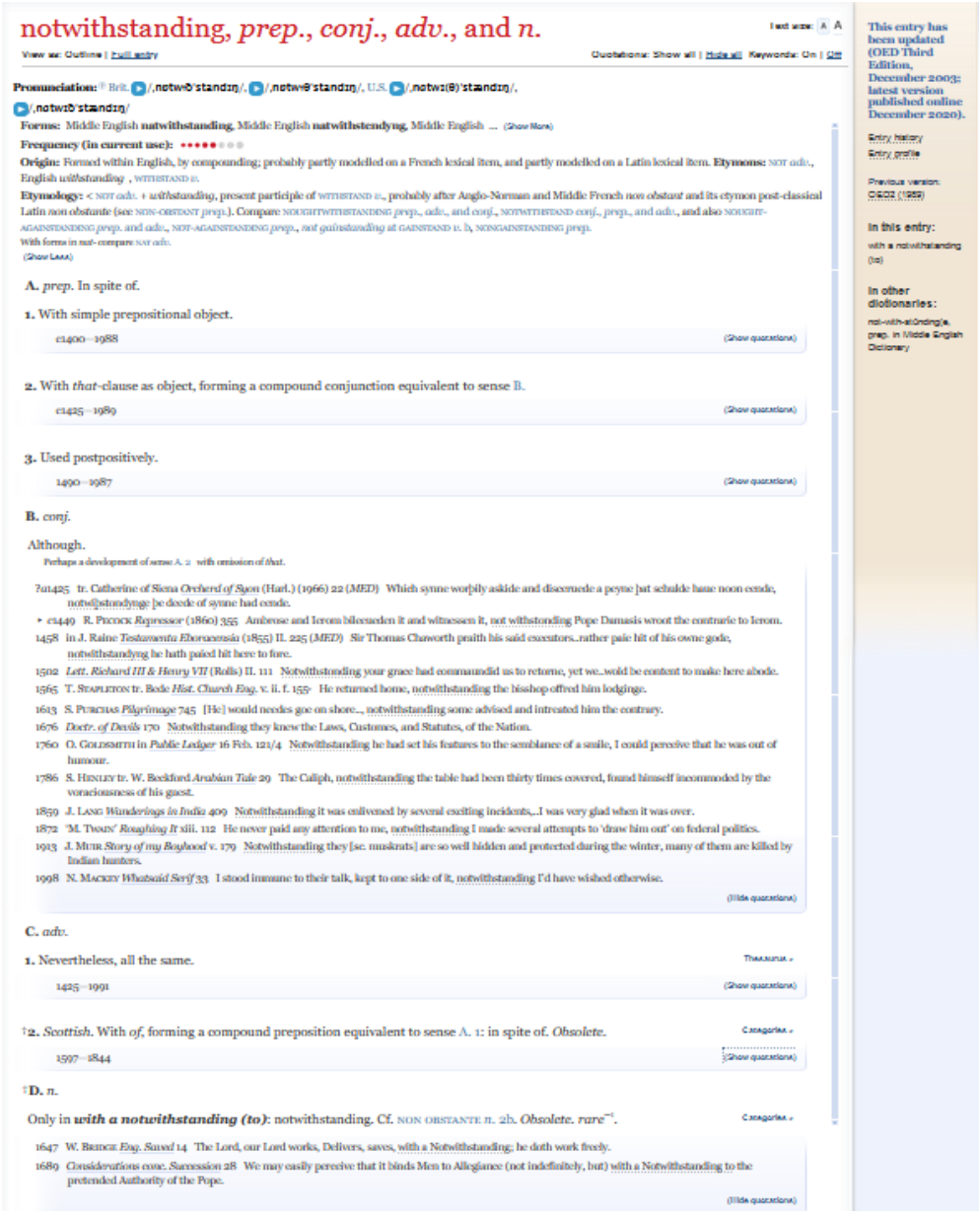
plethora of English words. In view of its value, I make use of this dictionary to trace the evolution of the subordinators at issue here in the course of time.

By way of illustration of the format of the electronic OED, the OED entry for the form *notwithstanding* (prep., conj., adv., and n.) is given in Figure 4.1 below.



notwithstanding, *prep.*, *conj.*, *adv.*, and *n.*

Pronunciation: Brit. /ˌnɒtwɪðˈstandɪŋ/, /ˌnɒtwɪθˈstandɪŋ/, U.S. /ˌnɑtwɪ(θ)ˈstandɪŋ/, /ˌnɑtwɪðˈstandɪŋ/

Forms: Middle English **natwithstanding**, Middle English **natwithstendyng**, Middle English ... (Show More)

Frequency (in current use):

Origin: Formed within English, by compounding; probably partly modelled on a French lexical item, and partly modelled on a Latin lexical item. **Etymons:** NOT *adv.*, English *withstanding* , WITHSTAND *v.*

Etymology: < NOT *adv.* + *withstanding*, present participle of WITHSTAND *v.*, probably after Anglo-Norman and Middle French *non obstant* and its etymon post-classical Latin *non obstante* (see NON-OBSTANT *prep.*). Compare NOUGHTWITHSTANDING *prep.*, *adv.*, and *conj.*, NOTWITHSTAND *conj.*, *prep.*, and *adv.*, and also NOUGHT-AGAINSTANDING *prep.* and *adv.*, NOT-AGAINSTANDING *prep.*, *not gainstanding at* GAINSTAND *v.* 1b, NONGAINSTANDING *prep.*

With forms in nat- compare NAT *adv.*

(Show Less)

A. *prep.* In spite of.

1. With simple prepositional object.

c1400–1988 (Show quotations)

2. With *that*-clause as object, forming a compound conjunction equivalent to sense B.

c1425–1989 (Show quotations)

3. Used postpositively.

1490–1987 (Show quotations)

B. *conj.*

Although.

Perhaps a development of sense A. 2 with omission of *that*.

?a1425 tr. Catherine of Siena *Orcherd of Syon* (Harl.) (1966) 22 (*MED*) Which synne worþily askide and discouerede a peyne þat schulde haue noon ende, notwiþstondynge þe deede of synne had ende.

▸ c1440 R. Pecock *Repressor* (1860) 355 Ambrose and Ierom bilieueden it and witnessen it, not withstonding Pope Damasis wroot the contrarie to Ierom.

1458 in J. Raine *Testamenta Eboracensia* (1855) II. 225 (*MED*) Sir Thomas Chaworth praith his said executors..rather paie hit of his owne gode, notwithstandyng he hath paied hit here to fore.

1502 *Lett. Richard III & Henry VII* (Rolls) II. 111 Notwithstonding your grace had commaundid us to retorne, yet we..wold be content to make here abode.

1565 T. Stapleton tr. Bede *Hist. Church Eng.* v. ii. f. 155ᵛ He returned home, notwithstanding the bisshop offred him lodginge.

1613 S. Purchas *Pilgrimage* 745 [He] would needes goe on shore..., notwithstanding some advised and intreated him the contrary.

1676 *Doctr. of Devils* 170 Notwithstanding they knew the Laws, Customes, and Statutes, of the Nation.

1760 O. Goldsmith in *Public Ledger* 16 Feb. 121/4 Notwithstanding he had set his features to the semblance of a smile, I could perceive that he was out of humour.

1786 S. Henley tr. W. Beckford *Arabian Tale* 29 The Caliph, notwithstanding the table had been thirty times covered, found himself incommoded by the voraciousness of his guest.

1859 J. Lang *Wanderings in India* 409 Notwithstanding it was enlivened by several exciting incidents,..I was very glad when it was over.

1872 'M. Twain' *Roughing It* xlii. 112 He never paid any attention to me, notwithstanding I made several attempts to 'draw him out' on federal politics.

1913 J. Muir *Story of my Boyhood* v. 179 Notwithstanding they [sc. muskrats] are so well hidden and protected during the winter, many of them are killed by Indian hunters.

1998 N. Mackey *Whatsaid Serif* 33 I stood immune to their talk, kept to one side of it, notwithstanding I'd have wished otherwise.

(Hide quotations)

C. *adv.*

1. Nevertheless, all the same.

Thesaurus

1425–1991 (Show quotations)

†**2.** *Scottish.* With *of*, forming a compound preposition equivalent to sense A. 1: in spite of. *Obsolete.*

Categories

1597–1844 (Show quotations)

†**D.** *n.*

Only in ***with a notwithstanding (to)***: notwithstanding. Cf. NON OBSTANTE *n.* 2b. *Obsolete. rare*[−1].

Categories

1647 W. Bridge *Eng. Saved* 14 The Lord, our Lord works, Delivers, saves, with a Notwithstanding; he doth work freely.

1689 *Considerations conc. Succession* 28 We may easily perceive that it binds Men to Allegiance (not indefinitely, but) with a Notwithstanding to the pretended Authority of the Pope.

(Hide quotations)

This entry has been updated (OED Third Edition, December 2003; latest version published online December 2020).

Entry history

Entry profile

Previous version: OED2 (1989)

In this entry:

with a notwithstanding (to)

In other dictionaries:

not-with-stŏnding(e, prep. in Middle English Dictionary

Figure 4.1: The OED entry for the form *notwithstanding* (prep., conj., adv., and n.)

As shown in this figure, the OED provides vital information concerning the historical and current forms and uses of the word, specifically:

1. Pronunciation: it is possible to listen to both the British and the American pronunciations; the IPA transcription is also provided.

2. Spelling: from the information provided about *notwithstanding*, we gather that in earlier stages this form could be spelt in multiple ways, more specifically in more than forty different ways, among them *natwithstendyng*, *natwithstonding*, *natwithstondinge*, *notwithestandinge* and *notwythstanding*. Information about the period in which a given spelling was more frequent is also provided (for example, *notwythstondynge* was frequent in ME -1500s), as well as dialectal information (e.g. *notwythstanding* was current in Scottish pre-1700).

3. Frequency of use in PDE: a frequency band ranging from 1 (very low frequency) to 8 (high-frequency) shows the overall frequency score of the word in question. As shown in the entry for *notwithstanding* in Figure 4.1 above, *notwithstanding* is placed in band 5, which in the OED includes words occurring between 1 and 10 times per million words in typical modern English usage.[61]

4. Etymology: *nothwithstanding* results from the combination of the adverb *not* and the present participle of the verb *withstand*, modelled after medieval Latin *non obstante*.

5. Word category: *notwithstanding* can be a preposition, a conjunction, an adverb and a noun.

6. Meaning: *notwithstanding*, being a polyfunctional word, has numerous meanings, its primary meaning being the prepositional 'in spite of'. For each meaning, several quotations arranged in chronological order are provided.

[61] Cf. https://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/

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As shown in Figure 4.1, the first record of the conjunction *notwithstanding* dates to approximately 1425, the remaining quotations given in the OED documenting ample evidence of the subordinating use of the form.

4.2.1.2 The MED[62]

The MED covers the time span 1100-1500 and includes a selection of approximately three million citations of medieval English extracted from primary sources.

The compilation of the dictionary started with the work of Ewald Flügel, a scholar from Stanford University, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although only a few specimens of this dictionary were published before his death in 1914, his work arose the interest of the Middle English Language Group of the Modern Language Association of America, which by 1925 decided to continue his enterprise. The dictionary moved then from Stanford University to Cornell University and later to the University of Michigan. The MED resorted to the OED slips for the ME period, with additional materials extracted from various ME texts. The dictionary was always a collaborative enterprise and had different chief editors, among them Hans Kurath, Sherman Kuhn and Robert E. Lewis.

Overall, the printed version of the MED consists of 115 fascicles, combined into thirteen volumes, and has 14,939 pages. The first fascicle was published in 1952 and the last one was released in 2001. Since 1998 the MED has also been available online. The online MED was revised in 2018 in order to "to correct obvious errors, to append some additional quotations [and notes to] existing entries, and to add some entirely new entries in the electronic MED".

Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 show the format of the MED entries taking *notwithstanding* as an example. Figure 4.2 displays the entry for *notwithstanding* as a conjunction, while Figure 4.3 provides the entire entry for the word *notwithstanding*

[62] The information included in this section has been retrieved from the MED website (https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary).

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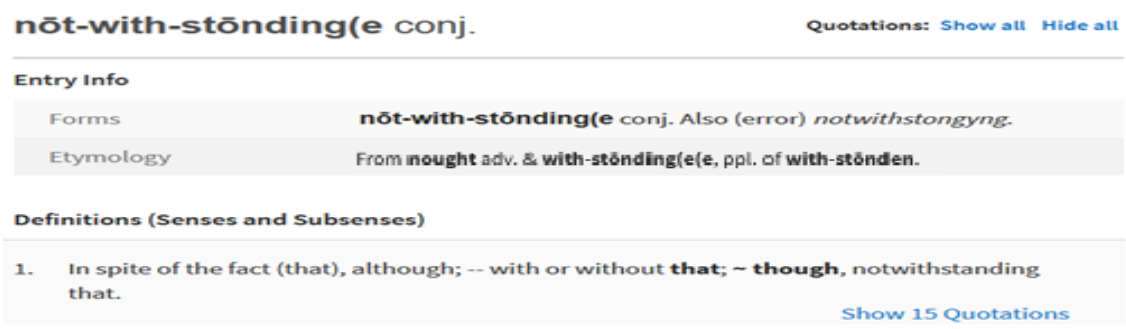


nōt-with-stōnding(e conj.

Quotations: Show all Hide all

Entry Info

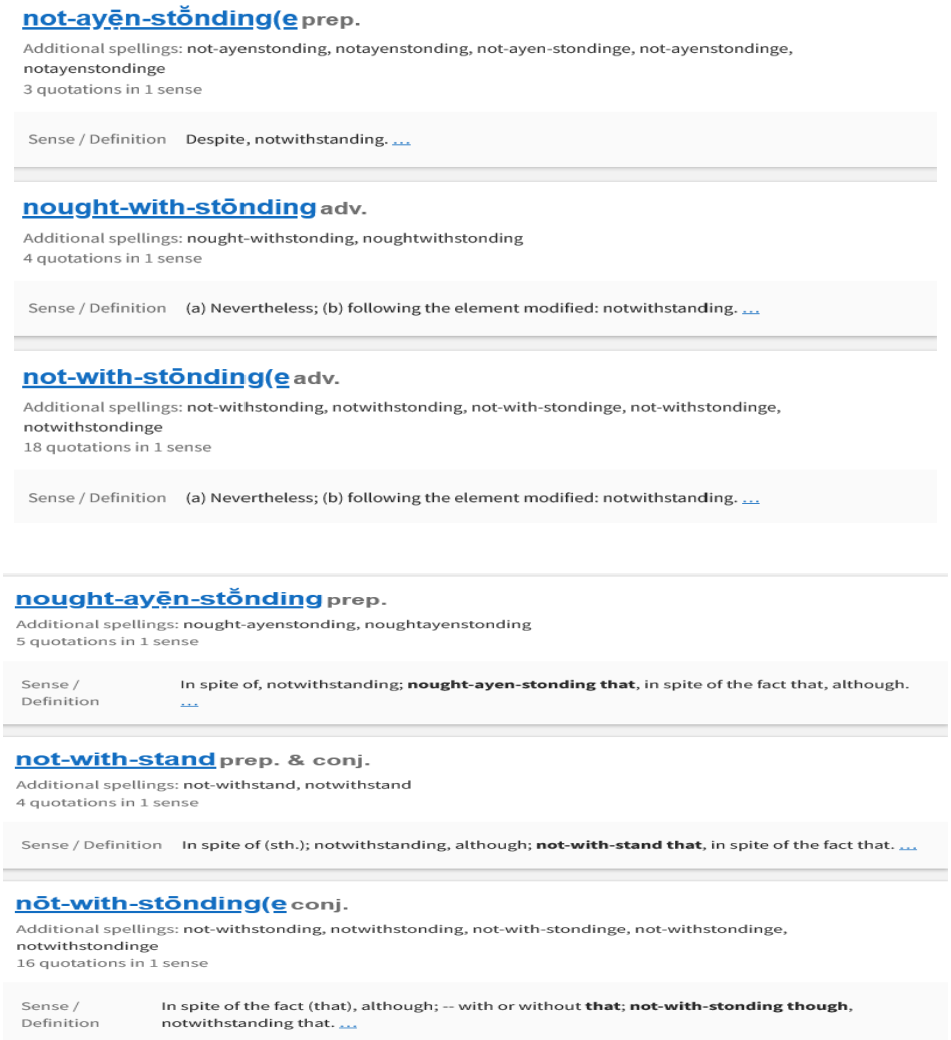
Forms	**nōt-with-stōnding(e** conj. Also (error) *notwithstongyng*.
Etymology	From **nought** adv. & **with-stōnding(e(e**, ppl. of **with-stōnden**.

Definitions (Senses and Subsenses)

1. In spite of the fact (that), although; -- with or without **that**; **~ though**, notwithstanding that.

Show 15 Quotations

Figure 4.3: MED entry for the conjunction *notwithstanding*



not-ayẹ̄n-stŏnding(e prep.

Additional spellings: not-ayenstonding, notayenstonding, not-ayen-stondinge, not-ayenstondinge, notayenstondinge
3 quotations in 1 sense

Sense / Definition: Despite, notwithstanding. ...

nought-with-stōnding adv.

Additional spellings: nought-withstonding, noughtwithstonding
4 quotations in 1 sense

Sense / Definition: (a) Nevertheless; (b) following the element modified: notwithstanding. ...

not-with-stōnding(e adv.

Additional spellings: not-withstonding, notwithstonding, not-with-stondinge, not-withstondinge, notwithstondinge
18 quotations in 1 sense

Sense / Definition: (a) Nevertheless; (b) following the element modified: notwithstanding. ...

nought-ayẹ̄n-stŏnding prep.

Additional spellings: nought-ayenstonding, noughtayenstonding
5 quotations in 1 sense

Sense / Definition: In spite of, notwithstanding; **nought-ayen-stonding that**, in spite of the fact that, although. ...

not-with-stand prep. & conj.

Additional spellings: not-withstand, notwithstand
4 quotations in 1 sense

Sense / Definition: In spite of (sth.); notwithstanding, although; **not-with-stand that**, in spite of the fact that. ...

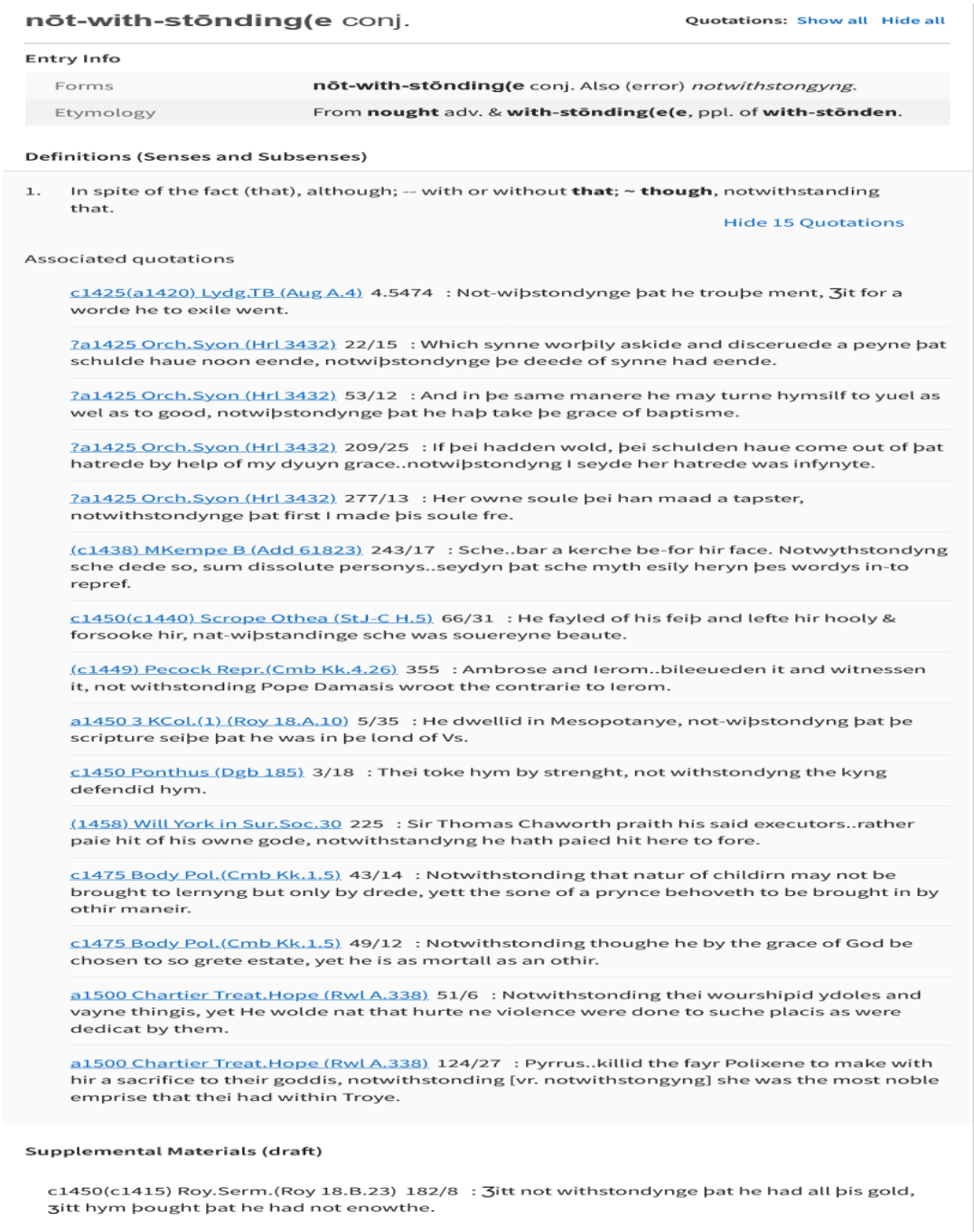
nōt-with-stōnding(e conj.

Additional spellings: not-withstonding, notwithstonding, not-with-stondinge, not-withstondinge, notwithstondinge
16 quotations in 1 sense

Sense / Definition: In spite of the fact (that), although; -- with or without **that**; **not-with-stonding though**, notwithstanding that. ...

Figure 4.2: MED entire entry for the form *notwithstanding*

Figure 4.4, in turn, provides the first example recorded of *notwithstanding* in its use as a conjunction, dating also from circa 1425 (see Section 4.2.1.1 above), followed by later quotations from different texts.



nōt-with-stōnding(e conj.

Quotations: Show all Hide all

Entry Info

Forms	**nōt-with-stōnding(e** conj. Also (error) *notwithstongyng*.
Etymology	From **nought** adv. & **with-stōnding(e(e**, ppl. of **with-stōnden**.

Definitions (Senses and Subsenses)

1. In spite of the fact (that), although; -- with or without **that**; ~ **though**, notwithstanding that.

Hide 15 Quotations

Associated quotations

c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4) 4.5474 : Not-wiþstondynge þat he trouþe ment, ȝit for a worde he to exile went.

?a1425 Orch.Syon (Hrl 3432) 22/15 : Which synne worþily askide and disceruede a peyne þat schulde haue noon eende, notwiþstondynge þe deede of synne had eende.

?a1425 Orch.Syon (Hrl 3432) 53/12 : And in þe same manere he may turne hymsilf to yuel as wel as to good, notwiþstondynge þat he haþ take þe grace of baptisme.

?a1425 Orch.Syon (Hrl 3432) 209/25 : If þei hadden wold, þei schulden haue come out of þat hatrede by help of my dyuyn grace..notwiþstondyng I seyde her hatrede was infynyte.

?a1425 Orch.Syon (Hrl 3432) 277/13 : Her owne soule þei han maad a tapster, notwithstondynge þat first I made þis soule fre.

(c1438) MKempe B (Add 61823) 243/17 : Sche..bar a kerche be-for hir face. Notwythstondyng sche dede so, sum dissolute personys..seydyn þat sche myth esily heryn þes wordys in-to repref.

c1450(c1440) Scrope Othea (StJ-C H.5) 66/31 : He fayled of his feiþ and lefte hir hooly & forsooke hir, nat-wiþstandinge sche was souereyne beaute.

(c1449) Pecock Repr.(Cmb Kk.4.26) 355 : Ambrose and Ierom..bileeueden it and witnessen it, not withstonding Pope Damasis wroot the contrarie to Ierom.

a1450 3 KCol.(1) (Roy 18.A.10) 5/35 : He dwellid in Mesopotanye, not-wiþstondyng þat þe scripture seiþe þat he was in þe lond of Vs.

c1450 Ponthus (Dgb 185) 3/18 : Thei toke hym by strenght, not withstondyng the kyng defendid hym.

(1458) Will York in Sur.Soc.30 225 : Sir Thomas Chaworth praith his said executors..rather paie hit of his owne gode, notwithstandyng he hath paied hit here to fore.

c1475 Body Pol.(Cmb Kk.1.5) 43/14 : Notwithstonding that natur of childirn may not be brought to lernyng but only by drede, yett the sone of a prynce behoveth to be brought in by othir maneir.

c1475 Body Pol.(Cmb Kk.1.5) 49/12 : Notwithstonding thoughe he by the grace of God be chosen to so grete estate, yet he is as mortall as an othir.

a1500 Chartier Treat.Hope (Rwl A.338) 51/6 : Notwithstonding thei wourshipid ydoles and vayne thingis, yet He wolde nat that hurte ne violence were done to suche placis as were dedicat by them.

a1500 Chartier Treat.Hope (Rwl A.338) 124/27 : Pyrrus..killid the fayr Polixene to make with hir a sacrifice to their goddis, notwithstonding [vr. notwithstongyng] she was the most noble emprise that thei had within Troye.

Supplemental Materials (draft)

c1450(c1415) Roy.Serm.(Roy 18.B.23) 182/8 : ȝitt not withstondynge þat he had all þis gold, ȝitt hym þought þat he had not enowthe.

Figure 4.4: Extract from the MED entry for the conjunction *notwithstanding* with quotations

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As these entries show, the MED provides three major types of information:

1. Etymology. It is the combination of the adverb *nought* and the past participle of the verb *with-stōndinge*.
2. The range of spellings of the word in the ME period. *Notwithstanding* could have different orthographic forms at the time, among others *not-withstonding*, *notwithstonding*, *not-with-stondinge*, *not-withstondinge* and *notwithstondinge*.
3. The different meanings of the word. As shown in Figure 4.4, *notwithstanding* has an individual entry for its use as a conjunction with the meaning 'in spite of the fact (that), although; -- with or without *that'*.
4. As in the OED (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), the various meanings and uses of the word are accompanied with numerous quotations taken from ME works, for which the source and approximate date of composition are given.

It seems, therefore, that the information furnished by the OED and the MED is extremely valuable for any diachronic investigation, as it can be used to trace, for instance, diachronic semantic changes or spot obsolete or archaic uses, which may help to account for the factors behind such changes.

4.2.2 Corpora

The corpus study carried out in this dissertation makes use of the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*, which comprises the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition (PPCME2)*, the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME*) and the *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, second edition (PPCMBE)*. The three corpora, compiled by a team led by Prof. Anthony Kroch, cover the time span from 1150 to 1914, that is the flourishing period of ephemeral subordinators (EModE) as well as the previous and the subsequent periods (ME and LModE, respectively).

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The rationale behind the selection of these corpora is found in a pilot study on ephemeral concessive subordinators that I carried out for my MA dissertation, for which I used the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC). The HC proved to be an excellent "diagnostic" (Rissanen 2008: 59) tool for the analysis of the subordinators in OE, ME and EModE. I supplemented the study with data from the British English component of ARCHER: *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*.[63] Despite the small size of these two corpora, they offered interesting results regarding ephemeral concessive subordinators (see Blanco-García 2017). However, my pilot study evinced the need to expand the corpus material.

In view of this, for this doctoral dissertation I believe that it is reasonable to move from "long and thin" diagnostic corpora (Rissanen 2000: 9), such as the HC, to other large-scale multi-genre corpora, such as the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*. Moreover, the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English* were designed taking the original "raw" version of the HC as a model, but include considerably larger text samples than those in the HC and add some new material.

In the subsequent sections each subcorpus is described, including information regarding the number of words per period and per genre.

4.2.2.1 The *Penn Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition* (PPCME2)[64]

The original version of the *Penn Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition* (PPCME) amounted to roughly half a million words and contained quite a simple annotation scheme because, for instance, it did not include POS-tagging. It was prepared

[63] The first ARCHER subperiod, i.e. 1650-1999, was not considered in order to avoid overlap with the last subperiod of the HC (1640-1710).

[64] The information included in this section has been retrieved from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, second edition, release 4 website (https://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-4/index.html).

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by Prof. Anthony Kroch and Dr. Ann Taylor, and so has been the second edition (PPCME2; 2000), which is POS-tagged and for the most part based on the ME section of the HC, although some additions and deletions have been made, the size of the samples being slightly larger. The current edition of the PPCME2 includes a total of roughly 1.2 million words of running text, coming from 56 text samples dating from 1150 to 1500. The text categories included in the corpus are the following: Bible, biography (life of saints), fiction, handbook (astrology, medicine and other), history, homily, religious treatise, philosophy, romance, rule, sermon and travelogue.

Table 4.1 provides the number of words per period as well as the overall word count.

Period	Word count
ME1 (1150-1250)	284,345
ME2 (1250-1350)	146,575
ME3 (1350-1420)	491,413
ME4 (1420-1500)	272,030
Total	1,194,363

Table 4.1: PPCME2 word count per period and overall[65]

Table 4.2, in turn, provides the number of words per text-type.

Text-type	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	Total
Bible	-	44,454	20,911	-	65,365
Biography_life_of_saint	24,735	-	-	3,872	28,607
Fiction	-	-	-	8,799	8,799
Handbook_Astro	-	-	13,174	-	13,174
Handbook_Medicine	-	-	6,313	5,720	12,033
Handbook_other	-	-	-	8,913	8,913
History	7,333	-	96,703	89,907	193,943
Homily	77,277	3,515	-	-	80,792
Homily_poetry	73,576	-	-	-	73,576

[65] The information has been taken from the corpus webpage (https://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-4/index.html)

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Philosophy	-	-	10,682	-	10,682
Philosophy/fiction	-	-	17,518	-	17,518
Relig_treatise	101,424	81,567	130,348	75,221	388,560
Romance	-	-	-	68,054	68,054
Rule	-	17,039	18,312	-	35,351
Sermon	-	-	125,737	11,544	137,281
Travelogue	-	-	51,715	-	51,715
Total	284,345	146,575	491,413	272,030	1,194,363

Table 4.2: PPCME2 word count per text-type and overall

4.2.2.2 The *Penn Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME)[66]

Compiled by Prof. Anthony Kroch, Dr. Beatrice Santorini and Ariel Diertani between 1999 and 2004, the PPCEME includes texts totalling over 1.7 million words. The corpus is available in three formats: parsed, part-of-speech tagged and unannotated text.

The corpus is made up of three subcorpora:

1. The Helsinki directories, consisting of 147 text samples with roughly 550,000 words.
2. The Penn 1 directories, consisting of 157 text samples with roughly 600,000 words and which contain a first supplement to the HC.
3. The Penn 2 directories, consisting of 144 text samples with roughly 550,000 words and which contain a second supplement to the HC.

In Table 4.3 below provides the number of words per period and the overall word count.

[66] The information included in this section has been retrieved from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English, release 3* website (https://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCEME-RELEASE-3/index.html). However, it must be noted that there are some discrepancies between the information in the webpage and that provided in the CD, particularly regarding the number of words of the different texts. In this connection, I would like to acknowledge here my sincere appreciation for all her help and advice to Dr. Paula Rodríguez-Puente.

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Period	Word count
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214
EME3 (1640-1710)	541,647
Total	1,742,246

Table 4.3: PPCEME wordcount per period and total

It must be noted that for the present study, 10 files from subperiod EME3 (1640-1710) dating from over 1700 were eliminated to avoid overlapping with the texts from the *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*, which contains material dating from 1707 to 1914. The files which have been discarded and the total number of words eliminated (21,543 words in all) are given in Table 4.4 below:

File name	Number of words	Section	Date	Text-type
nhadd-1700-e3-h	257	Helsinki	1706	Letters, private
nhadd-1700-e3-p1	521	Penn1	1706	Letters, private
farquhar-e3-h	5646	Helsinki	1707	Drama comedy
farquhar-e3-p1	6192	Penn1	1707	Drama comedy
farquhar-e3-p2	5470	Penn2	1707	Drama comedy
spencer-1700-e3-p1	973	Penn1	1708	Letters, non-private
spencer-1700-e3-p2	826	Penn2	1708	Letters, non-private
rhaddsr-1710-e3-p2	187	Penn2	1712	Letters, private
rhaddsr-1700-e3-h	1007	Helsinki	1702-1703	Letters, private
nhadd-1710-e3-p2	464	Penn2	1718-1719	Letters, private
TOTAL:	21,543			

Table 4.4: Files discarded from the EME3 (1640-1710) subperiod in the *Penn Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME)

Once these files were discarded, the number of words in subperiod EME3 (1640-1710) amounts to 520,104.

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The text categories represented in the PPCEME are the following: autobiography, Bible, biography, diary, drama comedy, educational treatise, fiction, handbook, history, law, letters (non private/private), medicine, philosophy, science, sermon, travelogue and trial proceeding. Table 4.5 offers the diachronic distribution of the different text-types represented in the corpus material.

Text-type	EME1 1500-1569	EME2 1570-1639	EME3 1640-1710	Total
Autobiography	19,274	-	17,711	36,985
Bible	66,840	67,982	-	134,822
Biography other	16,990	14,980	18,832	50,802
Diary private	41,233	51,115	35,392	127,740
Drama comedy	32,518	37,151	23,115	92,784
Educational treatise	32,367	34,900	43,087	110,354
Fiction	32,382	39,011	37,519	108,912
Handbook other	36,862	37,514	35,945	110,321
History	35,855	31,900	36,044	103,799
Law	37,016	37,164	41,434	115,614
Letters non private	24,121	17,088	17,844	59,053
Letters private	33,074	41,057	39,940	114,071
Medicine	19,125	21,673	-	40,798
Philosophy	32,091	22,429	29,313	83,833
Science other	20,914	20,600	35,932	77,446
Sermon	30,713	31,546	31,676	93,935
Travelogue	44,032	45,330	32,798	122,160
Trial proceeding	15,978	77,774	43,522	137,274
Total	571,385	629,214	520,104	1,720,703

Table 4.5: PPCEME word count per text-type and overall

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4.2.2.3 The *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, second edition* (PPCMBE2)[67]

This corpus is part of an overarching project at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of York. In its second edition it consists of almost 2.8 million words, coming from 275 text samples dating between 1707 and 1914. It is available in three formats: parsed, part-of-speech and unannotated text. In addition, there is a file with philological and bibliographical information about each text. The structure and text categories of this corpus mirror those in the PPCEME. For the convenience of the analysis and the presentation of the data in Chapter 6, the corpus has been divided into three subperiods of roughly 69 years each, as shown in Table 4.6 below.

Period	Word count
LME1 (1700-1769)	799,213
LME2 (1770-1839)	926,181
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570
Total	2,766,964

Table 4.6: PPCMBE2 word count per period and overall

In Table 4.7, the word count per text category in each of the three subperiods is provided:

Text-type	LME1 (1700-1769)	LME2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)	Total
Autobiograhy	14,945	18,883	30,948	64,776
Bible	62,583	19,985	65,155	147,723
Biography	32,431	29,636	39,691	101,758
Diary	60,292	70,052	80,685	211,029
Drama comedy	58,018	68,890	77,701	204,609
Educational treatise	57,203	63,012	74,109	194,324
Fiction	56,720	67,458	78,322	202,500
Handbook	54,608	63,444	72,940	190,992
History	52,804	62,099	70,680	185,583

[67] The information included in this section has been retrieved from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English, second edition, release 1* website (https://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCMBE2-RELEASE-1/index.html).

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Law	18,637	28,254	18,988	65,879
Letters non private	22,527	44,745	33,598	100,870
Letters private	56,798	67,613	76,183	200,594
Medicine	7,744	23,127	31,296	62,167
Philosophy	0	29,827	24,751	54,578
Science	61,311	44,804	44,433	150,548
Sermon	46,108	64,011	55,522	165,641
Travelogue	50,397	70,761	81,711	202,869
Trial proceeding	86,087	89,580	84,857	260,524
Total	799,213	926,181	1,041,570	2,766,964

Table 4.7: PPCMBE2 word count per text-type and overall

4.3 Computer tools

4.3.1 WorthSmith 6.0

The software used to process the data retrieved from the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English* is WordSmith (version 6.0), which contains three different tools: WordList, Concord and KeyWords, of which the first two are instrumental for the present piece of research. The WordList tool provides lists of words or groups of words from a given text or texts arranged in alphabetical order or by frequency of appearance, both absolute and relative frequency. This tool is very useful for the identification of different spellings of the words under investigation in the different corpora. The Concord tool, in turn, is used to trace all the tokens of a particular word or construction in the text(s) selected, accompanied by the immediate left and right contexts, being therefore suitable for the analysis of the subordinate clauses at issue in this dissertation.

Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6 illustrate the interface for the WordList and Concord functions, respectively, while Figure 4.7 shows the list of the most frequent words in the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*.

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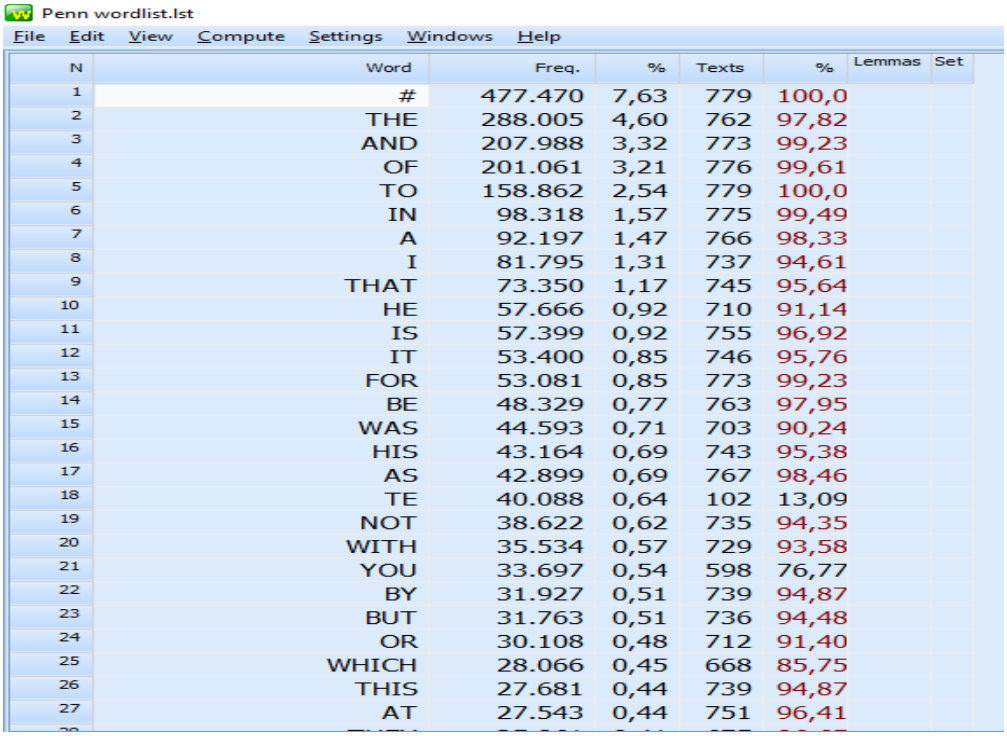
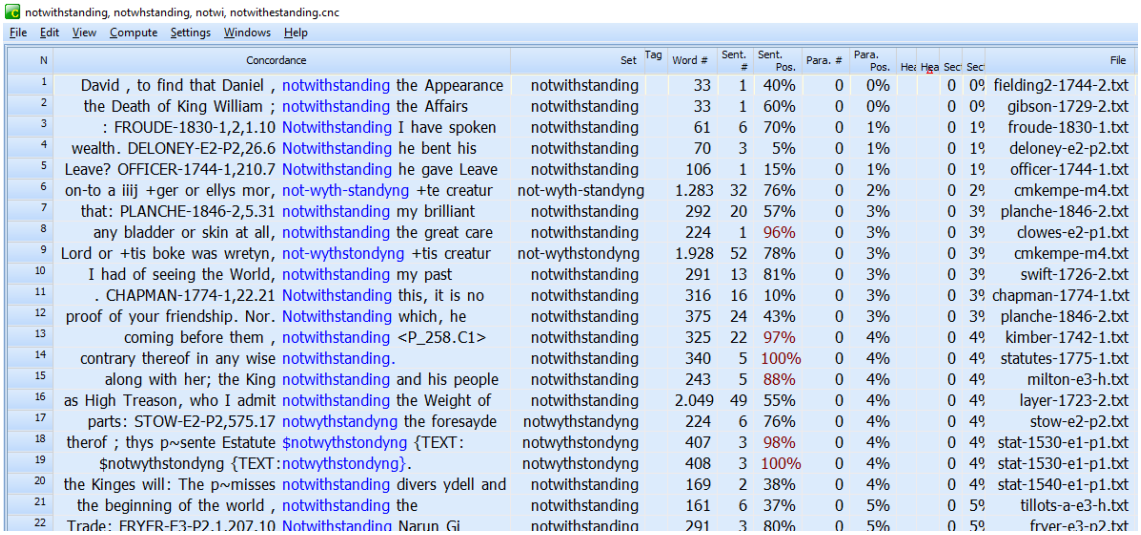


N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Lemmas	Set
1	#	477.470	7,63	779	100,0		
2	THE	288.005	4,60	762	97,82		
3	AND	207.988	3,32	773	99,23		
4	OF	201.061	3,21	776	99,61		
5	TO	158.862	2,54	779	100,0		
6	IN	98.318	1,57	775	99,49		
7	A	92.197	1,47	766	98,33		
8	I	81.795	1,31	737	94,61		
9	THAT	73.350	1,17	745	95,64		
10	HE	57.666	0,92	710	91,14		
11	IS	57.399	0,92	755	96,92		
12	IT	53.400	0,85	746	95,76		
13	FOR	53.081	0,85	773	99,23		
14	BE	48.329	0,77	763	97,95		
15	WAS	44.593	0,71	703	90,24		
16	HIS	43.164	0,69	743	95,38		
17	AS	42.899	0,69	767	98,46		
18	TE	40.088	0,64	102	13,09		
19	NOT	38.622	0,62	735	94,35		
20	WITH	35.534	0,57	729	93,58		
21	YOU	33.697	0,54	598	76,77		
22	BY	31.927	0,51	739	94,87		
23	BUT	31.763	0,51	736	94,48		
24	OR	30.108	0,48	712	91,40		
25	WHICH	28.066	0,45	668	85,75		
26	THIS	27.681	0,44	739	94,87		
27	AT	27.543	0,44	751	96,41		

Figure 4.5: The WordSmith WordList tool: Top frequent words in the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*

Figure 4.6 displays the results of the Concord function for all the occurrences of the word *notwithstanding* in the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*. In order to run a concordance for a particular word or string of words in a corpus, we need to specify the search word first. To account for spelling variation at previous stages of the language, I searched for the different spellings provided in the source dictionaries and I also examined carefully the wordlist provided by the WordList tool to make sure that no spelling of the forms under study here was overlooked. The search yielded a total of 492 tokens. We see the search word, *notwithstanding*, appearing in blue in the middle of the concordance line, which is preceded and followed by some context. The context can be expanded a few lines by making use of a special command, namely the 'Grow' function. To the right, under the column 'File', we find the name of the text in which this token appears. It is also possible to double-click on the line and access the source text immediately.


notwithstanding, notwhstanding, notwi, notwithestanding.cnc

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent. #	Sent. Pos.	Para. #	Para. Pos.	Hea	Hea	Sec	Sec	File
1	David , to find that Daniel , notwithstanding the Appearance	notwithstanding		33	1	40%	0	0%			0	0%	fielding2-1744-2.txt
2	the Death of King William ; notwithstanding the Affairs	notwithstanding		33	1	60%	0	0%			0	0%	gibson-1729-2.txt
3	: FROUDE-1830-1,2,1.10 Notwithstanding I have spoken	notwithstanding		61	6	70%	0	1%			0	1%	froude-1830-1.txt
4	wealth. DELONEY-E2-P2,26.6 Notwithstanding he bent his	notwithstanding		70	3	5%	0	1%			0	1%	deloney-e2-p2.txt
5	Leave? OFFICER-1744-1,210.7 Notwithstanding he gave Leave	notwithstanding		106	1	15%	0	1%			0	1%	officer-1744-1.txt
6	on-to a iiij +ger or ellys mor, not-wyth-standyng +te creatur	not-wyth-standyng		1.283	32	76%	0	2%			0	2%	cmkempe-m4.txt
7	that: PLANCHE-1846-2,5.31 notwithstanding my brilliant	notwithstanding		292	20	57%	0	3%			0	3%	planche-1846-2.txt
8	any bladder or skin at all, notwithstanding the great care	notwithstanding		224	1	96%	0	3%			0	3%	clowes-e2-p1.txt
9	Lord or +tis boke was wretyn, not-wythstondyng +tis creatur	not-wythstondyng		1.928	52	78%	0	3%			0	3%	cmkempe-m4.txt
10	I had of seeing the World, notwithstanding my past	notwithstanding		291	13	81%	0	3%			0	3%	swift-1726-2.txt
11	. CHAPMAN-1774-1,22.21 Notwithstanding this, it is no	notwithstanding		316	16	10%	0	3%			0	3%	chapman-1774-1.txt
12	proof of your friendship. Nor. Notwithstanding which, he	notwithstanding		375	24	43%	0	3%			0	3%	planche-1846-2.txt
13	coming before them , notwithstanding <P_258.C1>	notwithstanding		325	22	97%	0	4%			0	4%	kimber-1742-1.txt
14	contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.	notwithstanding		340	5	100%	0	4%			0	4%	statutes-1775-1.txt
15	along with her; the King notwithstanding and his people	notwithstanding		243	5	88%	0	4%			0	4%	milton-e3-h.txt
16	as High Treason, who I admit notwithstanding the Weight of	notwithstanding		2.049	49	55%	0	4%			0	4%	layer-1723-2.txt
17	parts: STOW-E2-P2,575.17 notwythstandyng the foresayde	notwythstandyng		224	6	76%	0	4%			0	4%	stow-e2-p2.txt
18	therof ; thys p~sente Estatute $notwythstondyng {TEXT:	notwythstondyng		407	3	98%	0	4%			0	4%	stat-1530-e1-p1.txt
19	$notwythstondyng {TEXT:notwythstondyng}.	notwythstondyng		408	3	100%	0	4%			0	4%	stat-1530-e1-p1.txt
20	the Kinges will: The p~misses notwithstanding divers ydell and	notwithstanding		169	2	38%	0	4%			0	4%	stat-1540-e1-p1.txt
21	the beginning of the world , notwithstanding the	notwithstanding		161	6	37%	0	5%			0	5%	tillots-a-e3-h.txt
22	Trade: FRYER-E3-P2,1.207.10 Notwithstanding Narun Gi	notwithstanding		291	3	80%	0	5%			0	5%	fryer-e3-p2.txt

Figure 4.6: The WordSmith Concord tool: Concordance for *notwithstanding* in the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*

4.3.2 Retrieving the data: txt and tagged versions of the corpora

Given that this study aims at analyzing both high-frequency and low-frequency forms, the procedure to retrieve data for each type of items differs. In the case of the prototypical subordinators of each of the categories under analysis, namely causal, conditional and concessive, which are characterized by their high frequency of occurrence, the tagged version of the corpus was used, whereas the plain version was selected for the analysis of the ephemeral adverbial subordinators belonging to each of the three semantic domains. Such decisions were not arbitrary and are explained in detail in what follows.

The ephemeral subordinators corresponding to the three semantic relations are characterized by their low frequency of occurrence. Therefore, the whole set of examples retrieved from the corpus was analyzed. Additionally, taking into account that "annotation may mask interesting linguistic facts" (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2020) and that most of the ephemeral subordinators under analysis are polyfunctional in formation, the plain text was used. Furthermore, the number of tokens was in all cases manageable. Therefore, all the tokens retrieved were stored and individually analyzed.

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On the other hand, practical issues prevail in the use of the tagged version of the corpus for the analysis of the prototypical adverbial subordinators *because*, *if*, *although* and *though*. At first, I ran the searches for the non-ephemeral subordinators under study using the untagged version of the corpora, mirroring the procedure followed for the set of ephemeral subordinators. However, many problems arose. For instance, the number of examples retrieved was not manageable. By way of illustration, the number of tokens for the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* was 19,976, while 7,413 examples were retrieved of the concessive subordinator *though*. Moreover, I realized that when including the different spellings available for the concessive subordinator *though*, the concordance yielded many examples of the pronoun *they*, spelt *þei*, a shared spelling for both items. In other words, much noise arose in some searches of the canonical subordinators.

In view of this scenario, I opted to use the tagged version of the corpus in order to facilitate the process of analysis because the examples retrieved correspond exclusively to occurrences of the subordinating function and it was therefore expected that the numbers would decrease. However, after running the corresponding searches,[68] the population of the four prototypical subordinators was not yet manageable. Although the tags would, in principle, facilitate the process of analysis, yet further reduction was still needed. Moreover, when analysing high-frequency forms, it is not necessary to analyze the whole set. As Cantos Gómez (2013: 25) puts it,

> It is not always possible or practical to study a whole data set. Thus, if anyone is interested in analysing the preposition *of*, it would not be wise to extract all instances of this preposition from the *British National Corpus* (BCN hereafter). A positive solution would be to select a sample of the BNC and retrieve just the instances found in that example. This sample might be enough to allow us to draw conclusions, probably as confidently as if the whole BNC had been

[68] It is important to note that in the annotation manual of the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English* it is stated that the primary goal of the Penn-Helsinki annotation system is to facilitate automated searches, "not to give the correct linguistic analysis of each sentence." This is clearly seen when looking at the tags used for *because*: if the form is written together, the clause is analyzed as an adverbial clause (CP-ADV), but if it spelt as two separate words, the clause is treated as a *that*-complement of the noun *cause* (CP-THAT).

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> used. That is, we take a representative portion (sample) of the whole corpus (population) for which generalization is intended, and where the sample is representative only if it is a random sample. The point of a random sample is to ensure that each item or occurrence of the population has an equal chance of being selected for a sample. This eliminates biases as each item or occurrence is assumed to represent the population from which it has been retrieved. (Cantos Gómez 2013: 25).

Therefore, I decided not to analyze the whole population for the prototypical causal, conditional and concessive adverbial subordinators in the tagged version of the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*, but rather randomized samples of it. The process followed is summarized below:

- Firstly, the tagged version of corpus was subdivided into 10 subperiods, in order to make sure that all the subperiods were represented in the data set. Otherwise, it could have been the case that one or more periods were not represented in a randomized sample, given that the number of words differs greatly from one to another subperiod.
- Secondly, the searches were run for each of the subordinators per subperiod by means of WordSmith Tools. After carrying the searches per subperiod, I saved those files, given that the size of the whole population is needed to calculate the size of the sample. The second step was to randomize those sets, with the help of the tool 'Reduce to N' in the menu option (Edit/Delete/Reduce to N). This tool allows us to specify how many entries we want to have in the list. If data is reduced, entries are randomly zapped and the number of entries previously selected is provided. Here, files of 200 samples per subordinator were saved, just to be on the safe side, taking into account that this process is irreversible: if for some reason you would like to enlarge the number of examples to be analyzed, this would not be possible, and the whole process would have to be initiated from scratch.
- After obtaining the random samples per subperiod, I analyzed the first 30 examples of each set in order to be able to calculate the size of each random sample to be representative of each subperiod. Table 4.8 below shows the procedure followed in

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the case of *because*, but the same formula[69] applies for the conditional subordinator *if* and for the concessive subordinators *although* and *though* (see Appendix I).

Subperiod	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Nº of tokens	-	-	57	51	380	601	395	549	372	650
Size. Pilot study	-	-	30	30	30	30	30	30	45	30
Positive	-	-	19	24	28	26	26	29	44	25
P	-	-	0.63	0.8	0.93	0.86	0.86	0.96	0.97	0.83
Q	-	-	0.36	0.2	0.06	0.13	0.13	0.03	0.02	0.16
Sample size			47	40	59	106	97	34	23	125

Table 4.8: Sample size for the causal subordinator *because*

Once the sample sizes were calculated and analyzed, the estimated variance was computed with the following formula:

$$\hat{V}\left(\hat{P}\right)=\left(1-f\right)\frac{\hat{S}^2}{n}=\left(1-f\right)\frac{\frac{n}{n-1}\hat{P}\hat{Q}}{n}=\left(1-f\right)\frac{1}{n-1}\hat{P}\hat{Q}$$

Figure 4.7: The estimated variance (from Pérez López 2010: 127)

$$p\left(u_1,\cdots,u_n\right)=\frac{Casos\ favorables}{Casos\ posibles}=\frac{1}{C_{N,n}}=\frac{1}{\binom{N}{n}}$$

69 (Pérez López 2010: 120-121)

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The confidence interval was established at 95%, which is the most commonly used value. A 95% confidence interval is a range of values (upper and lower) that you can be 95% certain that it contains the true mean of the population. Table 4.9 contains the different calculations made in order to obtain the estimated variance in the sample of *because* in the different subperiods and the interval variance for them. The interval variance values will be used when calculating normalized frequencies for the non ephemeral subordinators.

Subperiod	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Size	-	-	57	51	380	601	395	549	372	650
Sample size	-	-	47	40	59	106	97	34	45	125
Positive	-	-	27	33	51	90	81	32	44	102
P	-	-	0.5745	0.8290	0.8699	0.8495	0.8351	0.9505	0.9778	0.8169
Q	-	-	0.4255	0.1710	0.1301	0.1505	0.1649	0.0495	0.0222	0.1831
Sampling fraction			0.8246	0.7805	0.1543	0.1763	0.2456	0.0613	0.1210	0.1921
Estimated variance			0.0009	0.0008	0.0017	0.0010	0.0011	0.0014	0.0004	0.0010
Sampling error			0.0305	0.0283	0.0407	0.0317	0.0329	0.0368	0.0208	0.0312
Confidence interval (95%)			0.5146	0.7735	0.7901	0.7875	0.7706	0.8784	0.9369	0.7556
			0.6343	0.8845	0.9498	0.9116	0.8995	1.0226	1.0186	0.8781

Table 4.9: Estimated variance and sampling error in the sample of *because*

The same steps shown here for the subordinator *because* have been applied to the subordinators *if*, *although* and *though* and can be consulted in Appendix I.

4.4. The database and the variables of analysis

In order to process the data for analysis, I created an Excel database. The results for each of the items analyzed in this dissertation were exported directly from WordSmith to an

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Excel spreadsheet. By way of illustration, consider Figure 4.9 below, which shows a few of the results obtained for *notwithstanding*.

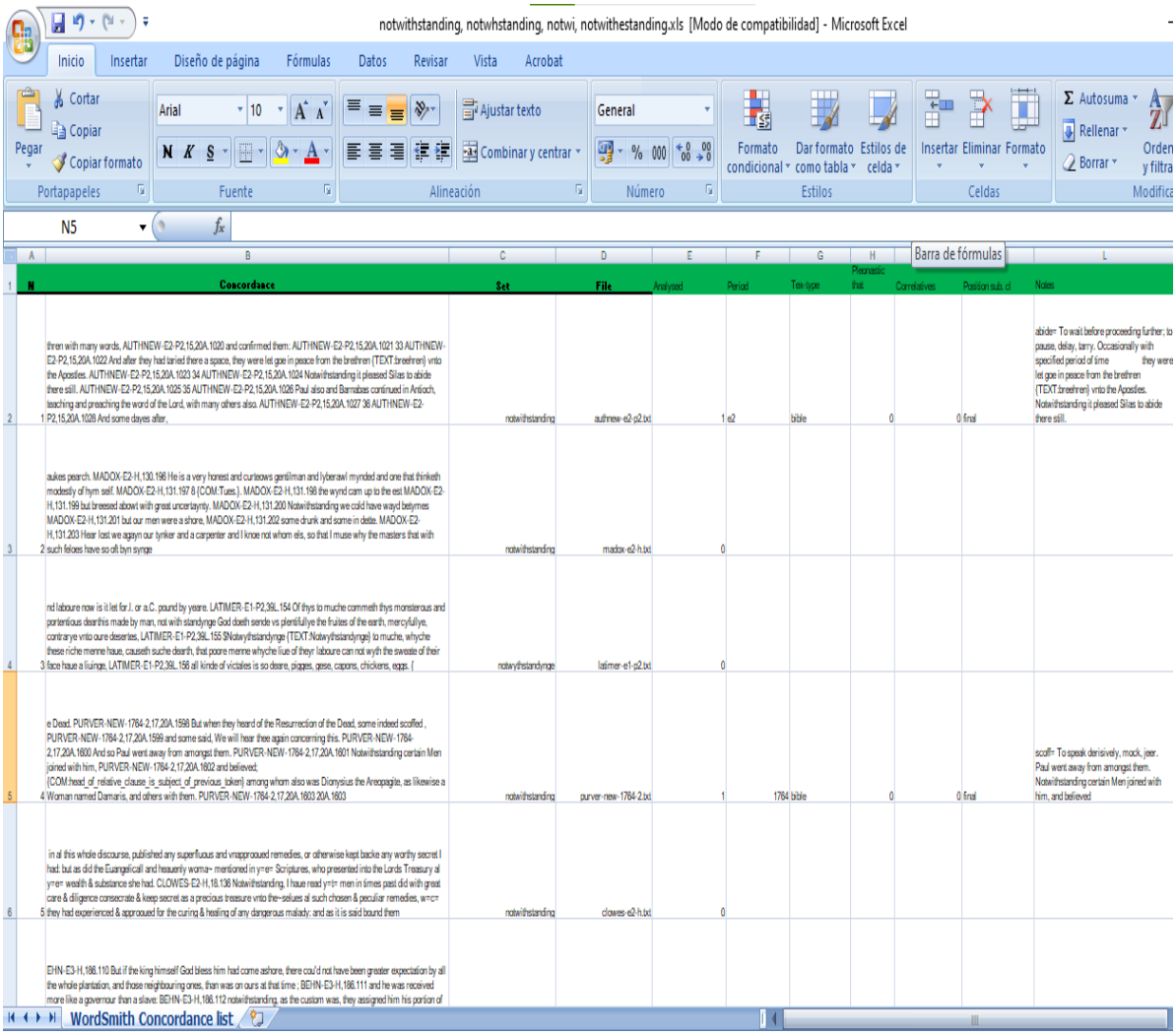

Figure 4.8: Excel spreadsheet with some of the results for *notwithstanding* in the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*

As shown in Figure 4.8, both linguistic and extralinguistic information has been coded for each example. As regards linguistic variables, I included the following ones:

a) The presence of a pleonastic marker, usually *that*, in combination with the subordinator (codification: 1 if present in the example; 0 if not).
b) The occurrence of a correlative element in the sentence, among others *yet*, *algates*, etc. (codification: 1 if present in the example; 0 if not).

c) Position of the subordinate clause (initial, medial or final) in relation to the main clause. This variable has been coded as follows: ‘i’ for initial position, ‘m’ for medial position and ‘f’ for final position.

Concerning extralinguistic variables, the following have been included:

a) Subperiod: this is particularly relevant in a diachronic analysis such as the one intended in this dissertation, since it allows us to record the specific stage at which the forms under analysis developed in their conjunctive use.
b) Text-type: despite the fact that this information is present in the filename, I coded it separately in order to facilitate the searches.

Additionally, given that the items at issue here are characterized for their polyfunctionality, and although I manually pruned all the examples before exporting the data to the Excel spreadsheet, there were some instances that were ambiguous. Therefore, I included a field to code if the example in question was finally an instance of the subordinating function or not. Furthermore, the file name has also been coded. This was useful to go back to the individual examples, because on many occasions it was necessary to consult further context to decide on the function of the connective. I also included a field ‘Notes’, in which I noted down remarks about the example or the text in which it occurs.

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5. EPHEMERALITY UNDER EXAMINATION – ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Chapter 5 examines the concept of ephemerality in the domain of adverbial subordinators. The term "ephemeral subordinator" was coined by Kortmann (1997) in his survey of adverbial subordination in European languages, where he provides a taxonomy and addresses typological aspects of adverbial subordinators in many languages, but also in various periods of the history of English. Kortmann (1997: 301) defines the phenomenon of ephemeral adverbial subordinators as follows: "items which are rarely documented and did not survive the language period in which they came to be used as adverbial subordinators". This feature was particularly common in the EModE period and especially in the so-called CCC relations, i.e. causal, conditional and concessive domains, where many synonyms or (near-)synonyms to the prototypical subordinators of those semantic relations appeared in the language though for a short period of time.

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 5.1 introduces the concept of ephemerality in adverbial subordinators, in particular in the semantic relations of cause, condition and concession. Section 5.2, in turn, is devoted to the compilation of a catalogue of CCC subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE. Special emphasis is laid on the prototypical adverbial subordinators for the three semantic relations as well as on those subordinators that have been labelled as ephemeral or described as "rare" or "obsolete" in the different sources consulted: the OED and the MED, the volumes of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* for the three periods at issue, Görlach's (1993) grammar of the EModE period and Visser (1963-1973). For this qualitative analysis, on the one

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hand, I provide some notes on the etymological origin of the subordinators selected and, on the other, I present the first and last attestations recorded of these subordinators. Both features will enable us to map some general trends concerning non-ephemeral and ephemeral CCC adverbial subordinators.

5.1 Refining the concept of ephemeral adverbial subordinators

According to the OED, ephemeral, a relative rare word itself, is used to describe the process or fact of something being short-lived or transitory, when referred to insects or flowers that exist only for one day or for a very few days; similarly, diseases which are ephemeral begin and end in a day. In a more extended application, it means that something is in existence for a short time only. The word does not faithfully exemplify its own history, because despite its low-frequency,[70] it shows a fluctuating development in COHA, but always resisting to maintain itself across time, something that also applies to some of the subordinators under study in this dissertation.

In Chapter 2 I already referred to ephemeral subordinators as those whose origin dates mainly from EModE and whose history was short, in most cases not surviving beyond this same period, a stage that has been described as experimental. This tendency was particularly frequent in the so-called CCC relations and, among them, concession is considered to be more prone to this trend. In addition, Denison (1998: 295) points out that in the set of causal subordinators there was also much obsolescence.

Before moving to the analysis of the individual ephemeral subordinators, some notes on the three semantic relations, i.e. cause, condition and concession, seem in order. The three of them are considered to be central semantic relations, not only in English but in most European languages. Kortmann's (1997) study based on 50 living languages of Europe and three extinct (Classical Greek, Latin and Gothic) reveals that the CCC relations are coded by the highest proportions of primary adverbial subordinators, that is, one-word

[70] Its highest frequency per million words in the *Corpus of Historical American English* is 2.98.

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subordinators which express cause, condition and concession as their only (or one of) their primary meaning(s). Table 5.1 provides the proportions of the "primary adverbial subordinators" across languages. Note that CCC relations are at the core set and that, among them, cause and condition are the more salient ones.

2,043= 100%		
I	CAUSE	4.75% (= 97 primary adverbial subordinators)
	CONCESION "although"	4.11%
	CONDITION "if"	3.62%
II	SIMULTANEITY DURATION "while"	2.01%
	SIMULTANEITY OVERLAP "when"	1.81%
III	TERMINUS AD QUEM "until"	1.57%
	CONCESSIVE CONDITION "even if"	1.57%
	SIMULTANEITY CO-EXTENSIVENESS "as long as"	1.47%
	SIMILARITY "as, like"	1.37%
	COMPARISON "as if"	1.32%
IV	PLACE	1.27%
	IMMEDIATE ANTERIORITY "as soon as"	1.22%
	NEGATIVE CONDITION "unless"	1.18%
	POSTERIORITY "before"	1.18%
	CONTRAST "whereas"	1.18%
	ANTERIORITY "after"	1.18%
	CONTINGENCY "whenever"	1.13%
	PURPOSE "in order to"	0.98% (= 20 primary adverbial subordinators)

Table 5.1: The interclausal relations coded by the highest proportions of primary adverbial subordinators (adapted from Kortmann 1997: 150)[71]

[71] The numbers in the first column correspond to the layers proposed by Kortmann (1997) for different semantic relations. The same applies to Figure 5.1. In Table 5.1, layer V is not included because "only the relevant proportions are given for those interclausal relations above the median, i.e. with a minimum of twenty primary adverbial subordinators" (Kortmann 1997: 150).

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Figure 5.1 below, from Kortmann (1997: 144), shows the core and the extended core of the semantic space of interclausal relations, as well as the subordinators which primarily serve to mark those semantic relations.

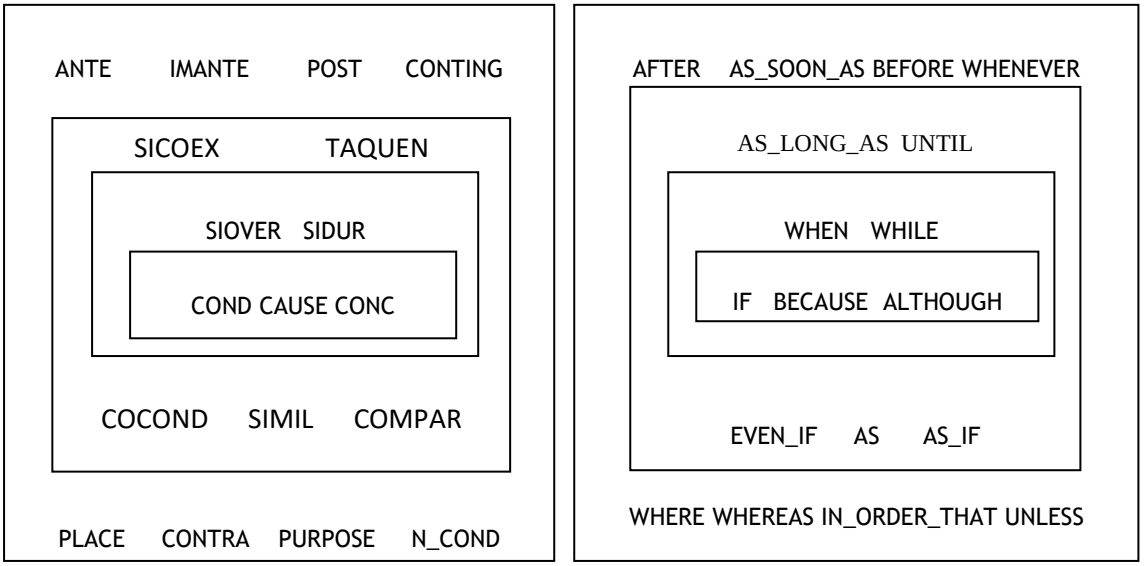

Figure 5.1: Coverage of interclausal relations by primary adverbial subordinators (adapted from Kortman 1997: 151)

As the figure shows, cause (CAUSE), condition (COND) and concession (CONC) occupy the central position. At the second level, we find simultaneity overlap (SIOVER) and simultaneity duration (SIDUR), while the third layer contains simultaneity co-extensiveness (SICOEX), *terminus ad quem* (TAQUEN), concessive condition (COCOND), similarity (SIMIL) and comparison (COMPAR). Finally, at the outer layer eight other relations are located, namely anteriority (ANTE), immediate anteriority (IMANTE), posteriority (POST), contingency (CONTING), place (PLACE), contrast (CONTRA), purpose (PURPOSE) and negative condition (N_COND). Note that condition not only occupies a central position in the semantic space, but also shows two derived meanings, i.e., concessive condition and negative condition, in the extended core. Hence, condition undoubtedly plays a pivotal role within the semantic adverbial relations. No wonder, therefore, that its prototypical subordinator *if* is regarded in the literature as the "most basic" subordinator, given that there is no evidence of its use as a preposition or as

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an adverb in OE (see Braunmüller 1978: 104; Rissanen 2007: 179-180; Rissanen 2013: 225).

Kortmann (1997: 30) claims that there is also synchronic evidence to place these three semantic adverbial relations (causal, conditional and concessive) at the core:

> The synchronic evidence emerges from our project data: of the 470 adverbial subordinators for which the informants were certain that they can be given a metalinguistic use almost 60% signal a causal, conditional, concessive or related interclausal relation, with top values for exactly these three (Cause 13.8%, Condition 12.3%, and Concession 10.6%).

Therefore, both diachronically and synchronically we can certainly consider cause, condition and concession as the central interclausal relations and *because*, *if* and (*al)though* their respective canonical subordinators.

Although these three relations are said to represent the core of interclausal relations and they have well-defined subordinators to mark such relations, it is precisely in these domains where the phenomenon of ephemeral subordinators happens with greater force.[72] The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to provide a thorough examination of those subordinators that are labelled as ephemeral in the literature or are considered to be rare within those three semantic relations. Moreover, I also examine the corresponding central subordinators with the aim to establish similarities and divergences between the two sets of connectives. I consider it is important to unveil the history of the ephemeral subordinators because even though their popularity may have been limited, their history may have been short, they may have arisen in a scenario where competitors would not be expected, since

[72] In the domain of negative purpose, the tendencies of low frequency and ephemerality among subordinators are also displayed. The diachronic evolution of the subordinators *lest* and *for fear* suggest such trend. Additionally, in the case of *for fear*, Łęcki (2019: 6) points out that "the function of a subordinator enjoyed the greatest popularity in the early Modern English period", which also coincides with the flourishing period for the CCC subordinators. For further details on the development of *lest* and *for fear* see López-Couso (2007) and Łęcki (2019), respectively.

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there were deeply entrenched markers in those semantic relations, ephemeral subordinators are unquestionably part of the history of subordination.

A close look at the ephemeral subordinators in the three selected domains will guarantee a better understanding of adverbial subordinators in the English language, because this qualitative and quantitative analysis aims at studying the sources of these newcomers, the text-types which are more prone to incorporate new markers of subordination and other internal and external factors which influenced their development.

Carrying out research on such a "rare" phenomenon as ephemeral subordinators is certainly challenging because one of the limitations that is faced when examining a "rare" phenomenon is the scarcity of data, and even though we are in the era of mega corpora, the amount of material available does not always suffice. Another problem arising in the study of adverbial subordinators is their inherent polyfunctionality, particularly in OE. Although after ME there was a tendency towards functional differentiation and greater semantic precision, by no means the subordinator category became a clear-cut one, so that overlap is a reality. Despite all these difficulties, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this doctoral dissertation aim at providing some hints on what ephemerality in adverbial subordinators entails, that is, up to what extent these subordinators have been ephemeral and which factors have contributed to their alleged ephemerality.

5.2 Catalogue of causal, conditional and concessive subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE

Given that this study aims at tracing the development of a number of causal, conditional and concessive subordinators, a suitable starting point for the discussion is to provide a catalogue of the various connectives available for these three semantic relations in ME, EModE and LModE, extracting those forms considered ephemeral, rare or even obsolete in the different sources consulted (see above). The information is presented below in three different tables, one for each adverbial relation under study containing all the different sources consulted for the three periods. I have marked in green the canonical subordinators

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of each relation and in bold those ephemeral subordinators that I have selected for my study.

The selection of the relevant ephemeral adverbial subordinators has followed the criteria summarized below:

(i) The subordinator is only attested in EModE.

(ii) The subordinator is attested in both EModE and in ME.

(iii) The subordinator is attested in both EModE and in PDE but it is characterized for being archaic or obsolete or for not having a CCC meaning as its primary one. For this, the information given in the PDE reference grammars has also been considered.[73]

Table 5.2 shows the causal subordinators, *because* being the prototypical connective. The selected ephemeral causal subordinators are: *for because*, *for as much as*, *for (that)*, *for why*, *in as much as*, *in so much as*, *sith(en) (that)* and *sin (that)*.

Sources	ME	EModE	LModE/PDE
Kortmann (1997: 331)	*now (that)* *for (that)* *þæt / that* *by (the) cause (that)* *in that* ***sith(en)/sin (that)*** ***for as much as*** ***in as much as*** ***in so much as*** *þurh þæt*	*now (that)* *for (that)* *(be)cause (that)* *in that* *since* ***sith (that)*** ***for as much as*** ***in asmuch as*** ***in somuch as*** *as* *seeing (that)* *being (that/as)* ***for because*** *in respect (that)* *whiles (that)*	*now (that)* *(be)cause* *in that* *since* *as* ***for as much as*** [arch] *seeing (that, how)*

[73] See Table 2.2, Table 2.4 and Table 2.5 in Chapter 2 for an account of the causal, conditional and concessive subordinators, respectively, in the major descriptive grammars of English.

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CHEL (ME) (Fischer 1992: 207-408) *CHEL* (EModE) (Rissanen 1999: 187-331) *CHEL* (LModE) (Denison (1998: 92-329)	*because* *by (the) cause that* *for the cause (that)* *by-cause (that)* ***for (that)*** *for… for-thi/ therefore*	***for (that)*** *because (that)* *that* *now (that)* *since* ***sith*** ***forbecause*** *as* ***for why*** *in that*	***for (that)*** *because* *because (that)* *being (as/that)* *as* *seeing (as/that)*
Görlach (1993: 122)		*as* ***sith*** *since* *because* ***for*** *now* ***for why*** *in that*	
Visser (1963-1973: 936-37)[74]	*for ðon (ðe)* *for ðœm (ðe)* *for ðœm (þœt)* *for þy ðe* *for ðy ðy* *mid ðy ðe* *ðy* *ðe* ***for-why***		

Table 5.2: Causal subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE

Table 5.3 provides the inventory of conditional subordinators, *if* being the prototypical conjunction. In turn, the selected ephemeral conditional subordinators are: *be (it) so*, *condition(ed) that*, *foreseen that*, *if case (be/that)*, *if so be (that/as)* and *when if*.

[74] Surprisingly, Visser (1963-1973) does not include in his monumental work on the history of English syntax an account of causal subordinators beyond ME and the relevance given to this adverbial relation is more limited than that given to conditionals, concessive or other relations such as manner, comparison or result.

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Sources	ME	EModE	LModE/PDE
Kortmann (1997: 331)	*(g)if (that)* *so (that)* *so long(e) as* *an(d) (if)* ***be so*** *considering that* *in cas (that)* *provided that* *providing that* *suppose* *when* *to the forward that*	*if (that)* *so (that)* *so/ as long as* *an(d) if* ***be it so*** *considering (that)* *in case (that)* *provided (that)* *providing (that)* *suppose (that)* *when (that, as)* *(on/upon) condition* ***conditioned that*** ***if case be (that)*** ***if so be (that, as)*** *say (that)* ***when if***	*if* *just so (that)* *so/ as long as* *considering (that, how)* *in case* *provided (that)* *providing (that)* *suppose* *when* *on condition (that)* *supposing (that)* *assuming (that)* *given (that)*
CHEL (ME) (Fischer 1992: 207-408) *CHEL* (EModE) (Rissanen 1999: 187-331) *CHEL* (LModE) (Denison (1998: 92-329)	*(ʒ)if (that)* ***if so were that*** ***be so*** *in cas that* *if (ever)*	*if* *so (that)* *without* *and* *in case (that)* ***if case (be that)***	*if* *in case (that)*
Görlach (1993: 122)		*if* *an(d)* *so* *unless* *without* *but*	
Visser (1963-1973: 888-900)	*(g)if (that)* *so (that/as)* *and, an, an if, nif* *be so/ by so* *case that* *in case (if/that)* ***if case*** *to (be/in) (this) forward that* *on (in/with) (this) condition (that)* ***foreseen that*** *for* *provided* *suppose (that)*	*if (that)* *so (that, as)* *case that* *in case (if/that)* ***if case*** *provided* *say* *suppose* *to (be/in) (this) forward that* *on (in/with) (this) condition*	*If* *provided* *say (if)* *suppose (that)* *so (that;as)* *so long as*

Table 5.3: Conditional subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE

Finally, Table 5.4 shows the concessive subordinators. *Although* and *though* are the prototypical connectives, while the selected ephemeral concessive subordinators are: *albeit*

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(so/that), all-be, howbeit (that), how(so/some)ever, how so, how well and *notwithstanding (that).*

Sources	ME	EModE	LModE/PDE
Kortmann (1997: 333)	*theigh, though (that)* *although (that)* *(g)if (that)* *suppose* ***notwithstanding*** *al* [inverted word order]	*though (that)* *although* *if (that)* *suppose (that)* ***notwithstanding (that)*** *for all (that)* *gra(u)nted that* ***albeit (that)*** *an(d) (if)* ***howsoever*** ***howsomever*** ***howbeit (that)***	*though* *although* *if* *for all (that)* *as* *except (that)* *granted that* ***albeit*** *whereas* *while* *when* *whilst*
CHEL (ME) (Fischer 1992: 207-408) *CHEL* (EModE) (Rissanen 1999: 187-331) *CHEL* (LModE) (Denison (1998: 92-329)	*though* *although* *though so be that* ***al be it (so) that***	*(al)though* *for all (that)* *all if* ***all-be*** ***notwitstanding***	*though* *although*
Görlach (1993: 122)		*(al)though* ***albeit*** *however* *for all*	
Visser (1963-1973: 902-8)	*in such manner (wyse)…* *that* *though all* *Þeah all* ***how so*** ***how well*** ***how (so) ever*** *as though* *as that* *all but though* *all but if* *all if*	*although* *though* ***how so*** ***how well*** ***how (so) ever*** *as though* *as that* *even* *set*	*although* *though* *even* ***notwithstanding that***

Table 5.4: Concessive subordinators in the history of English

Section 5.2.1, Section 5.2.2 and Section 5.2.3 provide information on the selected causal, conditional and ephemeral concessive adverbial subordinators (in bold in Table 5.2, Table 5.3 and Table 5.4) taken from the standard historical dictionaries, the OED and the MED.

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Special attention is paid here to the dates of their first and last records in the OED in their subordinating function,[75] supplemented with information from the MED.

5.2.1 Causal subordinators

5.2.1.1 Because

Because is characterized in the OED (s.v. *because*, adv., conj., and n.) to be the combination of the preposition *by* and the noun *cause*. Hence, this subordinator is generally regarded as a calque modelled on French *par cause* or *a cause*.[76] Originally, the phrase, consisting of a preposition a substantive, expressed cause or purpose by a noun governed by *of*, a dative infinitive, or a subordinate clause introduced by *that* or *why*. Such subordinate clauses fell into two classes, one expressing cause or reason, the other purpose. In this dissertation only the cause or reason adverbial subordinators are relevant and in those *that* was at length omitted. *Because* as causal subordinator can occur in three different patterns, of which only the first use in the first pattern is relevant for the present study (OED s.v. *because* adv., conj. and n. B 1), i.e. "For the reason that; inasmuch as, since. (*For* formerly sometimes prefixed.)". Consider examples (5.1) and (5.2), which correspond to the first and last records of causal *because* in the OED.

[75] Given the polyfunctionality that characterizes these connectives, only their subordinating function is considered in what follows.

[76] This has been contested in various studies by Molencki (2007, 2008, 2011 and 2012). He observes that there is a highly conspicuous number of conjunctions *par cause* and *a cause* in Anglo-Norman (rather than in continental French) and hints at the possibility of the influence of Anglo-Norman on the development of *because* in ME:

> The Anglo-Norman corpus has numerous examples of both the preposition *par cause de* and the complex conjunction *a cause que/par cause que*, first attested in the fourteenth century. According to French etymological dictionaries the first continental occurrences are at least two centuries later. Contrary to what we find in English etymological dictionaries and reference books, the word-phrase is not a direct French loan but appears to have arisen among bilingual Anglo-Norman and Middle English speakers in the last quarter of the 14th century. (Molencki 2011: 18-19)

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(5.1) ***By cause*** *I am a burel man..Haue me excused of my rude speche.* (c1386, G. Chaucer *Franklin"s Prol. 8*; OED s.v. *because* adv., conj. and n. B 1a)

(5.2) *We wonder* ***because*** *we are ignorant and we fear* ***because*** *we are weak.* (1857, H. T. Buckle *Hist. Civilisation Eng.* I. x. 616; OED s.v. *because* adv., conj. and n. B 1a)

The earliest instance of *because* as a subordinator in the MED, shown in (5.3) below, dates from c1375, which roughly coincides with the date of the first example provided in the OED (cf. (5.1) above). Interestingly, both instances occur in Chaucer's works.

(5.3) ***By cause*** *Nero hadde of hym swich drede*. (c1375, Chaucer *CT*. Mk. (Manly-Rickert) B. 3694; MED s.v. *because* (conj.)).

5.2.1.2 For

The OED presents *for* (s.v. *for*, prep. and conj.) as an OE preposition, whose use as a conjunction dates from the ME period, not earlier than the 12th century. In earlier stages of the language, locutions in which the preposition *for* preposition governed a neuter demonstrative pronominal form followed by the particle *þe* (e.g. *for ðon ðe*, *for ðy ðe*, etc.) supplied the lack of a proper causal conjunction.

According to Fischer (1992: 345-347), the prepositional conjunction lost the demonstrative in ME, thus facilitating its rise as a subordinator on its own (cf. Section 3.3 above). The earliest attestation of *for* as a conjunction with the meaning "introducing the cause of a fact, the statement of which precedes or follows" is referred in the OED as archaic and obsolete. (5.4)[77] and (5.5) are, respectively, the OED first and last attestations of *for* with its conjunctival meaning.

[77] The MED earliest example of *for* as a conjunction dates back to c1275, slightly later than the date suggested in the OED.

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(5.4) *We sculen fleon þa unðeawes, na þa mænn sylfe.. **for** heo synd godes gesceafte.* (*a*1200, tr. *Alcuin"s Virt. & V.* 115 in *Anglia* XI. 376; OED s.v. *for* prep. and conj. B 1a)

(5.5) *And, **for** himself was of the greater state,..he trusted his liege-lord Would yield him this large honour all the more.* (1857, H. T. Buckle *Hist. Civilisation Eng.* I. x. 616; OED s.v. *for* prep. and conj. B 1a)

Rissanen (1999: 306-307) accounts for the popularity of *for* (*that*) as the most common causal conjunction prior to the emergence of *because* in the 14th century, which rapidly replaced *for* (*that*) in this function. *For* lost its popularity in favour of *because* in the 16th century. Rissanen (1999: 307) illustrates this replacement with data from the *Helsinki Corpus*, in which the ratio between *because* and *for* is 1:15 in texts dating from 1420-1500, whereas in the period between 1500 and 1640, the ratio is 1:3, thus suggesting a significant decrease of *for* over time. Additionally, this dramatic drop in the use of *for* as a subordinating conjunction may account for the emergence of the unequivocal causal conjunction *because* and for the gradual development of *for* towards coordinating usage.

The use of *for*, once a very common causal conjunction, is marginal today. Tagliamonte (2013: 198) remarks that "the obsolescing conjunction *for* is on the brink of extinction". Although she analysed a plethora of varieties of English, she obtained "simply too little data". She, therefore, concludes: "Unfortunately, for this feature we are too late to establish the basis for any cross-variety correspondences other than that this feature exists".

5.2.1.3 For as much as

This conjunctival phrase does not have an entry of its own in the OED. However, in the entry for *forasmuch* (adverb), it is mentioned that the phrase *for as much as* can be used as a subordinator, though no examples are provided.

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The MED mentions for the use of *for as much as* in the adverbial function as well as in the conjunctival one. Consider examples (5.6) and (5.7) below:

(5.6) *But **forasmuche** [Lnsd: for al so muche] thow art a worthy knyght….Haue here by trouthe*. (c1385, Chaucer CT. Mk. (Manly-Rickert) A.1608; MED s.v. *for as much* (adverbial phrase & conj., 2b)).

(5.7) *Þey whiche been sike schullin haue proper place..**For as mochel þat** þe reste..be nat distourbid*. (a1500, Rule Minoresses (Bod 585)87/25; MED s.v. *for as much* (adverbial phrase & conj., 2b)).

5.2.1.4 For because

According to the OED (s.v. *because*, adv., conj., and n.), *because* was sometimes preceded by *for*. Examples (5.7) and (5.8) show the earliest and the last attestation of this use in the dictionary.

(5.8) ***For bicause** I was in her presence, I toke acquaintaunce of her excellence*. (1509, S. Hawes *Pastime of Pleasure* 147; OED s.v. *because*, adv., conj., and n., B 1a)

(5.9) *They are much deceiued..**for because** the Stellion hath a rustie colour*. (1608, E. Topsell *Hist. Serpents* 276; OED s.v. *because*, adv., conj., and n., B 1a)

The MED also records some examples of this combination. Consider (5.10) below:

(5.10) ***For bycause** al is corrumpable..Ne were ther generacioun, Oure sectis stren for to save.* (a1425(?a1400), *Rrose (Htrn 409)*4856; MED s.v. *because* (conj.) 1a).

This causal subordinator is a clear example of hypercharacterization or accretion (López-Couso 2019: 343-344), where two markers with the same meaning are combined in the same subordinator (cf. Section 3.3 above).

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5.2.1.5 For why

According to the OED, *for why* (s.v. *for why*, adv., and conj.) derives from OE *for-hwí*, which is the combination of the preposition *for* and the adverb *hwí* (PDE adverb *why*). Consider examples (5.11) and (5.12), the first and last example recorded in this dictionary:

(5.11) *And al my felynge gan to dede* ***For whi*** *hit was to grete affray*. (*c*1384, G. Chaucer *Hous of Fame* ii. 45; OED s.v. *for why*, adv., and conj., B 1a)

(5.12) *It will be pleasant if you go to the Old Borough..***Forwhy** *in that case you will certainly come on hither*. (1883, E. A. Freeman *MS. letter*; OED s.v. *for why*, adv., and conj., B 1a)

The MED provides an earlier example, given below as (5.13):

(5.13) *Merci is al fro ȝou gon,* ***For whij*** *on me hadde ȝe non.* (c1330(?c1300), *Spec.Guy* (Auch)454; MED s.v. *for-whī* (pronominal adv. & conj.) 5).

As in the case of *for because* (cf. Section 5.2.1.4), *for why* also illustrates the phenomenon of hypercharacterization (cf. López-Couso 2019: 342-344).

5.2.1.6 In as much as

The subordinator *in as much as*, which was originally spelt as three separate words (*in as much*), and sometimes written as two words (*in asmuch*), was univerbated since the 17th century. This phrase can be used with the sense "In that; in view of the fact that; seeing that; considering that; on the ground or for the reason that; since, because." Examples (5.14) and (5.15) show the first and last instances provided in the OED of this causal subordinator.

(5.14) *I haue to yow, quod he, ydoon trespas* ***In as muche*** *[v.r. moche] as I maked yow aferd Whan I yow hente.* (c1386, *G. Chaucer Nun"s Priest"s Tale 601*; OED s.v. *in as much as*, adv., I 2)

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(5.15) *I am unable to reply that I am much the better for seeing you, Pussy,* ***inasmuch as*** *I see nothing of you.* (1870, C. Dickens *Edwin Drood* iii. 15; OED s.v. *in as much as*, adv., I 2)

In the MED the earliest example dates from c. 1390, slightly later than the OED. The last example recorded in this dictionary is given here as (5.16).

(5.16) *Blody swote from hym ran doun,* ***In-as-mich as*** *he mon wes, for drede of his gret passioun.* (a1500 (?a1400), *SLChrist (Hrl 3909)1371*; MED s.v. *in as muche as, in as muchel as* (phr.) 2a).

5.2.1.7 In so much as

The OED (s.v. *insomuch*, adv.) presents this subordinator univerbated and without *as*, particularly since the 16th century, in the sense of "inasmuch as, in that, seeing that, since". Consider (5.17) and (5.18) for the first and last examples recorded:

(5.17) *We beseche you now, That you graunt vs grace,* ***Insomuche as*** *we be to you comen.* (c1500, *Adam Bel & Clym of Clough 489*; OED s.v. *insomuch*, adv., 2a)

(5.18) ***Insomuch as*** *I am not French by birth, but was born..in the city of Marseilles.* (1868, *W. C. Hazlitt in tr. Paris & Vienne Prol. p. xii*; OED s.v. *insomuch*, adv., 2a)

In the MED, the first attestation in the sense of "because, since" dates back to c1460; see example (5.19).

(5.19) *Noþer he noþer hys men oony sute oftyd to þat myll,* ***In-somoch that*** *A quiteclayme þay had of þat maner of sute afore þe sayde Reynolde whas y-ffeffyd of þe sayde Mylle.* (c1460, *Oseney Reg. 203/6*; MED s.v. *in sō muche, in sō muchel* (adv.) 1c).

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5.2.1.8 Sin (that)

Sin is characterized for its polyfunctionality, the same as *sithen* (cf. Section 5.2.1.9 below), since it can be used as an adverb, a preposition and a conjunction, in addition to a noun and a verb. As a conjunction, it has the meaning "seeing or considering that", which entails a causal interpretation. Consider examples (5.20) and (5.21) below, which correspond to the first and last attestations,[78] respectively, in the OED.

(5.20) *God war worthy mare to be lufed þan any creature,..**Syn** he es maker of althynge*. (c1340, R. Rolle *Pricke of Conscience* 946; OED s.v. *sin*, adv., prep., and conj. C2a)

(5.21) *I wish ye had suffered under ony hand but mine, **sin"** it be your lot*. (1818, J. Hogg *Brownie of Bodsbeck I. 46*; OED s.v. *sin*, adv., prep., and conj. C2a)

The OED does not provide examples of the combination *sin that* with this meaning, but it records its use, although obsolete, with the meaning "so". All the examples provided with this sense date from c1400. Consider (5.21) in this respect:

(5.22) ***Syn that** a knyght is capitayn of a batayll the lyf of them..lyeth in his hand.* (1474, W. Caxton tr. *Game & Playe of Chesse* (1883) ii. iv. 44; OED s.v. *sin*, adv., prep., and conj. C2b)

Nevertheless, in my opinion, example (5.22) above could also have a causal reading, since the reason for the fact that their lives are in his hands is because he, as a knight, is the captain of the battle.

In the MED there are examples of *sin* with and without *that*. Consider (5.23) and (5.24), which correspond to the latest examples provided in both uses.

[78] The last attestation in the OED for *sin* in its conjunctival use dates from 1877. However, the example is not provided; only the reference is given, namely, F. Ross et al. *Gloss. Words Holderness* 126/1.

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(5.23) ***Sen that*** *he is turnyd away fra the vnrest of this life..he heris what the haly gast spekis priuely in him.* (a1500 (c1340), Rolle Psalter (UC 64)84.8; MED s.v. *sin* (conj.) 1a).

(5.24) *For-bede it, god, that euyr I shold A-gaynste yow worche so grete vnryght* ***Syne*** *we to-gedyr vpon thys mold haue led owre lyffe by day And nyght.* (a1500 (?a1400), Morte Arth. (2) (Hrl 2252) 3684; MED s.v. *sin* (conj.) 1a).

5.2.1.9 Sith(en) (that)

In the OED *sith(en)*, which can function as an adverb, as a conjunction and as a preposition, is labelled as obsolete in all its functions (OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep.). Additionally, *sith(en)* in its function as a simple causal conjunction meaning "seeing that, given that; for the reason that, because" is considered to be an archaic feature of the northern dialects. The causal meaning of this subordinator is not its primary one, since in OE the temporal connotation was more common. Example (5.25) below corresponds to one of the earliest examples in OE with a causal meaning.

(5.25) *Ac [ic] þe wille nu giet getæcan ðone weg ðe ðe gelæt to þære heofonlican byrig..,* ***siððan*** *[L. quoniam] ðu ongitst [þ]urh mine lare hwæt sio soðe gesælð bið.* (eOE, King Ælfred tr. Boethius *De Consol. Philos.* (Otho) (2009) I. xxiv. 492; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2a)

In (5.26) and (5.27) we find a ME and an EModE example, respectively.

(5.26) ***Sythen*** *I haue made yow knyghte thow must yeue me a gyfte*. (1485, *Malory"s Morte Darthur* (Caxton) i. xxii. sig. cij; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2a)

(5.27) ***Sithen*** *he hath called me to speak in this matter, I confesse in ciuill respect he giueth to Princes all iust due.* (1610, R. Bernard *Plaine Evid. Pref.* 36; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2a)

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The last example provided in the OED of *sithen*, dating back to 1876, is a metalinguistic example:

(5.28) *Sith*, adv. therefore. ***Sithen***, thus it follows. (1876, F. K. Robinson *Gloss. Words Whitby* 171/2; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2a)

In combination with *that*, the earliest example of *sithen* dates back to a1382, while the last OED attestation is from 1610. See examples (5.29) and (5.30) below.

(5.29) *Jeremye..as anentis þe hebrues is seen to ben booistousere þan þe sermoun of isaie & of osee: & þan oþere prophetis, but in wittis he is euene:* ***siþen*** *[L. quippe]* ***þat*** *in þe same spirit he propheciede.* (a1382, *Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.)* (Bodl. 959) (1969) Jer. Prol. l. 4; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2b)

(5.30) *Can they be said not to come therefore voluntarily,* ***sithen that*** *where there is a chose, there is a kinde of freedome?* (1610, R. Bernard *Plaine Evid.* 130; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2b)

The MED dating of the examples coincides with that in the OED. Nevertheless, it also includes an instance of the subordinator *sithen* in combination with *as*, rather than with *that*. See example (5.31).

(5.31) ***Sithen as*** *we may not to-geder spek, be writynge we shall oure hertes breke.* (c1500, *I pray you M* (BodLMisc c.66)25; MED s.v. *sitthen* (conj.) 5b).

Figure 5.2 summarizes the data provided in the OED and the MED as regards the first and the last occurrences of the nine causal subordinators under study.

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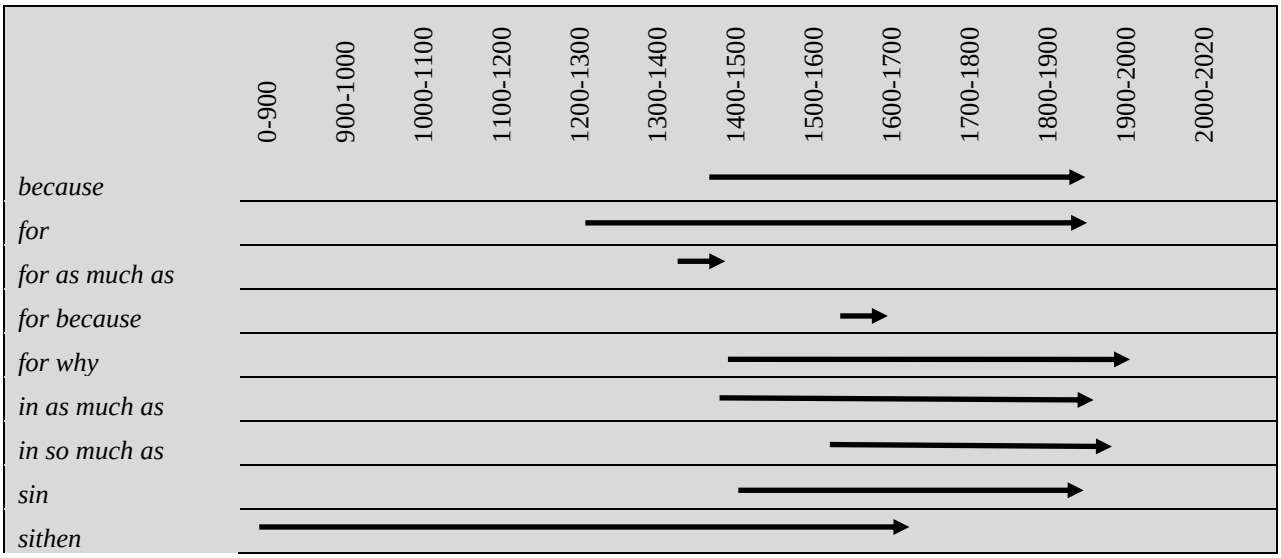

Figure 5.2: Timeline of prototypical and ephemeral causal subordinators in the OED and the MED

As shown in Figure 5.2, the majority of the ephemeral causal subordinators under consideration here emerge between the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century. Hence, Late ME represents a major period for the emergence of ephemeral causal subordinators. Regarding the time frame of use of these connectives, four out of the eight ephemeral subordinators under study, namely *for why*, *in as much as*, *in so much as* and *sin*, representing 50%, show a difference of 400-500 years between the earliest and the last example recorded. The subordinators with the shortest history, roughly a century, are *for as much as* and *for because*.

In this set of causal subordinators, made up of the prototypical causal subordinator *because* and other forms, we observe that five out of those eight are phrasal and formed by the combination of different orthographic words, some of which could be labelled as cumbersome due to their complexity. This is the case of such as *in as much as*, *in so much as* or *for as much as*.

Moreover, two of the newcomers feature hypercharacterization, namely *for because* and *for why*, which are formed by the combination of *for*, the old prototypical causal marker, and a second causal connective, either *because* or *why*. Additionally,

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multifunctionality is also a trait among causal subordinators; note, for example, *sin*, *for* or *sithen*.

Regarding the prototypical causal subordinator *because*, its first attestation in the OED dates from 1386 and even though the last OED attestation is from 1857, the grammars of PDE prove that *because* is the causal subordinator par excellence nowadays.

5.2.2 Conditional subordinators

5.2.2.1 If

If is characterized in the OED (s.v. *if*, conj. and n.) as a conjunction "introducing a clause of condition or supposition (the protasis of a conditional sentence)". The conditional clause headed by this subordinator can entail different meanings depending on the mood (indicative or subjunctive) present in the conditional clause. The earliest examples appear in the present subjunctive mood, particularly those with a main clause in the imperative. Consider (5.32) in this respect. Examples in which the indicative is used in the *if*-clause date from a slightly later date; see (5.33).

(5.32) ***gif*** *hio..bearn næbbe..þonne foe he to ðæm londe*. (805, in *Old Eng. Texts* 442; OED s.v. *if*, conj. And n., AI 2.a)

(5.33) *Þas ealle ic þe sylle,* ***gif*** *þu feallest to me*. (971, *Blickl. Hom.* 27; OED s.v. *if*, conj. And n., AI 1.a)

Examples of the conditional *if*-clause with a verb phrase featuring the modal *should* are attested in the OED centuries later. Consider example (5.34):

(5.34) ***If*** *ever you should come to Modena..Stop at a Palace near the Reggio-gate.* (1821–3, S. Rogers *Italy* xviii. 1; OED s.v. *if*, conj. And n., AI 2.c)

The last example recorded in the OED of a clause in the indicative is from 1878; see (5.35) below. Likewise, instances of conditional clauses with a verb phrase in the present subjunctive or with the modal *should* date from around 1800.

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(5.35) ***If*** *he does see it, he rides roughshod over it.* (1878, J. Morley Carlyle in *Crit. Misc*. 200; OED s.v. *if*, conj. And n., AI 1a)

In the MED, the first example dates from c1175. This is (5.36) below:

(5.36) *Heo nabbæð infær to heofenum,* ***ȝyf*** *heo hæþene dæȝeð..* (c1175(?OE), *Bod.Hom.(Bod 343)*; MED s.v. *if* (conj.) 1a).

5.2.2.2 Be it so

The OED does not contain an entry for the subordinator *be it so,* an EmodE connective that only Kortmann (1997: 331) includes in the catalogue of conditional adverbial subordinators (cf. Table 5.3 in Section 5.2 above). Nevertheless, in the entry for the verb *be* we find the sense "To be the case or the fact. Chiefly in *so be (that)*, *be it (that)*: if it be the case that, suppose that." However, it is stated that this use is rare and the OED relates this meaning with other conditional conjunctions, such as *if so be (that)*, *sobeit* or *being*.

Among the examples provided for the conditional sense, there is only one occurrence of *be it so,* given here as (5.37):

(5.37) ***Be it so*** *the Corinthians had no suche contencions among them.* (1549, H. Latimer *2nd Serm. Before Kynges Maiestie* 6th Serm. Sig. Ti; OED s.v. *be*, I3)

In the same entry there is an example in which *so* is dropped, but has the same meaning:

(5.38) ***Be it that*** *we do good, or be it that we do ill, we are always paid after the same rate.* (1739, H. Baker & J. Miller tr. Molière *Mock-doctor* III. I, in Molière *Wks.* IV. 213; OED s.v. *be*, v., I3)

The MED does not provide examples of *be it so*. However, there are instances of *bi so (that)*, with the meaning "on condition that, if, if only". Consider (5.39) below, one of the earliest examples attested:

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(5.39) ***By so þat*** *no man were a-greuede, Alle þe science..Ich wolde ich knewe*. (c1400 (?a1387), PPl.C (Hnt HM 137)17.209; MED s.v. *bī* (conj.) 2).

5.2.2.3 Conditioned that

This conditional subordinator is only referred to in Kortmann's (1997: 331) catalogue of conditional subordinators and in the OED (s.v. *conditioned*, adj,), which describes it as obsolete. The two examples of this use in the OED are by the same author, P. Heylyn. See examples (5.40) and (5.41) below:

(5.40) *The manour..was held of old by Grand Sergianty of the Kings of England;* ***condicioned that*** *the Grantees should for ever be the K. Marshals.* (1641, P. Heylyn *Ἡρωολογια Anglorvm* 306; OED s.v. *conditioned*, adj., 9)

(5.41) *Such of them, as..had a desire to stay in Spain..were suffered so to doe..****conditioned that*** *they would be Christned..* (1652, P. Heylyn *Cosmographie* i. sig. V2; OED s.v. *conditioned*, adj., 9)

In the MED there are no examples of this connective, which is not included either in Visser's (1963-1973) or Görlach's (1993) conditional sets.

5.2.2.4 Foreseen (that)

According to the OED (s.v. *forsee*, v.) the subordinator *foreseen (that)* has the meaning "provided that" but is said to be obsolete. Examples (5.42) and (5.43) show the earliest and the last examples recorded.

(5.42) ***Forseen*** *alwey,* ***that*** *yf..my doughtres dye [etc.]*. (1434, F. J. Furnivall *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills* (1882) 99; OED s.v. *forsee*, v., 4)

(5.43) ***Foreseene*** *also* ***that*** *they that shall drinke it thus, be not subject to the Chollicke*. (1600, W. Vaughan *Nat. & Artific. Direct. Health* (1633) 32; OED s.v. *forsee*, v., 4)

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In the MED there are various examples of *foreseen* in its conjunctival use, meaning "provided that, with the understanding that, subject to the condition or limitation that." However, all the examples are from the 15th century, the first occurrence dating from 1427 (see example (5.44) below) and the last from 1473. It is also remarkable that most of these instances are from the same text, namely the *Parliamentary Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504*.

(5.44) *Also* ***forseene****, yat my Lady of Gloucestre..be pourveyde fore be way of traitee* (1427, RParl.4.318b; MED s.v. *fōr(e-sẹ̄n* (*ppl. & conj*) 1).

5.2.2.5 If case be (that)

According to the OED (s.v. *case*, n.), this phrase means "if it should prove or happen that, if perchance" and it is labelled as obsolete. This subordinator also admits some variation, with the omission of either *that* or of the verb *be*. Consider examples (5.45) and (5.46) below.

(5.45) *And* ***if case*** *the said william dye withoute Issew male.* (1455, *A. Clark Lincoln Diocese Documents (1914) 85*; OED s.v. *case*, n., P6a)

(5.46) ***If case were*** *after the length of the climates, one might goe about the earth from Orient to Occident to his first place.* (1656, *Shepheards Kalender* xxxvii. sig. N4; OED s.v. *case*, n., P6a)

The MED includes the phrase *if case* with the conditional meaning "if it chance that, in the event that, if", but not the full phrase *if case be (that)*. Consider example (5.47), one of the only two instances recorded in this dictionary, both of them occurring in the same text: *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, ed. A. Clark, *Early English Text Society*, Original Series 149 (1914; reprint 1971).

(5.47) *I wol haue all my plate leid in the said Chist..****if case*** *any purchase falle*. (1465, Lin.DDoc.124/19; MED s.v. *cās* (n.) 1c).

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5.2.2.6 If so be (that/as)

This subordinator is considered in the OED (s.v. *if*, conj., 8e) as a "somewhat rhetorical equivalent of simple *if*". It is labelled as archaic and dialectal. Some variations are mentioned, including *if so were that* and also *if so*. Consider examples (5.48) and (5.49), the first and last attestations in the OED, respectively.

(5.48) *And **if so is that** thou so be, Tell me thy shrift, in privete.* (1390, J. Gower *Confessio Amantis III. 5*; OED s.v. *if*, conj., 8e)

(5.49) *"It"s my opinion that any man can be a duke **if so be** it"s born to him."* (1861, *Cornhill Mag.* Aug. 183; OED s.v. *if*, conj., 8e)

The MED also provides some records of this phrase in its use as a subordinator and the earliest example recorded is from roughly the time, c1385.[79] Consider example (5.50) below. In the use of the phrase there is some variability: we find the full conjunctival phrase, as in example (5.48), but also instances with *that* omitted and with the verb *be* conjugated in the past form, i.e. *if so were that*.

(5.50) *And **if so be that** thow my lady wynne..Thow mayst wel haue thy lady as for me.* (c1385, Chaucer *CT.Kn.*(Manly-Rickert); MED s.v. *if* (conj.) 1c).

5.2.2.7 When if

No examples of this subordinator are attested in the OED or in the MED. It is only mentioned in Kortmann (1997: 312), who explains that it is another example of a hypercharacterized subordinator: *when if* < *when* 'when, if' + *if* 'if' (see also López-Couso 2019: 342). Kortmann, however, does not provide examples of the use of the connective.

[79] The MED provides seven examples of this conjunctival phrase, three of them, representing 42.86%, are by the same author, G. Chaucer.

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Figure 5.3 summarizes the data provided in the OED and the MED as regards the first and the last occurrences of the seven conditional subordinators under study.

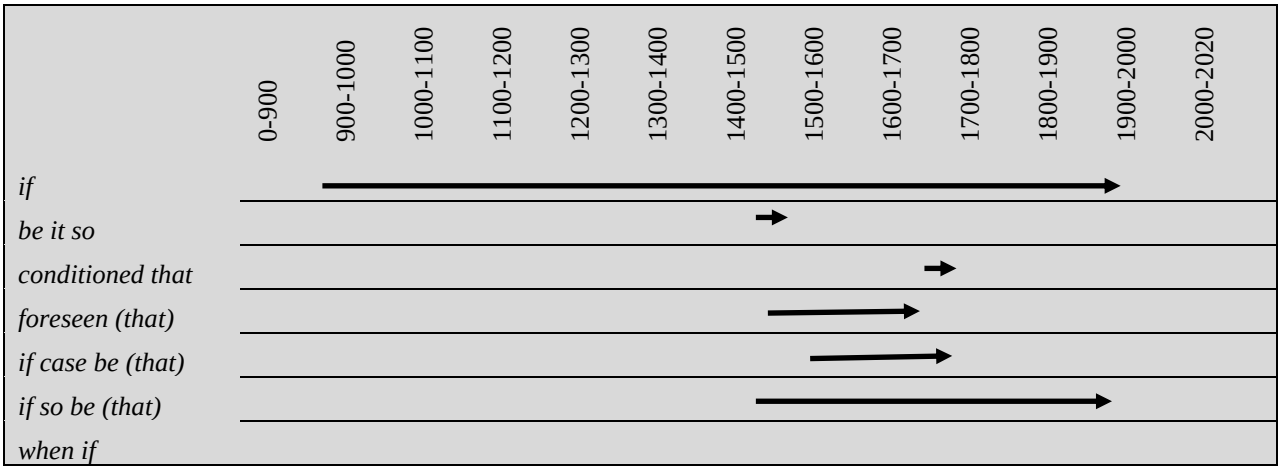

Figure 5.3: Timeline of prototypical and ephemeral conditional subordinators in the OED and the MED

As shown in Figure 5.3, the prototypical subordinator *if* has the longest history, while most of the other connectives under study show a short history, if any at all. Note that, for instance, the subordinator *when if* is not recorded in the dictionaries. Regarding the remaining ephemeral conditional subordinators, the majority originate in the course of the 15th century. It is striking that for three out of the six ephemeral subordinators under study, namely *conditioned that*, *foreseen (that)* and *if case be (that)*, the time span between their first and their last attestation is very short, less than 200 years in all cases and just 11 years in the case of *conditioned that*. Taking into account the long diachrony of the language, those time spans are rather insignificant.

All in all, the set of conditional subordinators is clearly characterized for having a long-lasting marker, namely *if*, together with a number of Late ME and EModE newcomers whose history is far from being memorable.

As regards the formation of the new connectives, the majority of them are formed by different orthographic words. More importantly, the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* is present in many of them, either in first position, as happens with *if case be that* and *if so be that*, or in final position, as in *when if*. To conclude, the evidence from

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the dictionaries suggests the strong presence of *if* from OE times to the present day, which may account both for the short existence of its competitors and for the occurrence of the deeply rooted conditional subordinator *if* in the formation of many of these new connectives.

5.2.3 Concessive subordinators

5.2.3.1 Though

Though is characterized in the OED (s.v. *though* adv., conj. and n.) as "an adversative particle expressing that relation of two opposed facts or circumstances (actual or hypothetical) in which the one is inadequate to prevent the other, and therefore both concur, contrary to what might be expected". As a conjunction (OED s.v. *though* adv., conj. and n. B 1), *though* can occur in six different patterns, of which only the first use in the first pattern is relevant for the present study: "Introducing a subordinate clause expressing a fact: Notwithstanding that; in spite of the fact that, although. (Formerly with verb in subjunctive, where the indicative is now used.) Proverbial phr. *though I say it that should not* and variants". Consider examples (5.51) and (5.52), which correspond to the first and last examples of concessive *though* recorded in the OED.

(5.51) *[He] bið þonne undeaþlic, **þeah** he ær deaþlic wære*. (971, *Blickl. Hom.*21; OED s.v. *though* adv., conj. and n. B 1a)

(5.52) ***Though** they rallied, the effort cost them dear*. (1857, H. T. Buckle *Hist. Civilisation Eng. I. xi. 647*; OED s.v. *though* adv., conj. and n. B 1a)

The earliest instance of *though* as a subordinator in the MED, shown in (5.53), dates from 1121:

(5.53) *He heafde on his agenre hand þæt arcebiscoprice on Cantwarbyrig..And **þeah þe** ic hit læng ylde, eall þet þe Gode wæs lað*. (a1121, *Peterb. Chron.* (LdMisc 636); MED s.v. *though* (conj.)).

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5.2.3.2 Although

As stated in the OED (s.v. *although* conj.), the form *although* derives from the combination of the adverb *all* and the conjunction *though*. It has three possible senses as a conjunction, only the first being relevant for this study: "Even though; granting or supposing that; notwithstanding or in spite of the fact that (something is, or may be, the case)" (OED s.v. *although* conj. 1). Examples (5.54) and (5.55) provide the first (dated 1325) and last OED occurrences of this form as a subordinating conjunction.

(5.54) *Sone is sotel..þis sake,* ***alþah*** *hit seme suete*. (1325, in *G. L. Brook Harley Lyrics (1968) 29 (MED)*; OED s.v. *although* conj. 1a)

(5.55) ***Although*** *I happen not to smoke cigarettes myself, I find myself admiring those... who still defiantly spark up.* (2011, *Independent* 11 Feb. (Viewspaper section); OED s.v. *although* conj. 1a)

5.2.3.3 Albeit

According to the OED (s.v. *albeit* conj.), *albeit* is a "quasi-word" that developed out of what is "prop[erly] a phrase *all be it* (*that*); in full *all though it be that*". It has three possible meanings:

1. "Even though it be (that), admitting (that)" b. Pa. Tense. "Even though it were." Obs. Consider example (5.56).

(5.56) *Also þerase man rauisez womman..mit strenkþe,* ***albehit þat*** *heo assente afterward, he sal habbe þilke iugement þat his iseid bifor.* (a1325, *Statutes of Realm* (2011) vii. 51); OED s.v. *albeit*, conj. 1a)

2. *That* omitted: "even though it be that; even though, although, though," as in (5.57).

(5.57) *I may well leese a worde on yow, or letter,* ***Albeit*** *I shal be never the better.* (c1386, Chaucer *Legend Good Women* (1359); OED s.v. *albeit*, conj. 1b)

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3. With *though*, *if*. Obs. An example of this use is given in (5.58).

(5.58) ***All bote yf*** *I vnvorthy be I wald fayn dyne wit ȝhou þat day.* (a1500 (?a1475), in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.*; OED s.v. *albeit*, conj.1c)

The date of the earliest OED and MED attestations of *albeit* as a subordinator is 1325 (see (5.56) above), while its latest occurrence dates back to 2004.

Molencki (1997b) and Sorva (2006, 2007) constitute relevant diachronic studies on this connective. Both of them maintain that even though in PDE *albeit* has the main role of a marker of contrast, there are still some fossilized instances of its use as a concessive adverbial subordinator. Consider in this respect example (5.59) below, quoted from Sorva (2007: 135):

(5.59) *No I think, I thought we still had a chance,* ***albeit*** *you know the odd had gone down a bit* […]. (BNC 1986 HUY 224 Interview)

5.2.3.4 All be

This subordinator, which is now rare and archaic, is, according to the OED (s.v. *albe*, conj.), intimately related to the subordinator *albeit* (cf. Section 5.2.3.3 above). Etymologically, *all be* is a compound subordinator of *all* conj. + *be*, the present subjunctive of *be* v., originally a phrase in which *be* was inflected for tense, which subsequently lexicalized as a conjunction with reference to the past as well as to the present. It can appear followed by *that* or without *that*. In both cases, the first examples date back to around 1400. However, the more recent records in the OED differ greatly in time. Thus, while the last instance *all be* dates from 1603, the bare *all be*, without *that*, is attested in 1920. See examples (5.60) and (5.61) below, respectively:

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(5.60) *Paraphrasticke, one that still keepes the sense of the Author in a translation,* ***albe that*** *he tie not himselfe to expresse euery word as it lyeth.* (1623, H. Cockeram *Eng. Dict.* (at cited word); OED s.v. *albe,* conj.1a)

(5.61) *Thy Seers, spake of a Time-to-Come, unborn And witness bare of Heavens hid purposes;* ***Albe*** *they prophecíed oft to the Winds ears.* (1920, C. M. Doughty *Mansoul iii.* 62; OED s.v. *albe,* conj.1b)

This subordinator is also recorded in the MED. The earliest attestation dates back to around 1387, as shown in (5.62), nearly a century before the date provided in the OED.

(5.62) *But,* ***al be that*** *he was a philosophre, Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre*. (c1387-95, Chaucer CT.Prol.(Manly-Rickert)A.297; MED s.v. *al* conj. 5b)

5.2.3.5 Howbeit

The OED presents *howbeit* (s.v. *howbeit*, adv. and conj.) as an analytic sequence of three words: *how be it*, with past tense *how were it*. It can be both an adverb and a conjunction. As a conjunction, with the meaning "though, although" (s.v. *howbeit* conj. B), it was originally followed by *that*, which, according to the OED, was the actual conjunctive element. Example (5.63) provides the earliest occurrence of the conjunctional use of *howbeit* in the OED, dating back to 1398.[80]

(5.63) ***How be it that*** *this dyuyne essence maye not be perfyghtly knowen yet there is not any mortall persone but that he woll confesse ther is a god*. (1398, J. Trevisa tr. Bartholomew de Glanville *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; OED s.v. *howbeit* conj.)

The last occurrence of the conjunction *howbeit* in the OED is dated 1634; see example (5.64).

[80] The MED records the first example of *howbeit* in 1429, slightly later than the one found in the OED (cf. (5.63)).

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(5.64) *I would fain have access and presence to The King even* ***howbeit*** *I should break up iron doors*. (1634, S. Rutherford *Lett.*; OED s.v. *howbeit* conj.)

5.2.3.6 Howsoever

The OED presents *howsoever* (s.v. *howsoever* adv.) as the combination of the adverb *how*, the adverb and conjunction *so* and the adverb *ever*. This form appears to have been derived either from *how so* or from *however*, modelled on *howsomever* (see Section 5.2.3.7 below). It has four senses, the first being the conjunctival use with two possible meanings:

1a. "In what manner soever. (Sometimes with ellipsis.) arch.". Consider example (5.65).

(5.65) *We schulle present þe pleynte,* ***how so euer*** *þou be payde.* (a1500, *Pistel of Swete Susan* (Calig.) 202; OED s.v. *howsoever* 1.a)

1b. "Notwithstanding that, albeit", illustrated in (5.66).

(5.66) *It is a most innocent Animall,* ***howsoever*** *nature hath armed it most magnificently.* (1599, H. Buttes *Dyets Dry* sig.; OED s.v. *howsoever* 1.b)

The last example recorded in the OED is from 1655 (cf. (5.67) below). If the dates of the earliest and last occurences recorded in the dictionary are compared, we observe that there is less than a century between them, which is a sign of the ephemeral nature of the subordinator. Additionally, the OED characterizes this use as obsolete.

(5.67) *The parts of Musick are in all but four,* ***howsoever*** *some skilfull Musitians have composed Songs of twenty ..parts.* (1655, *Campion"s Art of composing Musick in Parts* in J. Playford *Introd. Skill Musick ii. 1*; OED s.v. *howsoever* 1.b)

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5.2.3.7 Howsomever

The form *howsomever* (cf. OED s.v. *howsoever* adv.) shows a parallel formation and meaning to *howsoever* (cf. Section 5.2.3.6), but with *sum, som* instead of *so*. Consider example (5.68), the only example recorded in the OED of *howsomever* as a concessive subordinator.

(5.68) ***How somere*** *their hearts are seuer"d in Religion, their heads are both one*. (1616, Shakesperare *All"s Well that ends Well*; OED s.v. *howsomever* 1.b)

The MED records *howsomever* as an adverb with the meaning "howsoever, no matter how". The examples provided date between 1400 and 1500. Among such instances, in the example given below as (5.69), *howsomever* could be analysed as a concessive subordinator, rather than as an adverb. This is, in fact, the only example provided of *howsomever* in the MED which shows an appended *þat*. The presence of *that* could be taken as an indication of the subordinating status of *howsomever* in this instance.

(5.69) ***How-som-euer þat*** *it cheue, þe knight taksi lis* [vr. His] *leue.* (c1440, Degrey, (Thrn). 481; MED s.v. *hŏu-sum-ēver* 1).

5.2.3.8 How so

According to the OED (s.v. *how* adv and n.), the form *how so* developed from the adverb *how* and the conjunction *so,* with the meaning "however much; notwithstanding that, although. Obs.". Examples (5.70) and (5.71) correspond to the first and last occurrences, respectively, of this connective recorded in the OED.

(5.70) *Ȝit wot non how hit wyl bynde [v.r. ende];* ***Hou so*** *bitwyxt hem be strif or stresse.* (c1330, R. Mannyng, *Chron. Wase (Rolls)* 16305; OED s.v. *how* A. VI 17c).

(5.71) *[They] shall never fall,* ***howso*** *they seeme to slide.* (1614, J. Norden *Custom* in E. Farr *Sel. Poetry Reign James* I (1848) 310); OED s.v. *how* A. VI 17c).

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This subordinator is also recorded in the MED. The earliest attestation dates back to around 1393, as shown in (5.72), slightly later than the date provided in the OED. Note that this example shows an appended *that* as well as the correlative *yet* in the main clause, both features reinforcing the status of *how so* as a concessive subordinator.

(5.72) *Bot* ***how so that*** *his will was good Toward the Pope..****Yit*** *hath it proved other wise.* (a1393, Gower CA (Frf 3); MED s.v. *hŏu-sō adv.* 1c)

5.2.3.9 How well

The form *how well* has a similar function to that of the conjunction *however* (OED s.v. *how*, adv. and n.), meaning "although, albeit; cf. Dutch *hoewel*. Obs.". (5.73) and (5.74) correspond to the first and last examples of this subordinator recorded in the OED.

(5.73) *I haue not Intencion for to obeye his comandement* ***how well that*** *he is my fader.* (?1473, Caxton tr. *R. Le Fèvre Recuyell Hist. Troye (1894) I. lf. 46;* OED s.v. *well* adv.)

(5.74) *They do labour & til the ground,* ***how wel*** *there groweth no corne... But well there groweth certaine other graine and hearbes of small estimation.* (1585, T. Whashington tr. N. de Nicolay *Nauigations Turkie i.xiv, 15;* OED s.v. *well*, adv.)

The MED does not include the use of *how well* as a conjunction, which may be interpreted as an indication of its low frequency of occurrence.

5.2.3.10 Notwithstanding

In the OED (s.v. *notwithstanding*, prep., conj., adv., and n.), *notwithstanding* is said to derive from the combination of the negative adverb *not* and the present participle of the verb *withstand*, modelled after medieval Latin *non obstante*. According to the OED, in its conjunctival use, *notwithstanding* means "although", perhaps a development of its prepositional use when combined with a *that*-clause functioning as object. In the event of

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the omission of *that*, the connective came to be reinterpreted as a conjunction. Example (5.75), dated 1425, is the earliest attestation of *notwithstanding* as a conjunction, while (5.76) is the last occurrence of the subordinator in the OED.

(5.75) *Which synne worþily askide and disceruede a peyne þat schulde haue noon eende,* ***notwiþstondynge*** *þe deede of synne had eende.* (?a1425, *Orcherd of Syon* (Harl. 3432) (1996) 22; OED s.v. *notwithstanding* conj.)

(5.76) *I stood immune to their talk, kept to one side of it,* ***notwithstanding*** *I´d have wished otherwise.* (1998, N. Mackey *Whatsaid Serif 33*; OED s.v. *notwithstanding* conj.)

Figure 5.4 summarizes the data provided in the OED and the MED as regards the first and the last occurrences of the ten concessive subordinators under study.

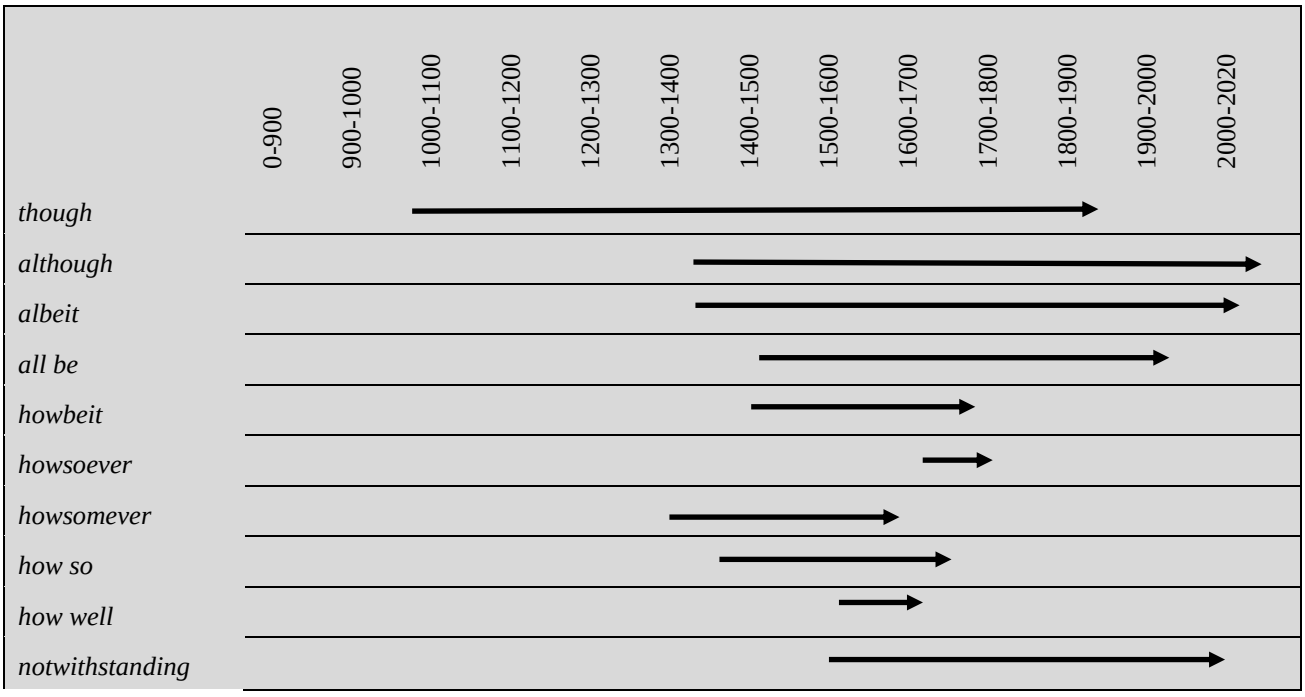

Figure 5.4: Timeline of prototypical and ephemeral concessive subordinators in the OED and the MED

As shown in Figure 5.4, the prototypical subordinators *although* and, specially, *though* have the longest history. Regarding the ephemeral concessive subordinators, there is a constant increase in the inventory since the 14th century until the 16th century. Table 5.5

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summarizes such increase over time taking into account the date of the earliest attestations of the relevant subordinators in the OED and the MED.

Century	Subordinators (first example recorded)
14th	*albeit* *all be* *howbeit* *how so*
15th	*howsomever* *how well* *notwithstanding*
16th	*howsoever*

Table 5.5: Expansion of the inventory of ephemeral concessive subordinators across time

Regarding the history of these ephemeral subordinators, three out of the eight connectives under study, representing 37.5%, last less than 300 years. It is also remarkable that *albeit* and *notwithstanding* have survived in their subordinating concessive function till the present day. Two recurrent elements in the creation of such new concessive subordinators examined in this dissertation are *all* and *how*. Contrary to what happened in the other two adverbial relations examined in this dissertation, in the concession set most of the subordinators, though complex in origin, seem to have been grammaticalized.

5.2.4 Summary

To summarize, this analytical approach based on the information provided in the OED and the MED for adverbial subordinators in the CCC domains indicates that ephemerality is a common feature among the members of these three adverbial relations. The dates when the so-called ephemeral adverbial subordinators originate do not differ greatly among the three relations, with Late ME and EModE as most productive periods. However, the development of the individual subordinators varies considerably, their existence covering timespans of different lengths, from less than one century, especially in the conditional

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domain, to longer periods of time. Additionally, the degree of grammaticalization of the subordinators at issue here differs greatly from one relation to another. Thus, whereas ephemeral concessive subordinators tend to be fully grammaticalized, some causal and, especially, conditional ephemeral subordinators still behave to a greater extent as phrasal subordinators, which indicates that their grammaticalization remains incomplete.

In the next chapter, a corpus-based analysis of the selected ephemeral subordinators is carried out. Table 5.6 summarizes the ephemeral CCC adverbial connectives selected for the study.

Adverbial relation	Selected subordinators
Causal	*for as much as* *for because* *for why* *in so much as* *in as much as* *sin* *sithen*
Conditional	*be it so* *conditioned that* *foreseen* *if case be* *if so be* *when if*
Concessive	*albeit* *howbeit* *howsoever* *howsomever* *how so* *how well* *notwithstanding*

Table 5.6: CCC ephemeral adverbial subordinators selected for the corpus-based analysis

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6. CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS: EPHEMERAL AND PROTOTYPICAL CAUSAL, CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE SUBORDINATORS

As suggested in Chapter 4, devoted to the methodology, the approach adopted in the present dissertation is corpus-based. Therefore, I rely heavily on corpus materials for the retrieval of data and subsequent analysis of the subordinators at issue, which have been selected from the three semantic relations under study, namely cause, condition and concession (cf. Table 5.2, Table 5.3 and Table 5.4). In addition, the prototypical subordinators for each of the three relations are also examined to provide a contrastive analysis with their ephemeral counterparts.

This chapter is divided into four main sections, corresponding to the three adverbial relations under study, i.e. causal, conditional and concessive, and the corresponding adverbial subordinators from each of them (Sections 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3, respectively). In each of these sections the information retrieved from the base-line corpora, i.e. the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*, is presented as follows: first, a diachronic overview of all the subordinators attested; second, the study of the different linguistic variables under consideration (cf. Section 4.4 above); and, finally, the comparison of the ephemeral subordinators with the prototypical conjunctions for each of the three semantic relations, namely *because* for causality, *if* for conditionality and *although*/*though* for concession. In turn, Section 6.4 contrasts the subordinators studied from the three semantic relations at issue.

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6.1 Ephemeral causal subordinators

In the domain of causality, seven causal subordinators have been chosen[81] and examined. The ephemeral subordinators under analysis are: *for as much as*, *for because*, *for why*, *in as much as*, *in so much as*, *sin* and *sithen*.

Before providing the diachronic timeline of each of the seven subordinators in the corpus, they are examined taking into account their morphological structure and their behaviour regarding the variables selected for this study (cf. Section 4.4). On the one hand, it must be noted that all these subordinators are characterized by their polyfunctionality, the subordinating function not being the primary one. On the other hand, most of them are composite in nature as well as complex in formation. Moreover, many of these subordinators are phrasal and their degree of grammaticalization differs. Some of them mirror their composition, as is the case of *for as much as* and *in as much as*. Not surprisingly, the connective *for*, which was the prototypical causal subordinator before the establishment of *because* (Rissanen 1998: 392-400; 2007: 199-201), is present in three out of the seven subordinators under study (*for as much as*, *for because* and *for why*). Additionally, the ephemeral causal subordinator *sithen* is also found in combination with *for* in the data analysed, as shown in example (6.1) below, which coincides with one of the earliest attestations of the subordinator in the corpus:

(6.1) *So sholde an housbonde eek be to his wyf. **For sith that** al the body is the housbondes, so sholde hire herte been, or elles ther is bitwixe hem two, as in that, no parfit mariage.* (CMCTPARS-M3,321.C2.1439)[82]

This phenomenon is known as hypercharacterization (Lehmann 2005) or accretion (Kuteva 2008), which López-Couso (2019: 336) describes as follows: "tendency towards increased complexity through the accumulation of apparently "redundant" linguistic

[81] See Section 5.2 for details regarding the criteria adopted for the selection.

[82] A modernized version of this example would read: 'So should a husband also be to his wife. Because all the body is the husband's, so should her heart be, or else there is between them two, as in that, no perfect marriage' [my translation].

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material in the marking of one category within the same structure, which brings about multiple determination of form and function."

Table 6.1 below displays the occurrences of the seven ephemeral causal subordinators under study per subperiods in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*, both in absolute figures and in normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words in brackets, as well as the total numbers of examples per subordinator in the corpora.

Subperiod	Nº of words	Ephemeral causal subordinators						
		for as much as	*for because*	*for why*	*in as much as*	*in so much as*	*sin*	*sithen*
ME1 (1150-1249)	284,345	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	146,575	-	-	1 (6.82)	-	-	-	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	491,413	33 (67.15)	18 (36.63)	7 (14.24)	-	-	-	15 (30.52)
ME4 (1420-1499)	272,030	4 (14.7)	3 (11.03)	-	10 (36.76)	-	-	10 (36.76)
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385	15 (26.25)	17 (29.75)	2 (3.50)	9 (15.75)	3 (5.25)	11 (19.25)	13 (22.75)
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214	7 (11.12)	2 (3.18)	0	2 (3.18)	6 (9.53)	-	17 (27.02)
EME3 (1640-1700)	520,104	3 (5.77)	1 (1.92)	1 (1.92)	1 (1.92)	10 (19.23)	-	1 (1.92)
LME 1 (1700-1769)	799,213	3 (3.75)	-	-	1 (1.25)	7 (8.76)	-	-
LME 2 (1770-1839)	926,181	-	-	-	4 (4.32)	1 (1.08)	-	-
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570	4 (3.84)	-	-	14 (13.44)	1 (0.96)	-	-
Total	5,682,030	69 (12.14)	41 (7.22)	11 (1.93)	41 (7.22)	28 (4.93)	11 (1.93)	56 (9.86)

Table 6.1: Ephemeral causal subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*: Absolute and normalized frequencies

As shown in Table 6.1, the seven ephemeral causal subordinators are characterized by their low frequency, ranging from 12.14 in the case of *for as much as* to 1.94 and 1.93 for *sin* and *for why*, respectively.

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Figure 6.1 below provides an overview of the occurrence of the ephemeral causal subordinators under examination in the three main historical periods analysed in this dissertation. The figure reveals an uneven distribution of the connectives over the three stages. It is not until the first subperiod of EModE (1500-1569) that the seven subordinators are represented in the corpus, although five of them, namely *for as much as*, *for because*, *for why*, *in as much as* and *sithen*, are already attested in the ME material. In addition, two connectives occur for the first time in EModE. These are *in so much as* and *sin*, the latter being found only in this period. Moreover, LModE also witnessed the disappearance of three ephemeral causal connectives, namely *for because*, *sin* and *sithen*, while the other four decreased considerably over this period.

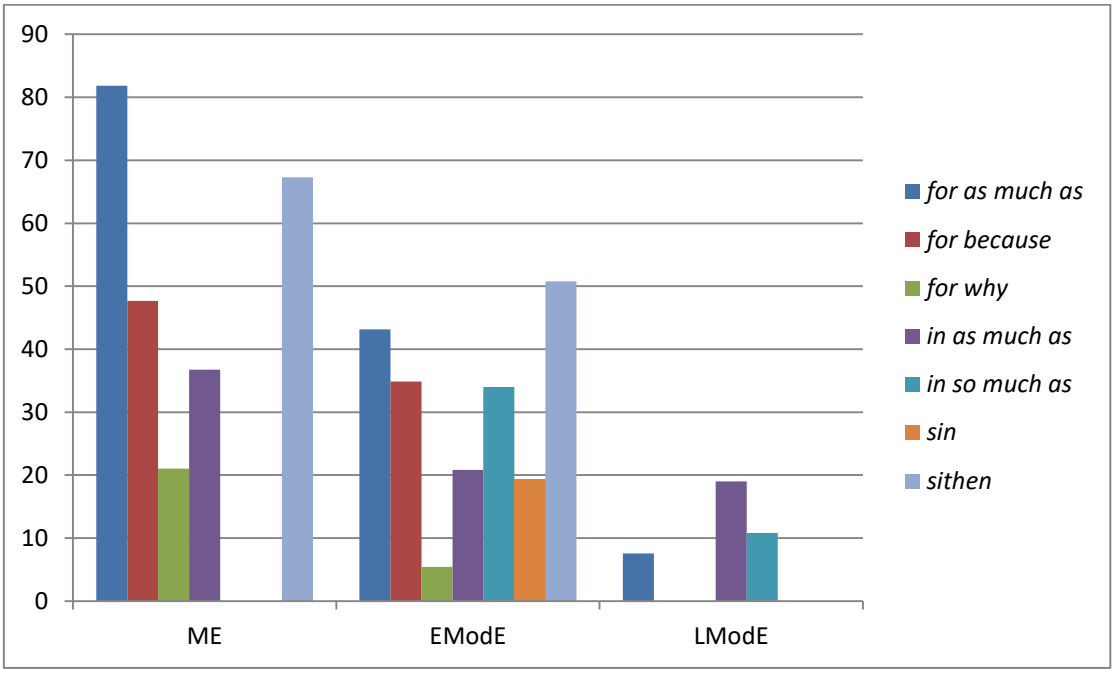

Figure 6.1: Ephemeral causal subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

Figure 6.2 summarizes the diachronic development of the seven subordinators per subperiod and clearly shows that most of them originated in Late ME, around 1350, although their peaks differ greatly.

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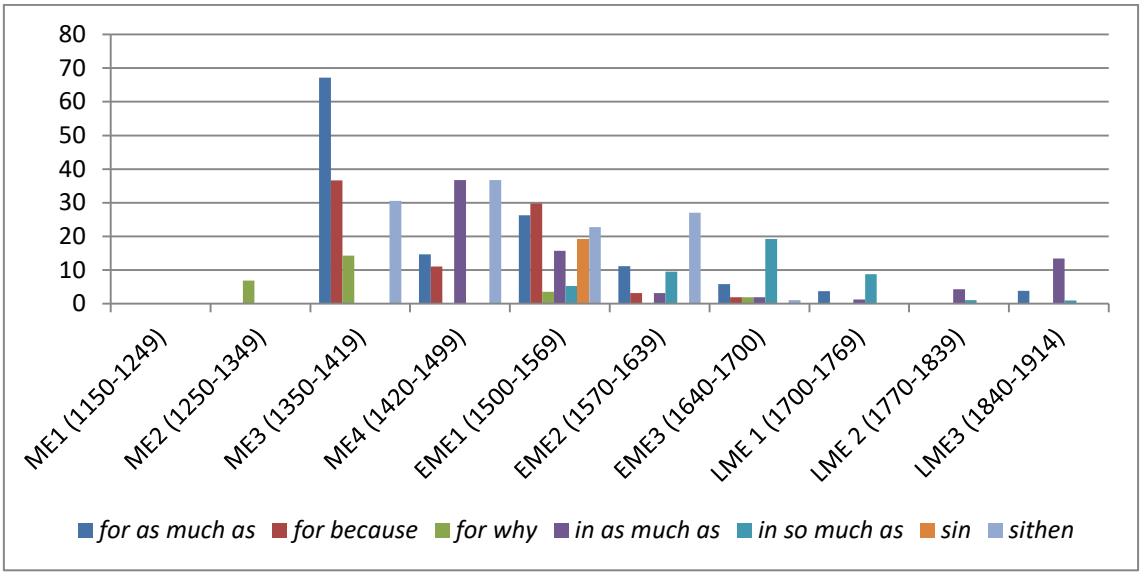

Figure 6.2: Ephemeral causal subordinators per subperiods in ME, EModE and LModE in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

The causal subordinator *for why* is the only connective out of the set under study to be traced in the corpus as early as ME2 (1250-1350), approximately in 1349, which roughly coincides with the first quotations of this subordinator provided in both the MED and the OED. (6.2) below is the first occurrence of this subordinator in the corpus:

(6.2) *Sothely þay sall Ioye nowe, be in- ȝettynge of grace, and in tym to come be syghte of Ioye, and thare-fore þay sall Ioye,* ***for why*** *Ioy comes of lufe.* (CMROLLTR-M2 4,4.105, 4.105)[83]

The corpus yields earlier attestations of the sequence *for why*, but not functioning as a causal subordinator, but as a complementizer. In example (6.3), for instance, *for why* is a complementizer which introduces a [+*wh*-] complement clause, whereas in (6.4) we find an

[83] A modernized version of this example would read: 'Truly they should be joyful now, being in grace, and in the future seek happiness, and therefore they should feel happy because happiness comes from love' [my translation].

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example of a so-called 'minor complementizer'[84] which resembles the default declarative complementizer *that*:[85]

(6.3) *ȝet wile icc shœwenn ȝuw* ***forrwhi*** *| | Goddspell iss Goddspell nemmnedd.*| (CMORM-M1,PREF.L81.92)[86]

(6.4) *& all þe follc þær ute abad, | & þuhhte mikell wunnderr | |* ***Forrwhi*** *þe preost swa lannge wass | | þatt daȝ ȝ att Godess allterr.*| (CMORM-M1,I,4.160)[87]

It is in the third subperiod of ME (ME3; 1350-1419) when three subordinators of the set, namely *for as much as*, *for because* and *sithen*, first occur as causal subordinators in the corpus. However, their frequency of occurrence differs: whereas *for because* and *sithen* have a similar normalized frequency (36.63 and 30.52, respectively), *for as much as* reached its peak in this period, with a normalized frequency of 67.15.

Examples (6.5) - (6.7) below illustrate the earliest attestations of *for as much as*, *for because* and *sithen* in the corpus. The dates are similar to those given in the etymological dictionaries, except for the subordinator *for because*, for which the dictionaries provide later occurrences. While the earliest MED example is from 1425 (see example (6.8) = (5.10)) and the example from the OED dates from a century later (see example (6.9) = (5.8)), the first examples of *for because* in my data date back to circa 1400.

(6.5) *After þe deth of Cassibalam,* ***for-asmiche as*** *he hade none heire of his body, þe lordes of þe lande, by commune assent, cronede Androgen, Erl of Cornewaile, and made him kyng.* (CMBRUT3-M3,33.1018)

[84] For further details on minor complementizers, see López-Couso and Méndez-Naya (2020).

[85] Interestingly, all the instances retrieved from the first subperiod of the corpus (1150-1249) are from the same text, *The Ormulum*, which may indicate that the origin of the connective is related to religious prose.

[86] A modernized version of this example would read as follows: 'I will show you yet why the Gospel is named the Gospel' [my translation].

[87] A modernized version of this example could be: 'And all the folk stayed out there, and it seemed a great wonder that the priest was so long that day at God's altar' [my translation].

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(6.6) *Good men and woymen, þys day ys called yn holy chyrch þe Sonenday yn þe Passyon;* ***for bycause þat*** *our Lord Ihesu Cryst began hys passyon þys day.* (CMMIRK-M34,110.3013)

(6.7) *A doumb prelat is not a very prelat,* ***sithen*** *he vsith not the offis of a prelat.* (CMPURVEY-M3,I,31.1535)

(6.8) = (5.10) ***For bycause*** *al is corrumpable...Ne were ther generacioun, Oure sectis stren for to save.* (a1425(?a1400), *RRose (Htrn 409)*4856; MED s.v. *bicause* (conj.) 1a).

(6.9) = (5.8) ***For bicause*** *I was in her presence, I toke acquaintaunce of her excellence*. (1509, S. Hawes *Pastime of Pleasure* 147; OED s.v. *because*, adv., conj., and n., B 1a)

It was in the last subperiod of ME (ME4; 1420-1499) when the causal subordinator *in as much as* is attested in the data for the first time. Consider example (6.10) below:

(6.10) *Dowtyr, I am wel plesyd wyth þe* ***in-as-meche as*** *þu beleuyst in alle þe Sacramentys of Holy Chirche & in al feyth þat longith þerto, & specialy for þat þu beleuyst in manhode of my Sone & for þe gret compassyon þat þu hast of hys bittyr Passyon.* (CMKEMPE-M4,86.1938)

The first attestation of the subordinator *in so much as* is found as late as the first subperiod of EModE (EME1; 1500-1569). This is given as (6.11) below.

(6.11) *Wherfore, she is to me more better lady then ever she was before,* ***insomuch that*** *she hath promysed me hir good ladyship as long as ever she shall lyve;* (DPLUMPT-E1-H,202.5)

The low number of examples in the corpus is clearly insufficient to draw any tentative conclusions on the diachronic development of the subordinators at issue, given that their normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words range from 12.14 (highest) to 1.93 (lowest). By contrast, it can safely be claimed that it is in Late ME (1350-1499) and EModE, particularly in its first subperiod (1500-1569), that most of the ephemeral causal

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subordinators flourished. Furthermore, after that time of expansion, there was a marked period of decline in the use of these ephemeral adverbial subordinators and most of them died out or became rarely used. The three subordinators that are attested in LModE are *for as much as*,[88] *in as much as* and *in so much as*.[89] Illustrations of the last examples attested for these connectives in the data are given in (6.12) to (6.14).

(6.12) *The learner can be made to understand the obvious truth, that language, and literature are the great exercise ground of thought, and mind;* ***inasmuch as*** *all thought passes through language.* (THRING-1883-2,159.61)

(6.13) *I swear by my self, says the Lord,* ***forasmuch as*** *thou hast done this Thing, and not with-held thy own only Son; That I will thoroughly bless thee, and multiply thy Offspring abundantly, to be like the Stars of Heaven, and the Sand which is upon the Sea-shoar: and they shall inherit the Gates of their Enemies.* (PURVER-OLD-1764-1,22,1G.401)

(6.14) *Do you not perceive that the manners and customs of different nations widely vary;* ***insomuch****, that what is thought to deserve praise in one country, is in another deemed worthy of punishment?* (BOETHRI-1785-2,69.532)

To sum up, in this section I have provided an account of the diachronic evolution of the seven ephemeral causal subordinators selected for analysis. In the light of the data in

[88] It is remarkable that four out of the seven LModE examples of this subordinator in the data, representing 57.14% of the total, are from two different versions of the Bible, one by Anthony Purver (1764) and a second one from the English Old Testament Revisers (1885). Additionally, the causal subordinator *for as much as* appears in *The Bible Word-book: A Glossary of Archaic Words and Phrases in the Authorised Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer* (1884) by William Aldis Wright. However, this causal subordinator does not have an entry of its own in the aforementioned glossary, but is given as a synonym of *forsomuch as*. The entry reads as follows: "Forsomuch as (Luke xix.9). Forasmuch as, because."

[89] Moskowich and Monaco (2016: 36) have also accounted for the presence of these three ephemeral causal subordinators, *in as much as*, *in so much as* and *for as much as*, in the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*, which covers the period 1700-1900. Interestingly, their study, which is based on women's writings, does not report any occurrences of these ephemeral causal subordinators in their data, only of the prototypical causal subordinator *because*.

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the corpus, it can be concluded that these connectives are low-frequency forms and that, as suggested by Kortmann (1997: 331-335), they gained momentum in the last subperiods of ME and in the course of EModE.

6.1.1 Pleonastic *that*

As discussed in Section 3.2 above, adverbial subordinators were commonly followed by so-called 'pleonastic' *that* in earlier English. Combinations of the type subordinator + demonstrative pronoun (e.g., *oþ þat*) can be traced as early as the OE period. In ME, this tendency became stronger and *that* came to function as an indicator of the subordinating role of multifunctional forms which could also be used as prepositions or adverbs. The phenomenon increased considerably in Late ME, declining rapidly in the 17th century, to such an extent that it virtually disappeared towards the end of the same century (Rissanen 1997: 303-304).[90]

In this section devoted to the pleonastic *that* two objectives are pursued:

a) To analyse its use and distribution in the corpus.

b) To assess its decline with the different subordinators, both ephemeral and prototypical, corresponding to the semantic relation of cause.

As shown in Table 6.2, pleonastic *that* is a rather sporadic feature with the ephemeral causal subordinators at issue, since only three them, namely *for because*, *sin* and *sith*, are attested in the data with the appended *that*. Interestingly, most of the few attestations of pleonastic *that* are found in the ME period and it no longer occurs after the early 17th century.

[90] The use of pleonastic *that* has also been examined by other scholars, among them Kivimaa (1966), Beal (1988), Rissanen (1997; 1999) and Calle-Martín (2017).

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Subordinator	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME1 (1500-1569)	EME2 (1570-1639)	EME3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769)	LME 2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)
for as much as	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
for because	-	-	14 (77.78)	1 (5.55)	3 (16.67)	-	-	-	-	-
for why	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
in as much as	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
in so much as	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sin	-	-	-	-	1 (100)	-	-	-	-	-
sith	-	-	6 (54.54)	-	2 (18.18)	3 (27.27)	-	-	-	-

Table 6.2: Pleonastic *that* with ephemeral causal subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*. Absolute figures and percentages in brackets

For because is the ephemeral causal subordinator which shows the highest number of instances in combination with the appended *that* (18/41; 43.9%). The greatest majority of the examples (14/18; 77.8%) date from the ME3 period (1350-1419) and, what is even more remarkable, those 14 examples are found in only two texts. On the one hand, 10 instances occur in *Mirk's Festial*, a collection of homilies by John Mirk.[91] Consider examples (6.15) and (6.16) below:

(6.15) *þen* ***for bycause þat*** *Sonday ys no day of fastyng, þerfor ȝe schull begyn your fast at Aske-Wanysday, and þat day com to holy chyrche, and take askes at þe prestys hond, and ber forth in your hert þat he sayth to you, when he layth askes on your hedys.* (CMMIRK-M34,82.2193)

(6.16) *But* ***for bycause þat*** *þe seruyce of þys day*[92] *is so long, I woll schortly tell you whi þys day is called soo.* (CMMIRK-M34,114.3126)

[91] The corpus provides the following philological information about this text:

> A free reworking of the *Legenda Aurea* (a sermon cycle written in Latin about 1260-1270 by Jacobus a Voragine), with many additions from the *Gesta Romanorum* and comments, as well as two sermons from local sources. It is a full festival sermon cycle with many narrations, much of it apparently from local oral tradition.

Given that this text is a reworking of a text originally written in Latin, we can tentatively say that the subordinator *for because that* was maintained here or chosen instead of the prototypical causal subordinator *because* on account of the text's origin (Latin influence).

[92] The day that is being referred to is Palm Sunday.

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On the other hand, the remaining four examples are from *Mandeville's Travels*, by an unknown author; see (6.17) as an illustration:

(6.17) *And* ***for because þat*** *he was so wel with god þerfore þei worschipe him.* (CMMANDEV-M3,109.2679)

The remarks provided in the corpus regarding the philological information of this text read as follows:

> […] an anonymous translation of a French work written by Jehan de Bourgogne in 1356/7 under the penname of Sir John Mandeville. The work is based on authentic travelogues, Guiollaume de Boldensele (1336) and Odoric de Pordenone (1330), but is essentially a work of fiction. The translator writes very good English, but often misunderstands the French text.

The fact that these four examples of *for because* come from a text translated from French cannot be overlooked, given that they date from subperiod ME3 (1350-1419), a time that witnessed the decline of *for* as a causal subordinator and the rapid establishment of *because* borrowed from French (cf. Section 5.2.1.1 for more details on the development of *because*).

Examples of the combination *for because that* from the subsequent periods, i.e. ME4 (1420-1499) and EME1 (1500-1569), are shown in (6.18) and (6.19), respectively:

(6.18) *And* ***for because that*** *kynge Arthure lay by hys wyff and gate on her sir Mordred, therefore kynge Lott helde ever agaynste Arthure.* (CMMALORY-M4,58.1917)

(6.19) *And* ***for bycause that*** *honours, that the people do gyue to men, can not make men worthye such honours: it appereth that honours haue no proper beautie, or similitude of dignytie of it selfe.* (BOETHCO-E1-P2,61.121)

It is worth commenting that the use of *for because* with the subordinating particle *that* is sometimes reinforced by the presence of the correlative adverb *therefore* in the main clause (5/41; 12.20%), as shown in examples (6.15) and (6.18) above. There are also two

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examples in the corpus in which the correlative item is *yet*, rather than *therefore*. However, in those examples, the adverb appears before the subordinate clause. Consider example (6.20) below:

(6.20) *But ȝet, **for bycause þat** he was a knyȝt, and saw þe lyon, þat ys kyng of all bestys, yn destres, he drogh out his swerde, and smot þe edyr yn two pecys.* (CMMIRK-M34,119.3201)[93]

As seen in the previous examples, the subordinator *for because* very frequently occurs in the corpus with the appended *that* and is sometimes also reinforced by the correlative adverbs *therefore* or *yet* in the main clause. This is not at all surprising, given that *for because* had to be accompanied by other elements which indicated in a straightforward way that it functioned as a subordinating conjunction, since this subordinator is the result of the combination of the old prototypical causal connective *for* and the new causal subordinator *because*.

In addition to *for because*, only two other ephemeral causal subordinators sporadically appear accompanied by the particle *that*. These are *sin* (1/11; 9.09%) and *sith* (11/56; 19.64%), illustrated in (6.21) and (6.22), respectively.

(6.21) *Wherfore frendes, quod the duke, **sins that** we parceiue it is al your hole mindes to haue this noble man for your king whereof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte, that we doubte not but it shall redounde vnto your great weal and commoditye : we require ye that ye to morow go with vs and wee with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request vnto him in maner before remembred.* (MORERIC-E1-H,77.143)

(6.22) *Now **sith that** Jhesu Crist took upon hymself the peyne of alle oure wikkednesses, muchel oghte synful man wepen and biwayle, that for his synnes Goddes sone of hevene sholde al this peyne endure.* (CMCTPARS-M3,295.C1.281)

[93] A modernized version of this example would read: 'But yet because he was a knight, and had seen a lion, which is the king of all beasts, in distress, he drew his sword and tarnished the snake into two pieces' [my translation].

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Out of the 11 examples of *sith* followed by *that*, six of them (54.54%) are from the ME3 subperiod (1350-1419), which corresponds with the time in which the first occurrences of this subordinator are found in the data. Therefore, the use of the appended *that* seems to correlate or have a stronger presence in the earliest attestations of the connective, i.e. during the period of its establishment as a causal connective.

The ephemeral causal subordinators *sin* and *sithen* are also found in combination with *that* in the OED and the MED quotation databases (cf. examples (6.23) = (5.22), (6.24) = (5.23), (6.25) = (5.29) and (6.26) = (5.30)).

(6.23) = (5.22) ***Syn that*** *a knyght is capitayn of a batayll the lyf of them..lyeth in his hand.* (1474, W. Caxton tr. *Game & Playe of Chesse* (1883) ii. iv. 44; OED s.v. *sin*, adv., prep., and conj. C2b)

(6.24) = (5.23) ***Sen that*** *he is turnyd away fra the vnrest of this life..he heris what the haly gast spekis priuely in him.* (a1500 (c1340), Rolle Psalter (UC 64)84.8; MED s.v. *sin* (conj.) 1a).

(6.25) = (5.29) *Jeremye..as anentis þe hebrues is seen to ben booistousere þan þe sermoun of isaie & of osee: & þan oþere prophetis, but in wittis he is euene:* ***siþen*** *[L. quippe]* ***þat*** *in þe same spirit he propheciede.* (a1382, *Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.)* (Bodl. 959) (1969) Jer. Prol. l. 4; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2b)

(6.26) = (5.30) *Can they be said not to come therefore voluntarily,* ***sithen that*** *where there is a chose, there is a kinde of freedome?* (1610, R. Bernard *Plaine Evid.* 130; OED s.v. *sithen*, adv., conj., and prep. B2b)

Additionally, the MED dictionary provides an example (given below as (6.27) = (5.31)) in which *sithen* is used in combination with *as*, rather than with *that*.

(6.27) = (5.31) ***Sithen as*** *we may not to-geder spek, be writynge we shall oure hertes breke.* (c1500, I pray you M (BodLMisc c.66)25; MED s.v. *sitthen* (conj.) 5b).

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The appended particle *as* is not found in the corpus with my ephemeral causal subordinators. The absence of this marker with the connectives *for as much as*, *in as much as* and *in so much as* can be justified on the grounds that these three causal subordinators are already too complex in nature and all of them already feature *as*. Although in my data there are not any examples of the pleonastic *that* in combination with the three aforementioned subordinators, the MED dictionary provides an instance of *in so much as* with appended *that* (cf. example (6.28) = (5.19)), where *as* has been dropped.

(6.28) = (5.19) *Noþer he noþer hys men oony sute oftyd to þat myll,* ***In-somoch that*** *A quiteclayme þay had of þat maner of sute afore þe sayde Reynolde whas y-ffeffyd of þe sayde Mylle.* (c1460, Oseney Reg. 203/6; MED s.v. *in sō muche, in sō muchel* (adv.) 1c).

As we have seen, pleonastic *that* frequently cooccurs with the adverbs *yet* and *therefore* in the main clause (see, e.g., examples (6.15) and (6.20) above for the subordinator *for because*). However, some instances in my data show the use of these correlative adverbs in sentences introduced by ephemeral causal subordinators without the pleonastic *that*. Consider in this respect example (6.2), repeated for convenience as (6.29), which features the correlative element *therefore* introducing the main clause and the subordinator *for why* without the appended *that*.

(6.29) = (6.2) *Sothely þay sall Ioye nowe, be in- ȝettynge of grace, and in tym to come be syghte of Ioye, and* ***thare-fore*** *þay sall Ioye,* ***for why*** *Ioy comes of lufe.* (CMROLLTR-M2 4,4.105)

By way of summary, it can be said that despite the low frequency of occurrence of pleonastic *that* with the seven causal subordinators at issue, the data clearly indicates that the subordinating particle *that* is more likely to be appended in the earliest attestations of the subordinators, which frequently date from the last subperiods of ME. Moreover, the subordinator which more commonly appears in combination with pleonastic *that* is *for because*, particularly in its first occurrences in the corpus. In view if this, it could tentatively be said that pleonastic *that* was a requirement to reinforce its function as a subordinating conjunction given that this connective is formed by the combination of the

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old and the new causal subordinators *for* and *because*. Furthermore, the multiword subordinators which have *as* in their formation (*for as much as*, *in as much as* and *in so much as*), do not have the pleonastic *that* appended. Moreover, the correlatives *yet* and *therefore* are sometimes found in the main clause of those sentences in which the causal subordinate clause is introduced by one of the ephemeral causal subordinators under study. The motivation for the use of such correlatives is to reinforce the semantics of the subordinate clause, in this case causality, particularly in those cases where the subordinator may not suffice.

6.1.2 Position of the subordinate clause

This section is devoted to the study of the position of the sub-clauses in relation to the main clause, i.e., initial, medial or final position of the subordinate clauses introduced by the seven ephemeral subordinators under examination

Table 6.3 and Figure 6.3 below show the distribution of initial, medial and final position of adverbial clauses introduced by the ephemeral causal connectives in the corpus.

Subordinator	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
for as much as	40 (57.97)	-	29 (20.01)	69 (100)
for because	26 (63.41)	1 (2.44)	14 (20.29)	41 (100)
for why	3 (27.27)	-	8 (72.73)	11 (100)
in as much as	4 (9.75)	1 (2.44)	36 (87.8)	41 (100)
in so much as	6 (21.43)	-	22 (78.57)	28 (100)
sin	4 (36.36)	2 (18.18)	5 (45.45)	11 (100)
sith	28 (50)	-	28 (50)	56 (100)
Total	111 (43.19)	4 (1.56)	142 (55.25)	257 (100)

Table 6.3: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by ephemeral causal subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*. (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

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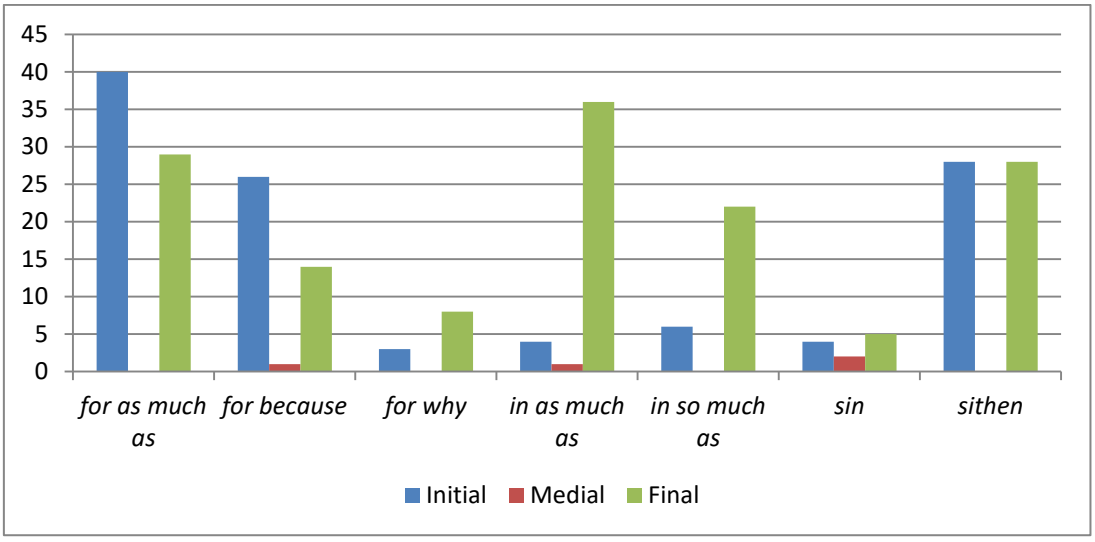

Figure 6.3: Position of subordinate clauses introduced by ephemeral causal subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures)

As shown here, although the three possible positions are attested in my data, final position is the most common one (55.25%), followed by initial position (43.19%), while medial position is clearly a very marginal choice (1.56%). Final position is the predominant position with the connectives *for why* (consider example (6.30) below), *in as much as* (see (6.31) below), *in so much as* (cf. (6.32) = (6.11)) and *sin* (see (6.33) below). By contrast, initial position is the preferred choice with the subordinators *for as much as* (cf. example (6.34) = (6.13)) and *for because* (see example (6.35) below). Medial position, in turn, is only found with three of these subordinators, namely *for because*, *in as much as* and *sin*, though only scarcely. Consider example (6.36) below as an illustration of this position with *in as much as*. In the case of causal clauses introduced by *sithen*, initial and final positions are evenly distributed.

(6.30) *And al be it so that thise thinges ben diverse, yit natheles hangeth that oon of that oother; **forwhi** the ordre destynal procedith of the simplicite of purveaunce.* (CMBOETH-M3,451.C2.472)

(6.31) *I am wel plesyd wyth þe **in-as-meche as** þu beleuyst in alle þe Sacramentys of Holy Chirche.* (CMKEMPE-M4,86.1938)

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(6.32) = (6.11) *Wherfore, she is to me more better lady then ever she was before,* ***insomuch that*** *she hath promysed me hir good ladyship as long as ever she shall lyve;* (DPLUMPT-E1-H,202.5)

(6.33) *Also Plini the yonger saith, He that is nat enuironed with charite, in vaine is he garded with terrour;* ***sens*** *armure with armure is stored.* (ELYOT-E1-P1,155.98)

(6.34) = (6.13) *I swear by my self, says the Lord,* ***forasmuch as*** *thou hast done this Thing, and not with-held thy own only Son; That I will thoroughly bless thee, and multiply thy Offspring abundantly, to be like the Stars of Heaven, and the Sand which is upon the Sea-shoar: and they shall inherit the Gates of their Enemies.* (PURVER-OLD-1764-1,22,1G.401)

(6.35) ***For because*** *thou art confounded with the Oblivion of thy self, thou complainest of thy Banishment, and of the Loss of thy Estate*. (BOETHPR-E3-P1,38.175)

(6.36) *We are compelled to admit,* ***inasmuch as*** *the barbarous elements are still wofully {COM:sic} rife among us, that there must be present an equally woful misconception or disregard of the parental duties.* (ELLIS-1851-2,24.144)

6.1.3 Text-type

In this section, I discuss the distribution of ephemeral causal subordinators across time in the different text-types represented in the corpus, given that previous studies have shown that variation is evident among conjunctions in terms of their frequency and their occurrence in a variety of genres; see, for example, Peterson (2009), Lenker (2010) and Grund and Smitterberg (2014).

Although all the texts included in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* belong to the written medium, some texts are clearly closer to the spoken language than others. In order to facilitate the analysis of the results, the 18 registers represented in these corpora have been

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arranged into subcategories following the classification established by Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 17-18):

		Informal		Formal
Speech-related	**Speech-like**	Diaries Letters, private		
	Speech-based	Trial proceedings		
	Speech-purposed	Drama Fiction		Sermons
Writing-based and writing-purposed		Romance	(Auto)biography Travelogue	Bible Educational treatise Handbook History Law Letters, non-private Medicine Philosophy Religious treatise Science

Table 6.4: Register distribution in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* according to the dimension of (in)formality and the dichotomy speech-like vs. written

As shown in Table 6.4, they distinguish two major groups of texts: (1) speech-related texts and (2) writing-based and writing-purposed texts. The former group can be further subdivided into three different subgroups: (1) speech-like texts (e.g. personal letters and diaries), which are defined in terms of a scale consisting of features of communicative immediacy; (2) speech-based texts (e.g. trial proceedings), based on real-life speech events; and (3) speech-purposed texts, designed to be articulated orally, either reproducing real-time interaction (drama) or monologues (sermons). It must be noted, however, that this classification is not a clear-cut one, but rather contains interrelated and overlapping groups (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 18). Additionally, the registers in the corpora can also be

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situated along a formal-informal continuum, with texts such as diaries at the informal end and scientific texts at the formal one.

In what follows, I provide the diachronic distribution of the seven ephemeral causal subordinators according to the dichotomy speech-related texts vs. writing-based and writing-purposed texts (normalized frequencies per 100,000 words). Appendix II contains a detailed account of the different subordinators in the different periods and text-types in terms of both absolute figures and normalized frequencies.

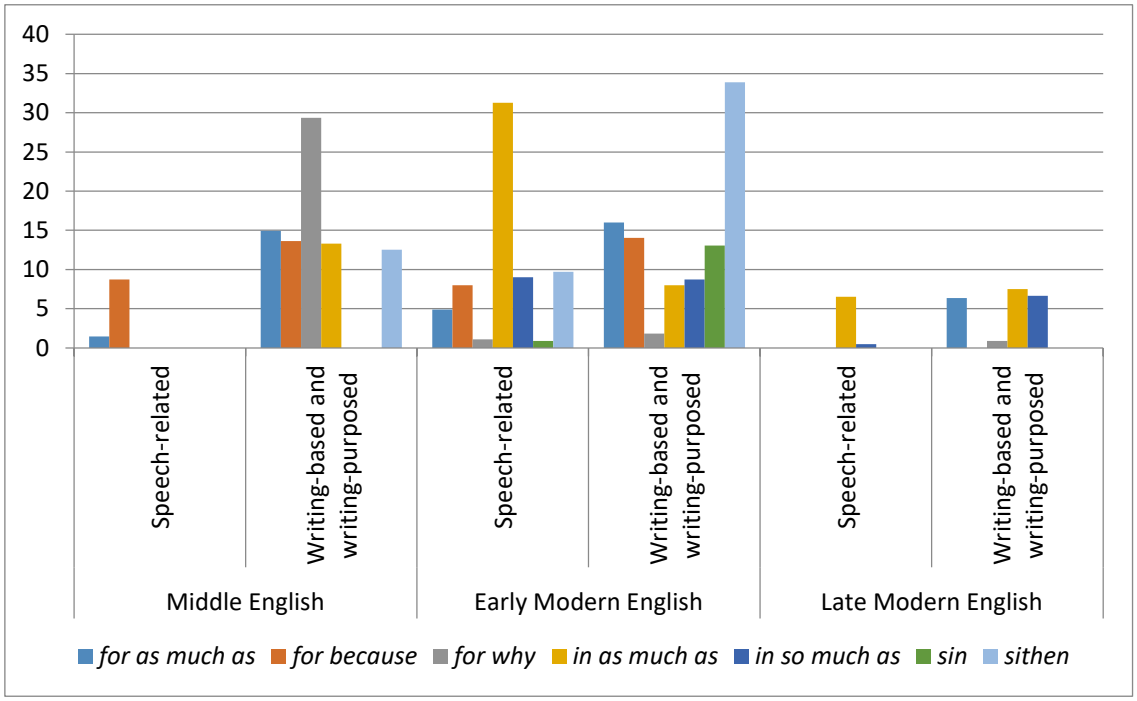

Figure 6.4: Distribution of the ephemeral causal subordinators per period and register (Normalized frequencies per 100,000 words)

As Figure 6.4 illustrates, all the ephemeral causal subordinators under study show in the three periods a marked preference to appear in writing-based and writing purposed texts rather than in speech-related texts. However, it is worth noting that the ephemeral causal subordinator *in as much as* frequently appears in trial proceedings, a speech-based text-type, particularly in the EModE period, with a normalized frequency per 100,000 words of 31.19, the highest across period and register. Consider (6.37) and (6.38) in this respect:

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(6.37) *For nowe was the time,* ***in as much as*** *the Londoners would take his part, if the matter were presented unto them.* (THROCKM-E1-H,I,67.C1.222)

(6.38) *Did you go immediately from that room up stairs? - I did,* ***inasmuch as*** *there was no egress to the back yard, the door being blockaded, as I have described.* (FROST-1840-1,195.1236)

The ephemeral causal subordinator *for because* is somewhat frequent in the ME period in sermons, a formal register belonging to the speech-purposed group (cf. example (6.6) above, repeated here for convenience as (6.39). The preference of this causal subordinator to occur in this text-type may be justified by the eloquent nature of this register as well as by the influence of Latin and French on liturgical texts.

(6.39) = (6.6) *Good men and woymen, þys day ys called yn holy chyrch þe Sonenday yn þe Passyon;* ***for bycause þat*** *our Lord Ihesu Cryst began hys passyon þys day*. (CMMIRK-M34,110.3013)

The data shows that the subordinator *for as much as* frequently appears in history texts. In fact, in the ME period, 29 out of the 37 examples of this subordinator are found in this text-type. An illustration is provided in (6.40) below:[94]

(6.40) *ffor þe gode Erle Cuthbert of Lyndeseye, and al þe peple of Northumberlond, & almost al þe grete of Engeland, helde with Swyne þat was Kyng of Dennemarc,* ***for-asmiche as*** *þai louede nouȝt Kyng Eldrede,* ***ffor cause þat*** *gode broþer Edward was slayn falsely for enchesoun of him*. (CMBRUT3-M3,118.3585)

These findings are in line with those by Claridge and Walker (2001). Their study, devoted to the development of various causal subordinators in written and speech-related genres in EModE, proves that at that time *for*, the obsolete causal subordinator, was still

[94] In addition to the ephemeral causal subordinator *for as much as*, which is part of the set of connectives discussed in this dissertation, this example also shows the occurrence of another ephemeral causal subordinator, namely *for the cause that* (cf. Table 5.2 above), with dropping of the article *the*.

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commonly used in written (treatises and law) and speech-related texts (sermons and trials). They tentatively conclude that "written language is more conservative in that it uses obsolescent items", although they acknowledge that the number of instances is too low to draw definitive conclusions. The same holds for my study, but it is undeniable that ephemeral causal subordinators are clearly more common in written texts than in speech-related ones, and among those, in formal, learned genres than in informal text-types. Furthermore, it is in the EModE period, the flourishing period of ephemeral causal subordinators, when the connectives at issue in this dissertation happen to occur in a wider variety of texts, whereas in both ME and LModE their textual distribution is less varied.

6.1.4 Contrasting data: Ephemeral vs. non ephemeral causal subordinators

While Sections 6.1.1 to 6.1.3 discussed the rise and development of seven ephemeral causal subordinators in the light of the data from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*, section 6.1.4 is intended to provide a contrast between these ephemeral connectives and the prototypical causal subordinator *because*, which in contemporary English marks over one third of all relations of cause and as much as 45 per cent in the spoken language, as shown, for instance, by Biber et al. (1999: 836, 887).

As seen in Section 5.2.1.1, with the advent of *because* in the 14th century, *for* changed its status toward coordination and *because* gradually took over the subordinating function. In this connection, Rissanen (1999: 307) argues that

> It is possible that this development [the recession of *for* and the rise of *because*] is due to the gradual development of *for* towards a coordinating conjunction, a development which underlines its use as an indicator of fairly loose, explanatory cause-effect relationship. Conversely, it can be argued that the emergence of a new clearly subordinating causal link may have accelerated the coordinator development of *for*.

In PDE, subordinating *for* is rare and stylistically marked (Quirk et al. 1985: 1104) and *because* has become a conjunction used as a marker of both external cause and internal explanation.

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In what follows the features studied above for the ephemeral causal subordinators (cf. Section 6.1.1, Section 6.1.2 and Section 6.1.3) are examined in the corpus data for the prototypical causal subordinator *because* and a comparison is drawn between the two types of connectives (ephemeral vs. prototypical).

The diachronic evolution of the subordinator *because* in the data obtained from the random sample described in Section 4.3.1 above is summarized in Table 6.5 and in Figure 6.5 below:

Subperiod	Nº of words	*because*
ME1 (1150-1249)	284,345	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	146,575	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	491,413	66.64 [59.66 – 73.54]
ME4 (1420-1499)	272,030	155.42 [145.01 – 165.82]
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385	578.48 [525.41 – 631.62]
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214	811.39 [752.05 – 870.57]
EME3 (1640-1700)	520,104	634.22 [585.03 – 682.89]
LME 1 (1700-1769)	799,213	652.92 [603.28 – 702.32]
LME 2 (1770-1839)	926,181	392.47 [376.06 – 408.86]
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570	530.99 [471.49 – 547.93]

Table 6.5: The causal subordinator *because* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words; confidence interval computed at a 95% confidence level between square brackets)

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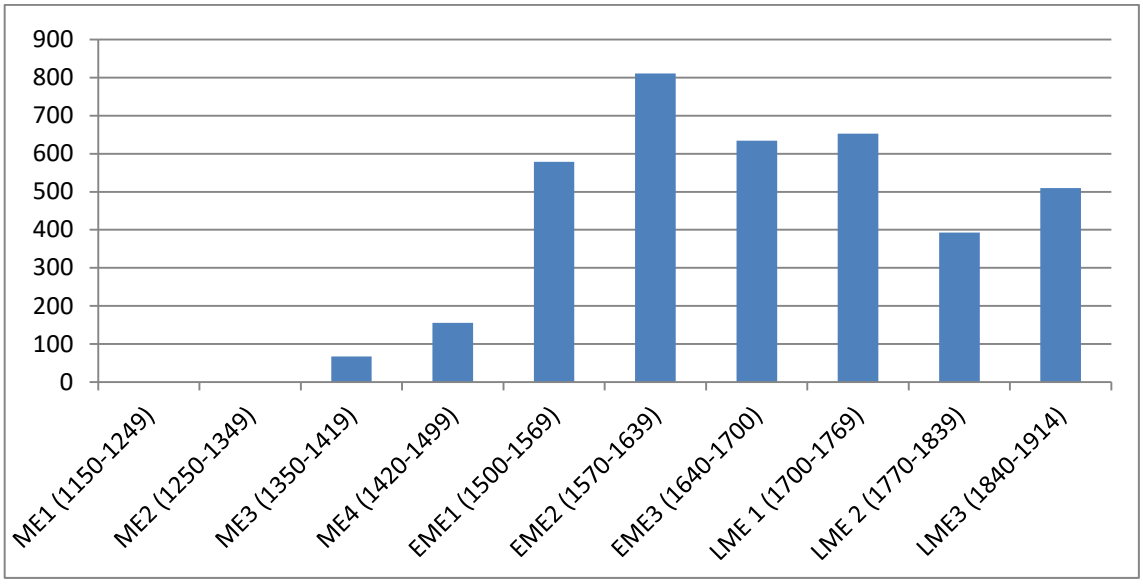

Figure 6.5: The causal subordinator *because* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

As the data shows, there is a steady increase in the frequency of occurrence of *because* from ME3 (1350-1419), when the first examples of the subordinator are recorded, until EME2 (1570-1639). After this period, we witness a slight decrease and then an increase again in subperiod LME3 (1840-1914). The decrease of *because* from the mid-17th century onwards cannot be justified by the presence of newcomers to the set of causal subordinators because it was precisely in the previous subperiods, EME1 (1500-1569) and EME2 (1570-1639), when the presence of ephemeral subordinators is more noticeable (cf. Figure 6.2 above).

Examples (6.41), (6.42) and (6.43) are illustrations of the subordinator *because* in the three periods under study. Example (6.41) is one of the first instances attested in the corpus, from the third subperiod of ME (1350-1419). The example in (6.42), from EModE, dates from EME2 (1570-1639), which coincides with a peak in use in this subperiod. Finally, (6.43) a LModE example.

(6.41) ((IP-MAT (CONJ And)
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV (C **þat**)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO$ oure) (NPR $lady))
(BED was)
(VAN born)
(PP (P at)

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(NP (NPR Nazareth))))))
(PP (ADV+P **þerfore**))
(VBD bare)
(NP-SBJ (PRO$ oure) (NPR lord))
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ his)
(N surname)
(PP (P of)
(NP (D þat) (N town))))
(. .))
(ID CMMANDEV,75.1891))

(6.42) ((IP-MAT (ADVP-TMP (ADV First))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(BEP is)
(PP (P against)
(NP (D the)
(N law)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N charitie)))))
(, ,)
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (N charitie))
(VBP biddeth)
(NP-OB1 (PRO vs))
(IP-INF (IP-INF (TO to)
(VB giue)
(NP-OB2 (Q euery) (N man))
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ his) (ADJ owne)))
(, ,)
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(IP-INF (NP-SBJ *con*)
(TO to)
(VB require)
(NP-OB1 (QP (Q no) (QR more))
(PP (P than)
(NP (PRO$ our) (ADJ own)))))))))
(. ;))
(ID SMITH-E2-H,B6R.85))

(6.43) ((IP-MAT-SPE (CONJ and)
(NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(VBD threw)
(RP in)

(NP-OB1 (D the)
(N ingredient)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N hope))))
(, ,)
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (D a)
(N struggle)
(PP (P without)
(NP (N hope))))
(BEP is)
(NP-ACC (D a)
(ADJP (ADJ vain) (CONJ and) (ADJ tedious))
(N operation)))))
(. ;))
(ID OCONNELL-1844-2,185.907))

As regards the use of *because* with pleonastic *that*, Table 6.6 shows the absolute figures in the different subperiods.

	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME1 (1500-1569)	EME2 (1570-1639)	EME3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769)	LME 2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)
because	-	-	23/27 (85.18)	1/33 (3.03)	3/51 (5.88)	4/90 (4.44)	-	-	-	1/102 (0.009)

Table 6.6: Occurrences of *because* in a random sample of the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* in combination with the pleonastic *that* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

As could be predicted, there is a clear correlation between the first attestations of the subordinator *because* in the corpus and the presence of pleonastic *that*, which reinforces the classification of *because* as a newcomer to the set of causal subordinators; see example (6.46) above as an illustration. The drop is sharp and constant after ME3 (1350-1419). In the EModE period the examples of the combination *because that* are scarce and inexistent after EME2 (1570-1639). Two out of the four examples found in this period are instances from the Bible; one of these is given as (6.44) below:

(6.44) (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(MD might)
(VB put)
(NP-OB1 (NPR Lazarus) (ALSO also))

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(PP (P to)
(NP (N death)))
(, ,)
(CODE (NUM 11))
(PP (P+N **Because**)
(CP-ADV (C **that**)
(IP-SUB (IP-SUB (PP (P by)
(NP (N reason)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO him)))))
(NP-SBJ (Q many)
(PP (P of)
(NP (D the) (NPRS Iewes))))
(VBD went)
(ADVP-DIR (ADV away)))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ *con*)
(VBD beleeued)
(PP (P on)
(NP (NPR Iesus))))))))) (. .))
(ID AUTHNEW-E2-P1,12,1J.31))

The only example of *because that* from LME3 (1839-1914), (6.45 below), is also an instance from the Bible, which could explain the use of this archaic combination.

(6.45) (NP-SBJ (D the) (N multitude))
(VBD came)
(ADVP (ADV together))
(. ,))
(ID ERV-NEW-1881-2,2,1A.764))

((IP-MAT (CONJ and)
(NP-SBJ *con*)
(BED were)
(VAN confounded)
(, ,)
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV (C **that**)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (Q every) (N man))
(VBD heard)
(IP-PPL-OB1 (NP-SBJ (PRO them))
(VAG speaking)
(PP (P in)
(NP (PRO$ his) (ADJ own) (N language)))))))) (. .))

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(ID ERV-NEW-1881-2,2,1A.765))

All in all, the prototypical subordinator *because* is scarcely found with an appended *that* in my data, maybe because, as Rissanen (2007) suggests, it promptly established itself in subordinator use from an early date and did not need therefore the marker *that* to signal its subordinating function.

Regarding the use of correlative elements in causal adverbial clauses introduced by *because*, *therefore* and *yet* are sporadically found in the data analysed. *Therefore* clearly outnumbers *yet*, 23 and 3 occurrences, respectively. Examples (6.46) and (6.47) show the use of the two correlative combinations in two extracts from the same period, EME2 (1570-1639), and from the same text, the Bible.

(6.46) ((IP-MAT-SPE (CONJ and)
(ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(BEP am)
(NEG not)
(ADJP (ADJ alone))
(, ,)
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (D the) (NPR Father))
(BEP is)
(PP (P with)
(NP (PRO me))))))
(. .))
(ID AUTHNEW-E2-P1,16,20J.548))

(6.47) ((IP-MAT (PP (ADV+P **Therefore**))
(NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(MD could)
(NEG not)
(VB beleeue)
(, ,)
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV (C **that**)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (NPR Esaias))
(VBD said)
(ADVP (ADV againe))
(, ,)

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(CODE <P_12,40J>)
(CODE (NUM 40))
(IP-MAT-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO He))
(HVP hath)
(VBN blinded)
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ their) (NS eyes)))))) (. ,))
(ID AUTHNEW-E2-P1,12,40J.112))

Interestingly, the use of these correlative elements is intimately related to text-type. Thus, the majority of the examples of *therefore* are from the Bible or from sermons (11/23; 48.83%) (see example (6.46) above as an illustration) and five instances from ME4 (1420-1499) are from the same text, a travelogue. Consider (6.48) below.

(6.48) ((IP-MAT (PP (P+N **Because**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (NPR Leulyne))
(MD wold)
(NEG not)
(VB come)
(PP (P to)
(NP (NP-POS (D þe) (N$ kingis))
(N presens)))))) (, ,)
(PP (ADV+P **þerfor**))
(NP-SBJ (D þe) (N kyng))
(VBD sent)
(NP-OB1 (D þe) (N bischop))
(PP (P onto)
(NP (PRO him))) (, ,)
(IP-INF (TO to)
(VB trete)
(NP-OB1 (PRO him))
(PP (P to)
(NP (N pes)))) (. .))
(ID CMCAPCHR,129.2971))

Overall, the use of correlative elements in adverbial clauses introduced by the prototypical causal subordinator *because* is less frequent than with the ephemeral subordinators under study. Moreover, the influence of text-type on the use of correlative elements in causal clauses introduced by the ephemeral connectives at issue is not marked (cf. Section 6.1.1 above). By way of illustration, Table 6.7 shows the data from subperiod

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ME3 (1350-1419), one of the stages with a larger number of instances of correlative constructions, regarding text-type and the presence of correlative elements. A similar tendency is found in the rest of the subperiods. As shown here, the ephemeral subordinators appear in combination with correlative elements, if present, in a wider range of text-types than *because*.

	Because	*For because*	*For why*	*For as much as*	*In as much as*	*In so much as*	*Sin*	*Sithen*
Educational treatise						1 (*yet*)		1 (*yet*)
Fiction						1 (*yet*)		
Handbook				1 (*therefore*)				
Letters non private		1 (*therefore*)		1 (*therefore*)				
Philosophy		2 (*therefore*) 1 (*yet*)						
Religious treatise			1 (*therefore*)	2 (*therefore*) 1 (*yet*)				1 (*therefore*)
Romance		1 (*therefore*)						
Sermon		2 (*yet*)		1 (*therefore*)				
Travelogue	2 (*therefore*)					1 (*yet*)		
Total	2	13	1	6	-	3	-	2

Table 6.7: Distribution across text-types of *because* and the ephemeral subordinators with correlative elements (Absolute figures)

The position of the subordinate clauses introduced by *because* in relation to their main clauses in the sample for the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* is shown in Table 6.8 and graphically represented in Figure 6.6.

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Subperiod	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
ME1 (1150-1249)	-	-	-	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	-	-	-	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	6 (22.22)	-	21 (77.78)	27 (100)
ME4 (1420-1499)	18 (54.54)	-	15 (45.45)	33 (100)
EME1 (1500-1569)	22 (43.14)	1 (1.96)	28 (54.90)	51 (100)
EME2 (1570-1639)	37 (41.11)	-	53 (58.89)	90 (100)
EME3 (1640-1700)	20 (24.69)	3 (3.70)	58 (46.98)	81 (100)
LME 1 (1700-1769)	9 (28.12)	-	23 (71.87)	32 (100)
LME 2 (1770-1839)	3 (6.82)	1 (2.27)	40 (90.91)	44 (100)
LME3 (1840-1914)	19 (18.63)	1 (0.98)	82 (80.39)	102 (100)
Total	134 (29.13)	6 (1.3)	320 (69.57)	460 (100)

Table 6.8: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *because* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*. (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

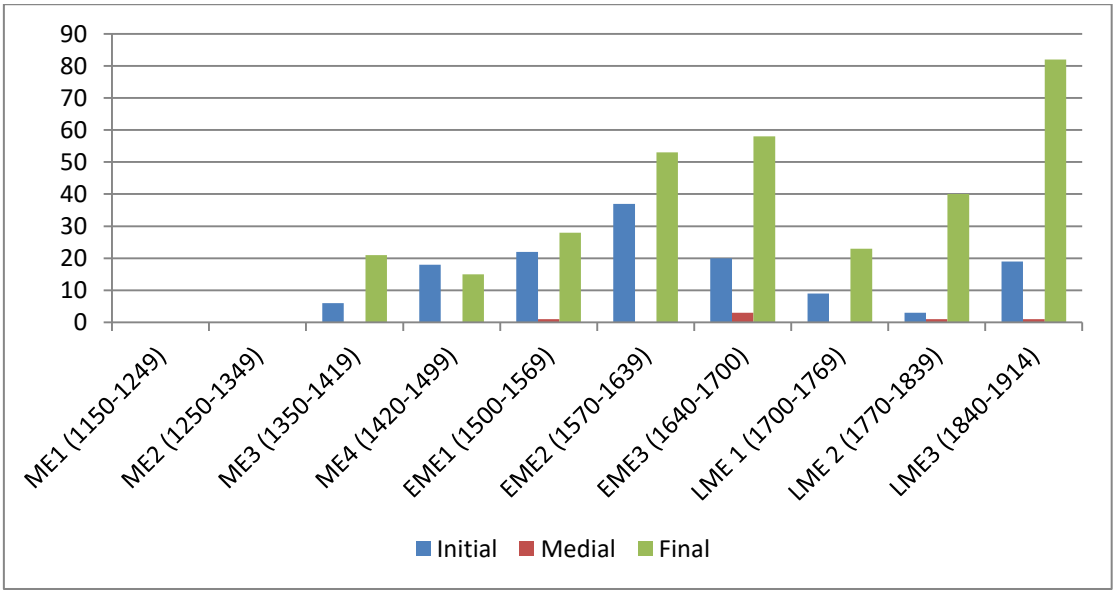

Figure 6.6: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *because* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*. Absolute figures

The figure clearly shows that final position is overall the preferred choice for *because*-clauses, particularly in the last subperiods of LME. Regarding medial position, only three examples have been retrieved, one of which is given below as (6.49):

(6.49) ((IP-MAT (CONJ and)
(PP (ADV+P therefore))
(NP-SBJ (CODE <font>) (NPR Pomponia) (NPR Graecina) (, ,) (CODE <$$font>))
(PP (P+N **because**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO she))
(VBD entertain'd)
(NP-OB1 (D a) (N stranger) (N Religion)))))
(, ,)
(BED was)
(VAN permitted)
(PP (P to)
(NP (D the)
(N judgment)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO$ her)
(N Husband)
(CODE <font>)
(NP-PRN (NPR Plautius))))))
(. :)
(CODE <$$font>))
(ID JETAYLOR-E3-P1,35.229))

The preference of adverbial causal clauses introduced by *because* to be placed in final position in the sentence has also been identified in other studies. Thus, for instance, in Claridge and Walker's (2001: 46) analysis of texts from the *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts* and *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*, the position of causal clauses headed by *because* is as follows: 43 examples in initial position, 6 in medial position and 279 instances in final position. Similarly, Quirk et al. (1985: 1107) also report that the preferred position for causal clauses introduced by *because* is final position, as shown in Table 6.9:

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Subordinator	London-Lund Corpus	LOB Corpus	Total
***Because* (*Cos*)**	355	70	425
Initial	4	8	12
Medial	4	2	6
Final	347	60	407

Table 6.9: Distribution of causal clauses in samples from the written LOB corpus and the spoken London-Lund corpus (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 1107)

Therefore, my data confirms that causal adverbial clauses are more frequently placed in final position, both with the prototypical subordinator *because* and with the ephemeral connectives, with the exception of *for because* and *for as much as*, which tend to be placed in initial position. A similar tendency for causal clauses to be placed sentence-finally has been identified by Diessel (2005) in his study of spoken and written data. Interestingly, while in the study carried out by Claridge and Walker (2001: 46) all causal adverbial clauses introduced by *for* (665 clauses in all) are placed in final position, this is not the case in my data for these two subordinators which contain *for* in their formation.

Finally, the text-type distribution of the clauses introduced by the prototypical subordinator *because* in my corpus data is shown in Figure 6.7 below:

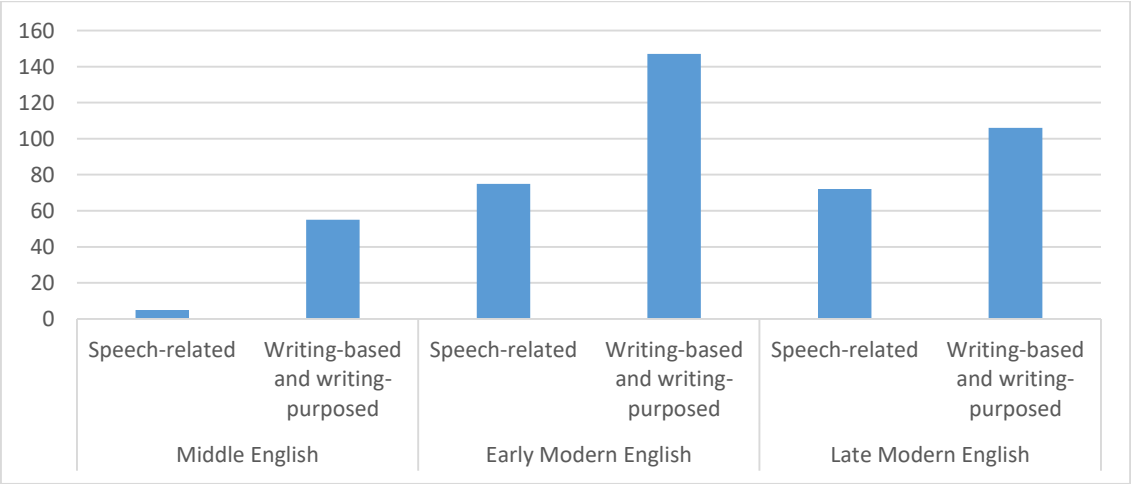

Figure 6.7: Distribution of clauses introduced by the causal prototypical subordinator *because* per period and register (Absolute figures)

As shown here, there is a clear tendency for the prototypical causal subordinator *because* to appear in writing-based and writing-purposed texts in the three main historical periods considered in this dissertation. As seen in Section 6.1.3 above, a similar tendency is found for the ephemeral causal subordinators under study, which are also more commonly attested in the written mode of expression.

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To conclude, in view of the results from the analyses of the ephemeral causal subordinators and of the prototypical causal subordinator *because*, it can be argued that the behaviour of the two sets of forms (ephemeral and prototypical causal connectives) regarding the variables studied in this dissertation (combination with pleonastic *that*, position of the subordinate clause and distribution across registers) is roughly similar. The two major differences concern (i) the use of pleonastic *that*, which is overall more recurrently used with the ephemeral causal subordinators than with *because* and (ii) the stronger preference of clauses introduced by *because* to occur in final position, although this position also represents the preferred choice for causal clauses headed by ephemeral subordinators.

6.2 Ephemeral conditional subordinators

The conditional subordinators selected for this study are *be it so*, *if case be (that)*, *conditioned (that)*, *foreseen (that)*, *if so be (that)* and *when if*. [95] This six conditional subordinators share some features regarding their form: (i) all of them are characterized for having a complex composition, being in most cases multi-word subordinators; (ii) it is remarkable that the subordinator *if*, the prototypical conditional subordinator, is present in the majority of them, mainly in first position, but also in final position, as is the case of *when if*. The subordinators *conditioned (that)* and *foreseen (that)*, even though they do not contain the subordinator *if*, are characterized for featuring words related to conditional meaning, such as *condition* and *foresee*.

Table 6.10 provides the data found in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* regarding these six ephemeral conditional subordinators, both in absolute figures and in normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words. As the data shows, the number of examples retrieved in the corpus is very scarce and for many subordinators and subperiods no instances were retrieved at all. This was predictable, as the dictionaries did not contain either many examples of these subordinators (cf. Section 5.2.2). Although these connectives are

[95] See Section 5.2 for details regarding the criteria adopted for the selection of these ephemeral adverbial subordinators.

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mentioned in the literature, very few examples of their use are provided, probably an indicator of their low frequency. As shown in Table 6.10, only three of the six subordinators under examination are represented in the corpus: *be it so*, with only two examples, *when if* (three instances) and *if so be*, the most frequent of the three with 22 occurrences. No examples were attested in my data of the remaining three subordinators (*conditioned*, *foreseen* and *if case be*). All the instances retrieved of these combinations correspond to functions other than the subordinating one (cf. Section 5.2.2.3 on *conditioned*, Section 5.2.2.4 devoted to *foreseen* and Section 5.2.2.5 on *if case be*).

Subperiod	**Nº of words**	**Ephemeral conditional subordinators**					
		be it so	*conditioned*	*foreseen*	*if case be*	*if so be*	*when if*
ME1 (1150-1249)	284,345	-	-	-	-	-	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	146,575	-	-	-	-	-	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	491,413	-	-	-	-	17 (34.59)	-
ME4 (1420-1499)	272,030	-	-	-	-	-	-
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385	-	-	-	-	-	-
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214	1 (1,59)	-	-	-	4 (6.36)	1 (1.59)
EME3 (1640-1700)	520,104	-	-	-	-	-	2 (3.84)
LME 1 (1700-1769)	799,213	-	-	-	-	-	-
LME 2 (1770-1839)	926,181	-	-	-	-	-	-
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570	1 (0.18)	-	-	-	1 (0.18)	-
Total	5,682,030	2 (0.35)	-	-	-	22 (3.87)	3 (0.53)

Table 6.10: Ephemeral conditional subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute and normalized frequencies in brackets)

Figure 6.8 shows the distribution of the three ephemeral conditional subordinators represented in the corpus in the three historical periods covered in this dissertation. It is

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remarkable that it is in the ME period when the majority of examples are attested, but it is only in the EModE period when all three are represented.

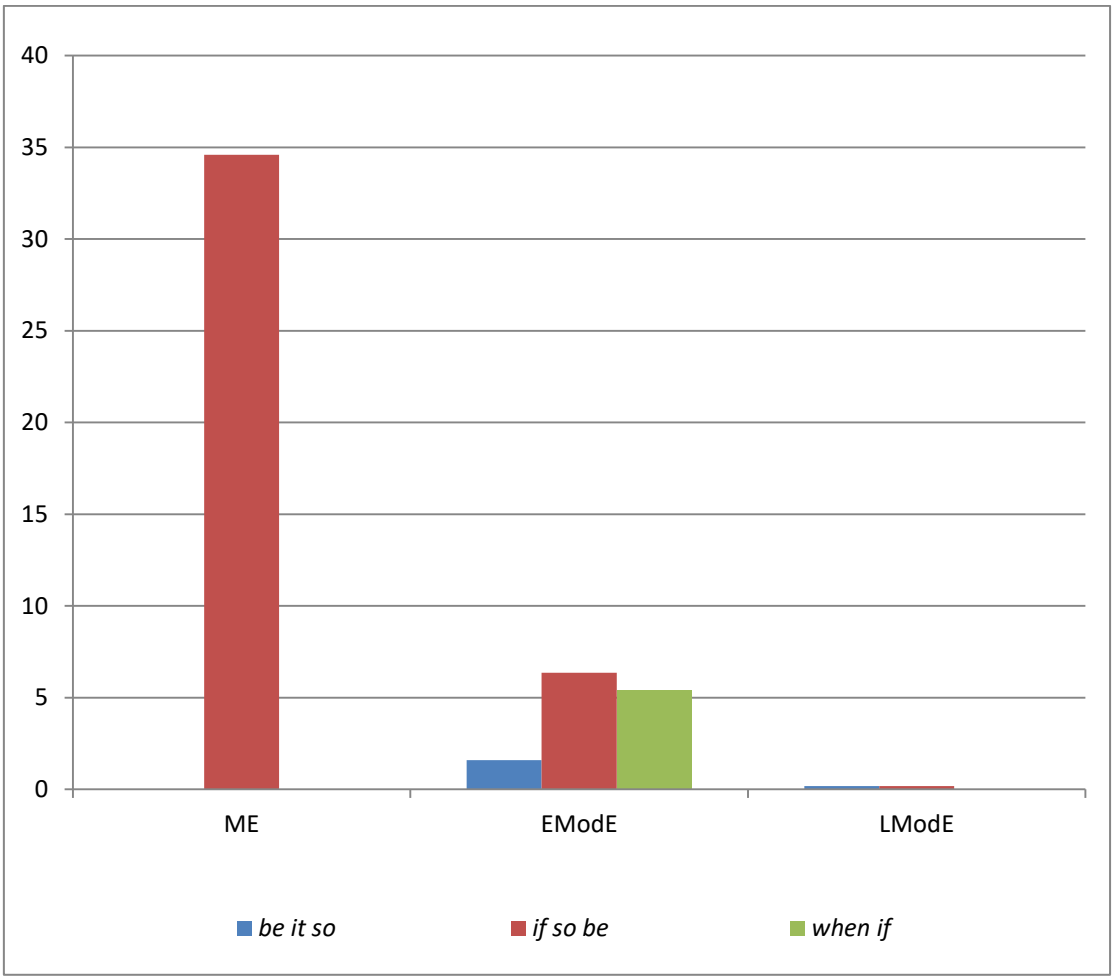

Figure 6.8: Ephemeral conditional subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

Figure 6.9 provides a more detailed account of the date of the instances found in my data.

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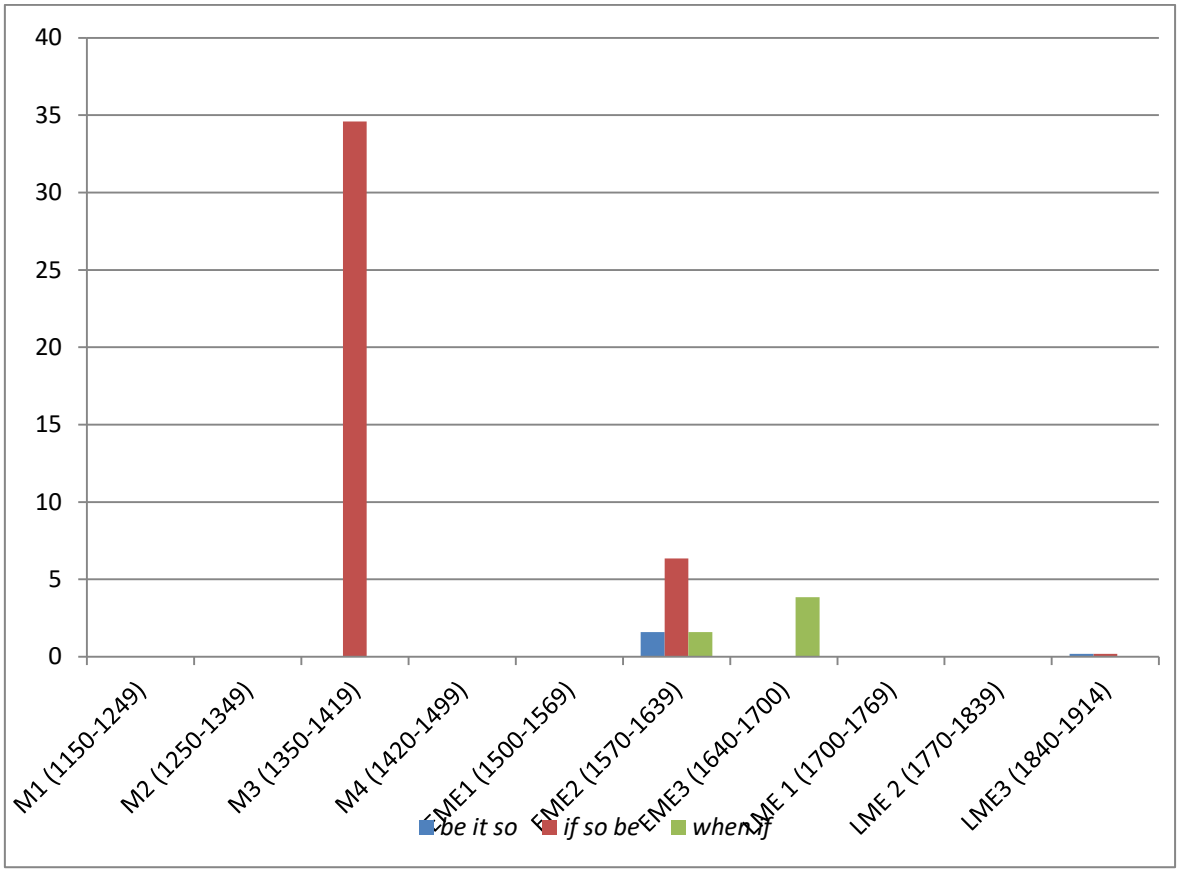

Figure 6.9: Ephemeral conditional subordinators per subperiods in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

As shown in Figure 6.9, ME3 (1350-1419) contains the greatest number of examples of the subordinator *if so be*, the only ephemeral conditional subordinator present in my ME data. It is in EME2 (1570-1639) when the subordinators *be it so*, *if so be*[96] and *when if* co-exist for the first time, although their normalized frequencies are too low, 1.59, 6.36 and 1.50, respectively. Additionally, we witness a sharp decrease of the subordinator *if so be* over time, from a normalized frequency of 34.59 in ME3 (1350-1419) to 6.36 in EME2 (1570-1639). In LModE, these three subordinators are practically non-existent: only one example of *be it so* and another of *if so be* were retrieved.

[96] In addition to the examples of *if so be that*, an example was found in the corpus of *though so be that*, a concessive adverbial subordinator with a similar composition to that of the ephemeral conditional connective *if so be that*. It reads as follows: ***Thogh so be that*** *no man kan outerly telle the nombre of the twigges and of the harmes that cometh of Pride,* ***yet*** *wol I shewe a partie of hem, as ye shul understonde.* (CMCTPARS-M3,299.C1b.4).

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The ephemeral subordinator with a greater representation in the corpus is *if so be*, which is attested in the three periods under study, even though with significant different frequencies: 34.59 in ME, 6.36 in EModE and 0.18 in LModE. Examples (6.50) - (6.52) illustrate the use of this subordinator in the three periods.

(6.50) *For **yif so be that** perfeccioun is don awey, men may nat thinke ne say fro whennes thilke thing is that is cleped inparfyt.* (CMBOETH-M3,431.C2.130)

(6.51) *Experience heerein will quickely teach every one, who shall make triall of it, **if so be that** they doe follow a right course.* (BRINSLEY-E2-H,9.19 2)

(6.52) *Thou must for a time dispense with the pleasures of music and song, **if so be that** thou findest any delight therein, whilst I weave together the connected train of reasons in proper order.* (BOETHJA-1897-1,155.363)

The date of the first examples retrieved in my data, between 1350-1419, coincides with the date of the examples found in the MED and the OED (cf. Section 5.2.2.6).

When if is the second most frequent ephemeral conditional subordinator of the set, with a total of three examples, which correspond to a normalized frequency of 10.53. The three examples date from the last two subperiods of EME, ie. EME2 (1570-1639) and EME3 (1640-1700). These are given as (6.53) - (6.55) below.

(6.53) *This seemeth to vs surely a very hard proceeding, **when if** other kings had suffred it*. (ELIZ-1590-E2-H,402,B.32)

(6.54) *Wou'd not any Man swear now that I am a Man of Quality, and you my Servant, **when if** our intrinsick Value were known*. (FARQUHAR-E3-H,5.186)

(6.55) ***When if** half the charge had been laid out here, it would have secured all that, and this place too, before now.* (PEPYS-E3-H,8,313.191)

As mentioned in Section 5.2.2.7, *when if* is not included as a conditional subordinator in the reference dictionaries, OED and MED, nor in the standard grammars. In turn, Visser (1963-1973: 879) mentions that *when*-clauses are on the verge of conditional clauses, but

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he does not consider *when if* a conditional subordinator. Only Kortmann (1997: 331) accounts for *when if* as a conditional subordinator in the EModE period.[97] This is confirmed by the data in my corpus. Unfortunately, however, Kortmann (1997) does not provide any example of this subordinator.

As regards *be it so*, only two examples were retrieved. None of them contains *so* in their composition, this being one of the possible variations of the subordinator recorded in the OED (cf. section 5.2.2.2). (6.56) and (6.57) provide the two examples found in the corpus, the earliest attestation from EModE2 (1570-1639) and the other one from the last subperiod of LME (1840-1914).

(6.56) *For **be it that** our Reason it self denyes vs to beleeue that all men dye, **then** ther is no glory, when he is not, of whom she speakes.* (BOETHEL-E2-P1,39.538)

(6.57) *However, **be it that** "all men are liars," as some one said it in haste ; all men in common are capable of being deceived too, even Arabs and Nejdeans.* (PALGRAVE2-1863-2,406.302)

6.2.1 Pleonastic *that*

In this section the ephemeral conditional subordinators discussed in the preceding section are examined regarding their combination with the pleonastic *that*. As mentioned in Section 6.1.1, it was frequent in the ME period to append a pleonastic *that* to mark in an unequivocal way the subordinating function, particularly in those cases in which such function was not the primary one of a given connective.

[97] *When if* is described by Kortmann (1997: 312) as a conditional subordinator with a redundant element (<when '*when, if*' + if '*if*'), a tendency particularly frequent among adverbial subordinators in the EModE period. López-Couso (2019: 342, footnote 7) also considers *when if* as a hypercharacterized subordinator.

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My data shows that the ephemeral conditional subordinators at issue frequently have the appended *that*.[98] In fact, all the examples in the corpus of *be it so* (see (6.56) and (6.57) above) and of *if so be* (see (6.58) and (6.59) below as an illustration) are instances of this combination.[99]

(6.58) *This desir, **if so be that** a man do his diligence to parfournen it, al be it that his desir ne take noon effect, **yet** is it to hym a deedly synne*. (CMCTPARS-M3,315.C1.1136)

(6.59) ***If so be that** he sette his herte the lasse upon oure Lord Jhesu Crist, certeyn it is a synne;* (CMCTPARS-M3,302.C1.523)

Note the use of the correlative adverb *then* in the main clause in example (6.56),[100] which reinforces the interpretation of *be it that* as a conditional subordinator.

The only subordinator which does not contain the pleonastic *that* is *when if*. One plausible reason for this is that it already contains in its formation the subordinator *if* in final position, which can help to classify it as belonging to the set of conditional subordinators.

The conditional subordinator *if so be* is not only characterized for showing the appended *that*, but also for featuring the correlative item *yet* in the main clause. In fact, 5 out of the 17 examples of this subordinator in the ME period, representing 29.41% of the total, contain a correlative element. Consider examples (6.60) and (6.61) below:

---

[98] In the examples retrieved from the OED for *conditioned* and *foreseen*, these two ephemeral conditional subordinators also feature the pleonastic *that*:

(i) *Such of them, as..had a desire to stay in Spain..were suffered so to doe..**conditioned that** they would be Christned*. (1652, P. Heylyn *Cosmographie* i. sig. V2; OED s.v. conditioned, adj., 9)
(ii) ***Foreseene** also **that** they that shall drinke it thus, be not subject to the Chollicke*. (1600, W. Vaughan *Nat. & Artific. Direct. Health* (1633) 32; OED s.v. *forsee*, v., 4)

[99] See also examples (6.58) to (6.60) above.

[100] Example (6.75) also features the correlative *then* in the main clause.

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(6.60) ***If so be that*** *a man do his diligence to parfournen it* [his desire], *al be it that his desir ne take noon effect,* ***yet*** *is it to hym a deedly synne; and* ***if*** *he be ordred, he is irreguleer*.. (CMBOETH-M3,429.C1.20)

(6.61) *For* ***if so be that*** *ther is a thyng that in ony partie be feblere of power,* ***certes****, it moot nedes be nedy of foreyne help*. (CMBOETH-M3,429.C1.20)

Note that in example (6.68) there are two conditional clauses coordinated by means of *and*. The first one is headed by the ephemeral conditional subordinator *if so be that*, while in the second, the subordinate clause is introduced by the prototypical conditional subordinator *if*. This example proves that the ephemeral conditional subordinator *if so be that* is a stylistic variant, just to avoid the repetition of the canonical conditional subordinator *if*.

In the light of this data, it can be tentatively concluded that pleonastic *that* is a characteristic trait of ephemeral conditional subordinators. This may be related to the complexity of these connectives and to the fact that an overt marker of subordination was required for the correct identification of the newcomers to the set of conditional subordinators. This also explains that frequent reinforcement of conditional meaning by means of a correlative element in the main clause.

6.2.2 Position of the subordinate clause

This section pays attention to the position of the subordinate clause in the sentence (initial, medial or final).

The preferred position occupied by the conditional subordinate clause is initial position. Table 6.11 below provides the absolute figures and percentages of the position of conditional clauses headed by ephemeral conditional subordinators in my data.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
Be it so	2 (100)	-	-	2 (100)
If so be	17 (77.27)	-	5 (22.73)	22 (100)
When if	1(33.33)	-	2 (66.66)	3 (100)
Total	20 (74.07)	-	7 (25.93)	27 (100)

Table 6.11: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by ephemeral conditional subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

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As the data in Table 6.11 shows, initial position (74.07%) clearly outnumbers final position (25.93%), while medial position is not attested in the corpus. Examples (6.62) and (6.63) below illustrate the final position of conditional adverbial clauses introduced by *if so be* and *when if*, respectively.

(6.62) *Thou mayst also chaunge thy conseil* ***if so be that*** *thou fynde that by errour, or by oother cause, harm or damage may bityde.* (CMCTMELI-M3,225.C1.314)

(6.63) *Wou'd not any Man swear now that I am a Man of Quality, and you my Servant,* ***when if*** *our intrinsick Value were known*. (FARQUHAR-E3-H,5.186)

6.2.3 Text-type

In what follows, I examine the text-type distribution of conditional clauses introduced by ephemeral subordinators using the same criteria established in Section 6.1.3 for causal clauses.

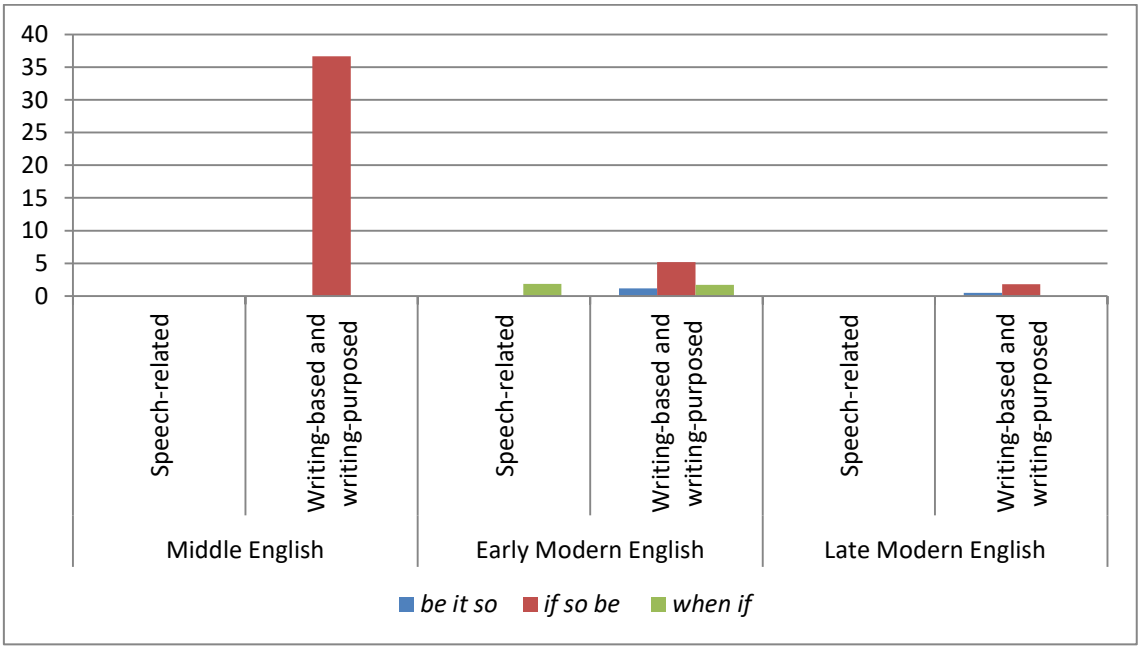

Figure 6.10: Distribution of the ephemeral conditional subordinators per period and register (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

As Figure 6.10 illustrates, writing-based and writing-purposed texts contain the majority of examples with the ephemeral conditional subordinators at issue. The data shows that among those texts, ephemeral conditional subordinators are prone to appear in philosophical writings (11/25; representing 44%)[101] and in religious treatises (seven instances of the subordinator *if so be*; normalized frequency per 100,000 words 1.80).[102] The two philosophical texts in which nine of the 11 examples from ME occur are *The Tale of Melibee* and *Boethius*, both written by the same author, Geoffrey Chaucer. Given that these two texts are the only ones representing the category 'Philosophy' in the corpus, the existence of a potential correlation between the choice of conditional subordinator and author cannot be proved, but it cannot be completely discarded either. (6.64) and (6.65) below are illustrations of examples from *Boethius* and *The Tale of Melibee*, respectively.

(6.64) *For **yif so be that** perfeccioun is don awey, men may nat thinke ne say fro whennes thilke thing is that is cleped inparfyt.* (CMBOETH-M3,431.C2.130)

(6.65) *For Seneca seith: '**If so be that** thou ne mayst nat thyn owene conseil hyde, how $darst $tou {TEXT:darstou} prayen any oother wight thy conseil secrely to kepe?* (CMCTMELI-M3,222.C2.218)

An instance of the subordinator *be it so* in a philosophical text has also been retrieved from the corpus. This is given as (6.66) below:

(6.66) *For **be it that** our Reason it self denyes vs to beleeue that all men dye, then ther is no glory, when he is not, of whom she speakes.* (BOETHEL-E2-P1,39.538)

In the case of *when if*, out of the three examples found in the corpus, one of them appears in a non-private letter. This is (6.53) above, repeated here for convenience as (6.67). The remaining two instances of *when if* occur in speech-related texts, namely a

[101] Nine of those eleven examples attested in philosophical texts are instances of *if so be*.

[102] Appendix III provides a more comprehensive account of the texts in which the subordinators under analysis occur.

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diary and a drama comedy. These are (6.54) and (6.55) above, repeated here as (6.68) and (6.69).

(6.67)=(6.53) *This seemeth to vs surely a very hard proceeding,* ***when if*** *other kings had suffred it*. (ELIZ-1590-E2-H,402,B.32)

(6.68)=(6.54) *Wou'd not any Man swear now that I am a Man of Quality, and you my Servant,* ***when if*** *our intrinsick Value were known*. (FARQUHAR-E3-H,5.186)

(6.69)=(6.55) ***When if*** *half the charge had been laid out here, it would have secured all that, and this place too, before now*. (PEPYS-E3-H,8,313.191)

As a conclusion, it can safely be said that ephemeral conditional subordinators tend to be more common in written and formal texts than in informal or speech-based texts. This is in line with the tendency identified by Biber and Gray (2011) that formal and learned genres can be at the forefront of the formation of new linguistic patterns and of the survival of ephemeral forms. Additionally, it has been found in the data that the use of ephemeral conditional subordinators is clearly related to the idiolect of particular writers. Note, for example, that *if so be that* is commonly found in Chaucer's philosophical texts.

6.2.4 Contrasting data: Ephemeral vs. non ephemeral conditional subordinators

This section offers a contrast between the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* and the ephemeral conditional subordinators discussed in Sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.3.

As seen in Section 5.2.2.1, *if* has been the prototypical conditional subordinator from OE to PDE. In what follows the features studied above for the ephemeral conditional subordinators (cf. Sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2 and 6.2.3) are examined in the corpus data for this prototypical conditional conjunction and a comparison is drawn between the two types of connectives (ephemeral vs. prototypical).

The diachronic evolution of the subordinator *if* in the data obtained in the random sample (cf. Section 4.3.1 for details) is given in Figure 6.11 and Table 6.12 and below:

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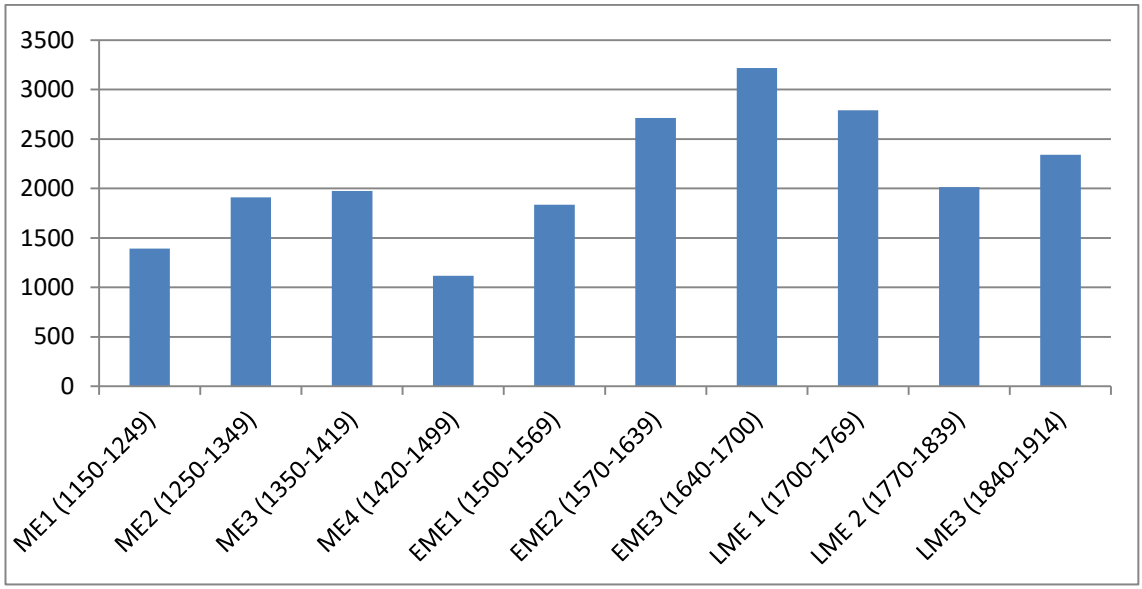

Figure 6.11: The conditional subordinator *if* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

Subperiod	N° of words	*if*
ME1 (1150-1249)	284,345	1,392.62 [1,341.63 - 1,443.62]
ME2 (1250-1349)	146,575	1,910.80 [1,770.57 - 2,050.58]
ME3 (1350-1419)	491,413	1,972.83 [1,810.11 - 2,135.56]
ME4 (1420-1499)	272,030	1,118.25 [1,051.19 - 1,185.20]
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385	1,836.72 [1,618.35 - 2,055.29]
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214	2,713.72 [2,561.24 - 2,866.20]
EME3 (1640-1700)	520,104	3,216.32 [3083.03 - 3,349.93]
LME 1 (1700-1769)	799,213	2, 790.48 [2,636.37 - 2,944.59]
LME 2 (1770-1839)	926,268	2013,07 [1,878,99 - 2,147.15]
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570	2,318.36 [2,124.84 - 2,511.87]

Table 6.12: The conditional subordinator *if* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words; confidence interval computed at a 95% confidence level between square brackets)

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The data reveals a high frequency of occurrence of the subordinator *if* diachronically. Examples (6.70), (6.71) and (6.72) illustrate the use of *if* in the three periods under study. (6.70) is one of the first attestations of *if* in the corpus, from subperiod ME1 (1150-1249), while (6.71) dates from EME3, which coincides with a peak in its diachronic trajectory (see Figure 6.11 above). Finally, (6.72) provides an instance from the last subperiod in my data, i.e. LME3 (1840-1914).

(6.70) ((IP-MAT (CONJ and)
(NP-SBJ *con*)
(PP (P **gif**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO hie))
(NEG ne)
(BEP beð)
(NEG noht)
(ADVP (ADV togedere))
(VAN bispused))))
(, .)
(VBP forleten)
(NP-OB1 (PRO hit))
(PP (P mid)
(NP (Q alle)))
(. .))
(ID CMTRINIT,67.912))

(6.71) ((IP-IMP (VBI Teach)
(NP-OB2 (PRO them))
(IP-INF (TO to)
(BE be)
(ADJP (ADJ (ADJ21 good) (ADJ22 naturd))))
(PP (P **if**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO you))
(MD can)
(VB *))))
(. ,))
(ID LOCKE-E3-P2,75.164))

(6.72) ((IP-MAT (IP-MAT-1 (PP (P **If**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (D the) (N tree))
(BEP be)

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(IP-INF (TO to)
(BE be)
(VAN placed)
(PP (P against)
(NP (D a) (N wall)))))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (D the) (N head))
(MD should)
(VB lean)
(ADVP (ADV gently))
(PP (P against)
(NP (D the) (N wall))))
(ID COBBETT-1838-2,157.409))

As regards the use of the pleonastic *that* with the subordinator *if*, the data shows that this is not a recurrent feature and examples are scarce. Table 6.13 below provides for the absolute figures and the percentages of pleonastic *that* with *if* in the different subperiods.

	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME1 (1500-1569)	EME2 (1570-1639)	EME3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769)	LME 2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)
if	-	1/52 (1.92)	2/58 (3.45)	2/32 (6.25)	-	1/127 (0.79)	-	-	-	-

Table 6.13: Occurrences of *if* in a random sample of the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* in combination with the pleonastic *that* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

As shown here, pleonastic *that* occurs only sporadically in my data. Given that *if* is a well-established subordinator in the history of English, the addition the pleonastic marker is not needed. However, probably due to an analogical effect, *that* was occasionally added, particularly in ME, or it may have fulfilled a different purpose. Horobin and Smith (2002: 101) argue that the particle *that* "often although not always" occurred in ME with different subordinating conjunctions; among them, they mention *if*, but they also suggest that "the option of using *that* has obvious metrical advantages, and there is evidence that metre seems to have been a determining factor in Chaucer's selection or omission of *that* in subordinating conjunctions." However, the six examples of pleonastic *that* with *if* in my data correspond to prose texts, so that metrical reasons do not seem to have played a role in the choice. Note that the examples from ME2 and ME3 are translations from Latin and French, which may have influenced somehow.

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My corpus instances have been retrieved from ME2 (1250-1349), ME3 (1350-1419), ME4 (1420-1499) and EME2 (1570-1639). Examples (6.73) and (6.74) illustrate the use of the pleonastic *that* with *if* in ME3 and in EME2, respectively.

(6.73) ((IP-MAT (CONJ And)
(PP (P ***ȝ*if**)
(CP-ADV (C ***þ*at**)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (D the) (N bawme))
(BEP be)
(ADJP (ADJP (ADJ fyn))
(CONJP (CONJ &)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO$ his) (ADJ owne) (N kynde))))))))
(NP-SBJ (D the) (N water))
(MD schall)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV neuere))
(VB trouble)
(. ,))
(ID CMMANDEV,33.837))

(6.74) (PP (P **if**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C **that**)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO thou))
(MD mayste)
(DO doe)
(NP-OB1 (N iustice))
(NP-TMP (D thys) (N daye))))) (, ,)
(PP (P leaste)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (IP-SUB-SPE (CODE <paren>)
(ADVP (ADV peraduenture))
(CODE <$$paren>)
(NP-SBJ (NPR God))
(DOP doe)
(NP-OB1 (N Iustice))
(PP (P on)
(NP (PRO thee)))
(PP (P in)
(NP (D the) (ADJ meane) (N tyme)))) (, ,)
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ *con*)
(VBP take)
(PP (P from)
(NP (PRO thee)))

(NP-OB1 (PRO$ thyne) (N authoritye)))))))
(. :))
(ID STOW-E2-P2,579_misnumbered_as_589.72))

((IP-IMP-SPE (VBI remember) (, ,)
(CP-THT-SPE (C that)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (D the)
(N wealth)
(PP (PP (P of)
(NP (NP (PRO$ thy) (N body))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(NP (PRO$ thy) (N soule)))) (, ,))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO$ thy) (N Realme))))))(, ,)
(VBP resteth)
(PP (P in)
(NP (D the)
(N execution)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N Iustice)))))) (. ,))
(ID STOW-E2-P2,579_misnumbered_as_589.73))

The scarce examples of the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* with the pleonastic *that* sharply contrasts with the numerous instances of the ephemeral conditional subordinators featuring this marker. The main reason for such great difference is that *if* has always been well-rooted in the language as a conditional subordinator and, therefore, a need is not felt to have an overt marker of subordination, as is the case with the non-canonical ones.

Regarding the use of correlation in conditional constructions with the subordinator *if*, the data in my corpus shows various examples of correlative elements, particularly *then*, *therefore* and *yet*, with a rather even distribution. Table 6.14 below provides the absolute figures and the percentages for the correlative elements in the different subperiods.

	ME1 (1150-1249)	**ME2 (1250-1349)**	**ME3 (1350-1419)**	**ME4 (1420-1499)**	**EME1 (1500-1569)**	**EME2 (1570-1639)**	**EME3 (1640-1700)**	**LME1 (1700-1769)**	**LME2 (1770-1839)**	**LME3 (1840-1914)**
if	5/51 (9.8)	4/52 (7.69)	1/58 (1.72)	1/32 (3.13)	2/31 (6.45)	4/127 (3.15)	2/65 (3.08)	6/89 (6.74)	6/137 (4.38)	4/113 (3.54)

Table 6.14: Occurrences of correlative elements in conditional constructions with the subordinator *if* in a random sample of the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

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As shown here, the proportion of correlative elements diachronically varies from 9.8% in subperiod ME1 (1150-1249) to 1.72% in ME3 (1350-1419). Examples (6.75) – (6.77) illustrate the use of the three correlative adverbs *then*, *therefore* and *yet* in the corpus.

(6.75) ((IP-MAT (CONJ and)
(PP (P **gif**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO we))
(VBP shewe*ð*)
(ADVP (ADV *þ*us))
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ ure) (NS sinnes)))) (, .)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV ***þ*enne**))
(MD muge)
(NP-SBJ (PRO we))
(ADVP (ADV fulliche))
(BE ben)
(VAN shrifene) (. .))
(ID CMTRINIT,71.994))

(6.76) (PP (ADV+P **therefore**))
(NP-SBJ (PRO you))
(MD will)
(BE be)
(ADJP (QR less)
(ADJ liable)
(IP-INF (TO to) (VB mistake))
(, ,)
(PP (P **if**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO you))
(VBP use)
(NP-OB1 (D a)
(N Semicircle) (, ,)
(ID WYLD-1725-2,104.157))

(6.77) ((IP-MAT (ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(PP (P **if**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (Q no) (N fever))
(VBP appears)))) (, ,)
(NP-SBJ (D the) (N patient))
(VBP recovers)
(PP (P without)

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(NP (N inconvenience)) (. .))
(ID KIRKLAND-1774-2,78.224))

All in all, whereas the pleonastic *that* was scarcely attested in my data in combination with the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* (6 out of 269 examples; 2.23%), correlative elements, though scant, are slightly more frequent in conditional constructions with *if* as a subordinator (35 out of 755; 4.63%).

The position of the subordinate clauses introduced by *if* in relation to their main clauses in the sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* is shown in Table 6.15 and graphically represented in Figure 6.12 below:

Subperiod	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
ME1 (1150-1249)	32 (62.74)	-	19 (37.25)	51 (100)
ME2 (1250-1349)	37 (71.15)	2 (3.85)	13 (25)	52 (100)
ME3 (1350-1419)	45 (77.59)	1 (1.72)	12 (20.69)	58 (100)
ME4 (1420-1499)	24 (75)	-	8 (25)	32 (100)
EME1 (1500-1569)	22 (70.97)	3 (9.68)	6 (19.35)	31 (100)
EME2 (1570-1639)	103 (81.10)	-	24 (18.90)	127 (100)
EME3 (1640-1700)	50 (76.92)	1 (1.54)	14 (21.54)	65 (100)
LME 1 (1700-1769)	74 (83.15)	-	15 (16.85)	89 (100)
LME 2 (1770-1839)	88 (64.23)	6(4.38)	43 (31.39)	137 (100)
LME3 (1840-1914)	73 (64.60)	5 (4.42)	35 (30.97)	113 (100)
Total	548 (72.58)	18 (2.38)	189 (25.03)	755 (100)

Table 6.15: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *if* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

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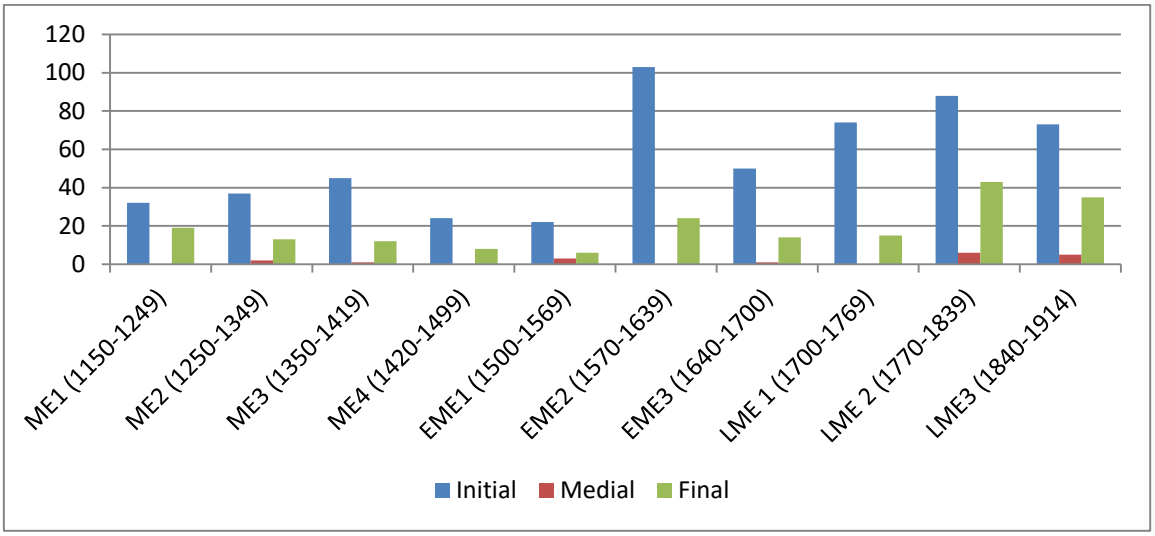

Figure 6.12: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *if* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora*. Absolute figures

Table 6.15 and Figure 6.12 above clearly show that initial position is overall the preferred choice for *if*-clauses (548/755; 72.58%) in the three main historical periods considered in this dissertation. An example is given in (6.88) below.[103]

(6.78) ((CP-QUE (PP (P **If**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (N Vsurie))
(BEP be)
(ADJP (ADJ necessarie)
(PP (P for)
(NP (PRO vs)))))))
(, ,)
(WADVP-1 (WADV how))
(IP-SUB (ADVP *T*-1)
(DOD did)
(NP-SBJ (D the) (CODE <font>) (NPRS Iewes) (CODE <$$font>))
(PP (P without)
(NP (PRO it))))
(. ?))
(ID SMITH-E2-P2,D2V.161))

[103] In Diessel's (2005) study, based on spoken and written corpus data, conditional clauses are also mainly sentence-initial.

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Final position is found in a quarter of the examples in my data (189/755; 25.03%); see (6.79) below. Regarding medial position, only 18 examples have been retrieved (18/755; 2.38%), and the majority of them (11/18; 61.11%) date from the LModE period. An example is given in (6.80) below:

(6.79) ((IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (QS Most) (NS men))
(VBP want)
(IP-INF (TO to)
(VB avoid)
(NP-OB1 (PRO it)))
(PP (P **if**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(MD can)
(VB *))))
(. .))
(ID HARE-183X-2,2,243.41))

(6.80) ((IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (D The)
(ADJ first)
(PP (P of)
(NP (D these) (NS suppositions))))
(, ,)
(PP (P **if**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(BEP be)
(NEG not)
(ADJP (ADV altogether) (ADJ blasphemous)))))
(, ,)
(BEP is)
(, ,)
(PP (P at)
(ADJP (ADJS best)))
(, ,)
(PP (P of)
(NP (D a) (ADJ questionable) (N character)))
(. ;))
(ID HEBER-1815-2,64.110))

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My results for conditional subordinate clauses introduced by the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* are similar to those obtained in a study carried out by Claridge (2007), who shows that out of the three positional alternatives for an *if*-clause vis-à-vis its apodosis, initial position is the preferred option. Consider the figures in Table 6.16 below:

	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
Politics	478 (67.7%)	55 (7.6%)	172 (24.7%)	705
Science	487 (66.8%)	87 (11.9%)	155 (21.3%)	729
Total	963 (67.1%)	142 (9.9%)	329 (22.9%)	1,434

Table 6.16: Position of subordinate clauses introduced by *if* in texts representing Politics and Science in the *Lampeter Corpus* (adapted from Claridge 2007: 244)

Therefore, my data confirms that conditional adverbial clauses are more frequently placed in initial position, both with the prototypical subordinator *if* and with the ephemeral connectives discussed in Section 6.2.2 above.

Finally, the text-type distribution of the clauses introduced by the prototypical subordinator *if* in my corpus is shown in Figure 6.13 below:

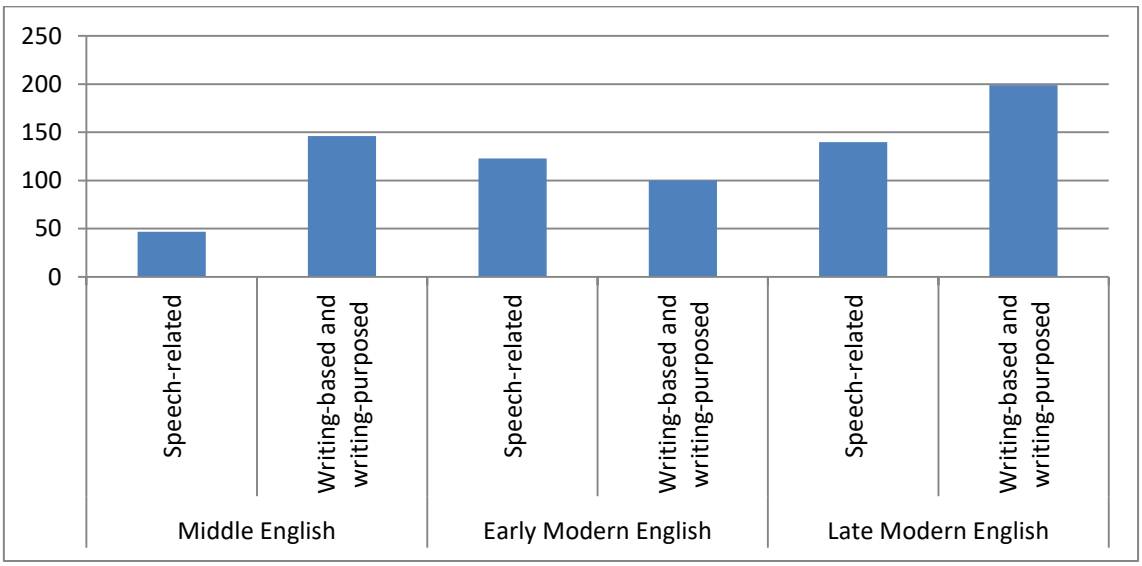

Figure 6.13: Distribution of the clauses introduced by the conditional prototypical subordinator *if* per period and register (Absolute figures)

As the figure shows, the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* tends to appear in writing-based and writing-purposed texts in ME and in LModE, as was the case with the ephemeral connectives (see Section 6.2.3). Surprisingly, in EModE conditional clauses headed by *if*

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are more common in speech-related texts, particularly in trial proceedings and sermons.[104] Examples (6.81) and (6.82) illustrate the use of conditional *if* in these two text-types.

(6.81) ((IP-MAT (PP (P **If**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (D that))
(BEP be)
(ADJP (ADJ true)))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(BEP is)
(ADJP (ADJ guilty))
(. ;))
(ID RALEIGH-E2-H,I,216.C1.618))

(6.82) (IP-SUB (PP (P **If**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ-2 (EX there))
(BED were)
(NP-2 (Q no) (NS takers)))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ-3 (EX there))
(MD would)
(BE be)
(NP-3 (Q no) (NS giuers))))
(. ,))
(ID SMITH-E2-H,E4R.253))

While acknowledging that my data contains a very limited number of occurrences of ephemeral conditional subordinators, which makes it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions, it can tentatively be said that the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* behaves similarly to its ephemeral counterparts. Nevertheless, some differences have been identified:

(1) The use of pleonastic *that* is less frequent with *if* than with the ephemeral conditional subordinators except for the connective *when if*.

[104] In Appendix III a detailed account of the distribution of text-type across time is provided.

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(2) Correlative elements are more recurrent in conditional constructions in which an ephemeral conditional subordinator is used.

(3) In addition to initial and final position, conditional clauses headed by *if* occasionally occur in medial position, particularly in the last subperiods of LModE. By contrast, medial position is not attested with conditional clauses introduced by ephemeral subordinators, which occur exclusively in either initial or final position.

(4) Even though writing-based and writing-purposed texts account for the majority of conditional clauses headed by both ephemeral subordinators and the prototypical *if*, the latter is more commonly found in EModE in speech-related genres, particularly in trial proceedings and sermons. The ephemeral subordinator *when if* is also attested in speech-related texts (drama comedy and diary) in two out of its three occurrences in my corpus.

All in all, the ephemeral conditional subordinators *when if* and the prototypical *if* show similar patterns of behaviour, particularly regarding the use of the pleonastic *that* and their distribution across text-types.

6.3 Ephemeral concessive subordinators

Concessive subordinators display the following tendencies (Kortmann 1997; Lenker 2010):

- subordinators from the relation CONTRAST/CONCESSION are coined much later than those belonging to other relations; and
- the inventory of concessive subordinators is rather unstable over time.

The set of ephemeral concessive subordinators selected for analysis (cf. Table 5.6) is characterized by the lack of a direct relation in their morphological structure with the prototypical concessive subordinators *although* and *though*, with the exception of *albeit*, which contains *all* in its formation, a marker of concession also found in *although*. As Table 6.17 shows, there is a strong correlation between univerbation and greater presence in the language, given that with univerbated subordinators the degree of

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grammaticalization is higher. Thus, *albeit*, *howbeit* and *notwithstanding* are more frequent than the remaining subordinators at issue, namely *how well*, *how so*, *how so ever*, *how some ever*, some of which are not attested in the corpus (*how so*; *howsomever*).

Subperiod	N° of words	Ephemeral concessive subordinators						
		albeit	*how well*	*howbeit*	*how so*	*how so ever*	*how some ever*	*notwithstanding*
ME1 (1150-1249)	284,345	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	146,575	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	491,413	41 (83.43)	-	-	-	-	-	-
ME4 (1420-1499)	272,030	1 (3.68)	-	3 (11.03)	-	-	-	6 (22.06)
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385	51 (89.57)	1 (1.76)	26 (45.66)	-	1 (1.76)	-	9 (15.81)
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214	19 (30.20)	-	13 (20.66)	-	8 (12.71)	-	10 (15.89)
EME3 (1640-1700)	520,104	-	-	1 (1.92)	-	2 (3.84)	-	3 (5.77)
LME 1 (1700-1769)	799,213	1 (1.25)	-	-	-	-	-	20 (25.02)
LME 2 (1770-1839)	926,181	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (12.48)
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570	1 (0.96)	-	8 (7.68)	-	-	-	3 (2.88)
Total	5,682,030	114 (20.07)	1 (0.18)	51 (8.98)	-	11 (1.94)	-	64 (11.27)

Table 6.17: Ephemeral concessive subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute and normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

The normalized frequencies of this set of ephemeral concessive subordinators range from 0.18 (*how well*) to 20.07 (*albeit*). The various forms attested are particularly common in the EModE period, as Figure 6.14 shows. Some of these subordinators are exclusively found at this stage, as is the case of *howsoever*.

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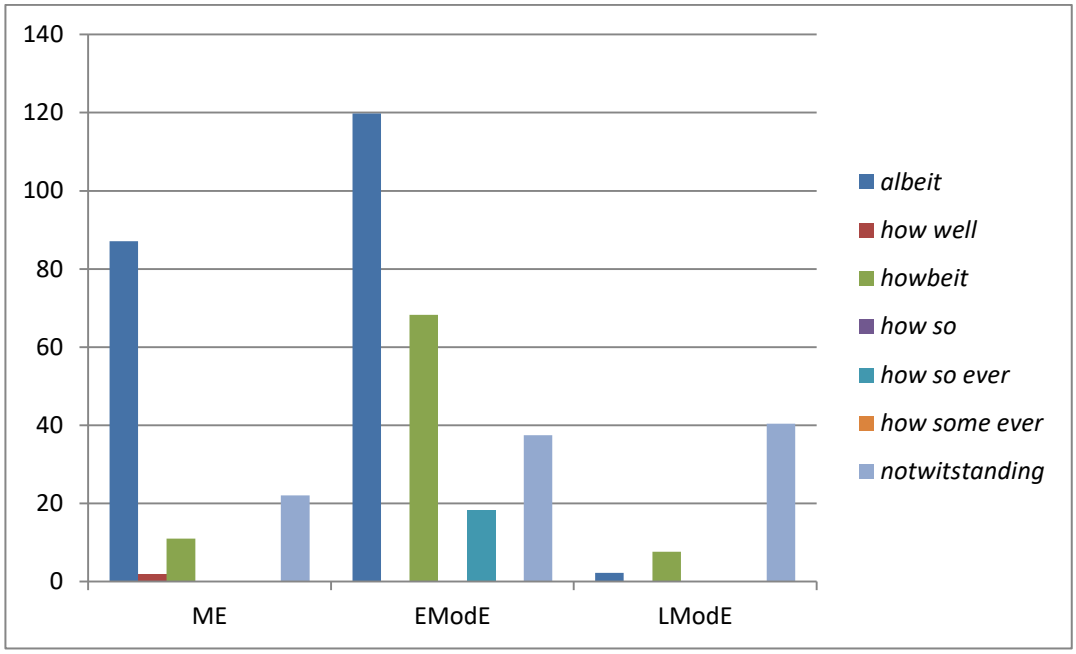

Figure 6.14: Ephemeral concessive subordinators in ME, EModE and LModE in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

Figure 6.15 provides a more comprehensive account of the diachronic evolution of the ephemeral concessive subordinators under study in the different subperiods. None of them appear before the second half of ME. Thus, *albeit* and *how well* are found in ME3 (1350-1419) and *howbeit* in ME4 (1420-1499). In the early part of the EModE period (EME1; 1500-1569), all of the subordinators under study are attested in the data, except for *how so* and *how so ever*, which are not found in the corpus in this function. It is noteworthy that the subordinator *notwithstanding* clearly shows a different pattern of evolution, given that its peak is not found in the EModE period, but in LModE and its frequency of occurrence did not drop as dramatically as that of the rest of the subordinators.

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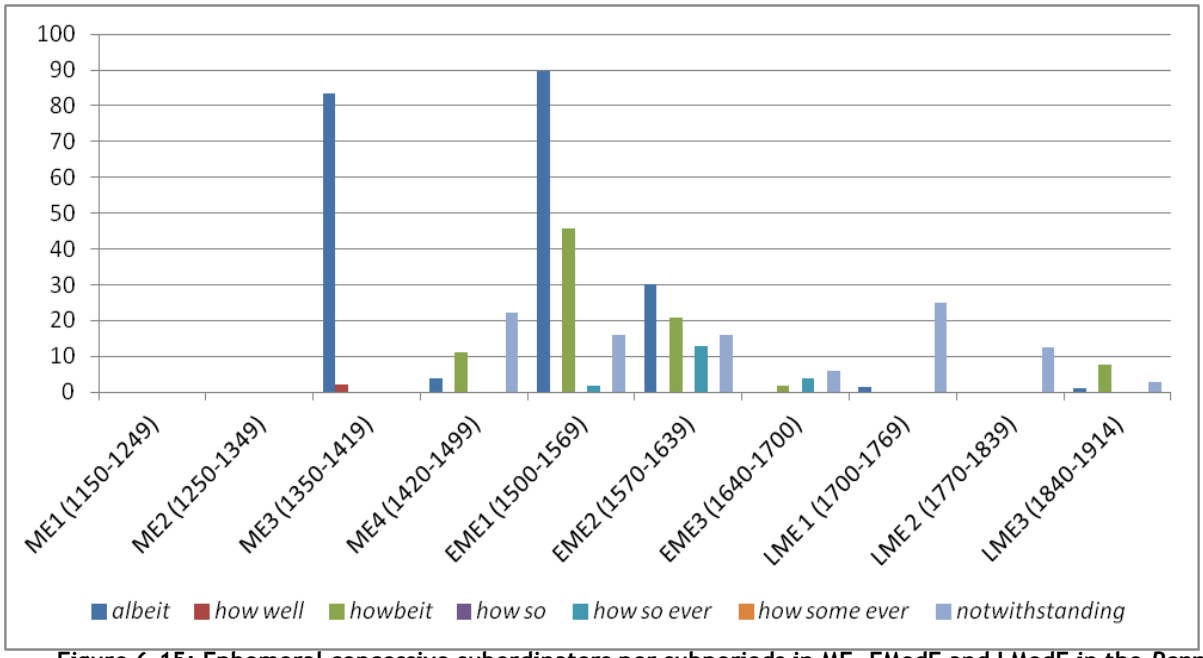

Figure 6.15: Ephemeral concessive subordinators per subperiods in ME, EModE and LModE in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

In what follows, examples of the first and last occurrences of the ephemeral concessive subordinators at issue are provided.

In the case of *albeit*, the first occurrences of this connective date back to the ME3 subperiod, when as example (6.83)[105] below shows, the subordinator had not univerbated yet, which is a common feature found in the earliest instances attested in the corpus. The last example of this subordinator in the corpus, (6.84) below, dates from the last LModE subperiod (1840-1914).

(6.83) ***Al be it so that*** *I have litil tyme to doon it,* ***yit natheles*** *y wol enforcen me to schewe somwhat of it.* (CMBOETH-M3,451.C1.458)

(6.84) ***Albeit*** *we do not expect lady-readers to con the pages of "The Book of Field Sports,"* ***yet*** *do we esteem it a serious omission that the art of riding, as practised by lady-proficients, should be passed over without mention in such works;* (MILES1-1873-2,491.C1.335)

[105] Note here the presence of the non-univerbated form of *albeit*, particularly frequent in the ME period, when it originated.

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Even though the data shows a sharp decrease of *albeit* over time as a concessive conjunction, some remnants of this use are still found in PDE. In a study carried out by Molencki (1997b), some instances of *albeit* functioning as an adverbial subordinator have been retrieved from a small corpus containing editions of all the four 1993 British quality daily newspapers: *The Daily*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*. Interestingly, the percentage of use of *albeit* is 1.29 if followed by *that* and 0.38 without the pleonastic *that*. Consider examples (6.85) and (6.86), from Molencki (1997b: 175-176).

(6.85) *A poorish performance by Poland in midfield,* ***albeit that*** *they had a 5-4 advantage was contributory,* ***yet*** *England's authority could not be denied.*

(6.86) *Analysis are predicting the company will return to profit this year,* ***albeit*** *their tax projections are for a figure of only $500,000.*

Similarly, Sorva (2006) accounts for the uses of *albeit* in PDE. Table 6.18 below provides the syntactic distribution of *albeit* in the *British National Corpus*. Note that overall the frequency of use of *albeit* in PDE is low (14.19 per 1,000,000 words), and *albeit* is predominantly used with prepositional phrases. Consider example (6.87) below, from Sorva (2006: 137), as an illustration of this rather common PDE use of *albeit*.

(6.87) *Knowing that you are watching event,* ***albeit*** *from a distance, is a powerful stimulant to better performance.* (BNC, AYJ2155, Leigh, Andrew (1992) *Twenty ways to manage better*. London: Institute of Personnel Management)

Type of instance	Total frequency	Mean frequency per 1,000,000 words	%
albeit + PP	495	5.07	36%
albeit + AP	244	2.50	18%
albeit + NP	235	2.41	17%
albeit + ADVP	212	2.17	15%
albeit + non-finite verb	108	1.11	8%
albeit + finite verb	48	0.49	4%
albeit + elliptic clause with overt subject	29	0.30	2%
unclear instances	6	0.06	0%
albeit as adverb	5	0.05	0%
albeit as preposition	2	0.02	0%
albeit + ***after***-clause	1	0.01	0%
Total	1,385	14.19	100%

Table 6.18: Syntactic distribution of *albeit* in the *British National Corpus* (Sorva 2006: 137)

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Given that in this doctoral dissertation only examples of *albeit* followed by finite clauses are considered, I will comment on Sorva's (2006) findings regarding finite clause complementation. Interestingly, Sorva (2006: 138) points out that "the 48 instances of *albeit* with a finite clause complement reach the proportion of 3.5% in the entire BNC" and she explains that in 18 of those 48 instances *albeit* is combined with the pleonastic *that*. Example (6.88), from Sorva (2006: 138), illustrates this phenomenon in PDE:

(6.88) *And and that to me is indicative albeit er in a small way of a failure to adequately phase the release of land* ***albeit that*** *the figures I accept are are relatively small*. (BNC, HVG 408, EIP meeting at Strensall Village Hal, day 1, afternoon session: public county council meeting.)

Additionally, her study highlights that in the spoken part of the *British National Corpus*, 24% of the 51 instances of *albeit* are followed by a finite clause.

In the light of Sorva's (2006) findings, we can conclude that *albeit* in PDE has become more specialized and it has the main role of a marker of contrast. However, there are still some fossilized instances of its earlier usage as a concessive conjunction followed by a finite clause, and when used as a concessive subordinator, it is commonly marked with the pleonastic *that*, as happened in the earliest attestations of the connective in my data.

How well is scarcely attested in the corpus, with just one isolated example, given as (6.89) below:

(6.89) *Let not be knowen I told you of it,* ***how well soeuer*** *ye spede*. (STEVENSO-E1-P1,31.486)

In turn, *howbeit* is attested for the first time in ME4 (1420 -1499) and, after a peak in the first subperiod of EModE (1500-1569), its frequency dropped dramatically. Examples (6.90) and (6.91) provide the first and last attestation of the subordinator in my data.

(6.90) ***How be it*** *this texte after the letter is understonde of Crystys cote without seme,* ***yet*** *convenyently it may be understonde of every mannys lyfe or soule –* (CMINNOCE-M4,11.196)

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(6.91) ***Howbeit*** *Canute was famous through Europe , and much honour'd of Conrade the Emperour, then at Rome , with rich guifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from Toll and Custome. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him.* (MILTON-E3-H,X,280.196)

It is remarkable that in the last subperiod of LModE (1840-1914) the corpus yields eight occurrences of *howbeit*, all of them from the Bible, from an edition by Charles John Ellicott et al., *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greek: being the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised, A.D. 1881*. This proves the existence of a close connection between the choice of this adverbial subordinator and text-type.[106] Consider example (6.92):

(6.92) *Solomon built him a house,* ***howbeit*** *the Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands;* (ERV-NEW-1881-2,7,40A.1112)

How so ever is attested in the corpus 11 times, which represents a normalized frequency of 1.94. Note that all the instances retrieved date from the EModE period. Examples (6.93) and (6.94) below show the first and last occurrences of *howsoever* in my data.

(6.93) *Therefore Wiats Actes doe proue you Counsayler and Procurer,* ***howsoeuer*** *you woulde auoyde the matter.* (THROCKM-E1-H,I,76.C1.687)

(6.94) *My mind is with thee* ***howsoever*** *I am forced to be absent from Thee.* (HOXINDEN-1660-E3-H,273.6)

Notwithstanding shows a different diachronic pattern of development from the rest of the ephemeral concessive subordinators in the set. The first occurrences of this conjunction

[106] Molencki (1997b: 171-172) argues that "the idiom [*howbeit*] seems to have been favoured by the translators of the King James Bible, where we find as many as 93 instances of *howbeit* and only nine of *albeit*". The same tendency is found in my data, where *howbeit* has an accumulated frequency of 13.58 in the Bible, whereas no instances of *albeit* have been retrieved from this text. (See Appendix IV for further details).

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appear as early as ME4 (1420-1499,) and since those first attestations, it is attested in all the subsequent subperiods though with a zigzagging frequency. Examples (6.95) and (6.96) provide the first and last attestations of *notwithstanding* in the corpus:

(6.95) *þei schul gader no mony to profite of her lord,* ***notwithstanding*** *he had graunted hem patentis befor*. (CMCAPCHR-M4,211.3776)

(6.96) ***Notwithstanding that*** *natural science has been my proper business, I am afraid there is very little of the genuine naturalist in me.* (HUXLEY-1889-2,30.70)

Schützler (2016) traced the history of *notwithstanding* in written American English from the early 19th century to the present. He argues that the general use of *notwithstanding* decreased over time, including its common use as conjunction. Its development in PDE is summarized as follows: "its frequency decreases considerably over time; on the other hand, it very clearly specializes, first towards an adposition, second towards a postposition" (Schützler 2016: 19). Additionally, Berlage (2014: 233) describes the history of PDE *notwithstanding* as a 'resurrection', given that the virtually extinct form has returned to the scene and one of its variants, *notwithstanding* as a preposition, has become the most frequent form. However, other scholars have provided reasons for the decline of this subordinator, among them its complexity, both in morphological and in phonological terms, which makes it to be perceived as highly formal (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 706; Hoffmann 2005: 113-114).

The ephemeral subordinators *how so* and *howsomever* have not been attested in the corpus in their conjunctive function, although they occur in the data in other functions.[107]

[107] For instance, the examples discarded of *how so* were either questions, as in (i), or preceding an adjective, as in (ii):

(i) *Why, what a shabby world it is! Shuff.* ***How so****?* (COLMAN-1805-1,49.964)

(ii) *It is almost impossible to conceive* ***how so*** *small a bird can have so loud a note.* (MIDSHIPMAN-1767-2,14.116)

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Molencki (1997a: 358) provides an example of *how so* functioning as a concessive subordinator in his corpus which is based on the few prose texts of Geoffrey Chaucer. This is given here as (6.97):

(6.97) *And **how so that** this knowynge is universel, **yit** is ther no wyght that ne wot well that a man is a thing ymaginable and sensible.* (BV.p.4.199)

Interestingly, in this example the concessive subordinator *how so* is accompanied by the pleonastic *that* and there is a correlative element in the main clause, namely *yet*. As will be discussed in Section 6.3.1, the presence of *yet* reinforces the concessive relationship, while the addition of *that* marks *how so* as clearly belonging to the subordinating set. However, these features are not present in the last example of subordinating *how so* provided in the OED (cf. Section 5.2.3.8), which dates back to 1848. This is example (5.71), repeated here for convenience as (6.98). Although we may have expected the use of an appended *that* here, the lack of this feature can be justified on the grounds that the example is from poetry and, therefore, metrical considerations cannot be overlooked.

(6.98) = (5.71) *[They] shall never fall, **howso** they seeme to slide.* (1614, J. Norden *Custom* in E. Farr *Sel. Poetry Reign James* I (1848) 310); OED s.v. *how* A. VI 17c).

All in all, the study of the set of ephemeral concessive subordinators leads to the following conclusions:

- EModE is a flourishing period for concessive subordinators.
- The ephemeral concessive subordinators *albeit* and *notwithstanding* show a revival in the last subperiods of LModE, with further specialization. In turn, the rest of the connectives are characterized for being ephemeral in nature.
- A correlation is identified between univerbated forms and a long time-span of occurrence.

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6.3.1 Pleonastic *that*

This section provides an account of the ephemeral concessive subordinators in combination with the pleonastic *that*. Table 6.20 below gives the occurrences of the subordinators with appended *that*.

Subordinator	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME1 (1500-1569)	EME2 (1570-1639)	EME3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769)	LME 2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)
albeit	-	-	16 (37.2)	1 (100)	10 (19.6)	-	-	-	-	-
how well	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
howbeit	-	-	-	1 (33.33)	1 (3.85)	-	-	-	-	-
howsoever	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
notwithstanding	-	-	-	-	3 (33.33)	1 (10)	1 (33.33)	5 (25)	1 (7.69)	2 (66.6)

Table 6.19: Pleonastic *that* with ephemeral concessive subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

Interestingly, the majority of examples of ephemeral concessive subordinators featuring pleonastic *that* occur in the last subperiods of ME, i.e. ME3 (1350-1419) and ME4 (1420-1499), and the first subperiod of EModE, EME1 (1500-1569). Therefore, the popularity of this feature in my data dates from a slightly earlier period than that identified by Rissanen (1999: 303) in his analysis of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. This author dates the spread of the phenomenon in the 16th century with a decrease in popularity in the 17th century. Note that the earlier occurrence of the ephemeral subordinators with the appended *that* was also found in my corpus data in the domains of causality (cf. Section 6.1.1) and condition (cf. Section 6.2.1).[108]

From my set of ephemeral concessive subordinators, only three, namely *albeit*, *howbeit* and *notwithstanding*, co-occur with the appended *that*. The concessive subordinator *albeit* is the one which more frequently appears in this combination, in the

[108] Calle-Martín (2017:11-12) also dates the climax of the pleonastic *that* in Late ME. His study is based on the analysis of *The Corpus of Early English Medical Writing*, i.e., *Middle English Medical Texts* (*MEMT*, for the period 1375-1500) and *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (*EMEMT*, for the period 1500-1700). Calle-Martín dates the climax of the pleonastic *that* in Late ME.

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last subperiods of ME and in the first subperiod of EModE (see example (6.109) below). *Notwithstanding* co-occurring with the appended *that* is the second most frequent and examples have been retrieved from all the subperiods in which *notwithstanding* was attested, except for the first one (ME4, 1420-1499). Consider examples (6.110) and (6.111) below. In turn, only two corpus instances of the subordinator *howbeit* show pleonastic *that*. These are given as (6.112) and (6.113) below:

(6.99) *And yet **all be it that** I suppose this to be true, yet beleue I not euen very surely, that euery man so thinketh that so saieth*. (MROPER-E1-P1,520.95)

(6.100) *I wentt nott forthe agaynst her majestie, **notwithstandynge thatt** I was commaundid*. (UNDERHILL-E1-P2,142.102)

(6.101) ***Notwithstanding that** his Lordship acted with so much Caution in this Critical Affair, and was sufficiently warranted to do what he did by his Majesty's Command; **notwithstanding that** his Disobedience wou'd have been as Criminal, as Insolent and Ungrateful; yet did the Faction never cease clamouring against his Conduct, till they had it examin'd in Parliament*. (OLDMIXON-1716-2,48.218)

(6.102) *And **howe-be-it that** I gyue theym these names, as is most comonly vsed in my contrey, I knowe they haue other names in other contreyes*. (FITZH-E1-P1,15.124)

(6.103) *My lord the kyng I here hier that reygnart is sore complayned on and hier is none but that he hath ynowh to doo to clere hym self that courtoys hier complayneth of that is passyd many yeres goon **how be it that** I complayne not that pudyng was myne.* (CMREYNAR-M4,8.50)

Note that in both (6.102) and (6.103), *howbeit* appears in its non-univerbated form. However, Molencki (1997a: 358) provides a later example from *Othello* by Shakespeare, in which the form is univerbated and co-occurs with the pleonastic *that*. This is (6.104) below:

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(6.104) *The Moor,* ***howbeit that*** *I endure him no, Is of a constant, loving, noble nature*. (*Othello* ii, 1.297)

When combined with the pleonastic *that*, instances are found in which the main clause includes a correlative element, *yet* and *nonetheless* being the most common ones in my data. The use of the correlative element differs substantially depending on the subordinator. On the one hand, concessive clauses introduced by *albeit* and *notwithstanding* commonly contain a correlative element in the main clause, as shown in (6.105) to (6.108). The proportion of examples of this kind is 30.76% for *notwithstanding* and 22.22% for *albeit*. Furthermore, as examples (6.106) and (6.107) below illustrate, sometimes the reinforcement is done by means of the combination of two correlative elements, *yet* and *nonetheless*, in the same clause.

(6.105) ***Albeit y=t=*** *she was by y=e= kinges mother & many other put in good comfort, to affirme that she was ensured vnto y=e= king:* ***yet*** *when she was solempnely sworne to say the trouth, she confessed that they were neuer ensured.* (MORERIC-E1-P2,65.223)

(6.106) *And* ***all be it þat*** *men fynden gode dyamandes in ynde,* ***ȝit natheles*** *men fynden hem more comounly vpon the roches in the see & vpon hilles where the myne of gold is;* (CMMANDEV-M3,105.2565)

(6.107) ***Al be it so that*** *thise thinges ben diverse,* ***yit natheles*** *hangeth that oon of that oother; forwhi the ordre destynal procedith of the simplicite of purveaunce.* (CMBOETH-M3,451.C2.472)

(6.108) ***Notwithstanding that*** *all Men differ very much in their opinions of Good,* ***yet****, they All agree in the choice of the End of it.* (BOETHPR-E3-P2,98.71 PROSA III)

Molencki (1997a: 361) mentions two other correlative elements in concessive clauses headed by *albeit* which have not been found in my data. These are *algate(s)* and *certes*. Consider examples (6.109) and (6.110) provided in Molencki's study:

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(6.109) ***Al be it so that*** *the proude Nero... kembde humand apparayled hm with faire purpres of Tyrie and with white peerless,* ***algates yit*** *throf he haatful to alle folk.* (B III.m.4.1)

(6.110) *For* ***al be it so that*** *ye be mighty and riche,* ***certes*** *ye ne been but alone.* (M 1365)

The ephemeral concessive subordinator *howbeit* scarcely appears in combination with the pleonastic *that* and when it does, there is not a correlative element in the main clause. Interestingly, when *howbeit* is found in its non-univerbated form, the pleonastic *that* is appended (see examples (6.102) and (6.103) above) or a correlative element is used, which may respond to the need of having an overt marker to signal that this newcomer belongs to the set of concessive subordinators. Example (6.111) = (6.90) illustrates the presence of the correlative element *yet* in a concessive construction headed by *howbeit* without the pleonastic *that*.

(6.111) = (6.90) ***How be it*** *this texte after the letter is understonde of Crystys cote without seme,* ***yet*** *convenyently it may be understonde of every mannys lyfe or soule* – (CMINNOCE-M4,11.196)

Although *howsoever* is not found in combination with the pleonastic *that* in the corpus, the data yields an instance in which a correlative element occurs in the main clause; see (6.112) below.

(6.112) *For tho'they be Traitors, and* ***howsoever*** *they be otherwise without Credit,* ***yet*** *against the Duke of Norfolk they are well to be believ'd.* (THOWARD2-E2-P2,113.1007)

6.3.2 Position of the subordinate clause

This section examines the position occupied by concessive sub-clauses regarding their main clauses. Subordinate clauses headed by the ephemeral concessive subordinators at issue show a strong tendency to be placed in final position, as shown in Figure 6.16 below,

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with the exception of the subordinator *albeit*. A total of 87 out of the 114 examples of this subordinator, representing 76.3%, are found in initial position. A similar tendency was identified by Molencki (1997a: 363), who claims that in his data *albeit* tends to come first in the sentence.

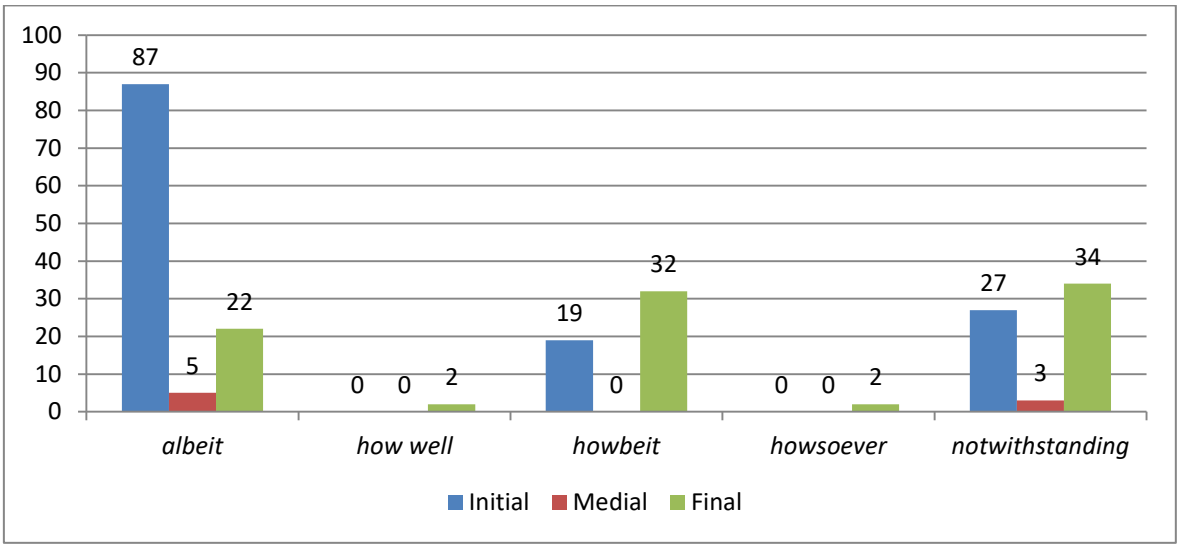

Figure 6.16: Position of subordinate clauses introduced by ephemeral concessive subordinators in the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures)

In the case of *notwithstanding*, the position of the adverbial clause with respect to the main clause can be initial, medial or final. Medial position is far less frequent than initial or final. Example (6.113) below is an instance of medial position, which is an option not found for any of the other concessive clauses headed by ephemeral subordinators. Additionally, this position is only found in the last period of my data, i.e. LModE. Biber et al. (1999: 805) claim that concessive adverbial clauses in medial position are more difficult for the reader to process, which may account for the low proportion of finite concessive adverbial clauses in such position.

(6.113) *I $can $not {TEXT:cannot} say,* ***notwithstanding*** *you are relieved from the bond, that I see much joy or brightness here*. (INCHBALD-1793-2,44.443)

Note that the difference between initial and final position for those sentences in which the concessive adverbial clause is headed by *notwithstanding* is not sharp. Interestingly, in Schützler's (2016) study, based on written American corpus data from the

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early 19th century to the present, non-final position gained ground over time, becoming the most frequent for the conjunction *notwithstanding*.

6.3.3 Text-type

Figure 6.17 shows the distribution across text-types in the corpus of the ephemeral concessive subordinators.

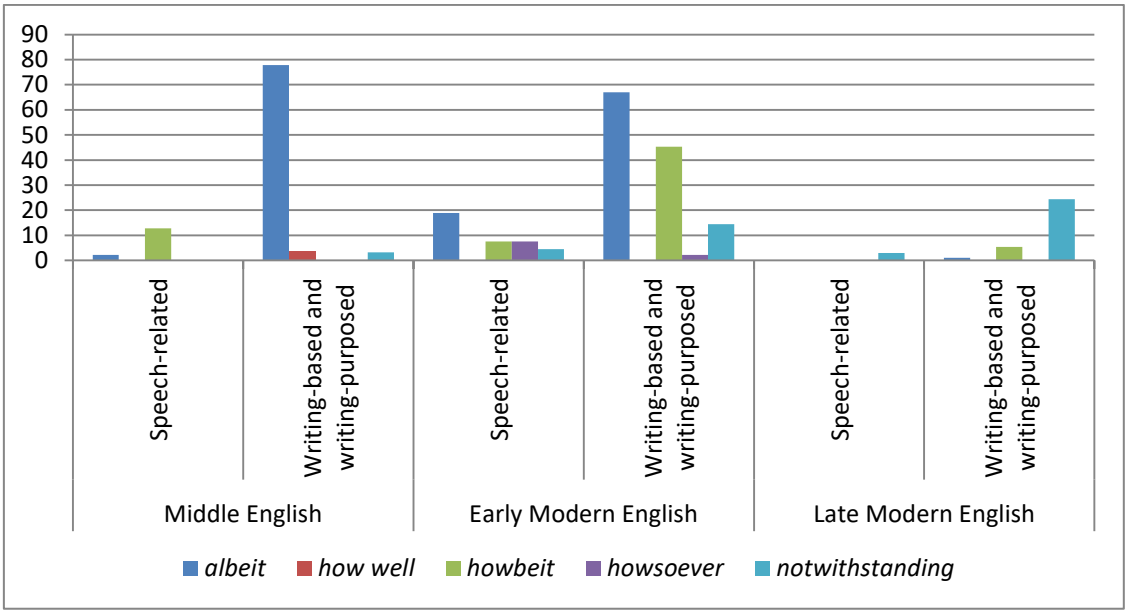

Figure 6.17: Distribution of the ephemeral concessive subordinators per period and register (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

As Figure 6.17 shows, the five concessive subordinators are more common across time in writing-based and writing-purposed texts in my data. It is worth commenting that in the case of *albeit*, its frequency in speech-related texts is not as low as for the other subordinators. Below I provide three instances of *albeit* in speech-related texts, a private letter (cf. (6.114)), a private diary (cf. (6.115)) and a trial proceeding (cf. (6.116)):

(6.114) *And yet* ***all be it that*** *I suppose this to be true,* ***yet*** *beleue I not euen very surely, that euery man so thinketh that so saieth.* (MROPER-E1-P1,520.95)

(6.115) *But **albe** the general and others wold hav had hir confiscat, **yet** Luk Wards word prevayled for hir lyfe*. (MADOX-E2-P2,146.156)

(6.116) *And **albeit** many this daye haue greatly inveyghed against me, the finall Determination thereof is transferred onely to you:* (THROCKM-E1-H,I,76.C2.725)

In the earliest subperiods of ME, philosophy texts and travelogues are the two most common texts in which *albeit* occurs; see (6.117) and (6.118), respectively, as an illustration.

(6.117) *And **al be it so that** youre emprise be establissed and ordeyned by greet multitude of folk, yet thar ye nat accomplice thilke ordinaunce but yow like.* (CMCTMELI-M3,220.C2.128)

(6.118) *And **all be it so þat** it be drye natheles **ȝit** he bereth gret vertue* (CMMANDEV-M3,45.1119)

Speech-based texts have also proved to be a nest for the ephemeral concessive subordinator *howsoever*, given that most of the examples are found in text-types of this kind: trial proceedings (see example (6.119) below), sermons, private letters (consider example (6.120)), drama comedies and fiction.

(6.119) *Steward gave the prisoners to vnderstand that **howsoever** theire offences were notorious, **yet** her ma=tie= was contented to allow them a lawfull and an honorable tryall: and libertie to speake for themselves.* (ESSEX-E2-P1,3.33)

(6.120) *My mind is with thee **howsoever** I am forced to be absent from Thee*. (HOXINDEN-1660-E3-H,273.6)

Concerning *howbeit*, the first examples of this subordinator found in the corpus are from speech-related texts, namely sermons and fiction. Although the number of examples does not suffice to draw any definitive conclusions, it could be tentatively suggested that the origin of this connective is related to those text-types. Examples (6.100), repeated here

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for convenience as (6.131), and (6.132) illustrate the use of *howbeit* in those text-types, sermons and fiction, respectively.

(6.121) = (6.90) ***How be it*** *this texte after the letter is understonde of Crystys cote without seme,* ***yet*** *convenyently it may be understonde of every mannys lyfe or soule* – (CMINNOCE-M4,11.196)

(6.122) *Courtoys hier complayneth of that is passyd many yeres goon* ***how be it that*** *I complayne not that pudyng was myne* (CMREYNAR-M4,8.50)

As regards the last examples of the subordinator *howbeit*, as has already been mentioned, all of them are from the Bible from a 1611 edition by Charles John Ellicott et al., which clearly indicates that text-type exerted an influence on the survival of this subordinator.

Notwithstanding has been found in a wide variety of written text-types, but it is in medical texts where the highest normalized frequency is attested (4.83 in LModE). Consider example (6.123) below:

(6.123) *We mention this case merely as an illustration of the power of the current to alleviate pain,* ***notwithstanding that*** *such pain may be caused by the gravest, most permanent, and incurable organic changes.* (POORE-1876-1,172.177)

To conclude, the findings summarized in the preceding paragraphs suggest that text-type influences the selection of ephemeral subordinators, inasmuch as they are a mark of formality and particularly frequent in written texts. George Campbell describes *albeit* and *notwithstanding* as obsolete in his 1776 work *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*:[109]

> It is a secret sense of the truth of this doctrine with regard to language, which imperceptibly, as taste improves in a nation, influences their writers to prefer

[109] The emphasis in this quotation is mine. Note that I have highlighted in bold four ephemeral subordinators at issue in this dissertation, two of them from the causal domain, namely *in somuch that* and *forasmuch as*, and two from the concessive set: *albeit* and *notwithstanding that*.

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short to long conjunctions [...] Happily enough at present conjunctions and relatives in most frequent use (for the last also are merely a species of connectives) are monosyllables [...] Almost all the polysyllabic conjunctions are now either disused altogether, or occur but rarely. [footnote: These are, *however*, *moreover*, *nevertheless*, ***notwithstanding that***, ***in somuch that***, ***albeit***, *furthermore*, ***forasmuch as***. The three last may be counted as obsolete, except with scriveners. The rest cannot entirely be dispensed with.]" (Campbell 1776: 378)

6.3.4 Contrasting data: Ephemeral vs. non ephemeral concessive subordinators

In this section the prototypical concessive subordinators *though* and *although* are studied in contrast with the set of ephemeral concessive subordinators analysed in Sections 6.3.1 to 6.3.3.

As seen in Section 5.2.3.1, *though* as a concessive subordinator is firstly recorded in the OED in 971 and the first MED attestation dates back to 1121. *Although* (cf. Section 5.2.3.2), in turn, was a later development, the first example given in the OED dating from 1325. This leads us to conclude that concession is a notion which appears late in the English language and, historically, it has been expressed by different means (cf. Chapter 3 for more details).

The diachronic evolution of the subordinators *though* and *although* in the data extracted from a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpus* is displayed in Figure 6.18 and in Table 6.20 below:[110]

[110] See Section 4.3.1 above for further details on how the random sample was created.

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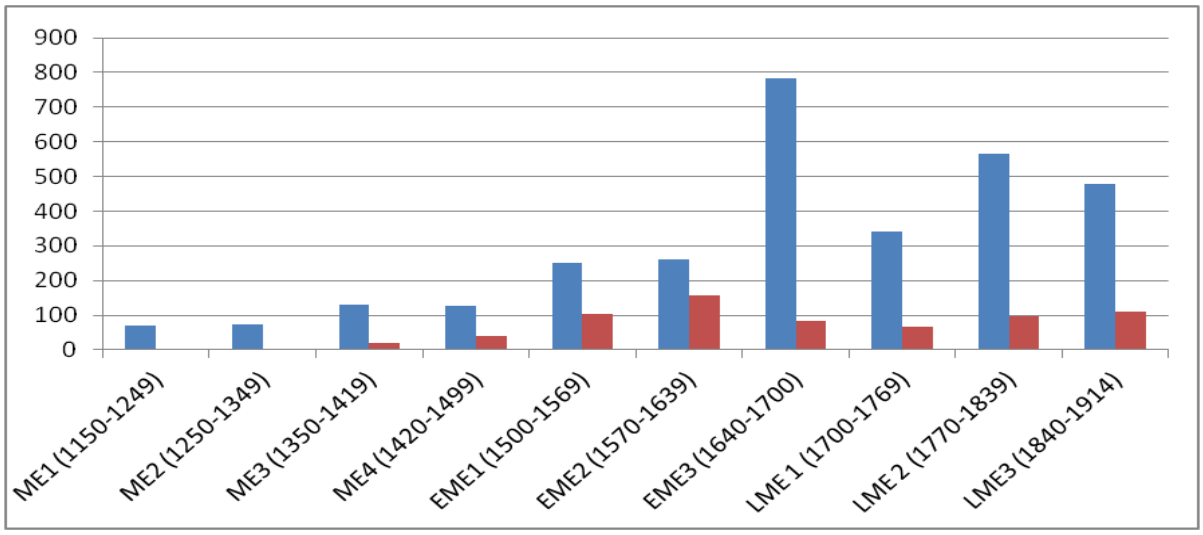

Figure 6.18: The non-ephemeral concessive subordinators *though* and *although* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words)

Subperiod	N° of words	*though*	*although*
ME1 (1150-1249)	284,345	70.32	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	146,575	75.04	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	491,413	130.73 [122.62 - 138.83]	20.34
ME4 (1420-1499)	272,030	128 [119.12 - 136.88]	40.44
EME1 (1500-1569)	571,385	249.47 [221.56 - 277.34]	101.92 [95.79 - 108.05]
EME2 (1570-1639)	629,214	260.40 [221.45 - 299.39]	158.31 [148.31 - 168.30]
EME3 (1640-1700)	520,104	782.99 [724.31 - 839.63]	82.09 [76.72 - 87.46]
LME 1 (1700-1769)	799,213	340.74 [312.98 - 368.51]	66.71 [62.47 - 70.94]
LME 2 (1770-1839)	926,268	564.39 [522.55 - 606.30]	97.13 [90.38 - 103.86]
LME3 (1840-1914)	1,041,570	478.62 [437.72 - 519.52]	109.34 [100.80 - 117.88]

Table 6.20: The concessive subordinators *though* and *although* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words; confidence interval computed at a 95% confidence level between brackets)[111]

[111] The interval computed at a 95% confidence level is not provided for subperiods ME1 and ME2 for the non-ephemeral concessive subordinator *though* and for subperiods ME3 and ME4 for *although*, since all the examples retrieved from those subperiods were considered in the analysis.

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As shown in Figure 6.18 and in Table 6.20, the diachronic evolution of *though* in my data is characterized for a rather constant increase from ME1 (1150-1249) up to EME3 (1640-1700), when it reaches its peak. That peak is followed by a decrease in the first subperiod of EModE (1700-1769) to rise in LME2 (1770-1839) and then to decline slightly again in the last subperiod of LME (1840-1914). In turn, the development of *although* starts in ME3 (1350-1419) and, after showing a constant increase until EME2 (1570-1639), it declines in EME3 (1640-1700) to show afterwards a steady increase during the LModE period. Both patterns of development show how the history of these two subordinators is related, given that their increases and declines over time are somehow encompassed. Furthermore, it is not until EME2 (1570-1639) when there was a substantial increase in the use of *although* and in the next subperiod, EME3 (1640-1700), we witness a boost in the use of the prototypical subordinator *though*. These subperiods roughly coincide with the time at which most of the ephemeral concessive subordinators were dying out or had already become extinct.

Examples (6.124) to (6.129) illustrate the use of *though* and *although* as concessive subordinators in ME, EModE and LME, respectively.

(6.124) ((IP-MAT-SPE (CONJ For)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C **that**)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(NEG ne)
(VBD foond)
(NP-OB1 (Q no) (ADJ good) (N womman))))) (, ,)
(ADVP (ADV certes))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (Q many) (D+OTHER another) (N man))
(HVP hath)
(VBN founden)
(NP-OB1 (Q many)
(D a)
(N womman)
(ADJP (ADV ful)
(ADJ good)
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(ADJX (ADJ trewe)))))
(. .))

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(ID CMCTMELI,220.C2.138))

(6.125) ((IP-MAT (CONJ And)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(HVD had)
(DON done)
(NP-OB1 (QP (ADVR so) (Q many))
(NS myracles)
(PP (P before)
(NP (PRO them)))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV yet))
(VBD beleved)
(NEG not)
(NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(PP (P on)
(NP (PRO him)))

(6.126) ((IP-MAT (PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(DOD did)
(NEG not)
(VB want)
(NP-OB1 (D a) (N$+N huntsman)))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(BED was)
(NP-ACC (D a) (ADJ clever) (N fellow))
(. ,))
(ID JOHNSTONE-1786-2,40.609))

(6.127) (PP (ADV+P therfore))
(, ,)
(PP (P **although**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ-1 (EX ther))
(BEP be)
(NP-1 (D a)
(N difference)
(PP (P bitwixe)
(NP (D thise)

(NUM two)
(NS causes)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N drenchynge)))))))))
(, ,)
(NP-ADV (Q+N algates))
(NP-SBJ (D the) (N ship))
(BEP is)
(VAN dreynt)
(. .))
(ID CMCTPARS,298.C2.427))

(6.128) ((IP-MAT (PP (ADV+P Hytherto))
(NP-SBJ (PRO we))
(HVD had)
(NEG not)
(NP-OB1 (ONE one) (ADJ hot) (N daye))
(PP (P **altho**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO we))
(BEP be)
(PP (PP (P within)
(NP (NUM 5) (NS degrees)))
(P to)
(NP (D the)
(N $sun)
(CODE
{COM:"sun"_is_represented_by_a_circle_with_a_dot}))))))))
(ID MADOX-E2-H,145.492))

(6.129) ((IP-MAT (CONJ But)
(PP (P **although**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (D the) (NS people))
(MD must)
(BE be)
(NP-ACC (NP (D the) (N source))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(NP (D the)

(NS instruments)))
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO$ their)

(ADJ own)

(N improvement)))))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(MD may)
(BE be)
(ADVP (ADV essentially))
(VAN aided)
(PP (P in)
(NP (PRO$ their)
(NS efforts)
(IP-INF (TO to)
(VB instruct)
(NP-OB1 (PRO+N themselves)))))
(. .))
(ID BROUGHAM2-1825-2,1.12))

Table 6.21 below shows the occurrences of the prototypical subordinators *though* and *although* in combination with the pleonastic *that*.

	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME1 (1500-1569)	EME2 (1570-1639)	EME3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769)	LME 2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)
though	14/20 (70)	-	3/48 (6.25)	1/21 (4.76)	-	-	-	-	-	-
although	-	-	4/10 (40)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 6.21: Occurrences of *though* and *although* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* in combination with the pleonastic *that* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

Remarkably, all the examples of the combination of the prototypical concessive subordinators *though* and *although* with the pleonastic *that* date from the ME period. In the case of *though*, the frequency of this feature drops dramatically from 70% in ME1 (1150-1249) to 4.76% in the last subperiod of ME (1420-1499). Concerning *although*, only four instances of pleonastic *that* are found in ME3 (1350-1419), representing 40% of the total of examples in this subperiod. The corpus does not yield instances of this feature with

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these subordinators in EModE and LModE. By contrast, pleonastic *that* occurs with ephemeral subordinators in post-medieval times (cf. Section 6.3.1).

Examples (6.130) and (6.131)[112] illustrate the use of the non-ephemeral concessive subordinators *though* and *although* in combination with the pleonastic *that*.

(6.130) ((IP-MAT-SPE (CONJ And)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C **that**)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (NPR Salomon))
(VBP seith)
(CP-THT-SPE (C that)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(NEG ne)
(VBD foond)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV nevere))
(NP-OB1 (N womman)
(ADJP (ADJ good))))))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(VBP folweth)
(NEG nat)
(PP (ADV+P therfore))
(CP-THT-SPE (C that)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (Q alle) (NS wommen))
(BEP ben)
(ADJP (ADJ wikke)))) (. .))
(ID CMCTMELI,220.C2.137))

(6.131) (PP (P **although**)
(CP-ADV (C **that**)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (D a) (N man))
(VBP love)
(NP-OB1 (PRO it))
(NP-MSR (QR lasse)
(PP (P than)
(NP (NPR God)))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(BEP is)

[112] The object pronoun *it* in the subordinate clause [Although that a man love it lasse then God] refers to a thing that is not filled with God or done principally for God's sake.

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(NP-SBJ-RSP (PRO it))
(NP-OB1 (ADJ venial) (N synne)))

The use of correlatives in concessive constructions with the prototypical subordinators in my data is more common than the use of the pleonastic *that*, as shown in Table 6.22 and Figure 6.19 below.

	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME1 (1500-1569)	EME2 (1570-1639)	EME3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769)	LME 2 (1770-1839)	LME3 (1840-1914)
though	-	-	3/48 (6.25)	1/21 (4.76)	7/63 (11.11)	4/51 (7.84)	20/118 (16.95)	14/106 (9.43)	17/126 (0.93)	3/126 (2.38)
although	-	-	6/10 (60)	6/11 (54.54)	9/31 (29.03)	6/48 (12.5)	11/26 (42.31)	6/29 (20.69)	12/53 (22.64)	6/67 (8.96)

Table 6.22: Occurrences of a correlative element in concessive constructions in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

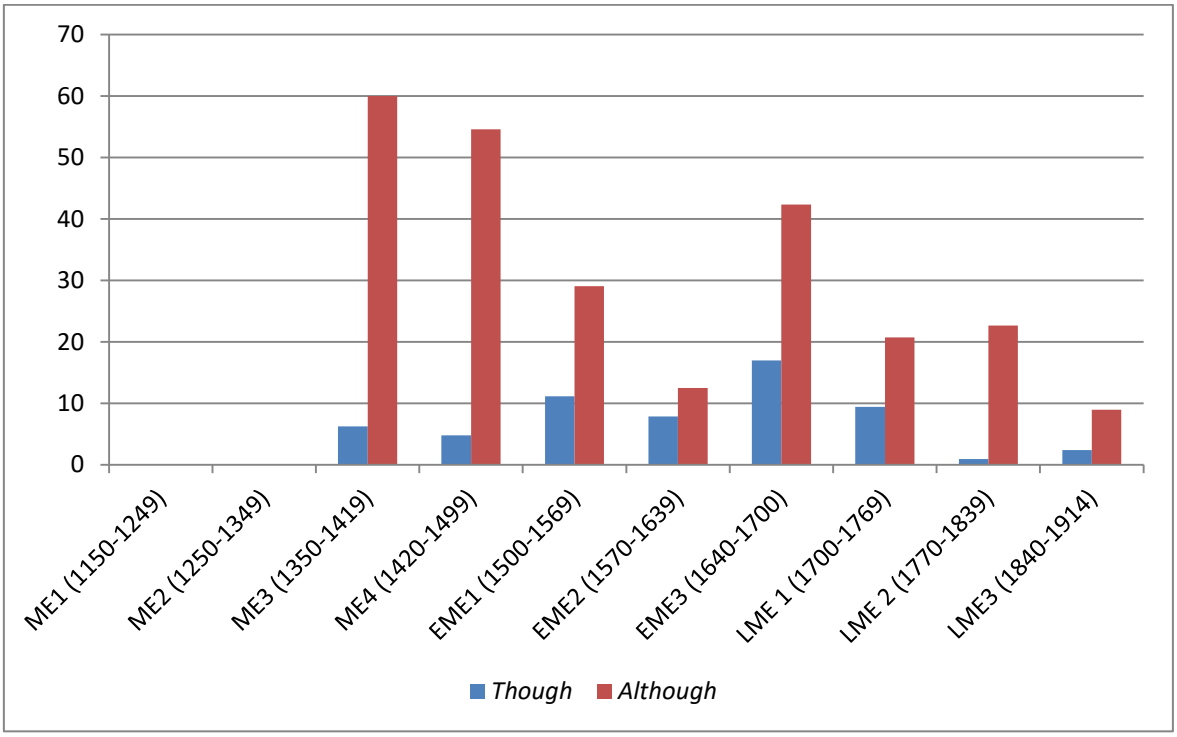

Figure 6.19: Correlatives in concessive constructions with the prototypical subordinators *though* and *although* in a random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Percentages)

As shown here, the use of correlatives is common with the adverbial subordinator *although*, with a frequency between 60% in M3 (1350-1419) and 8.96% in the last

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subperiod of LME (1840-1914). In the case of *though*, the reinforcement of the concessive relationship by means of correlative elements is less frequent if compared with that of *although*, ranging from 16.95% in EME3 (1640-1700) to 0.93% in LME2 (1770-1839). The most common correlatives attested with both concessive subordinators are *yet* and *therefore*, *yet* being the most common with both *though* (54/69; 78.26%) and *although* (50/62; 80.64%). In the case of *although*, *algates* was also attested. One of the possible reasons for this difference between the two prototypical subordinators is that *although*, being a later development in the language, required a correlative to a greater extent than *though* to clearly mark the concessive relationship. In fact, scholars such as Sweet (1898:147), Nagucka (1968: 84), Lehmann (1988: 204-206) and Molencki (1997a: 360) describe the presence and function of a correlative element in such context as a way to "interlace the *actants* of the main and subordinate clauses" which, in the case of concession, a rather difficult notion to process, seems to be vital. Chen (2000: 105-106) considers that the correlatives *yet* and *nevertheless* help to affirm the factuality of the consequent situation. My results are in line with the statements in the literature, given that correlation is more recurrent with concessive adverbial clauses than with prototypical causal and conditional clauses (cf. Table 6.7 in Section 6.1.4 for causal *because* and Table 6.14 in Section 6.2.4 for conditional *if*). Among the two prototypical concessive subordinators, *although* more frequently appears with a correlative element. As discussed in Section 6.3.1, correlative elements were also common with ephemeral concessive subordinators, which reinforces the idea that the semantic relation of concession requires markers that make this relation more explicit and clear. Examples (6.132) and (6.133) illustrate concessive constructions headed by *although* and *though*, respectively, and featuring the correlatives *yet* and *nonetheless* in the main clause. Example (6.134) shows, in turn, an instance of a concessive clause introduced by *though* with the correlative element *therefore* in the main clause.

(6.132) ((IP-MAT (PP (P **Al-though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (NPR Seint) (NPR Benet))
(PP (P in)
(NP (PRO$ his) (N reule)))
(VBD ordeyned)

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(PP (P to)
(NP (NS monkes)))
(NP-OB1 (NP (D a)
(ADJ certeyn)
(N weight)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N brede))))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(NP (D a)
(ADJ certeyn)
(N mesure)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N drynke))))))
(PP (P in)
(NP (D the) (N day))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV **yit**) (ADV **natheles**))
(PP (P to)
(NP (ADJP (ADJP (ADJ yonge))
(CONJP *ICH*-1))
(N folke)
(CONJP-1 (CONJ and)
(ADJP (ADJ mighty)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N complexion)))))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(BEP is)
(NP-MSR (Q+N alday))
(VAN denyed)
(. ;))
(ID CMAELR4,8.206))

(6.133) ((IP-MAT-SPE (CONJ And)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ-1 *exp*)
(ADVP (ADV so))
(BEP be)
(CP-THT-SPE-1 (C that)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO$ youre)
(N kynrede))
(BEP be)
(ADJP (QR moore)
(ADJR siker)

(CONJP (CONJ and)
(ADJX (ADJ stedefast)
(PP (P than)
(NP (D the)
(N kyn)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO$ youre) (N adversarie)))))))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(ADVP (ADV **nathelees**))
(NP-SBJ (PRO$ youre)

(N kynrede))
(NEG+BEP nys)

(NP-OB1 (FP but) (D a)
(ADJ fer) (N kynrede)) (. ;))

(ID CMCTMELI,228.C2.443))

(6.134) ((IP-MAT (PP (ADV+P **Therefore**))
(NP-SBJ (Q euerie) (N Vsurer))
(MD will)
(VB defend)
(NP-OB1 (N Vsurie))
(PP (P with)
(NP (PRO$ his) (N tung))) (, ,)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO he))
(VBP condemne)
(NP-OB1 (PRO it))
(PP (P with)
(NP (PRO$ his) (N conscience)))))) (. .))
(ID SMITH-E2-P2,C7V.104))

The position of the subordinate clauses headed by *though* and *although* in relation to their main clauses in the sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* is shown in Table 6.23 and Table 6.24 below, respectively, and graphically represented in Figure 6.20 and Figure 6.21 below.

Subperiod	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
ME1 (1150-1249)	8	-	12	20
ME2 (1250-1349)	5	-	6	11
ME3 (1350-1419)	32	-	16	48
ME4 (1420-1499)	14	-	7	21
EME1 (1500-1569)	22	4	37	63
EME2 (1570-1639)	21	2	28	51
EME3 (1640-1700)	40	3	75	118
LME 1 (1700-1769)	41	7	58	106
LME 2 (1770-1839)	71	9	46	126
LME3 (1840-1914)	42	13	71	126
Total	296 (42.90)	38 (5.51)	356 (51.6)	690 (100)

Table 6.23: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *though* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

Subperiod	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
ME1 (1150-1249)	-	-	-	-
ME2 (1250-1349)	-	-	-	-
ME3 (1350-1419)	7	1	2	10
ME4 (1420-1499)	6	2	3	11
EME1 (1500-1569)	10	2	19	31
EME2 (1570-1639)	12	1	35	48
EME3 (1640-1700)	20	2	4	26
LME 1 (1700-1769)	13	3	13	29
LME 2 (1770-1839)	34	1	18	53
LME3 (1840-1914)	34	4	29	67
Total	136 (49.45)	16 (5.82)	123 (44.73)	275 (100)

Table 6.24: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *although* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures; percentages in brackets)

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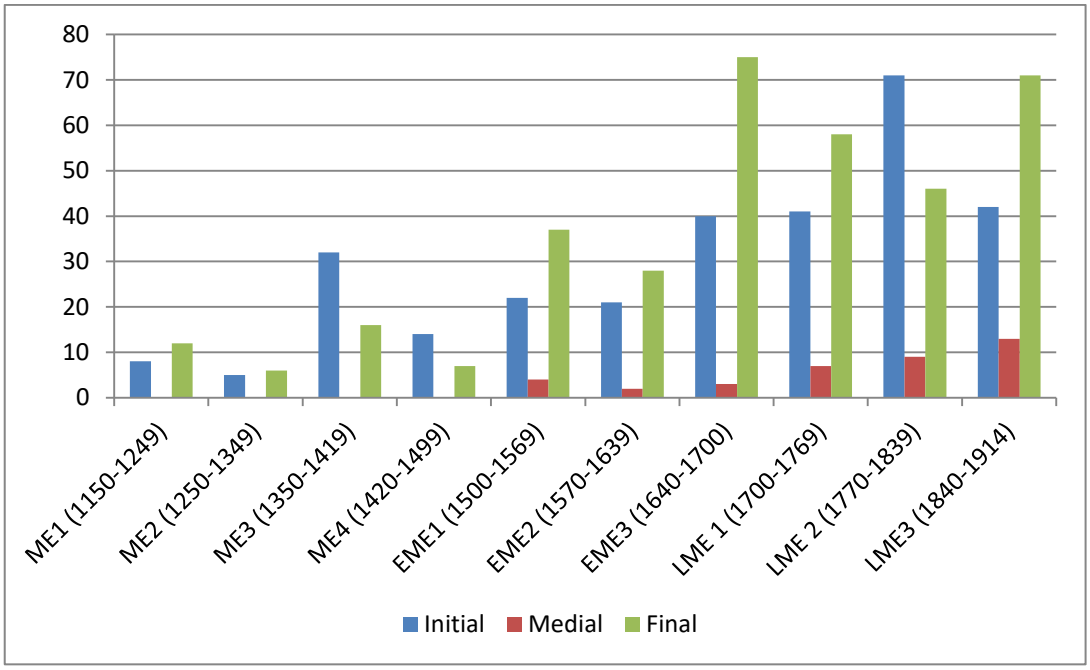

Figure 6.20: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *though* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures)

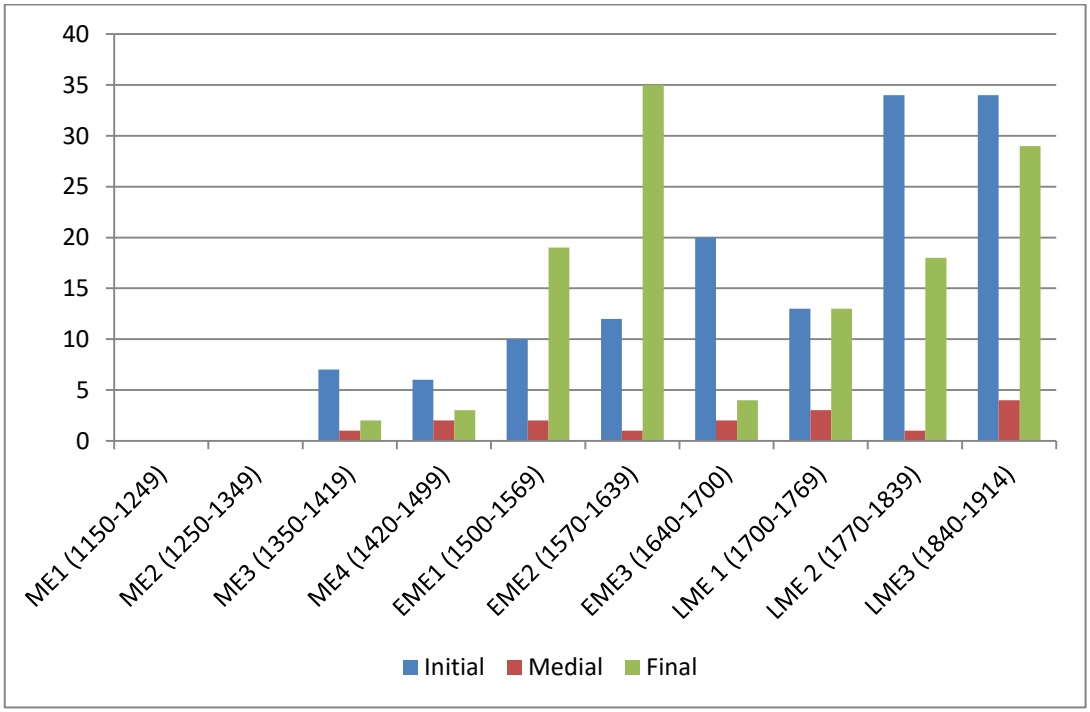

Figure 6.21: Position of adverbial clauses introduced by *although* in a representative random sample from the *Penn Helsinki Corpora* (Absolute figures)

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My data shows whereas *though*-adverbial clauses are commonly found in final position, *although*-clauses tend to be more frequently placed in initial position.[113] It is only in the first two subperiods of EModE that they are more common in final position. Medial position is scarcely attested in the data for both subordinators (5.51% for *though* and 5.82% for *although*). In the case of the ephemeral subordinators (cf. Section 6.3.2), final position was the most common option with the exception of *albeit*, which is more commonly found in initial position, as is the case with *although*.

Examples (6.135) – (6.137) illustrate the three positions for clauses introduced by the prototypical concessive subordinator *though*, while examples (6.138) – (6.140) are instances of the three possible positional options for *although*.

(6.135) (PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO she))
(HVD had)
(NP-OB1 (Q some)
(NS decays)
(PP (P in)
(NP (PRO$ her) (N face)))))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO she))
(HVD had)
(NP-OB1 (Q none)
(PP (P in)
(NP (PRO$ her)
(N sense)
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(NX (N wit))))))
(. ;))
(ID BEHN-E3-P1,165.162))

(6.136) (NP-SBJ (N intemperance))
(, ,)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO it))

[113] Biber et al. (1999: 834) mention that finite clauses of concession in their data appear mostly in final position.

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(MD may)
(VB fire)
(NP-OB1 (D the) (NS spirits))
(PP (P for)
(NP (D an) (N hour))))))
(, ,)
(MD will)
(VB make)
(IP-SMC-SPE (NP-SBJ (N life))
(ADJP (ADJ short) (CONJ or) (ADJ miserable)))
(. .))
(ID JOHNSON-1759-2,1,92.135)

(6.137) ((IP-MAT (NP-SBJ (PRO$ his)
(N conduct)
(ADVP (ADV here)))
(HVP has)
(BEN been)
(ADJP (ADJ irreproachable))
(, ,)
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (NP (Q many) (NS temptations))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(NP (Q many) (NS snares))))
(BED were)
(VAN laid)
(PP (P in)
(NP (PRO$ his) (N way))))))
(. .))
(ID ST-JOHN-1711-2,2,18.22))

(6.138) (IP-SUB (PP (P **although**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-OB1 *T*-1)
(NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(VBD vnderstood)
(NEG not))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV **yet**))
(NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(VBD perceiued)
(CP-THT (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ-RSP=1 (PRO he))
(BED was)
(NP-OB1 (D a) (ADJ good) (ADJ Diuine))))))

(, ,)
(CP-REL (WNP-2 (WPRO who))
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ *T*-2)
(ADVP (ADV grauely) (CONJ and) (ADV sincerely))
(PP (P with)
(NP (NP (N reuerence))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(NP (ADJ eloquent) (N Ellocution)))))
(, ,)
(VBD deliuered)
(NP-OB1 (D the)
(N bread)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N life))))
(PP (P to)
(NP (D the) (VAG vnderstanding) (NS Auditors)))))))))))))
(. .))
(ID JOTAYLOR-E2-P1,3,87.C2.358))

(6.139) (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (N part)
(PP (P of)
(NP (D the) (N marble))))
(, ,)
(PP (P **although**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(HVP has)
(VBN taken)
(NP-OB1 (D the)
(N shape)
(PP (P of)
(NP (N air))))))) (, ,)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV still))
(VBP gravitates)
(PP (P as)
(CP-ADV (WADVP-1 0)
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (ADVP *T*-1)
(NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(DOD did)
(VB *)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV before))))))) (. .))

(ID FARADAY-1859-1,17.170))

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(6.140) (NP-SBJ (N purveaunce))
(VBP enbraceth)
(NP-OB1 (Q alle) (NS thinges))
(ADVP (ADV to-hepe))
(, ,)
(PP (PP (P **althoghe**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C that)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO thei))
(BEP ben)
(ADJP (ADJ diverse)))))
(CONJP (CONJ and)
(PP (P **although**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO thei))
(BEP ben)
(ADJP (ADJ infinit)))))))
(. .))
(ID CMBOETH,451.C2.468))

Finally, the text-type distribution of the clauses introduced by the prototypical subordinators *though* and *although* in my corpus data is shown in Figure 6.22 below:

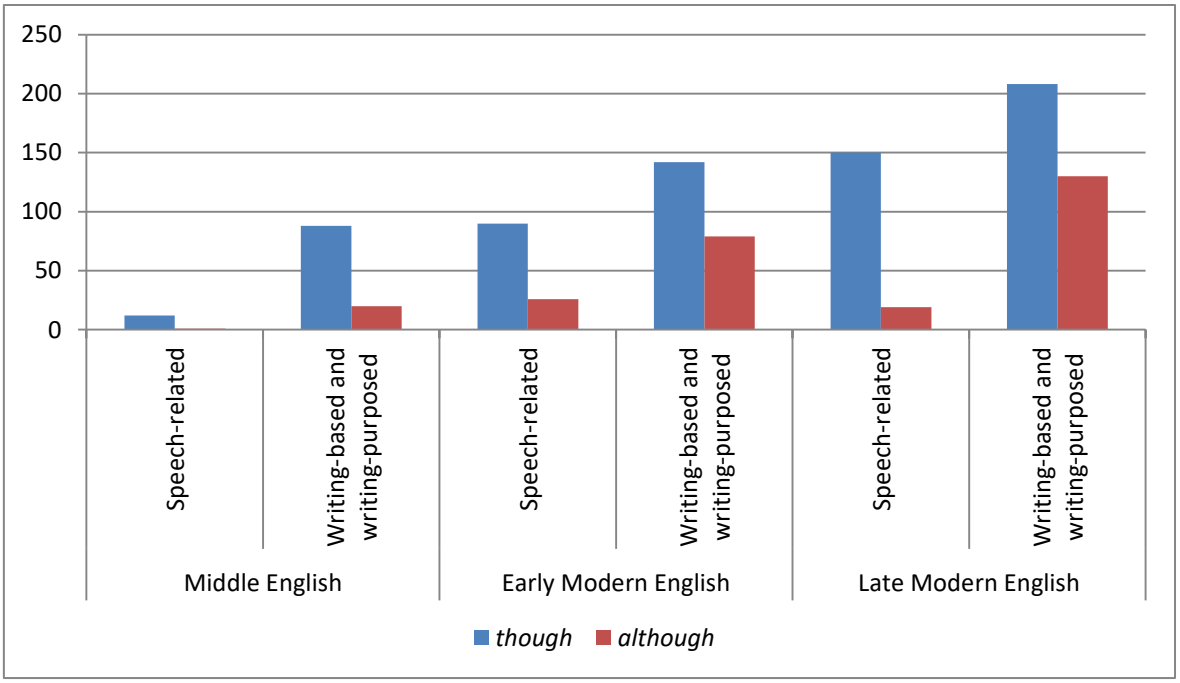

Figure 6.22: Distribution of the clauses introduced by the concessive prototypical subordinators *though* and *although* per period and register (Absolute figures)

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As shown here, there is a clear tendency for the prototypical concessive subordinators *though* and *although* to appear in writing-based and writing-purposed texts in the three main historical periods considered in this dissertation. Furthermore, if we compare the figures for each of the subordinators in speech-related texts, we see that there is a preference for *though* at the expense of *although*. This finding is in line with that found for PDE by Biber et al. (1999: 845-846), who point out that *although* and *though* occur in all the four registers examined by them (conversation, fiction, news and academic writing) and that while in news the distribution of the two concessive subordinators is similar, in academic prose *although* is three times as frequent as *though*. In turn, conversation and fiction show a slightly higher use of *though*. Among the written-based and written-purposed texts in my data, *though* is more common in philosophy and historical texts.[114] See examples (1.141) and (1.142) as illustrations of philosophical and historical texts, respectively.

(1.141) (IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO it))
(MD myghte)
(ADVP (ADV greetly))
(VB harme)
(NP-OB1 (PRO me))
(PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(VBD tooke)
(NP-OB1 (N vengeaunce)))))) (. .))
(ID CMCTMELI,232.C2.597))

(1.142) (PP (P **though**)
(CP-ADV-SPE (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(VBD threatened)
(PP (P at)
(ADVP (ADV first)))
(IP-INF-SPE (TO to)
(VB (VB bully) (CONJ and) (VB coerce))

[114] In Moskowich and Monaco's (2016) study on women's writing in the 18th and 19th centuries, *though* is more frequently used than *although*. As regards text-type, *though* and *although* are said to abound in philosophy texts, particularly *though*.

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(NP-OB1 (NPR Ireland))))))
(, ,)
(NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(HVP have)
(NP-OB1 (D the)
(ADJ subsequent)
(N testimony)
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO$ their) (ADJ own) (NS mouths)))
(CP-THT-SPE (C that)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-SBJ (PRO they))
(HVD had)
(NEG not)
(NP-OB1 (D the)
(N power)
(IP-INF-SPE (TO to)
(VB carry)
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ their)
(ADJP (ADJ illegal) (CONJ and) (ADJ unconstitutional))
(NS threats))
(PP (P into)
(NP (N execution))))))))
(. .))
(ID OCONNELL-1844-2,185.924))

Similarly to *though*, *although* also commonly occurs in philosophical texts; see example (1.143) as an illustration.

(1.143) (PP (P **Althoughe**)
(CP-ADV (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(DOP do)
(VB coniecture)
(CODE <P_92>)
(CP-QUE (WNP-1 (WPRO what))
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (NP-OB1 *T*-1)
(NP-SBJ (PRO thou))
(MD wouldeste)
(VB saye))))))
(, ,)
(ADVP (ADV yet))
(NP-SBJ (PRO I))
(VBP desyre)
(IP-INF (TO to)

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(VB heare)
(NP-OB1 (PRO it))
(ADVP (QR moore) (ADV fullye))
(PP (P of)
(NP (PRO the))))
(. .))
(ID BOETHCO-E1-P2,92.339))

In conclusion, as happened with the set of ephemeral concessive subordinators under consideration, the prototypical concessive subordinators *though* and *although* are more commonly attested in the written mode of expression, except for *howsoever*, which more frequently occurs in speech-related texts, and *howbeit* in the ME period, which invariably appears in speech-related texts.

To sum up, my data shows that the prototypical concessive subordinators *though* and *although* and the set of ephemeral concessive subordinators under analysis display a similar behaviour regarding the variables studied in this dissertation (combination with pleonastic *that*, position of the subordinate clause and distribution across registers). The three major differences concern (i) the use of pleonastic *that*, which is overall more recurrent with the ephemeral concessive subordinators than with *although* and *though*, whereas correlative elements in the main clause are more frequent with the prototypical concessive subordinators; and (ii) concessive clauses headed by *though* and by most of the ephemeral concessive subordinators show a preference for final position in the sentence. In turn, the ephemeral concessive subordinator *albeit* more frequently appears in initial position, just as the prototypical subordinator *although*.

6.4 Comparing CCC relations

This section aims at contrasting the findings provided in the previous sections devoted to each of the adverbial relations individually, i.e. Section 6.1 for causal subordinators, Section 6.2 for conditional connectives and Section 6.3 for concessive subordinators.

As regards the sets of ephemeral subordinators, judging from the data in my corpus, the figures for the three sets of adverbial subordinators differ greatly. Ephemeral

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conditional subordinators are scarcely attested; the highest normalized frequency per 1,000,000 words is 3.87 for *if so be that*. Conditionals are followed by causals, where the highest normalized frequency corresponds to the connective *for as much as* (12.14). In turn, ephemeral concessive subordinators are more abundant, two of them showing normalized frequencies above 10, namely *notwithstanding* (12.27) and *albeit* (20.07).

Another observation which can be made when comparing the three sets of ephemeral subordinators is that all their members are composite in nature and complex in formation. However, their degree of grammaticalization differs. Generally speaking, it is in the concessive set where the connectives show a higher degree of grammaticalization, as proved by the fact that most of the forms are univerbated. By contrast, in the conditional set, none of the forms is univerbated.

My analysis corroborates Kortmann's (1997: 335) statement that EModE is the period at which the majority of CCC ephemeral subordinators coexist. However, a large number of them had already originated in the ME period, a stage which Rissanen (2015: 101) describes as a time when "new and more varied ways of indicating relations between items and propositions were needed; French and Latin offered good models for the creation and adoption of linking elements."

As mentioned in the different sections on pleonastic *that* (cf. Section 6.1.1, Section 6.2.1 and Section 6.3.1), the main finding from my analysis is that pleonastic *that* starts to occur earlier than the EModE period. Furthermore, pleonastic *that* is more common among CCC ephemeral subordinators than among prototypical CCC subordinators and when attested with the prototypical connectives, the instances date from the earlier periods analysed. Moreover, correlative elements have been found to be particularly frequent in the domain of concession, both with prototypical and with ephemeral subordinators, probably because this relation is more difficult to process than those of cause and of condition.

Regarding the position of CCC adverbial clauses in relation to their main clauses, both with ephemeral and with non-ephemeral subordinators, we observe that medial position is a disfavoured choice. Furthermore, causal clauses are commonly placed in final

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position and conditional clauses are generally placed in initial position. Concessive clauses, in turn, do not show a uniform pattern, since final position is frequently attested with the subordinator *though* and the majority of ephemeral subordinators, whereas the prototypical *although* and the ephemeral *albeit* favour initial position.

The analysis of the distribution across text-types of the clauses introduced by prototypical and ephemeral CCC adverbial subordinators has shown that writing-based and writing-purposed texts are more prone to contain CCC adverbial relations than speech-related texts. However, some exceptions are found to this tendency across time; for example, *howbeit* in the ME period and *howsoever* more frequently occur in speech-related texts.

All in all, the notion of ephemerality in adverbial subordinators is better represented in my data in the domain of conditional subordinators. Here the newcomers to the set are characterized for being highly infrequent, whereas in the domains of concession and causality, ephemeral subordinators overall show a longer diachrony, despite their low frequency. Additionally, it is remarkable that in the domain of concession, two concessive subordinators, namely *notwithstanding* and *albeit*, enjoy something of a revival in PDE.

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7. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This doctoral dissertation has offered a comprehensive diachronic corpus-based analysis of a set of so-called ephemeral adverbial subordinators belonging to three semantic domains, namely causality, condition and concession, in the Late ME and EModE periods. It was precisely at this time in the history of English when a large number of adverbial conjunctions originated, some of which were used for the first (and, in several cases, last) time as adverbial subordinators. These are referred to as 'ephemeral subordinators', the focus of this dissertation. In what follows I provide a summary of the different chapters of the dissertation together with the main conclusions that can be drawn from the corpus-based analysis and some suggestions for further research.

In Chapter 1, I have introduced the aims and the scope of the dissertation. In this chapter I have also formulated the research questions to be answered with the corpus-based study presented in Chapter 6. The chapter concludes by offering a brief overview of the structure of the thesis, divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the literature review of adverbial clauses and adverbial subordinators in PDE. The chapter is organized into five main parts. Section 2.1 introduces the two major devices to link clauses, i.e. coordination and subordination, whereas Section 2.2 examines in greater detail subordination and subordinating conjunctions. In turn, Section 2.3 focuses on adverbial subordination, which is the main concern of the present piece of research, paying attention to the semantics and syntax of subordinate adverbial clauses. Section 2.4 is devoted to adverbial subordinators, a category difficult to define due to its heterogeneous nature. In this section I discuss the criteria for subordinator status,

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taken mainly from Kortmann (1997: 71-77), and I outline the main semantic categories of adverbial subordinators, following Quirk et al.'s (1985) taxonomy. This chapter closes with a section which deals with the three adverbial relations covered in this dissertation, namely causals, conditionals and concessives, which are commonly grouped together as a set and known as CCC relations. Section 2.5.1 presents causal clauses, Section 2.5.2 is devoted to conditional clauses and Section 2.5.3 is concerned with concessive clauses. The three subsections show a parallel structure: I offer a definition of the type of clause at issue, followed by a catalogue of subordinators which introduce those clauses in PDE, taking the major descriptive grammars of English (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002) as a starting point.

Chapter 3 provides a historical overview of adverbial subordination and of the adverbial subordinators for the three selected domains (cause, condition and concession) in ME and ModE. This diachronic outline contributes to a better understanding of the phenomenon of ephemerality in adverbial subordinators, the main aim of this dissertation. The chapter is divided into five main sections. Section 3.1 offers some preliminary notes on adverbial subordination, a device to link clauses which came to be widely used after the ME period. It was also at that period when we witness a specialization of the markers of subordination. The tendency towards the increased use of hypotactic constructions witnessed in ME continued in EModE and gained greater force. Section 3.2, in turn, is devoted to the inventory of adverbial subordinators in the history of the English language. The chapter discusses how the number of subordinators in the causal, conditional and concessive domains has changed over time, with special emphasis on Late ME and ModE. The remaining sections of this chapter (Section 3.3, Section 3.4 and Section 3.5) deal with the diachronic development of the three types of adverbial clauses under study in this dissertation and their respective subordinators.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the presentation of the corpora analysed and the methodology employed. It is divided into four different parts: Section 4.1 describes the research framework, a usage-based one. In turn, Section 4.2 reports on the sources of evidence: dictionaries (OED and MED) and corpora. This dissertation makes use of the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*, which comprises the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of*

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Middle English, second edition (PPCME2), the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME*) and the *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, second edition (PPCMBE)*. Section 4.3 deals with the computer tools used to retrieve the data, namely WorthSmith 6.0 (Section 4.3.1), and with the process of extracting the data, since both tagged and txt versions of the corpora have been used. The last part of this chapter, Section 4.4, summarizes the variables of analysis and describes the database.

Chapter 5 duly examines the notion of ephemerality in the domain of adverbial subordination. Section 5.1 defines the concept of ephemerality, in particular in the domains of the CCC relations. Section 5.2 accounts for the catalogue of ephemeral subordinators in the aforementioned relations, taking as reference Kortmann's (1997) monograph, the *Cambridge History of the English Language*, Görlach (1993) and Visser (1963-1973). From the inventory of the three relations, the selection of the relevant ephemeral adverbial subordinators has followed the following criteria: (i) The subordinator is only attested in EModE; (ii) The subordinator is attested in both EModE and ME; (iii) The subordinator is attested in both EModE and PDE but it is characterized for being archaic or obsolete or for not having a CCC meaning as its primary one. For this, the information given in the PDE reference grammars has also been considered. The selected subordinators are given in Table 5.6, repeated here for convenience:

Adverbial relation	Selected subordinators
Causal	*for as much as* *for because* *for why* *in so much as* *in as much as* *sin* *sithen*
Conditional	*be it so* *conditioned that* *foreseen* *if case be* *if so be* *when if*
Concessive	*albeit* *howbeit* *howsoever* *howsomever* *how so* *how well* *notwithstanding*

Table 5.6: CCC ephemeral adverbial subordinators selected for the corpus-based analysis

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The last part of Chapter 5 presents an individual description of each of the selected subordinators, taking into account their etymology, their functions and the first and last attestations recorded in the OED and in the MED.

The results of the corpus-based study are presented in Chapter 6. This chapter has a mirroring structure for the three semantic adverbial relations. For each relation, causal (Section 6.1), conditional (Section 6.2) and concessive (Section 6.3), and taking into account the variables presented in Section 4.3, the following information is provided: (i) their diachronic evolution; (ii) the combination of the subordinators under analysis with the pleonastic *that* and with correlative elements; (iii) the position of the adverbial clause with respect to the main clause; (iv) the preferred text-types; and (v) a comparison between the ephemeral subordinators and the non-ephemeral ones.

Section 6.1 focuses on causal subordinators. The data form the corpus reveals that the causal subordinators at issue (*for as much as, for because, for why, in so much as, in as much as*, *sin*, and *sithen*) have a low frequency of occurrence, their normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words ranging from 1.93 in the case of *for why* to 12.14 for the connective *for as much as*. The periods when most of these connectives originate are LME (1350-1499) and the first subperiod of EModE (1500-1569). In LModE, only three causal subordinators of the set under study are still represented in the corpus, namely *for as much as, in as much as* e *in so much as*, though their use is rare and marked. As regards the pleonastic *that*, ephemeral causal subordinators are not prone to appear with this marker and the examples found frequently correspond to the first attestations of the corresponding subordinator. The connective which more commonly appears in this combination is *for because*. As regards the use of correlative elements in the main clause, *yet* and *therefore* are the most frequent choices. Concerning the position occupied by the sub-clause in relation to the main clause (Section 6.1.2), there is a marked tendency for final position (55.25%), followed by initial position (43.19%) and medial position, which occurs only marginally (1.56%). Regarding text-type (Section 6.1.3), ephemeral causal subordinators are significantly more common in written texts than in oral ones. Finally, as regards the comparison between the prototypical causal subordinator *because* and the ephemeral ones, the data reveals that they behave similarly. The main findings are: (i) pleonastic *that* is

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overall more recurrently used with the ephemeral causal subordinators than with *because* and (ii) the stronger preference of clauses introduced by *because* to occur in final position (69.57%), although this is the preferred choice as well for causal clauses headed by ephemeral subordinators.

Ephemeral conditional connectives are the focus of Section 6.2. The selected conditional subordinators (*be it so, conditioned, foreseen, if case be, if so be, when if*) have a similar form: (i) all of them are multi-word and complex elements; (ii) the prototypical conditional subordinator *if* frequently appears in the formation of the subordinator, either in initial position (e.g. *if so be*) or in final (e.g. *when if*); and (iii) ephemeral conditional subordinators are typically non-univerbated forms. The new conditional subordinators have an extremely low frequency, if they are attested at all in the corpus; in fact, only three of the selected subordinators (*be it so, if so be that* and *when if*) occur in my data. One possible reason for this is the strong position of *if*, the canonical conditional subordinator, which has always been well rooted in the language. The pleonastic *that* is frequently appended to ephemeral conditional subordinators (except for *when if*) and correlative elements are used in the main clause (cf. Section 6.2.2). Both features have proved to be characteristic of this set of subordinators, probably because additional markers are needed to indicate in a straightforward way their belonging to the subordinator category. Regarding clause position (cf. Section 6.2.3), ephemeral conditional subordinators favour initial position (70.07%) and medial position is not attested in my data with these connectives. Similarly to ephemeral causal subordinators, conditional ones recurrently appear in written texts. Furthermore, it has been found that *if so be that* commonly appears in philosophical texts written by Geoffrey Chaucer. When comparing the prototypical conditional conjunction *if* with the ephemeral subordinators, the main findings are: (i) the prototypical connective does not frequently appear with pleonastic *that* or with a correlative in the main clause; (ii) medial position is possible for *if*-clauses; and (iii) although *if* also is more prone to appear in written texts, it also occurs in oral texts, particularly in sermons and trial proceedings.

Section 6.3 provides the analysis of concessive clauses. As regards the diachrony of the selected forms (*albeit, howbeit, howsoever, howsomever, how so, how well,*

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notwithstanding), none of them appears before the second half of ME and it is in the first subperiod of EModE (1500-1569) when all these ephemeral subordinators are represented in the corpus. In contrast to what happened in the other two relations examined in my dissertation, there are two subordinators, namely *albeit* and *notwithstanding*, which show a sort of revival in PDE. The pleonastic *that* is not a recurrent feature among ephemeral concessive connectives, only three of them (*albeit*, *howbeit* and *notwithstanding*) appearing with this marker. Additionally, correlative elements in the main clause are not frequent either in concessive constructions. Moreover, final position is the preferred position for subordinate clauses introduced by the ephemeral concessive subordinators at issue. Only *albeit* does not follow this tendency, 76.3% of the relevant examples occurring in initial position. As was the case for causal and conditional subordinators, written texts are more prone to contain concessive clauses introduced by my ephemeral concessive subordinators. However, *albeit* also appears in oral texts. From the comparison of the ephemeral connectives with the prototypical concessive subordinators *although* and *though*, we can draw the following conclusions: (i) the use of pleonastic *that* is overall more recurrent with the ephemeral subordinators than with *although* and *though*, whereas correlative elements in the main clause are more frequent with the prototypical conjunctions; and (ii) concessive clauses headed by *though* and by most of the ephemeral subordinators show a preference for final position in the sentence. In turn, the ephemeral subordinator *albeit* more frequently appears in initial position, just as the prototypical *although*.

Finally, to conclude Chapter 6, the three CCC relations are contrasted and the research questions formulated in Chapter 1 are answered. In what follows I summarize the main findings:

1. The frequency of the ephemeral forms under study in this dissertation differs greatly. Conditional subordinators are scarcely represented in the corpus material (for example, the normalized frequency for 1,000,000 words for *if so be that* is 3.87). In the causal domain, by contrast, we find much higher normalized frequencies, for instance, 12.14 for the subordinator *for as much as*. In turn, ephemeral concessive subordinators are more abundant and their normalized frequencies are, in some cases, above 10: *notwithstanding* (12.27) and *albeit* (20.07).

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2. The degree of grammaticalization of the various ephemeral connectives analysed in this dissertation also differs. Thus, for instance, among concessive subordinators we find a higher number of univerbated forms than in the other two relations.

3. My study confirms Kortmann's (1997: 35) statement that EModE is the most fruitful period for ephemeral subordinators. In fact, the majority of the forms under study in my dissertation are attested in this period, though a few of them already occur in Late ME.

4. The use of the pleonastic *that* is more frequently found among ephemeral subordinators, especially in the earliest attestations of the forms. As regards correlative elements, my study shows that in the concessive domain correlation is attested with both the prototypical and the ephemeral connectives.

5. As regards clause position, medial position is scarcely attested in the three domains, both with ephemeral and with prototypical subordinators. Causal clauses frequently appear in final position, whereas conditionals tend to appear in initial position. Concessives are characterized for showing a less marked tendency. Thus, whereas *although* and *albeit* favour initial position, the remaining subordinators favour final position.

6. Writing-based and writing-purposed texts contain most of the ephemeral subordinators under study. However, instances of ME *howbeit* and *howsoever* are also found in speech-related text-types.

All in all, this dissertation has confirmed that ephemerality is a trait of causal, conditional and concessive subordinators, although the degree of ephemerality is not the same for the three semantic relations. Thus, conditional subordinators are more ephemeral in nature than causal or concessive ones. The scarcity of data of such ephemeral connectives may not suffice to draw firm conclusions, but it has helped to better define the concept of ephemerality. Other possible lines of research derived from this work include: (i) the study of a bigger corpus in order to obtain a larger amount of data which could allow less tentative conclusions; (ii) the examination of specialized corpora, because it has

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been shown that certain text-types, especially philosophical or religious texts, are more closely related with the occurrence of these ephemeral connectives; and (iii) further analysis of the subordinate clause introduced by ephemeral subordinators, for instance, the modality of the verb phrase. It seems, therefore, that despite their low frequency of occurrence and their transient life, ephemeral adverbial subordinators are part of the linguistic history of English and deserve to be studied in their own right.

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APPENDIX I

Period	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Nº of tokens	404	307	1087	314	1185	1923	1725	2406	2247	3087
Size. Pilot study	51	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Positive	50	28	0.93	29	29	25	28	27	24	25
P	0.98	0.93	0.06	0.96	0.96	0.83	0.93	0.9	0.8	0.83
Q	0.01	0.06	0.36	0.03	0.03	0.16	0.06	0.1	0.2	0.16
Sample size	20	57	65	32	35	143	67	96	165	147

Table 1: Sample size of the conditional subordinator *if*

Period	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Size	404	307	1,087	314	1,185	1,923	1,725	2,406	2,247	3,087
Sample size	51	57	65	32	35	143	67	96	165	147
Positive	50	52	58	31	31	127	65	89	137	116
P	0.98	0.91	0.89	0.96	0.88	0.88	0.97	0.92	0.83	0.78
Q	0.01	0.08	0.10	0.03	0.11	0.11	0.02	0.07	0.16	0.21
Sampling fraction	0.12	0.18	0.05	0.10	0.02	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.04
Estimated variance	0.0003	0.0012	0.0014	0.0009	0.0029	0.0006	0.0004	0.0007	0.0008	0.0011
Sampling error	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
Confidence interval (95%)	0.94	0.84	0.91	0.91	0.78	0.83	0.92	0.87	0.77	0.72
	1.01	0.97	1.02	1.02	0.99	0.93	1.01	0.97	0.88	0.85

Table 2: Estimated variance and sampling error of the sample of *if*

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Period	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Nº of tokens	21	16	79	39	224	286	531	388	685	732
Size. Pilot study	21	16	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Positive	20	11	21	27	24	26	22	20	22	20
P	0.95	0.68	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.86	0.73	0.66	0.73	0.66
Q	0.04	0.31	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.13	0.26	0.33	0.26	0.33
Sample size	15	15	59	28	99	89	154	151	165	185

Table 3: Sample size of the concessive subordinator *though*

Period	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Size	21	16	79	39	224	286	531	388	685	732
Sample size	20	16	59	28	99	89	154	151	165	185
Positive	20	11	48	25	63	51	118	106	126	126
P	0.95	0.68	0.81	0.89	0.63	0.57	0.76	0.70	0.76	0.68
Q	0.04	0.31	0.18	0.10	0.36	0.42	0.23	0.29	0.23	0.31
Sampling fraction	1,00	1.00	0.74	0.71	0.44	0.31	0.29	0.38	0.24	0.25
Estimated variance	0.00	0.00	0.0007	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.0008	0.0009	0.0008	0.0009
Sampling error	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.003	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Confidence interval (95%)	0.95	0.68	0.76	0.83	0.56	0.48	0.70	0.64	0.70	0.62
	0.95	0.68	0.86	0.95	0.70	0.65	0.82	0.75	0.82	0.73

Table 4: Estimated variance and sampling error of the sample of *though*

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Period	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Nº of tokens	-	-	10	11	62	110	46	57	107	153
Size. Pilot study	-	-	10	11	30	30	30	30	30	30
Positive	-	-	10	11	28	27	28	28	25	22
P	-	-	1	1	0.93	0.9	0.93	0.93	0.83	0.73
Q	-	-	0	0	0.06	0.1	0.06	0.06	0.16	0.26
Sample size	-	-	0	0	33	53	28	31	63	90

Table 5: Sample size of the concessive subordinator *although*

Period	ME1	ME2	ME3	ME4	EME1	EME2	EME3	LME1	LME2	LME3
Size	-	-	-	-	62	110	46	57	107	153
Sample size	-	-	-	-	33	53	28	31	63	90
Positive	-	-	-	-	31	48	26	29	53	67
P	-	-	-	-	0.93	0.90	0.92	0.93	0.84	0.74
Q	-	-	-	-	0.06	0.09	0.07	0.06	0.15	0.25
Sampling fraction	-	-	-	-	0.53	0.48	0.60	0.54	0.58	0.58
Estimated variance	-	-	-	-	0.0008	0.0009	0.001	0.0009	0.0009	0.0009
Sampling error	-	-	-	-	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02
Confidence interval (95%)	-	-	-	-	0.88	0.84	0.86	0.87	0.78	0.68
	-	-	-	-	0.99	0.96	0.98	0.99	0.89	0.80

Table 6: Estimated variance and sampling error of the sample of *although*

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APPENDIX II

FOR AS MUCH AS	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible						4 (2.96)		2 (2.71)		2 (2.71)
Diary					2 (0.95)					
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise							1 (0.91)			
Fiction										
Handbook						3 (2.72)		1 (0.52)		
History			29 (14.95)							
Law						4 (3.46)				
Letters, non private						3 (5.08)				
Letters, private										
Medicine						2 (1.75)				
Philosophy							3 (3.58)			2 (3.66)
Religious treatise			6 (1.54)							
Romance										
Science										
Sermon			2 (1.45)							
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings					3 (2.18)					

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FOR BECAUSE	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible						1 (0.74)				
Diary					5 (3.91)					
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise										
Fiction										
Handbook										
History				2 (1.03)						
Law										
Letters, non private										
Letters, private					1 (0.88)					
Medicine					1 (2.45)					
Philosophy						8 (9.45)				
Religious treatise										
Romance				2 (2.94)						
Science					1 (1.29)					
Sermon				12 (8.74))	3 (3.19)					
Travelogue				5 (9.67)						
Trial proceedings										

FOR WHY	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible										
Diary										
Drama comedy					1 (1.08)					
Educational treatise										
Fiction										
Handbook					2 (1.81)					
History										
Law										
Letters, non private										
Letters, private									1 (0.88)	
Medicine										
Philosophy			3(28.08)							
Religious treatise			5 (1.29)							
Romance										
Science										
Sermon										
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings										

IN AS MUCH AS	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography						1 (2.7)			1 (1.54)	
Bible					1 (0.74)					1 (0.68)
Diary									3 (1.42)	
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise										1 (0.51)
Fiction										
Handbook						1 (0.91)				6 (3.14)
History									1 (0.54)	
Law										
Letters, non private									1 (0.99)	
Letters, private										1 (0.5)
Medicine										
Philosophy							2 (3.66)			
Religious treatise				10 (13.29)						
Romance										
Science					2 (1.32)					
Sermon									1 (0.6)	
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings					5 (31.19)					3 (3.53)

IN SO MUCH AS	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography								1 (1.54)		
Bible						1 (0.74)				1 (0.68)
Diary										
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise						3 (2.72))		1 (0.51)		
Fiction							6 (5.51)			
Handbook								1 (0.52)		
History							2 (1.93)	2 (1.08)		
Law										
Letters, non private					1 (0.99)					
Letters, private					4 (3.51)			1 (0.5)		
Medicine										
Philosophy									1 (0.83)	
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science							1 (1.29)			
Sermon							1 (1.06)			
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings								1 (0.49)		

SIN	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography					1 (2.70)					
Bible										
Diary										
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise					4 (3.62)					
Fiction										
Handbook										
History					1 (0.96)					
Law										
Letters, non private					2 (3.39)					
Letters, private					1 (0.88)					
Medicine										
Philosophy					2 (2.38)					
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science										
Sermon										
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings										

SITHEN	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography					3 (8.11)					
Bible			1 (1.53)							
Diary										
Drama comedy						1 (1.08)				
Educational treatise						3 (2.71)				
Fiction										
Handbook						1 (0.91)				
History					1 (0.51)	1 (0.96)				
Law										
Letters, non private						2 (3.39)				
Letters private						9 (7.89)				
Medicine							4 (9.8)			
Philosophy										
Religious treatise			20 (5.14)							
Romance				1 (1.47)						
Science						4 (5.16)				
Sermon						2 (2.13)				
Travelogue			2 (3.87)							
Trial proceedings						1 (0.73)				

BECAUSE	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography					1	1	3		4	5
Bible					12	19		5	9	22
Diary					1	5		3	2	8
Diary private									1	
Drama comedy								2	1	9
Educational treatise					6	7	14	3	5	9
Fiction				5	5	6	2	1		8
Handbook			7		6	5	15	7	2	2
History				24		3	2	2	2	
Law										
Letters, non private					1	2	3			
Letters private					4	1	4	1	4	7
Medicine					3	3			3	1
Philosophy			2			2	12		4	2
Religious treatise			1	1						
Romance				3						
Science					8	8	4	3	2	6
Sermon					2	15	19	1		14
Travelogue			17			6	1	1		6
Trial proceedings					2	7	2	3	5	3

APPENDIX III

BE IT SO	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible										
Diary										
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise										
Fiction										
Handbook										
History										
Law										
Letters, non private										
Medicine										
Philosophy					1 (1.19)					
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science										
Sermon										
Travelogue										1 (0.49)
Trial proceedings										

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IF SO BE	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible										
Diary										
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise						3 (2.72)				
Fiction										
Handbook			1 (2.93)							
History										
Law										
Letters, non private										
Medicine						1 (2.45)				
Philosophy			9 (31.91)							1 (1.83)
Religious treatise			7 (1.80)							
Romance										
Science										
Sermon										
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings										

WHEN IF	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible										
Diary							1 (0.78)			
Drama comedy						1 (1.08)				
Educational treatise										
Fiction										
Handbook										
History										
Law										
Letters, non private							1 (1.69)			
Medicine										
Philosophy										
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science										
Sermon										
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings										

IF	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography					1	1		2	2	2
Bible			11			10		9	6	10
Diary								8	11	13
Drama comedy					7	14	8	5	12	12
Diary									2	6
Educational treatise						10	17	8	15	8
Fiction				5		2	6	1	8	7
Handbook					1	9	10	15	11	10
History			6		2	5	4	1	6	11
Homily	39									
Law					3	3			2	2
Letters, non private						3	1	3	6	3
Letters, private					16	8	4	8	8	
Medicine									3	3
Philosophy						13			12	12
Religious treatise	12	52	11							
Romance				27						
Science					1	3		4	6	9
Sermon			15			17	7	7	17	7
Travelogue			15			3		7	1	2
Trial proceedings						26	8	17	8	6

APPENDIX IV

ALBEIT	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography						8 (21.63)				
Bible										
Diary						2 (1.56)				
Drama comedy					1 (1.08)					
Educational treatise					1 (0.90)					
Fiction						2 (1.84)				
Handbook			2 (5.86)							1 (0.52)
History						26 (25.05)		1 (0.53)		
Law						4 (3.46)				
Letters, non private						8 (13.55)				
Letters, private						7 (6.14)				
Medicine										
Philosophy			15 (53.19)			2 (2.39)				
Religious treatise			12 (3.09)							
Romance										
Science										
Sermon				3 (2.18)	5 (5.32)					
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings					4 (2.91)					

HOWBEIT	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible						11 (8.16)				8 (5.42)
Diary										
Drama comedy						2 (2.16)				
Educational treatise										
Fiction				1 (11.36)	2 (1.84)					
Handbook					4 (3.63)					
History					3 (2.89)					
Law										
Letters, non private					4 (6.77)					
Letters, private					4 (3.51)					
Medicine					8 (19.60)					
Philosophy										
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science					1 (1.29)					
Sermon				2 (1.46)						
Travelogue					1 (0.81)					
Trial proceedings										

HOWSOEVER	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography						1 (1.14)				
Bible										
Diary										
Drama comedy						1 (1.08)				
Educational treatise										
Fiction										
Handbook										
History										
Law										
Letters, non private						1 (1.69)				
Letters, private							2 (1.75)			
Medicine										
Philosophy										
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science										
Sermon						1 (1.06)				
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings						5 (3.64)				

HOW WELL	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography										
Bible										
Diary										
Drama comedy										
Educational treatise										
Fiction										
Handbook										
History										
Law										
Letters, non private										
Medicine										
Philosophy		1 (3.54)								
Religious treatise										
Romance										
Science										
Sermon										
Travelogue										
Trial proceedings										

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NOTWITHSTANDING	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography					2 (2.27)				5 (3)	
Bible					3 (2.23)			1 (0.47)		
Diary										
Drama comedy						1 (1.08)			1 (0.49)	
Educational treatise								2 (1.03)		
Fiction						5 (4.59)		2 (0.99)		
Handbook								2 (1.05)		
History				2 (1.03)	3 (2.89)			3 (1.62)		
Law										
Letters, non private					1 (1.69)				3 (2.97)	
Letters, private					1 (0.88)			1 (0.5)		
Medicine									3 (4.83)	
Philosophy								2 (3.66)		
Religious treatise			3 (0.77)							
Romance			1 (1.47)							
Science									5 (3.32)	
Sermon					1 (1.06)				2 (1.21))	
Travelogue							1 (0.82)	4 (1.97)		
Trial proceedings							2 (1.46)	2 (0.76)		

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THOUGH	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography				1	2	1	17	5	12	9
Bible					4	1		11	2	1
Diary								14	7	13
Diary private					8	1	5	19	2	
Drama comedy					19	9	6	2	11	5
Educational treatise					1	3	12	14	7	8
Fiction				1		6	6	4	10	31
Handbook					2	9	8	7	7	8
History			20	4	6	1	3	4	11	9
Homily poetry	20									
Law										
Letters, non private					2	2	7	5		5
Letters private						4	7		11	6
Medicine									5	2
Philosophy			15			1	1		7	5
Religious treatise			10	6						
Romance				7						
Rule		11	1							
Science					7		20	3	3	7
Sermon			2	2		7	12	6	10	2
Travelogue						4	14	5	15	10
Trial proceedings					12	2		7	6	5

ALTHOUGH	MIDDLE ENGLISH				EARLY MODERN ENGLISH			LATE MODERN ENGLISH		
	ME1 (1150-1249)	ME2 (1250-1349)	ME3 (1350-1419)	ME4 (1420-1499)	EME 1 (1500-1569	EME 2 (1570-1639)	EME 3 (1640-1700)	LME 1 (1700-1769	LME 2 (1760-1839)	LME 3 (1840-1914)
Autobiography					2	2				1
Bible									3	1
Diary								2	1	
Diary private					1	10				
Drama comedy					1	2			2	2
Educational treatise					2	7	4		9	7
Fiction					5	2		22		3
Handbook			1		1	5	2	2	2	13
History					2	1	1		1	5
Law					1	2	1		4	
Letters, non private					2	2	1	3	23	
Letters private						5				
Medicine									1	8
Philosophy			4		12		11		3	
Religious treatise			5	10						
Romance				1						
Science									3	14
Sermon					2	4	4			4
Travelogue						5	2		1	2
Trial proceedings						1				7

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RESUMO EN GALEGO

Esta tese de doutoramento aborda os subordinantes adverbiais efémeros na historia do inglés, un ámbito da sintaxe histórica que ten recibido escasa atención nos estudos de lingüística inglesa, e examina os antecedentes e as razóns polas que certos conectores xurdiron nun momento determinado da historia e pasaron a formar parte do inventario dos subordinantes adverbiais da lingua inglesa, para logo, nun prazo relativamente curto de tempo, deixar de existir, dando paso a outros subordinantes equivalentes dende o punto de vista semántico. Este fenómeno de flutuacións no inventario dos subordinantes adverbiais foi particularmente frecuente, aínda que non exclusivo, no período coñecido como Inglés Moderno Temperán, que abrangue desde principios do século XVI ao comezo do século XVIII, e ten unha maior incidencia nas relacións adverbiais concesivas, condicionais e causais.

O capítulo 1 establece os obxectivos deste traballo de investigación, que se poden resumir do seguinte xeito: (i) valorar en que medida o Inglés Moderno Temperán acolleu a incorporación de novos conectores adverbiais; (ii) analizar as tres relacións adverbiais (causal, condicional e concesiva) para identificar comportamentos semellantes ou diferentes entre elas; (iii) examinar cada un dos conectores individualmente, prestando atención tanto a aspectos lingüísticos como extralingüísticos; e (iv) comparar os subordinantes efémeros cos conectores prototípicos para cada unha das relacións estudadas a fin de identificar similitudes ou diverxencias entre os dous tipos de subordinantes.

O capítulo 2 caracteriza as oracións adverbiais no inglés contemporáneo tal e como se presentan nas gramáticas de referencia desta lingua. A sección 2.1 aborda as dúas principais formas de relacionar cláusulas: a coordinación e a subordinación. Pola súa banda, a Sección 2.2 e a Sección 2.3 ofrecen unha panorámica da subordinación adverbial en inglés e dos conectores que introducen estas cláusulas, prestando especial atención ás relacións adverbiais de causalidade, condición e concesión, obxecto de estudo da tese.

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O capítulo 3 describe as relacións adverbiais e os diferentes subordinantes que introducen estas cláusulas nos tres períodos históricos que abarca a tese: Inglés Medio, Inglés Moderno Temperán e Inglés Moderno Tardío. Cómpre subliñar que en Inglés Antigo as construcións paratácticas eran máis comúns que as hipotácticas (subordinación) (cfr., por exemplo, Mitchell 1985; Traugott 1992). Ademais, neste primeiro estadio da lingua, os subordinantes non tiñan un rol único e o mesmo subordinante podía ser empregado tanto en relacións hipotácticas como paratácticas. Un claro exemplo do Inglés Antigo é *forþæn* / *forþon* (*þe*), que introducía cláusulas adverbiais causais e cláusulas coordinadas de explicación.

En Inglés Medio, as relacións paratácticas gañaron terreo e é neste período cando se observa un incremento no uso desta forma de organizar a oración. Por outra banda, o inventario de subordinantes adverbiais é cada vez máis extenso e claro. Un dos factores que contribuíu de maneira significativa a poder distinguir, dunha forma máis transparente, os subordinantes adverbiais doutras clases de palabras foi o uso do denominado *that* pleonástico, que consiste en engadir a partícula *that* aos subordinantes adverbiais para marcar, dun xeito inequívoco, que pertencen a esa categoría de palabras.

É en Inglés Moderno Temperán cando observamos unha maior especialización da subordinación. De feito, este período está considerado o momento período crucial de transición entre a lingua aínda maiormente sintética do Inglés Medio a unha lingua analítica, que se asemella cada vez máis ao Inglés Contemporáneo (Seoane 2012: 634). O número de subordinantes adverbiais incrementouse considerablemente tanto no Inglés Medio como no Inglés Moderno Temperán. Segundo os datos proporcionados por Kortmann (1997: 300-301), só o 30% dos subordinantes adverbiais do período Inglés Moderno Temperán pasaron a formar parte do inventario do Inglés Contemporáneo, mentres que, por exemplo, un 60% dos subordinantes que se remontan ao Inglés Medio aínda permanecen no Inglés Contemporáneo.

Os datos estatísticos que nos proporciona Kortmann (1997) son suficientes para facernos unha idea do elevado número de subordinantes adverbiais do Inglés Moderno Temperán cuxa supervivencia non se prolongou máis alá de dous séculos dende a súa

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primeira aparición. Este subordinantes denomínanse ‘efémeros’ e son particularmente frecuentes nas relacións semánticas da causalidade, da condición e da concesión, o obxecto de estudo desta tese de doutoramento.

O capítulo 4 está dedicado a cuestións metodolóxicas. A sección 4.2.1 introduce os dous dicionarios históricos de referencia para a lingua inglesa: o *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) e o *Middle English Dictionary* (MED). A información de ambos os dous dicionarios resultou de especial relevancia para a descrición diacrónica dos subordinantes estudados, en particular as datas dos primeiros e derradeiros exemplos de cada un deles, as diferentes grafías e as diferentes funcións que estes conectores desempeñaron ao longo da historia do inglés. A sección 4.2.2 describe os corpus lingüísticos empregados para extraer os datos analizados neste traballo, e que forman parte do conxunto *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*, que inclúe o *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, segunda edición (PPCME2)*, o *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME*) e o *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, segunda edición (PPCMBE)*. Os tres corpus foron compilados polo equipo liderado polo catedrático Anthony Kroch e cobren dende o ano 1150 ata o ano 1914, polo que abranguen o momento de esplendor dos subordinantes adverbiais efémeros (‘Inglés Moderno Temperán’) e os períodos anterior e posterior (‘Inglés Medio e Inglés Moderno Tardío’, respectivamente). O capítulo inclúe tamén unha breve descrición da ferramenta empregada para extraer os datos, WordSmith 6.0, así como a estruturación da base de datos e das variables lingüísticas e extra-lingüísticas analizadas na tese.

O capítulo 5 examina a noción do carácter efémero (Inglés *ephemerality*) no ámbito dos subordinantes adverbiais. A sección 5.1 define o concepto de efémero en referencia a este tipo de conectores, en particular os correspondentes ás relacións causal, condicional e concesiva. A sección 5.2 presenta un inventario dos denominados subordinantes ‘efémeros’ para as tres relacións, tendo como referencia a obra de Kortmann (1997), os volumes da *Cambridge History of the English Language* que versan sobre os tres períodos históricos obxecto de estudo, a gramática de Görlach (1993) para o Inglés Moderno Temperán e a sintaxe histórica de Visser (1963-1973). Do inventario resultante, selecciónanse os subordinantes que serán analizados no Capítulo 6, atendendo aos

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seguintes criterios: (i) o subordinante só aparece en Inglés Moderno Temperán; (ii) o conector aparece citado como subordinante en Inglés Medio e en Inglés Moderno Temperán; ou (iii) o subordinante forma parte do inventario do Inglés Moderno Temperán e do Inglés actual, se ben o seu uso como subordinante non é a súa función principal ou está considerado arcaico ou obsoleto nas gramáticas de referencia para o inglés contemporáneo.

Os subordinantes adverbiais efémeros seleccionados para o posterior estudo de corpus son os seguintes:

Relación semántica	**Subordinantes efémeros seleccionados**
Causa	*for as much as, for because, for why, in so much as, in as much as, sin, sithen*
Condición	*be it so, conditioned that, foreseen, if case be, if so be, when if*
Concesión	*albeit, all be, howbeit, howsoever, howsomever, how so, how well, notwithstanding*

A parte final do capítulo 5 proporciona unha descrición individual de cada un dos subordinantes a analizar, atendendo á súa etimoloxía, ás súas funcións e aos primeiros e últimos exemplos recollidos no OED e o MED. Ambas as dúas fontes resultaron ser dun valor incalculable, xa que grazas a elas foi posible obter unha primeira estimación da aparición dos primeiros usos como subordinantes das formas obxecto de análise.

O capítulo 6 presenta os resultados do estudo de corpus dos subordinantes das tres relacións, causal (Sección 6.1), condicional (Sección 6.2) e concesiva (Sección 6.3). Dentro de cada unha das seccións analízase para cada un dos subordinantes a súa frecuencia, o seu uso co denominado *that* pleonástico e o uso de elementos correlativos na cláusula principal, tales como *yet* ou *therefore*, o proceso de univerbación, a posición da cláusula adverbial introducida polos subordinantes estudados e o tipo de texto no que

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aparecen. O capítulo inclúe tamén unha análise comparativa entre os subordinantes adverbiais efémeros e os subordinantes prototípicos para cada unha das relacións, *because* para as causais, *if* para as condicionais e *although* e *though* para as concesivas.

A sección 6.1 céntrase nos subordinantes causais. Os datos do *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English* evidencian a baixa frecuencia dos subordinantes causais obxecto de estudo, con frecuencias normalizadas por 1,000,000 de palabras que oscilan entre o 1,93 para *for why* e *sin* e o 12,14 para *for as much as*. Resulta significativo que é en Inglés Medio Tardío (1350-1499) e, en particular, no primeiro sub-período do Inglés Moderno Temperán (1500-1569) cando a maioría dos subordinantes efémeros causais gozan de maior representación no corpus. En Inglés Moderno Tardío estes subordinantes decaeron no seu uso e a maioría deixaron de usarse; só *for as much as*, *in as much as* e *in so much as* están representados no material analizado para este período, se ben con frecuencias moi baixas e usos moi marcados. O uso do *that* pleonástico (sección 6.1.1) non é frecuente cos subordinantes efémeros causais, aínda que se observa unha clara tendencia a que apareza nos primeiros exemplos dos subordinantes en cuestión na parte final do Inglés Medio. O conector *for because* é o que aparece máis frecuentemente co *that* pleonástico no corpus, mentres que os subordinantes causais efémeros *for as much as*, *in as much as* e *in so much as* non aparecen con esta partícula, quizais debido á complexidade da súa formación e a contar como elemento final na súa formación con *as*. Os elementos correlativos que aparecen en maior frecuencia cos subordinantes efémeros causais son *yet* e *therefore*. En canto á posición da cláusula subordinada con respecto á cláusula principal (sección 6.1.2), aínda que as tres posibles posicións están representadas no corpus, a posición final é a máis común (55.25%), seguida da posición inicial (43,19%), mentres que a posición media é unha opción moi marxinal (1,56%). En canto ao tipo de texto (sección 6.1.3), os subordinantes causais efémeros son claramente máis comúns en textos escritos que en textos orais; ademais, os textos formais son máis proclives a usar este tipo de conectores. A sección 6.1 remata coa comparación dos subordinantes efémeros co subordinante causal prototípico *because*. As dúas principais conclusións que derivan desta análise son: (i) o uso do *that* pleonástico é máis recorrente cos subordinantes efémeros que co prototípico

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because e (ii) as cláusulas introducidas por *because* aparecen en posición final máis frecuentemente (69,57%) que o resto de posicións: inicial (29,13%) e media (1,3%).

Os subordinantes condicionais efémeros abórdanse na sección 6.2. As seis formas que se analizan teñen unha forma moi similar: (i) todas as formas son complexas e formadas por varias palabras; (ii) o subordinante condicional prototípico *if* é recorrente nestas formacións, non só en posición inicial (e.g. *if so be*), senón tamén en posición final, como no caso de *when if*. Os subordinantes *conditioned (that)* e *foreseen (that)*, aínda que non conteñen o subordinante *if* na súa composición, inclúen palabras relacionas co significado condicional, *condition* and *foresee*. Só tres dos subordinantes condicionais efémeros inicialmente seleccionados están representados no corpus: *be it so* (2 exemplos), *when if* (3 exemplos) e *if so be*, o máis frecuente dos tres, con 22 exemplos. Non se atoparon exemplos dos outros tres subordinantes (*conditioned, foreseen* e *if case be*) nos datos analizados. O uso do *that* pleonástico é unha característica frecuente dos subordinantes efémeros condicionais. Un dos motivos que podería explicar esta estreita relación é o feito de que, dada a complexidade destas formas, é preciso posuír unha marca que as asocie á categoría dos subordinantes dun xeito inequívoso. Igualmente, o uso dos elementos correlativos é habitual en oracións con estes subordinantes, o que novamente reforza a pertenza destes conectores ao inventario dos subordinantes condicionais. En canto á posición da cláusula condicional introducida por estes subordinantes efémeros, detéctase unha clara tendencia pola posición inicial (74,07%), mentres que a posición final só está representada nun 25,93%, e non se atoparon exemplos de posición media. Ao igual que cos subordinantes efémeros causais, os condicionais tenden tamén a aparecer en maior medida en textos formais e escritos. Ademais, os datos analizados mostran que o uso destes subordinantes está asociado ao idiolecto de certos escritores. Por exemplo, *if so be that* aparece habitualmente en textos filosóficos escritos por Geoffrey Chaucer. A análise comparativa das formas efémeras co subordinante condicional prototípico *if* demostra que, en termos xerais, o uso do *that* pleonástico é menos frecuente con *if* que cos efémeros, sendo *when if* unha excepción. Igualmente, os elementos correlativos son máis habituais nas estruturas condicionais que contan cun subordinante efémero. Con respecto á posición da cláusula, a posición media si aparece en cláusulas introducidas por *if*, pero non naquelas

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encabezadas polos subordinantes efémeros. Os textos nos que aparecen as cláusulas condicionais introducidas por *if* son maiormente textos escritos, se ben atopamos exemplos en textos relacionados coa oralidade, particularmente procedementos xudiciais e sermóns.

A sección 6.3 versa sobre os subordinantes concesivos efémeros, seguindo unha estrutura paralela ás seccións dedicadas ás outras dúas relacións semánticas. En canto á frecuencia das formas estudadas nesta sección (*albeit*, *all be*, *howbeit*, *howsoever*, *howsomever*, *how so*, *how well*, *notwithstanding*), cómpre destacar que ningunha delas aparece antes da segunda metade do Inglés Medio e é na primeira parte do Inglés Moderno Temperán (EME1; 1500-1569) cando todos os subordinantes efémeros obxecto de estudo aparecen representados, a excepción de *how so* e *how so ever*, que non se identificaron no corpus. Por outra banda, mentres que a maioría dos subordinantes concesivos deste inventario se caracterizan por ser de natureza efémera, os subordinantes *albeit* e *notwithstanding* mostran un rexurdimento na última parte do Inglés Moderno Temperán, e pasan a ser formas máis especializadas. Só tres dos subordinantes concesivos efémeros (*albeit*, *howbeit* e *notwithstanding*) aparecen co *that* pleonástico e a maioría dos exemplos pertencen aos últimos sub-períodos do Inglés Medio, isto é ME3 (1350-1419) e ME4 (1420-1499), e ao primeiro sub-período do Inglés Moderno Temperán, EME1 (1500-1569). Así mesmo, o uso de elementos correlativos en cláusulas concesivas introducidas por subordinantes efémeros non é frecuente. En canto á posición da cláusula concesiva introducida polos subordinantes concesivos efémeros, os datos mostran unha tendencia marcada a que a cláusula subordinada apareza en posición final, coa excepción do subordinante *albeit*, para o que o 76,3% dos exemplos son de posición inicial. Con respecto ao tipo de texto, os cinco subordinantes efémeros concesivos analizados no corpus aparecen máis habitualmente en textos escritos, pero cómpre salientar que a frecuencia de *albeit* en textos orais non é tan baixa como para o resto dos subordinantes do seu grupo. A comparación entre os subordinantes efémeros e os prototípicos *although* e *though* mostra as seguintes diferenzas: (i) o uso do *that* pleonástico é mais recorrente cos conectores efémeros, pero o uso de elementos correlativos é máis habitual cos prototípicos; (ii) as cláusulas concesivas introducidas por *though* así como pola maioría dos subordinantes efémeros mostran unha clara preferencia pola posición final na oración, mentres que as

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estruturas introducidas polo concesivo efémero *albeit* e o prototípico *although* aparecen en posición inicial maiormente.

O capítulo cerra coa sección 6.4, que contrasta as tres relacións adverbiais. A continuación, resúmentse as principais conclusións:

1. A xulgar polos datos do meu corpus, os inventarios de subordinantes adverbiais efémeros mostran grandes diferenzas con respecto á frecuencia. Os condicionais efémeros a penas están representados no corpus (por exemplo, a frecuencia normalizada por 1,000,000 de palabras para *if so be that* é de 3,87). Os conectores condicionais van seguidos dos causais, onde a frecuencia normalizada máis alta correspóndelle ao subordinante *for as much as* (12,14). Por outra banda, os subordinantes efémeros concesivos son máis abundantes. De feito, dous deles teñen unha frecuencia normalizada por enriba de 10: *notwithstanding* (12,27) e *albeit* (20,07).

2. O grado de gramaticalización das formas analizadas tamén difire. O máis alto grao de gramaticalización parece corresponder aos subordinantes concesivos, que mostran un número máis elevado de formas univerbadas que as outras dúas relacións estudadas.

3. A miña análise corrobora o que se anticipaba no estudo de Kortmann (1997: 335): que o Inglés Moderno Temperán é o período en que a maioría dos subordinantes causais, condicionais e concesivos efémeros coexisten. Cómpre destacar que xa no Inglés Medio moitas destas formas comezaron a usarse, xa que é neste período, tal e como explica Rissanen (2015: 101), cando se demandan novas e variadas formas de indicar relacións entre cláusulas. Neste proceso, o francés e o latín serven de modelos para a creación destes novos conectores.

4. O uso do *that* pleonástico é mais común entre os conectores efémeros das tres relacións que cos prototípicos, particularmente nos períodos máis antigos analizados. En canto ao uso de elementos correlativos, no ámbito da concesión aparecen frecuentemente tanto cos subordinantes efémeros como cos prototípicos. Unha posible explicación para isto é que esta relación semántica é máis difícil de procesar que a causalidade ou a condición.

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5. En canto á posición da cláusula subordinada en relación coa súa cláusula principal, a posición media é a menos común nas tres relacións, tanto con subordinantes efémeros como con prototípicos. As cláusulas causais comunmente aparecen en posición final, mentres que as condicionais tenden a aparecer en posición inicial. Por contra, as concesivas non mostran un patrón tan marcado, xa que a maioría dos subordinantes efémeros e o prototípico *though* aparecen habitualmente en posición final, mentres que *albeit* e *although* favorecen a posición inicial.

6. Os textos escritos albergan a maioría dos exemplos das tres relacións adverbiais estudadas, aínda que existen algunhas excepcións. Por exemplo, *howbeit* en Inglés Medio e *howsoever* están frecuentemente relacionados con textos orais.

En resumo, a noción de subordinante adverbial efémero está mellor representada no dominio da condición. Os subordinantes estudados do ámbito da causalidade e da concesión son infrecuentes pero mostran una maior diacronía; no caso da concesión dous subordinantes, *albeit* e *nowithstanding*, mostran un rexurdimento en Inglés actual.

O capítulo 7 ofrece un resumo da tese e das conclusións obtidas da análise dos datos e achega algunhas suxestións para investigacións futuras.

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WordSmith 6.0 = WordSmith 6.0 para Windows. 1996-2017. Lexical Analysis Software e Oxford University Press. Dispoñible en: http://lexically.net/wordsmith/

This doctoral dissertation explores, from a corpus-based perspective, the history of ephemeral subordinators from the domains of causal, conditional and concessive adverbial relations in Middle and Modern English. Kortmann (1997: 301) denominates 'ephemeral subordinators' those that were added to the inventory of adverbial connectives in Late Middle English, or more commonly, Early Modern English, but did not have a lasting effect and died out eventually. The data analysed is retrieved from the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*. This diachronic study considers both structural (e.g. position of the sub-clause in the sentence) and external factors (e.g. text-type) and offers a comparison of the ephemeral connectives with the prototypical subordinators for each of the selected categories of adverbial relations.